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THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM THE FOUNDATION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JOHN VAUGHAN

IN TWO VOLUMES

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THE
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JULY, 1880.

ART. I.—THE CHARACTER OF CICERO.

1. *Cicero's Correspondence, arranged in Chronological Order*; with a Revision of the Text, a Commentary and Introductory Essay on the Life of Cicero and the Style of his Letters. By R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin; Editor of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides. Vol. I. Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Figgis. London: Longmans. 1879.
2. *The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A., Q.C. Second edition. London: J. Murray. 1867.
3. *An Account of the Life and Letters of Cicero*. Translated from the German of B. R. ABEKEN. Edited by CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. London: Longmans. 1854.
4. *The Letters of Cicero to Atticus*. Book I., with Notes and an Essay on the Character of the Author. Edited by ALFRED PRETOR, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Cambridge. 1873.
5. *The Formation of Christendom*. Part First. By T. W. ALLIES. London: Longmans. 1865.

TO propose for discussion the character of Cicero after the world has been talking of him for more than twice the period he looked forward to, when anxiously anticipating the judgment of posterity, may seem, at least to readers who are content to live in ignorance of the past, a pedantic and old-fashioned amusement. For all that, it seems to have a new and real interest for some of the foremost minds of our age, as is plain from the list of authors and scholars which we place at the head of this Paper. In truth, if a review of a character so remarkable as that of Cicero fail to attract thinkers

of intelligence, the fault lies in the limited knowledge or discrimination of the writer, not in the importance of the subject. Were it in itself much less striking than it is, the varying medium through which each age perceives it, ought to bring out new lights, practically innumerable. Such a creation as a human mind, and one of the greatest the world has seen, cannot be less rich in the results it yields to the observer than the meanest of the works of Nature. We pause, perhaps, too long on a needless apology, and as in a previous Paper we attempted to analyse the character of another and the greatest of Romans, we now proceed to study that of Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Observers on Cicero's character are commonly copious upon two principal faults, vanity and vacillation, which indeed often go together. The older writers seem to have been struck by his mocking, sarcastic spirit. A recent critic has almost with personal bitterness charged him with want of principle.

We shall, further on, consider these and other questions in detail; but for the sake of order, and because of the succession in which the phenomena of character develop themselves, we propose to examine, first the intellectual aspects of his mind, then the moral, under which also the political will range themselves, and finally the religious, with which as yet political ideas were almost indissolubly united.

A man's intellectual character may be judged of, partly from the biography of his mind, the story of its development; partly from his mental achievements, but perhaps still more from what he constantly reverts to, from the pet objects worshipped in the inner sanctuary of his intellect rather than from those which practically he places before him as his public aim. Often he is greatly mistaken in the choice of these, but they still show his character, and even the more strongly so for that very reason. Of the grand general aim of the mind of Cicero, there can be no doubt; it was to attain to civil greatness by the only means by which at Rome in his day it could be reached, and that was eloquence. As often happens, the means itself became rapidly an end, and had there been no consulate to win, he would still have placed before him as his ideal excellence, the perfection of the faculty of public speaking. It was not that physically he seems to have peculiarly qualified for this attainment; on the contrary, like Demosthenes, he originally laboured under defects that might have discouraged any ordinary ambition, a shrill, badly modulated voice, and a weak chest, but there was that fire in him which difficulties, far from quenching, only kindle to greater energy. Whatever may have been his infirmity of purpose in other things, at least there was none in the choice of his end, and of the means to it, the

absence of which clearness of perception causes so many highly-endowed minds to miss their true destiny. There is a story that the future orator was told by the oracle of Delphi to make his own nature and not the opinions of others, his guide through life. So far as regarded the training of his genius, this advice was faithfully followed. Placing then eloquence before him as his proximate end, his elevated intellect also made him clearly discern the important principle that consummate excellence is not to be attained without an *idea* being constantly before the mind, that is, without the continual presence in the imagination of a degree of perfection as the object of aspiration, which it is known beforehand can never actually be realized. This is what he calls the "*aliquid immensum, infinitumque.*" This it is which distinguishes genius from mere talent, which the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the architect, every creative artist must have before him, and which the lower, practical, though still highly useful and commendable working capability can seldom conceive. We say seldom, because there is something of this wherever very great excellence, in whatever grade, is found. Obviously there is less room for it where things can be reduced to number, measure, and weight; but even there deep and thoughtful minds will imagine a conceivable perfection beyond what given materials can ever exhibit, as we see in the hypotheses of mathematicians assuming a perfectly straight line, or a perfectly rigid body. To return to Cicero. His mind was filled with this idea of perfection; it haunted him day and night. But as a principle of self-education, this alone would be too exalted and too distant, though anything but vague or uncertain. To bring down the idea so as to make it an instrument of practice, it is necessary also to have before us the most perfect imitations of that idea. In painting, the works of the best artists showed even a Reynolds that there were achievements of art that might otherwise have seemed impossible. Mere beautiful imitations of the beauty of Nature, itself but an image of the unapproachable majesty of the Infinite and Unseen, give hints of the way of seeing truth, and of conveying it to the eyes and the minds of those who are either less gifted or have less patiently thought out what is possible for man to do.

The realized type which Cicero had placed before his mind at an early age, was the orator Crassus, as exhibited in a famous speech of his for the Servilian Law of Cæpio. This choice determined the character of his own eloquence, much as that of Demosthenes was decided by a similar admiration, at the beginning of his career, for the speech of the orator Callistratus in a dispute between the Athenians and Oropians; but doubtless the models differed as much as the two great developments

which they set in motion. Of eloquence there are in fact two leading classes, and, in a certain point of view, there cannot be more than two. One is that in which matter predominates, the other in which the main object is form. In the one the orator persuades, in the other he excites admiration and delight; the one is all business, the other all display; the one is argument and emotion as tending to action, the other expression and imagination as tending to a high mental gratification. Of both these classes the youthful Cicero had either witnessed, or knew by recent and living tradition excellent specimens in the two great orators of the generation before him, Antonius, and Crassus whom we have just mentioned. He appreciated both with equal truth and intensity, but the natural bias of his mind led him to give the preference, for his own purposes, to the latter. It was a preference that perhaps had been encouraged by many a friendly dispute in days of youth, with his brother Quintus, who took the other side, and each has been admirably set forth by Marcus himself in the splendid dialogue *De Oratore*. His favourite methods of oratorical study, as delivered in the person of Crassus, are such as to fall in with this view, and principally inculcate incessant use of the pen, artificial cultivation of the memory, and very extensive reading in all kinds of literature that form the taste and judgment, poetry, history, and philosophy. This habit of mind would alone be sufficient to make his eloquence characterized rather by display than by practical power, and so to render it less useful as a model for the parliamentary and forensic orator than might be expected from his name. We say less useful, but it does not follow because a great artist is not free from certain faults, or even mistaken principles, that the study of him may not give many a hint even to those who adopt a manner quite different from his. It is *suggestive*, and that which is suggested may be so widely different from the suggesting object, that the connection might quite escape an ordinary observer. To mention one thing, which is somewhat inconsistent with the prevailing idea about Cicero's vanity. The extraordinary finish which is apparent even to the most superficial reader, for example, in the Verrine orations, that splendour and lustre of diction, over and above and surpassing even mere beauty of language, which the words seem to give out by their choice and collocation, is a result which shows rather the reverse of vanity; which shows the artist forgetting himself, first in the interest and attention he bestows on his work, secondly in the respect which he pays to his audience who are to judge it. This is a point which conceited and idle speakers and writers are very apt to forget. With a little practice, it is an easy thing to speak fluently for

an hour, or to write a column or two of showy declamation. But more pains would be given to the business, if the composers had more deference to the opinions of those before whom it will come. True it is, that few of the latter are educated ; it is also true that still fewer could themselves pretend to speak or to write. But a thinker like Cicero, and Aristotle before him, knew that the uneducated are far from deficient in critical power, and that a defect either in taste or in reasoning is as little likely to escape them, as a defect in conduct on the part of men who set up more or less for goodness escapes those who are anything but good themselves. And accordingly, Cicero places this truth among the foremost considerations which one who is endeavouring to make himself an orator ought to have upon his mind. He remarks, in the person of Crassus :

It is a great task and office, for a man to undertake and profess that he alone in a great assembly, when all are silent, is to be listened to on the most important subjects. For there is hardly a man present who does not see the faults of the speaker more sharply and keenly, than he does the passages that are free from fault. Any blunder, therefore, overwhelms even the parts that deserve praise.—*De Orat.* I. § 116.

Consistently, therefore, with this just and strong impression of the power even of a vulgar audience to perceive faults in speaking and reasoning, he describes Crassus and elsewhere himself also, as turning pale in the commencement of a speech, and quivering in every limb. This timidity, far from being ashamed of, he regards as inevitable in proportion to the perfection of the orator in his art ; and if it be absent, the speaker, he thinks, deserves the charge of impudence ; the best speaker is also the one who most dreads the difficulty of speaking and the various events a speech may have in its course, and the expectation which men have formed of him. In this spirit of humility, which ever accompanies high genius, we find him not wholly discouraging from the attempt at public speaking even those who seem not very well adapted by Nature for it, and mentions cases where a moderate proficiency in the art was of considerable use, as far as it went, in the attainment of that civil eminence to which every Roman citizen of any mark would be tempted to aspire.

The vice of ancient oratory consisted principally in its tendency to pass off into the processes of praise and blame, panegyric and invective, as opposed to the office of proving or persuading. This inclination is natural in proportion as States lose their freedom ; and although this latter reason does not apply to most of the eloquence of Cicero, yet still he was formed in the schools of Greece during the period of their decline—not

in the great days of Pericles or of Demosthenes, but in times when the lecture-rooms of Rhodes or Athens had taken the place of the Pnyx or the Agora in training the aspirant to oratorical honour. The contrast accordingly is great between the masculine force of the speeches of Demosthenes and the verbal splendour of those of Cicero. Where Cicero is most at home, is in such a speech as that for the Manilian Law on the one hand, or in personal attacks like those on Catiline and Antonius on the other. In the former his highly-cultivated mind enables him to set forth in the most finished language what the ideal commander ought to be, and to exhibit Pompeius as its realization. In the latter, whilst no doubt there is abundance of personal animosity, there is still an absence of deep passion; there is not often that grandeur which we find even in the almost malignant fury of Demosthenes against Æschines, but the prevailing idea is still that of the great rhetorical artist mixing his colours, and simulating a greater intensity than he really feels. A proof of this is the difficulty which we conceive almost every reader must find in sympathizing with these attacks, a difficulty which certainly no competent student would ever complain of, when he applies himself to enter into the oration *De Corona*, or even the more subdued energy of that against Midias. Compared with these, the invectives of Cicero, with all their artistic power, wear an appearance of womanish spite, nay, of the "yelping pertinacity" which Hawkins so unjustly attributed to Pitt. He is more successful, at least to the judgment of a modern reader, in his sarcastic attacks of a lower degree of energy, such for example as his ridicule of the claim of Cæcilius to conduct the impeachment of Verres, where he can show the playfulness of genius, and the consciousness of immense professional superiority.

Cicero cannot be called, either in oratory or in philosophy, a powerful reasoner. He shows, indeed, in the former, the skilfulness which belongs to the mere advocate, and which was more readily tolerated by ancient than it is by modern, at least by English tribunals, in drawing off the mind of the audience from the real point at issue; of which the oration for Milo affords an example; but when there is occasion for a sustained search into political causes, for instance in discussing the construction and condition of the Catilinarian party, we do not see much evidence of the statesmanlike mind.

The view taken is but one on the surface; it exhibits nothing of that "winding into the subject like a serpent" which Goldsmith thought characteristic of Burke. We could hardly find a parallel in Cicero to the breadth and power of the picture Demosthenes gives of the political state of Greece before the

Peace of Philocrates; nor, among modern orators to the grasp and sweep of thought which makes a speaker like Gladstone, amidst a whole assembly of able men, remind us of Teiresias among the shades.

οἴω πεπνύσθαι τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἄτσοουσιν.

Hom. Od. X. 495.

It is perfectly true that oratorical reasonings are not like those which belong either to the mathematician or metaphysician. In oratory it is even a fault to go too deep or ascend too high; still in proportion as a speaker approximates to the ideal, he will be able to carry even inferior minds with him through trains of reasoning, and upwards to principles at first sight far beyond their powers of appreciation.

Whilst the rhetorical mind more or less incapacitates a thinker for deep investigation, and tends to weaken his love of truth, it heightens his ability for acquiring the thoughts of others, and setting them forth in their oppositions and relations. Hence the value of Cicero as an historian of philosophy, which indeed might have been far greater than it is; still, with Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch, he has preserved for us a vast amount of information on the philosophical sects of Greece, which otherwise would have been swept away by the torrent of time, past the power of any drags to recover. By nature, by education and by choice, he belonged to the Academic school, which disclaimed the possibility of arriving at absolute truth, but set up probability in its place. He was therefore constantly led to balance opposite systems, and to hear and repeat what each could say for itself. His mind was not one that was drawn to the contemplation of universal and necessary truths; and on the other hand, even in the sphere of probabilities, it seems not to have been one that endeavoured by deep and patient thought, to ascend from probability to the moral certainty which is next to intuition or demonstration. Of science, in the modern acceptation of the word, he probably knew no more than every educated Roman of his day possessed; and he himself tells us that Roman education in this department did not go beyond mensuration and computation (*Tusc. Qu. 1, 2*). I cannot recal any trace of these studies in his writings, excepting the letter to Atticus, where he ridicules the optical disquisition of the architect Cyrus in relation to the windows of a bath-room. So too, of metaphysics, we find little in the voluminous literature which he created or interpreted. In the scholastic logic to which Aristotle gave birth, Cicero had undoubtedly been trained, as is abundantly proved by his being able to give, unassisted by his books, a copious abstract

of the *Topics*. But it had hardly disciplined his mind so as to make him a close and consecutive thinker. One of his latest works, the *De Officiis*, affords an instance in which logical rules, though correctly applied, are produced with a certain degree of parade which shows that he did not, to use an ancient illustration, avail himself so readily of the "close fist of dialectics" as he could of the "open hand" of the sister-art of rhetoric.

His definitions are not precise, nor deeply thought out; and his enumerations of the elements entering an idea are not the exhaustive catalogue one would find in Aristotle, but rather a series of thoughts suggesting themselves to a copious and able intellect which might be more or fewer without perceptibly affecting his argument. Hence, he does not excel when he attempts a systematized treatment of a subject as a whole; for example, the *Offices*, though, in other points of view, it would be absurd to detract from the merits of that admirable work, as a philosophical treatise fails almost in proportion as the author seems to lose hold of his Greek archetype; and passes off into the easy, common-sense, and practical conversation of the Roman gentleman, illustrated with a profusion of examples from Roman biography and history. In the latter, as everywhere, we remark the rhetorical character, for Cicero's historical anecdotes can never be quoted where accuracy as to fact is the object.

His mind was naturally led in the direction of prudential wisdom, which his consummate command of language enabled him to exhibit in forms that the refined intellect contemplates with a peculiar satisfaction and repose. It has perhaps been latterly too much the fashion to represent the form as everything with Cicero. But in truth, although the form is so beautiful that, quite independently of the matter, it would charm, still we need not look far in any department of his works to see that he conveys to us a wonderful amount of observation and experience, as might be expected from one who had had a range of life so varied, from the schools of Greece to the contentions of the forum and debates of the senate, and who had witnessed all the convulsions of the dying republic, from the dictatorship of Sylla to that of Cæsar.

In considering the writings of Cicero, there is this also to be observed, which lessens their value in one direction whilst it heightens them in another; I mean that one at least of the most considerable divisions of them, the philosophical, was put together, not simply for its own sake, but to supply an acknowledged want, or even to create a demand which as yet was hardly effective—to found a Roman philosophical litera-

ture. In a certain sense it was done to order, to meet the writer's own sense of what was wanting to the educated society of Rome. His task might be compared to that of the early Christian writers like Prudentius or St. Gregory Nazianzen, who sought to present their brethren with a literature of their own, when they were prohibited the use of that of the Pagan schools. Where such is the object, there must always be something artificial, something superficial in the result, although in no other instance has genius so succeeded in producing an imitation that may itself take rank as an original.

In his oratorical treatises, the later ones at least, he may be considered purely original, in the breadth and decision with which he removes the discussion of the subject from the confined circle of technical rules to which it had hitherto been limited, and in which for ages afterwards it continued to revolve, Quintilian alone excepted, to the free and attractive statement of the methods which a great genius had hit upon for his own cultivation, and the observations which a lifetime had given to his piercing penetration and tenacious memory. Almost equally original are his rapid but richly characteristic criticisms of the orators who had preceded him. It is true that the Greek literature in which he was bred had quite reached the critical stage, and we see in the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus something of the same spirit of criticism, but still that of Cicero is as native to himself as if he had never known any literature but Latin, and may be said to have anticipated even the most consummate style of literary notices known to the modern reviewer.

As to epistolary correspondence, where is there a rival to Cicero? Certainly not in Greek literature, which in this branch is quite singularly deficient, and its failure only made up here and there by ridiculous impostures, or by specimens such as some of those letters that go under the name of Plato, which modern criticism can but dubiously recognize. Pliny's letters are indeed overflowing with character and interest, but they are studied, pedantic and marked by mannerism and the taste of a degenerate age. Modern literature abounds in this department, and in some senses, for example the brilliant detail of Madame de Sévigné, and the high-bred ease of Chesterfield, it surpasses Cicero, but nowhere has there been combined, as in him, the practical knowledge of the statesman freely corresponding in politics, with the perfection of the great artist of style, writing extemporaneously. Distance of time tends to make all literature colourless, "*rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*," but colour is brought back if there be thrown over such remains the illustrations of learning and research. Even readers in-

adequately furnished with these means, may see standing out from many a page of Cicero's correspondence scenes, which a little imagination easily shows that to contemporaries they must have been picturesque in the highest degree. Sometimes we see him musing in solitude on the sea-shore, or, at home, teased with uncongenial minds; sometimes among his books with a roll of Dicaearchus gathering at his feet as he unfolds the scroll in his rapid reading; now, he tells with great satisfaction, how a *fête champêtre* he has given to the autocrat of the Roman world had passed off; again, an entertainment of a less ambitious kind at his brother's, marred by domestic *tiffs* which he had done his best to allay. Of the daily life of the Roman proconsul in a remote province we have at least so many traits given, that it needs no great addition to fill up the outline; and the student of Cicero's letters will perhaps learn more from them about it, than most moderns in private life can know of the corresponding manners in similar positions in the British Empire, from anything to be found in books about them.

We may further remark this in Cicero's intellectual character, that it betrayed, as he advanced in life, not a trace of the enfeebling action of age; on the contrary, his last years were marked not only by the variety and number of his literary productions, and the activity of his correspondence, but also by their unflagging, or even increasing, excellence, like the rich harvest or fruitage of a year which has been favoured in all its seasons. Again, in another respect his genius rose above what depresses so many aspirations—the lack of sympathizing minds around him. He but despised what he calls the *barbarorum inscitia*, and fell back to the society of the minds of past generations, kindred to, and exalted as his own. “*Quare incumbamus, O noster Tite (to quote his own glowing words), et ad illa præclara studia, unde discedere non oportuit aliquando revertamur.*”

On entering the subject of Cicero's moral character, taking the words in their largest acceptation, it may be remarked that this has necessarily been more or less touched upon in our review of his literary and intellectual, as well as his public character. We have seen it in his great leading aims, in the devotion and almost worship with which he pursued certain ideals, in the varied and yet identical type which was thrown off by his style in the literature which he created. This last, if anything can be, is a key to the moral nature of a man. It is an old observation, that we can read more of a man in his conversation than in his features; and this holds also of that conversation which by his books a great writer carries on with his own age and with all generations that succeed him. From

his works we can at least infer, that he was enthusiastic in his pursuit of a great object, that the ideas with which he was most conversant were exalted, refined and ennobling, that he had industry, patience, dispatch, kindness, unselfishness, love of justice, and even courage, though not always reliable; that these virtues were chequered by self-esteem and by vacillation, however these faults have been exaggerated and caricatured by successions of writers who read Cicero but on the surface, by excessive depression when in adversity, by hardness and heartlessness where self-love—just self-love—had been wounded (as in his gratulations on the murder of Cæsar), by an unwise, thoughtless indulgence of a talent for invective and ridicule, shown in his reckless abuse of many an opponent, open as they might be to very severe condemnation, as Catilina, Verres, Clodius, Piso, and Antonius, in short, by much of that weakness which inferior minds are apt to welcome, because it seems to bring even the loftiest spirits to a lower level than their own. But if there is much of this to be seen in Cicero, let it be remembered, that we have a very large surface on which to observe it, and that it is the very greatness and amplitude of his character that has provided us with the means of detecting the very points which we are so ready to condemn.

To approach, however, those characteristics of him as a man, which we obtain in a less indirect manner: and first as to his moral purity. We need scarcely remark that on this head we expect little from any of the great men of antiquity, and that we cannot substantially take exception to the list of examples given in a powerful passage by Mr. Allies. It is not here our object, however, to state the favourable side of Pagan society, though we apprehend, that as compared with modern and even mediæval society, that is, with the *world* in both cases, the Pagan society has been rather too much blackened. Morality is part of the dictation of reason as well as of religion, and in all states of society there are some who obey reason more than others, some who are more out of the range of temptation than others. Our business for the moment is with Cicero. Middleton, for generations looked upon as the great authority for his biography, painted him as a sort of faultless monster, and this view was pretty generally accepted, his secret object, however, being, as De Quincey has well pointed out, to exhibit a perfect character, as having been formed independently of Christianity. Whether he is to be degraded to the level of many great names in antiquity as stained with their foulest sin, chiefly depends on the weight to be given to some verses in Pliny's epistles, describing an epigram attributed to Cicero, which, but for the wish to save so generally noble a character from such a dishonour

could hardly be viewed in any other light than passages of the same obvious colouring in the *Odes of Horace*. Even if this composition were falsely attributed to Cicero, the careless censure which he gives to the vice alluded to, in a passage of the *Offices* (I. 40), and again the easy indifference with which he makes a dignified interlocutor in the dialogue *De Natura Deorum* (I. 28) even acknowledge it, would be quite sufficient to prove that, at any rate, he was not in point of purity so much in advance of the society and age in which he moved, as the generally good and virtuous standard of his teaching and of his private life, on the whole, would have led us to expect.

Taking most of the private or domestic relations in which he was placed, we find in him not indeed anything very exalted, but much that in any period would be regarded as right-minded and loveable. His habit of mind was the very reverse of the false and extravagant patriotism proclaimed by the zealots of the first French revolution; it regarded primarily, the lesser country which belonged to a man's earliest associations, and advanced gradually from that to a wider but scarcely dearer citizenship. There are few things in ancient biography more pleasing than the often-recurring tenderness of Cicero for the home of his childhood among the Volscian mountains at Arpinum. His account of it can be appreciated by all on whom the provincial and county associations still familiar in England have a hold. "Quia si verum dicimus," he says, in explanation of this strong local attachment, "hæc est mea, et hujus fratris mei, germana patria, hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima, hic patria, hic gens, hic majorum multa vestigia." "Because, truth to say, this is the real fatherland of myself and of my brother; for here we were born of an ancient stock, here is our country, here is our clan, here many a vestige of our ancestors." In the same spirit, he quotes the beautiful lines in which Ulysses in the *Odyssey* declares that, rough and rocky as his own Ithaca might be, it was a brave nurse of gallant youths, and that he knew not where he could see a sweeter spot. Personal allusions to his parents indeed are singularly rare in the works of Cicero, and not of remarkable interest.

Every student of Cicero will recal the curious announcement of his father's death in a letter to Atticus, which has appeared to most readers so heartless; briefly giving the date of the event, and passing off to another subject: "Pater nobis decessit," &c. But it has been ingeniously and ably shown by Professor Tyrrell, that in point of fact these few words do imply an affectionateness which only escapes those who have omitted to notice the force of the ethical dative *nobis*. To bring out that force, we should render "Our dear father died;" "We lost our

dear father," or the like—an excellent example of the value of thorough scholarship as auxiliary to the material knowledge of facts. But even were it not so, little inference could safely be drawn from an isolated passage like this, when we do not possess the other side of the correspondence. As a husband, up to a certain point in his life, Cicero appears in a pleasing and amiable light, as one of the many examples in Roman biography which show that, in spite of the prevailing corruption of morals and laxity of social ties, there was still conjugal happiness to be found. But the storms which, as he reached the decline of life, swept with such fury over the political world of Rome, indirectly brought with them disquiet and strife into the family circle also; and when confidence was once disturbed, in the midst of domestic troubles, the fatal facility of divorce offered too simple a remedy to be foregone even by such sanctity as the marriage-bond theoretically had, and by the recollection of the common interests, joys and sorrows of many years. We find in fact, Cicero in his sixty-second year separating from the wife of his youth, and marrying a girl of whom he might have been the grandfather; and next year divorcing the newly-married wife of his old age because of a wretched, if true, suspicion, that she was only too glad at the death of his daughter Tullia.

The mention of Tullia leads us to speak of the parental feelings in the mind of Cicero. They were strong, and manifested in a remarkable manner, as well towards his daughter as his son. Nothing can be more natural and simple than the allusions to them in his letters during their childish years—for example, when the great statesman, in the midst of his political correspondence, *duns* Atticus for a promised gift that the little Tullia was teasing for; or, in the case of the youthful Marcus, with a father's pride—perceiving the sympathy with party which a boy is apt to show at a very early age, he says that the boy is "a thorough aristocrat." His affection for his daughter was beautiful, and his grief for her early death is one of those passages which have ever since been held in recollection among the memorable examples of those deep feelings in which the great and the lowly mind is alike human. The picture is no doubt greatly heightened by the truly remarkable letter of sympathy in which Sulpicius ministered to the sorrowing father whatever comfort Paganism or philosophy could give.

The light in which the fatherly character is shown in Cicero towards his son Marcus, is as pleasing as anything of the kind which antiquity can present. He gives him the best education he knew of, and writes a treatise for his moral

guidance which still remains, side by side with books like Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, or Arrian's *Epictetus*, as valuable even in our day, both for their practical good sense and as showing the prevailing coincidence of human reason with the moral code of revelation, and instructive even where they exemplify human reason, unaided, in its weakness and its errors. We may venture without hesitation to say that the heathen moralists show to advantage when compared with those in Christian ages who have attempted the same task without the faith, as for example, Lord Chesterfield in his Letters to his Son.

That Cicero was capable of deep and noble friendship, his correspondence would amply indicate, and his dialogue *De Amicitia*, furnishes a back-ground to it, full of interest, as showing the generous ideal on which it was based. He has indeed been lately attacked in no measured terms for showing, as is alleged, much indifference and selfishness in his "Letters to Atticus," full as they are of himself, and telling us little of the affairs of his correspondent. We doubt if this is much of a criterion. The confidence reposed in a friend surely shows friendship, and the man who was led politically to throw himself away in his final hazard, very much, if not mainly from a sense of his obligations and regard for a friend whose faults he saw but too clearly, was not likely to have been wanting in real interest for one with whom he came into still more intimate contact. Scarcely a public man ever lived, as far as we can judge, to whom his friends had more ready recourse for valuable introductions than Cicero, or one who was more willing to use his purse and influence to do them kindnesses great and small.

As for fraternal affection, perhaps a more passionate expression of it, under wounded feelings, is hardly to be found in any literature than that addressed in his exile to his brother Quintus (*Ad Q. Fr.* I. 3) beginning: "*Mi frater, Mi frater, Mi frater, tunc id veritus es, ne ego iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine literis miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci?*"

To form an estimate of Cicero's character as a statesman, it is of course important in the first place to have before us a clear idea of the attributes of a statesman, and then to consider how far our subject can be said to have possessed them. It will be agreed that a statesman should have large views of a political situation, and be able practically to realize them; should have the power of commanding, and also of managing mankind, as well by word as by action; should have his country's interests at heart, be thoroughly master of them;

should be incorruptible and unselfish; should be decisive and consistent, yet forbearing, and stand at a high elevation of character above the multitude, have well-grounded self-respect, and the absence of all littleness.

That Cicero possessed some of these qualities in a high degree, is certainly witnessed by the marked figure he made in his times, by the position he attained to, and what is far more, which, after many vicissitudes, he regained for a time. And if the opinion of the most clear-sighted of judges may be quoted, I need only mention that Julius Cæsar compared him, in his eloquence and his conduct, to Pericles and Theramenes; of whom he could not have named a more commanding mind than the first, or a more adroit and sagacious mind than the second. This authority alone ought to outweigh many an attack that has been made upon Cicero by *littérateurs* in all ages. Authority, however, should be supported or illustrated by reference to facts. Probably Cæsar may have discovered a parallel to Pericles, in the exalted personal position which Cicero held in the greatest period of his life, but particularly in his forcing, by mere power of eloquence, the people to acquiesce in some of his political views, when their prejudices, passions, and even interests went the other way; for example, in throwing out the agrarian law of Rullus, and carrying the law of Otho, which assigned reserved seats in the theatre to the knights. The latter unquestionably left an enduring mark on Roman society, lasting even far into the times of the empire. The resemblance to Theramenes might indeed be meant ironically, to compare the rapid changes which in him were due to his quick perception of wind and tide in politics, with those which were attributed in Cicero to infirmity of purpose and vacillation. But rather perhaps seriously to Cicero's equally great insight into character, which, however, those defects rendered so fatally useless to him.

The conduct of Cicero in the affairs of the Clodian prosecution, on which Mr. Pretor chiefly relies in proof that Cicero was unprincipled as a politician, would constitute a serious parallel to Theramenes, if we accepted Mr. Pretor's view. But it appears scarcely made out. Mr. Pretor says that "having set this in motion he is alarmed the next moment at the probable consequences." Is there proof that he did set it in motion? and did he not use all his eloquence against the Clodian side, till he saw that the optimate party could not be depended on in the business? Then certainly Cicero admits that he began to yield, however vehement his actions had been at the beginning of the struggle. He gave up the contest when Hortensius brought in a bill constituting the court in such a

manner as to make Clodius's acquittal certain. When a statesman of his respectability adopted such a policy, it seems improbable that a bold speech of Cicero's could at the moment, as Mr. Pretor supposes, have altered his own future and perhaps that of Rome. He may have been wavering, irresolute, deficient in *coup d'œil* and in grasp of a political situation, which defect the whole tone of his mind, both as philosopher and as advocate, would deepen; but to pronounce him unprincipled, especially when in the end he was ruined by adherence to the very party which he adopted in commencing his career, seems too harsh and sweeping a judgment.

It is unnecessary to comment on the admitted prudence and energy which he showed in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, which nevertheless wears rather the look, which agrees with a possibly authentic tradition, of unseen influences exercised on him, whether that of the masculine and domineering mind of his wife Terentia, or the mystic suggestions of that singular and little-noticed character, the Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus. The execution of the conspirators was an instance of false energy, for which Cicero afterwards paid dear—and resembled too much the violent, coarse, and cruel policy which we so often notice in the proceedings of the aristocratical or optimate party. On the whole, opinions are divided about this strange phenomenon, the Catilinarian conspiracy. Professor Tyrrell, in his very able and interesting essay, compares it to the Gunpowder Plot, and inveighs against the *stupidity* of Catiline. I feel unable to go along with this view, although the results and the whole course of the action do not seem to bear out the notion of that impossible or demoniac kind of genius which has been almost always attributed to the great conspirator. On the other hand, it is certain that the only two fragments by which we can safely judge of what Catiline was as a speaker (the comparison of the senate and people to bodies strong and weak, the one with a head, the other headless, and another striking passage alluded to in Cicero's oration *Pro Murena*, c. 25) show great fire and energy. To return, however, to Cicero; much management and also much of that breadth of action which leads men to make sweeping sacrifices for great objects, is seen in his winning his colleague C. Antonius by relinquishing in his favour the province of Macedonia. There unquestionably was no want of personal courage in this period of his life. The apparent lack of it at a much later time, when his heart failed him in presence of the martial array that surrounded Pompeius' tribunal at the trial of Clodius, was complicated with that nervousness which is invariably felt in commencing a speech, and for which he offers so interesting and

just an explanation in the person of Crassus in the first book of the *De Oratore*. That he could sway masses of mankind, as on many great occasions, and what is harder, an individual of commanding power, as Julius Cæsar, when he pleaded before him for Ligarius, is not a proof of the statesman's force of character, but of the orator's, which is very different. The Verrine trial exhibited great powers of dispatch of business, and of decisiveness, but here, too, these qualities were manifested in the person of the great advocate. He had very great and extensive knowledge of mankind, great command also of practical information, such as belongs to the political economist; witness all he says of the produce of corn in Sicily, and the well-known anecdote of his minute acquaintance with estates throughout Italy. As the governor of a province, he showed himself to be a masterly administrator, and also a kind and considerate ruler; which, in days when Rome, whatever she became later, was as yet little better in regard to her subjects than modern Turkey, showed him far beyond his age. Under the test of great political misfortune he certainly broke down. The fall from power, which Burke, in his hyperbolic language, has said "canonizes and sanctifies a great character," reduced Cicero to feeble, hysterical lamentations. He could neither bear exile with that high-minded and far-seeing spirit which made Demosthenes turn it into opportunities of important action, or Alcibiades and Bolingbroke into clever, however unprincipled, intriguing. In the strife and whirlpool of impending change under the first triumvirate and later, he seemed indeed to hold the balance of politics, and to be courted by all, but it was rather as a man representing cultivation, and looked up to by all for exceptional genius, than as in himself a political power. The proposals of Cæsar and his friends to him show this in their tone, which is but the kinder and more flattering side of the view which, in early life, had styled him "Greekling and a pedant." Equally unfavourable to an estimate of him as a great statesman is the tone, blunt and commanding-officer-like, of Pompeius' notes to him as the struggle was drawing near its crisis. And at that time and later, only special pleading can save him from the charge of extreme and humiliating vacillation. He was moved by the instincts of his nature, which made him feel his real place was with the optimate party, whilst his reason and observation made him see that their success could only have been a repetition of the horrors of the *régime* of Sylla. His life for months was a kind of seesaw between these opposite motives. He was himself too elevated to bow to Cæsar's genius like Balbus or Oppius; and he had tasted too early the enjoyment of well-earned

greatness in a free state to be the courtier of an autocrat, like the literati of the next generation, or to know his place as the servant of the crown, like Agricola (in another department) in days of still more hateful despotism.

There was indeed a brief period after the murder of Cæsar, when the activity of Cicero seemed to be a central power amidst the strife of party, and his position at that time was the more extraordinary, considering that it was a kind of rejuvenescence, and of restoration after a great eclipse. But it happens rarely indeed that such phases in a statesman's life are really efficient, as, for example, were the last days of Thiers. He could not helm the ship when he had to deal with the rough, passionate nature of Antonius and the precocious craft of Octavius, as he had dealt (if a view already alluded to be right) with the stupidity of a Catiline. He was therefore sucked helplessly into the vortex, but in his last moments displayed a grandeur of courage and self-possession which may match with some of the sternest displays of that quality among the heroes of Roman history. On the whole, however, remembering that he himself is the chief witness we have of his weakness, and that to read the letters to Atticus is like reading a diary never intended for publication, which reveals countless struggles the world never saw, and many they never suspected, we must agree with Augustus, who, musing over a book of Cicero's his grandson had attempted to hide from him, exclaimed: "My child, that was a great man!" I have mentioned Julius Cæsar's opinion. Among moderns whose judgment must be regarded as the most competent, the admiration so ardently expressed by Niebuhr (who, by the way, remarks that Cicero's "proper calling was that of a statesman, and not of a scholar") may well balance the scorn with which the name and actions of Cicero are treated by Mommsen.

Passing on to the religious character of Cicero, I would first, for the sake of clearness, state what the religious mind, which (so far as it belongs to natural temperament) may be found in the heathen as in the Christian, appears to consist in. The following are its principal marks:—reverence for the Unseen and the supernatural; disposition to make the most of any hints or arguments for the supernatural; readiness of belief in apparently divine manifestations; constant reference of action to a divine power, in short to Almighty God, in whatever degree, and with whatever admixture of error the mind has been enabled to approach Him; above all, fear of offending Him. That heathens could have these feelings in some considerable measure we need hardly endeavour to prove: Socrates, Cleanthes, Seneca, Epictetus, will occur to any reader who

cares about these studies. The question is, whether Cicero had a religious mind, or the elements of a religious mind, in this sense? I am afraid the answer must be rather in the negative, though I should not put it so strongly as Mr. Allies has done, who seems to me to lay too much stress on the marked paucity of allusions to duties towards the gods in the *Offices*, and on the view taken in that treatise of their nature in relation to that of man. To begin with some things that are least familiar, though most on the surface—that is, traces of a purely personal and biographical nature collected from his most familiar writings—I do not think that more than four or five indications can be found amidst all this material, to show that Cicero had the mental characteristics I have noted. Such as they are, I would mention

(1) A rather remarkable passage from his Letters to Atticus (vii. 1), where he says: “I entreat you—so may all good luck attend you!—apply all your affection and prudence to study my situation. For I think I see before me such a conflict as I never had hitherto, unless *the same God who delivered me better than I could have dared to hope for*, from the Parthian War, casts a look upon the republic.”

(2) A reference in the 2nd epistle of the same book to a statue of the goddess Minerva he had set up in the Capitol is worth noticing as expressing the kind of religiosity which clung to a Roman scholar and statesman like Cicero, even when they had in words thrown aside all the popular belief: “Were all these things otherwise,” he says, “still that Guardian of the city of whom you write, would oblige me to remember her noble inscription, and would never permit me to imitate Volcatius or Servius, but would have me both feel and stand up for something worthy of myself.” Here, deep in the decline of Paganism, the idea of Minerva plays the same part in his mind that it does in characters like Achilles and Ulysses in Homer.

(3) The request to his wife that she would, according to her wont, render due thanksgiving to whatever god it was that he thought must have been the cause of a very sudden relief he had experienced in sickness, shows that the sense of dependence on the Unseen and supernatural was not so foreign to the mind of Cicero as might be imagined. A single passage like this testifies to much more. At the same time, as I have seen it somewhere remarked, he dismisses what may be called the business of religion to the hands of his wife, as perhaps too many do, who ought to know better, in a very different religion.

(4) His design, repeatedly alluded to, though at last dropped,

of deifying his daughter Tullia, so far at least as a private individual could do so, and raising a temple to her worship, is again, I think, not wholly to be ignored as a proof of what should not be classed as *ficta religio* (to use the division in Valerius Maximus); that is, false as it was in itself, and almost unintelligible till we obtain his point of view, it was in him a real desire to place before himself the continued existence which he attributed to her among the gods.

It may be said that, if this is all, it is very little, and certainly, in the midst of a sea of troubles, each letter almost in the later books to Atticus, representing a wave of it, we can scarcely, or not at all, recognize even the shadow of taking refuge in the idea of an all-wise and beneficent Being from Whom comes all good, and all sorrow too that is not in itself evil. He incessantly allows carking care to devour his spirit, indulges to the utmost an anxious, fretting, many-sided, scrupulous imagination, and makes no real effort to grasp the shadowy aid that even philosophy could give him. Only literature helps him somehow to cheat his cares for the hour or the day, but religion, so far as these letters go, scarce ever.

A rather better account might be drawn of him under this head, from a general view of his ethical, theological (so to call them), and oratorical writings. That in his principal practical treatise reference to the gods holds so small a place, is perhaps not more significant than the same reticence, in Aristotle's *Ethics*. Both treatises are eminently human, and we must consider the purpose for which they are written; besides, that in general, inferences drawn from *silence* are among the most precarious that we can make. However, this must be borne in mind: (1) that the *pietas* and *sanctitas* by which the gods above and below were supposed to be conciliated, was mainly external, but (2), that he held the gods loved nothing so much as the creation of states and cities and their orderly administration. Hence, in furthering the greatness of his state, the Roman statesman conceived that he was serving and pleasing his gods, regarding undoubtedly his gods as beings like himself, and with similar tastes, though indefinitely more powerful.

It would be unfair to deny, that in the theological treatises of Cicero the argument at least from design is as ably worked out as perhaps any modern writer has presented it, and that he shows a deep sense of admiration and awe at the wisdom and providence displayed in the natural universe. Beyond this he does not ascend; nor again does he seem to have been at all drawn to the more elevated and ideal imaginations of moral goodness which were presented in the Stoic philosophy. Readers not familiar with these studies must, in reading the *Offices*,

have been embarrassed by the slight and superficial manner in which he mentions the *recte factum* his authorities had studiously contrasted with the mere *officium*, the ordinary action fulfilled from the lower level of the life of a good citizen. It would take us too long to discuss the difference between these; suffice it to say, that the former presents an analogy, but only an analogy, to saintliness; that is, that both the one and the other had its source merely in nature, without the least infusion of the supernatural, which, in point of fact, was not attributed even to the gods.

As Greek and Roman Paganism in general regarded the divine as one and the same with nature, their ideas of divine interference and revelation are mostly conversant with natural phenomena of the rarer sort. A rather curious summary of these is given in Cicero's abstract of Aristotle's *Topics*, addressed to Trebatius. He says :

Divine testimonies are mostly as follows: First, of speech [*orationis*], for oracles were so called from the very fact, that in them is contained the speech of the gods: then of things, in which there are as it were certain divine works: first, the universe itself, and all its order and furniture; then the flights and songs of birds in the air; next, scunds and fires in the same air, and various prodigies in the earth: a foreknowledge too has been discovered by means of the entrails in sacrifices. Many things too have been signified by the visions seen in sleep, from which topics the testimonies of the gods are sometimes alleged to establish proofs.—*Topica*, § 77.

The first-named of these would require an article to itself, and its connection with Cicero, though very remarkable, is limited to his consultation at Delphi already mentioned; the second might be taken in a true acceptation, the argument from design being common to all religion, but its real character varies with the nature of the Being to whom the design is attributed. The rest are what we are more particularly concerned with here. Cicero, as an augur, could not but take a professional interest in them, as his very singular treatise on *Divination* shows. Personally, he regarded them with curiosity, and noticed some dreams which happened to himself and his brother in important crises of his life, almost with the indifference of an Epicurean, and in great contrast with the reverence and touching gratitude exhibited by Themistocles and Xenophon, in the case of similar supposed divine interferences in their favour.

Perhaps enough has been said in a Paper of this kind to give the ordinary reader some idea of the bearings of this part of the great orator's character; but it would be incomplete as well as unjust if I did not at least invite attention to the lofty,

noble, however vague imaginations of a world where he believed the most exalted spirits found a home when the turmoils of this life were over, best developed in the well-known fragment of *Scipio's Dream*. One thing may be further remarked: in his mind the alternative lay between happiness in the next world, and annihilation. A state of misery, even of just punishment, in the next world, he seems (in the *Tusculan Questions*, I. 5) to have been unable to bring his mind to contemplate seriously, even as a hypothesis; the mythical dress in which it was clothed by his religion, shocked his satirical and scoffing spirit; that sense of sin and weakness which, in many minds under heathenism, was a kind of supply or substitute for faith, being, to all appearance, singularly wanting in the mind of Cicero.

It is with a certain kind of dreariness that we quit the subject of the religious side of Cicero's character, remembering how much we owe to him, more than to any of his fellows, as well in the Latin language as an instrument of philosophical and even of theological thought, as in the material benefits of noble and refined culture, in his case with so little of the base admixture that degraded the bulk of heathen literature. It is best, perhaps, with the school of Clement of Alexandria, to consider heathen philosophy to a certain extent as the work of Providence, and to accept it as among the natural gifts that surround us, ministered by crowds, whether in so-called Christian countries or in the heathen lands of the present day, whose eternal destinies appear very dark, but of whom individually we cannot pronounce, whilst it is equally true that for all there was and is but one way to salvation, the Church of God that was from the beginning.

ROBERT ORNSBY, M.A.

ART. II. — THE GREEK CHURCH: ITS HISTORY,
DOGMA, DISCIPLINE, RITES, ORGANIZATION,
AND ITS FUTURE.

IN a former Article* we saw the obstacles opposed by Islamism to the growth and propagation of the different Eastern Christianities. The treaty of Berlin, by guaranteeing to all Christians indifferently, freedom of worship, access to public services and the right of property, has much ameliorated

* DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1879, p. 397.

their condition in the Mussulman Empire. But other obstacles prevent the Eastern Churches from reviving and resuming their ancient splendour. The greater part of them remain, so far, separated from the Roman Church; error and schism have violently torn them from the centre of unity. They are branches separated from the trunk, and sapless; they are doomed, sooner or later, to perish. The deadly poison of error permeates, more and more, their dogmatic teaching; discipline grows relaxed, manners corrupt. There is one thing which ought greatly to facilitate the return of the Eastern Christians to the one fold of which St. Peter and his successors have been constituted heads by Jesus Christ himself; that is, their own ancient doctors, their own ancient rites, so full of majesty, the numerous and touching prayers of their liturgical Offices, which they preserve with a jealous attachment, and in which, if they would look closely, they would find the condemnation of their own errors, and the necessity of union with the See of Rome. The Sovereign Pontiffs, on their side, have neglected nothing to make union easy and lasting. They have continued to convert Oriental prelates their dignities and offices. They have always urged the preservation of the Eastern rites, and have forbidden, in most precise terms, abandonment or modification of them in anything whatever, excepting the correction of abuses that had crept in, and the reforming of what was contrary to faith, hurtful to souls, or destructive of union itself. For some years past a Union has been promoted between Anglicanism, the "Old-Catholicism" of Germany, and the Eastern Schism. The attempts have been fruitless, and justly so. For Anglicanism is also a branch cut off from the sap-bearing trunk of the Catholic Church, and "Old Catholicism," which has been still more recently separated, sufficiently shows, by its self-imposed title of "Old," that it draws near the tomb, as, furthermore, everything appears to indicate. There is for all these Churches one only means of again flourishing—to unite themselves with the centre of unity at Rome. There is their future; otherwise, sooner or later, they will die out, in indifference or in still more modern errors: the detached branch can have only one history—it lives awhile by its own sap, then it languishes, is dried up, and perishes. What we shall now say concerning the Greek Church will show that the salvation of that Church which rules over the vast regions of Russia and Turkey lies in its union with the Roman Catholic Church; its history, its liturgical books, its doctors, the saints whom it worships, all proclaim this on every side. It takes all the obstinacy of heresy, and all the ignorance of the masses, to keep the eyes closed to a truth which grows every day more patent, according as the history and monuments of the Russian

Church are better known, and the schism of Photius and Michael Cerularius more carefully studied.

1. *The Greek Schism : Photius.*

The Greek Church, with its principal See at Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire, was, up to the ninth century, united to the Roman Church in a community of belief and in obedience to the Roman Pontiff, but with different rites and with a discipline of its own. Then appeared a man of illustrious birth, allied to royal blood, versed in all the sciences of his time, an orator and poet; of marvellous activity and consummate ability, of easy access, trained to business, but ambitious, full of cunning and dissimulation, quick to lay hold of circumstances and turn them to his own profit, recoiling from no means in order to arrive at his aim. Such was Photius, the first author of the Greek Schism. It is necessary to know his history. Cardinal Hergenröther has published it, in our time, in a learned work.* Private secretary of the Eastern Emperor Michael III., and commander of the guard, from being a simple layman, Photius became, in six days, Patriarch of Constantinople. It was under the following circumstances:—The See of Constantinople was at that time held by a holy patriarch named Ignatius, and the imperial throne by a young man, Michael III., who governed under the wise tutelage of his mother, the Empress Theodora. Michael had an uncle named Bardas, an ambitious man, of abandoned morals, living incestuously with his step-daughter. At the instigation of Bardas, Michael shook off the tutelage of his mother, and banished her, with his sisters, to a monastery, where he wished to force her to take the veil. Bardas thus became all-powerful in the Empire. He hated Ignatius, who had reproved his dissolute manners, and had, on Epiphany Day, refused him communion because of his incestuous connexion. As Ignatius refused to give the veil to Theodora against her will, Bardas seized the opportunity to gratify his hatred of him. He made out the Patriarch to be a seditious man, who was in league with Theodora in a conspiracy. The artifice succeeded. Ignatius was condemned unheard, driven from his see, and exiled (23rd November, 857). A month later (25th December), Photius took possession of the patriarchal throne—against all right, since Ignatius had not abdicated. A bishop, who had

* "Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel, sein Leben, seine Schriften und das Griechische schisma." Regensburg, 1867. 3 vols. The works of Photius have been edited by Migne, "Patrol. Græca," tom. ci.-civ.

been deposed for crimes, had, contrary to all canons,* conferred upon him all the sacred orders, including the Episcopate. To legitimize this sacrilegious usurpation there was a pretence of election, and Photius declared, in writing, that he would be only the coadjutor of Ignatius. But soon, feeling himself strong in the support of the Emperor and Bardas, he threw aside the mask. The bishops who remained faithful to the legitimate Patriarch, assembled together in the church of St. Irene, and declared Photius intruded and excommunicated. He, on his side, assembled his partisans, bishops, priests, and laics in a Conciliabulum in the church of the Holy Apostles, and pushed audacity so far as to depose and excommunicate Ignatius.† This Synod lasted until the autumn of 858. Meanwhile Photius had busied himself in making friends and placing his adherents on episcopal thrones. To silence the many voices raised on all sides against the usurpation, Photius and Bardas felt that they must get the Sovereign Pontiff on their side. Hitherto, in fact, the Pope of Rome had been recognised as supreme Head of the Church. He had presided, by his legates, at the General Councils held at Constantinople, at Ephesus, at Nicæa, at Chalcedon: more than once he had with his supreme ruling interfered in the affairs of the patriarchate of New Rome. Photius, therefore, wrote to Pope Nicholas a lying letter in which he dared to affirm that Ignatius had abdicated voluntarily by reason of age, and that he was living retired and honoured in a monastery.

I cannot (he added) express the sorrow which fills my soul when I see myself charged with the weight of the episcopate. But the assembled metropolitans, all the clergy and the people, moved by I know not what strange impulse, unanimously shouted my name as soon as my predecessor had renounced his dignity. Without heeding my excuses and earnest entreaties, they imposed on me the episcopal charge; they did violence to me and carried their own wish in spite of my tears and sorrow.‡

* Not only did the canons of Councils prohibit any ordination without observance of the *interstitia*, but even the Justinian Code itself. See "Can. Apost.," 80; "Sardic." 10; "Cod. Justinian," "Nov." 123, c. 1, § 2. The intrusion of Photius was therefore illegitimate: 1, because the see was not vacant; 2, because his ordination was against the canons; 3, because he was ordained by a bishop deposed, and consequently without legitimate power: he had thus incurred the penalty of suspension.

† Congregavit concilium et una cum sequacibus suis depositis et damnatis, excommunicatis et anathematizatis, et aliis sine sedibus, atque cum his a quibus vel ille irregulariter et illicite provectus fuerat, vel quos ipse temere ac indebite provexerat, contra Ignatium depositionem facere et anathema dicere ausus est. Nicol. I., Ep. 7.

‡ Epist. I. ad Nicolaum Papam. Migne, "Patrol. Gr.," cii. 58, sqq. The pseudo-patriarch wrote similar letters to the patriarchal Churches of the East.

These hypocritical protestations were sent to the Sovereign Pontiff by an ambassador of Michael III. and four Greek bishops. The Emperor, on his side, affirmed the same things, and added that troubles had arisen on this occasion, and that the Iconoclast party threatened to be revived. Consequently he prayed the Sovereign Pontiff to send thither legates who would pacify men's minds. To make the imposition the more successful, the embassy carried to the Pope presents of unheard-of magnificence.

Neither hypocrisy, nor lies, nor presents succeeded in seducing the Sovereign Pontiff. He refused to ratify the irregular ordination of Photius; but he consented to send two legates to Constantinople to examine the facts of the case.

We have (he wrote a little later to the Emperor*) enjoined on our legates to confine themselves to an examination of the cause of Ignatius, who has been driven from his church without having been accused by any one, and to sending an exact report to us. In the interval, it is our conviction that the consecration of Photius cannot be admitted: consequently, we have commanded our legates not to communicate with him frequently and readily. 'For,' as says the great Pope Leo in his letter to Flavian, 'we, who desire that the judgments of priests should be maturely discussed, cannot, without knowledge of the cause, pass a judgment prejudicial to one of the parties; it is necessary, first of all, that we know exactly the whole affair.' We have only authorized them to regulate whatever justice and piety shall demand in the question of the images of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his holy Mother the Virgin Mary, and of the Saints.

The legates were bearers of two letters, one for the Emperor, and one for Photius. In his letter to the Emperor the Sovereign Pontiff complains that, contrary to the rule traced by the Fathers, Ignatius had been deposed and Photius consecrated without the consent of the Holy See.† In his letter to Photius he praises the profession of faith made by Photius, but he blames the irregularity of his ordination; nevertheless he will recognise him as Patriarch, if it can be done after the report of his legates. After their arrival at Constantinople the legates, first placed in confinement during a hundred days, then threatened with prison and exile by the Emperor, and corrupted by presents from Photius, betrayed their trust. They took part in the deposition of Ignatius in a Council of 318 bishops whom

* Nicolai I., Epist., 8.

† "Ad eujus, sicut ipsi scitis, integritatem observationis, multoties conventus factus fuerit sanctorum Patrum, a quibus et deliberatum ac observatum extitit, qualiter absque Romanæ Sedis Romanique Pontificis consensu nullus insurgentis deliberationis terminus daretur." S. Nicolai, Epist., 2.

Photius and Bardas had seduced. The holy Patriarch was led before the Council, despoiled of his sacerdotal ornaments, was pronounced unworthy, and then imprisoned; but, in spite of menaces and tortures, he refused to abdicate, and he persisted in his appeal to the Apostolic See. In this Council Photius gave a signal specimen of his bad faith by effacing, in a phrase of the Pope's letter ("without the consent of the Roman Pontiff"), the word *without*, and substituting *with*, thus making the Pope say the contrary to what he actually wrote.*

The legates returned to Rome with an ambassador from Michael, who carried letters of Photius to deceive the Pope. When he had read the acts of the Synod, the Sovereign Pontiff perceived at once that the legates had been unfaithful, and he loudly disavowed them, protesting against all that they had done. On March 28, 862, he addressed an encyclical letter to all the Churches of the East,† in which he declares: "We do not admit Photius, and we do not condemn Ignatius. We do not rank, and we will not rank, Ignatius amongst deposed Patriarchs, as we do not count, and will not count, Photius in the number of bishops." He repeats the same thing in writing to the Emperor.‡ His letter to Photius is more severe.§ After refuting the reasons given by the usurper, the supreme Pontiff ends by interdicting to him all sacred functions until more ample information. There soon arrived (at Rome) the priest who, after a thousand difficulties, had brought the act of appeal of the Patriarch Ignatius. Other faithful Orientals accompanied him. The Sovereign Pontiff, informed by them of the whole affair, convoked a synod at Rome (April, 863), and, after mature examination, declared Photius fallen from the priesthood, and forbidden, under pain of anathema, to exercise any sacred function. Ignatius was reinstated, as also the bishops who had remained faithful; the faithless legates were excommunicated.||

Meanwhile Photius endeavoured to affirm his authority as if it had been legitimate. He combated heretics in numerous works; wrote to the Paulinians and to the Monophysite

* Pope Nicholas reproached him in these terms: "Cum nos inter alia commemorassemus quod multoties conventus factus fuerit sanctorum Patrum, a quibus et deliberatum ac observatum extitit qualiter absque Romanæ Sedis Romanique Pontificis consensu nullius insurgentis deliberationis terminus daretur; vos erastis 'absque,' et interposuistis 'cum,' significare scilicet intentantes deliberatum fuisse a sanctis patribus ut cum Sedis Apostolicæ et Ecclesiæ vestræ consensu omnis rei finis debeat omnino proferri." Epist. 9.

† Nicolai I., Epist. ad Or., 4.

‡ Nicolai I., Epist., 5.

§ Nicolai I., Epist., 6.

|| S. Nicolai I., Epist., 7.

Armenians to bring them back to the true faith, and sent missionaries among the Slavs, the Chazari, the Bulgarians, and the Russians. On the other hand he showed himself indulgent towards the amusements of a debauched Court, and even took part therein. When the sentence of Nicholas I. arrived, he set to work to turn the Emperor against that Pope, under the pretext that he usurped the Emperor's own rights. The Emperor wrote to Rome, by the hand of Photius, letters full of menace, in which he refuses to recognise the spiritual supremacy of the See of Rome.* These claims gave the Pope occasion to defend the rights and the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. He wrote back to the Emperor :

If you will not hear us, we must treat you as Jesus Christ has commanded us to treat those who refuse to hear the Church. For, the privileges of the Roman Church, confirmed to blessed Peter by the mouth of Christ himself, established in the Church herself, guarded from antiquity, proclaimed by Ecumenical Councils, and always respected by the Church, cannot, in anything whatever, be either diminished or violated or changed ; because human efforts cannot overturn what is founded, strengthened and supported by God Himself. The privileges of this See are perpetual ; rooted, in some sort, and planted by a Divine hand, they may be wounded but not transplanted, violated but not destroyed. They continue, thanks be to God, what they were before your reign ; they will subsist after you, and as long as the Christian name shall be preached, they will continue without diminution. These privileges, which are rather a burden than an honour to us, oblige us to extend our pastoral solicitude to all the Churches.†

Afterwards, pushing condescension to its extreme limits, the Pope consented to make a new enquiry, on condition that the two parties came personally to, or caused themselves to be represented at, Rome, where the affair should be judged, as had been done under Julius III. in the affair of St. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria.

Photius, seeing that all the artifices made use of had failed to move the Pope, and despairing of conquering his resistance, could no longer restrain himself. He knew that he was supported by the Emperor ; he had made himself numerous creatures amongst the clergy and people ; he boasted that he had preserved the Empire from the incursions of the Bulgarians by bringing them to the faith by his missionaries and his letters.‡

* S. Nicolai I., Epist., 9.

† Epist., 9.

‡ The Bulgarians, a people from Asia who had settled in the Balkans, arrived at the commencement of the ninth century at the gates of Constantinople. The Christians whom they had subjugated were their first apostles. The sister of King Boris was led captive by the Greeks to Constantinople,

He considered himself therefore strong enough to try schism. Adorning himself ostentatiously with the title of "Ecumenical" Patriarch, which several of his predecessors had given themselves, against the will of the Pope,* he wrote an Encyclical† to the Oriental bishops to unite them together in Council at Constantinople. In this letter, after signaling the conversion of the Bulgarians, he rises violently against the Latins. He reproaches them with having introduced the fast of Saturday, the celibacy of priests, and other usages which the Greek Church does not observe; but especially he accuses them with having altered the faith by inserting the "Filioque" in the Creed, and thus professing that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. Finally, he adds, there has come to him from Italy a letter full of accusations against the Pope, whose criminal and tyrannical conduct is insupportable. He made the same complaints against the Latins in a letter written in the Emperor's name to the King of Bulgaria. We will speak further on of the procession of the Holy Ghost "a Filio." As to the complaints arising from the difference of rites and of discipline between the Eastern and Western Churches, Photius

there learned the Christian religion and received baptism. The Empress Theodora permitted her, in 845, to return to Bulgaria. Aided by St. Methodius, who was originally from Thessalonica, the capital of Illyria, the princess succeeded in leading her brother to the faith. Boris received baptism in 864 from the hands of St. Methodius or, according to others, from the bishop Joseph, sent by Photius. The Emperor Michael was his godfather, and gave his own name to him. The example of the king drew the people. Photius wrote a long letter to Boris on the Christian religion (ap. Migne, "Patrol. Græc.," cii. 627). For various reasons, in part political, Boris asked missionaries from Rome and renounced the Greek rites. Nicholas I. sent some, who completed the conversion of the people. The Sovereign Pontiff next gave them an Exarch, and Christian Bulgaria was organized.

* The title of "ecumenical" patriarch (*οἰκουμενικος*), is found already given to John II. (an. 518) and to Mennas (an. 536). This title appears to have had, at first, no other signification than that of Patriarch of all the Empire. Certainly when the Emperor Justinian in his letter, "*γινωσκεις*," gives this title to Epiphanius (an. 533), he does not employ it as a synonym for Head of the Universal Church. For in that same letter he declares that "all Churches must of necessity be united with the most holy Pope, the patriarch of old Rome, *who is the head of all the priests of God, and who, by his sure and accurate decision, has repressed, at Constantinople itself, the heresies which had arisen.*" Nevertheless, the title appeared to encroach upon the Patriarchs of Alexandria, of Jerusalem and of Antioch, and in its obvious sense it indicated a pretension to authority over all the Church, which the Sovereign Pontiffs could not tolerate. Hence St. Gregory the Great and his successors have always protested against the title, of which, even at the present day, the Patriarch Joachim III. avails himself.

† "Photii Opera," ap. Migne "Patrol. Græc." cii., col. 721—742.

had already refuted himself in his "Apologetic letter," wherein he justifies his irregular ordination by the difference of discipline in the two Churches.*

In August, 867, Photius gathered in Council all the prelates whom he was able to attract, and had the audacity to excommunicate Pope Nicholas I. and all bishops remaining in communion with him. To give to his conciliabulum some appearance of an Ecumenical Council he falsified the acts, forged signatures, had them imitated by his scribes, and multiplied them to such an extent that about a thousand prelates had signed the excommunication of the Pope. The frauds of Photius are attested by the ambassadors of the Emperor Basil, who brought the manuscript itself to Rome, and by Anastasius Bibliothecarius,† an eye-witness. These false acts were burned in the eighth Ecumenical Council, which was held soon afterwards.

Such is the origin of the Greek Schism, which still endures, and which has taken the East and Russia from the Catholic Church. The point of departure of this sad division is the public censure given by the holy Patriarch Ignatius to an incestuous life. The Church has at all times been obliged to fight for the defence of the holiness of marriage. From St. John Baptist down to the last Archbishop of Cologne, Clement de Droste, it is nearly always on the subject of marriage that the Catholic Church is delivered to the chains of the persecutor. It was the courageous refusal of a Pope to sell to Henry VIII. the right of divorce which separated England from the Roman Church, and it was the refusal to approve of the incestuous union of Bardas by the communion of Epiphany Day which gave rise to the Schism of Photius.

Photius was gifted with all the qualities which make the head of a sect: unbridled ambition, talents, indomitable courage, hypocrisy, cleverness; nevertheless his enterprise would have failed if other more general causes had not favoured it. Foremost must be placed the difference of discipline, rite, and language, and, more than all, the antagonism which existed between the East and the West—between the old and the new Rome. Constantinople, the new Rome, flattered itself that it had shaken

* Photii Epist. 2 ap. Migne "Patrol. Græc." cii. col. 594—618.†

† Anastasius, "præf. in Concil. VIII.," says:—"Iste falsarius (Photius) falsorum excessum adversus insontem, absentem, et invictum, mendacem codicem compilat, mille circiter antistitum subscriptiones falsas interserit, sibi nemine prorsus consentiente vel conscribente ex numerosa episcoporum multitudine, nisi uno et viginti præsulibus." 979 false signatures in the thousand! One understands how authors have believed that Photius invented the whole Council.

off the political yoke of old Rome. It had its own Emperors : its independent authority extended over all the East. The Byzantine Patriarchs wished to be, in the religious way, what the Emperors were in the political—the spiritual chiefs of all the East. Placed in the centre of the Empire, brilliant with all the splendour of the capital, they had under them all the bishops of Asia Minor and of Greece, whilst the Churches of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, destroyed by the conquests of Islamism, left to the Patriarchs of Antioch, of Jerusalem, and of Alexandria only the shadow of their former splendour, and a small number of faithful. Another cause must be added. Since the Empire of the West had fallen under the hands of barbarians, Constantinople called herself the Queen of the World, the ruler of peoples, the only heiress of the splendour and power of the old Empire of Rome. This national ambition had filtered into things religious. The patriarchs and clergy loved domination : they extolled, beyond measure, their own particular customs, their majestic rites, their canonical discipline which did not exclude married men from the ranks of the clergy. They strove to withdraw themselves, as far as possible, from the supreme authority of the See of Rome. Many patriarchs, it is true, such as St. Chrysostom and St. Flavian, had had recourse to the Pontifical See ; the canons of Sardica had sanctioned appeal to the Roman Pontiff, and both bishops and priests had used the right. The Sovereign Pontiffs had interfered as supreme authorities in the cause of the Patriarch Nectar, in that of Anatolius, and in that of Germanus, in the condemnation of Nestorius, of Dioscorus, and of Anthimus. The Emperors themselves had more than once recognised the primacy of the See of Rome. Nevertheless, out of fifty-eight patriarchs who succeeded each other in the See of Constantinople, from Metrophanes, in 315, to Photius, twenty-one were heretics, or suspected of heresy. Already, again and again, during the schism of Acacius, during the affair of the Three Chapters and the persecutions of the Iconoclasts, relations with Rome had been interrupted. But these interruptions had been only passing. To all these causes, which prepared men's minds for schism, add the state of servitude to which the Emperors had striven to reduce the clergy, both by honours and riches, and by menaces and persecutions ; add, finally, the efforts of the Imperial policy to withdraw itself from the influence of the Holy See, and you have the principal causes of the success of Photius.

Photius did not long enjoy his usurped triumph. A sudden revolution dethroned the Emperor Michael and replaced him by Basil, the Macedonian (24th September, 867). The new Emperor was desirous of peace. He expelled Photius and re-established

Ignatius on the patriarchal throne. Having removed Photius, he endeavoured to remedy the evils of the Church and decide what was to be done with those bishops who had been nominated by the usurper. Ignatius and the Emperor turned their eyes towards Rome, the mother and mistress of all the Churches. An embassy was sent thither. It was composed of the legates of the Emperor, two representatives of Ignatius, and two representatives of Photius, in the manner that Pope Nicholas I. had decided. The false acts of the Council which had been invented by Photius were brought to Rome, and burned by order of the Pope. Adrian II., who had succeeded to Nicholas I., examined in Council, and once more, the cause of Photius, and renewed the condemnation and anathema of his predecessor. The embassy returned to Constantinople, accompanied by three legates of the Pope charged to preside at a Council about to be assembled.

The eighth Ecumenical Council opened at Constantinople 15th October, 869, and continued to 28th February following. Besides the legates of the Holy See and the representatives of Patriarchal Sees, one hundred and two bishops assisted at it. By order of the Emperor, Photius had to appear at the fifth and seventh sessions. Summoned to explain his conduct, he answered nothing, affecting the silence of our Lord before his judges. In vain did the Emperor invite the rebels to repent; in vain did the Council grant them seven days for reflection. Photius, and the bishops ordained by him, persevered in schism and were deposed without new examination, conformably to the sentence of the Pope. All the writings of Photius against the Pope and against Ignatius were burned by order of the Emperor; the primacy of the Roman Pontiff was proclaimed in the 21st canon, and Ignatius was reinstated in his see. Union with Rome was thus re-established. But the germs of disunion remained. Scarcely had the Council ended when the Bulgarian question was raised. The king of the Bulgarians had sent an embassy to Constantinople, asking their incorporation in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. They urged that the country occupied by them had belonged to the Byzantine Empire; that their first priests had come from Constantinople, and that relations with it were easier. On their side the legates urged that the country belonged to the province of Illyria, which depended directly on the Holy See; that spiritual jurisdiction did not change with secular domination; that the Bulgarians had been given to Pope Nicholas; that, besides, the legates had not power to settle this question. The Emperor was hurt at this reply, and other things not tending to peace and cordiality also occurred. Nevertheless the union subsisted until the death of Ignatius in 877.

Meanwhile Photius, three times deposed, lived in the banishment of a monastery, continuing in his schismatical sentiments and employing the infinite resources of his mind in retaining his numerous adherents, in gaining over the Emperor, and in composing learned writings. He succeeded so well in his artifices that the Emperor confided to him the education of his children. Thanks to Imperial favour, on the death of Ignatius he reoccupied the Patriarchal throne; pretending, as before, that he had been forced into it, and employing every means—falsehoods, presents, threats, persecution—to win to his side the faithful bishops. He felt, nevertheless, the need of being recognised by the Pope. John VIII. now occupied the Pontifical throne. Photius first set himself to gain over the legates whom the Pope had sent to Constantinople. In this he succeeded by his usual methods. Then he sent to Rome a crafty monk, who succeeded in deceiving the Pope and obtaining the removal of the censures launched against Photius, and the restoration of his title of Patriarch; but yet, on condition that in the Council at which the pontifical legates were to preside at Constantinople, Photius should ask pardon, and that he should re-establish Bulgaria under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church.

By the time of the arrival of the pontifical legates Photius had so busied himself, had used such expedition in ordaining bishops, in filling episcopal sees with his own creatures, in gaining over the faithful bishops by deceiving them, and in interesting the other Patriarchs of the East, that he was able to assemble a Council of 380 prelates. The Synod opened in November, 880, under the presidency of Photius himself. The letters of John VIII. were read—translated into Greek by Photius himself. As the legates knew no Greek, Photius made the Pope say what he liked. So there was no question of Photius asking for the pardon of the Council, but for the “Divine mercy;” and although the Pope maintained the eighth Council in all its authority, and merely relieved Photius of censures incurred, his Greek version made the Pope condemn the Council and declare the condemnation of Photius null and void. There is proof palpable of this gigantic fraud in the *Registrum* of John VIII., which gives the authentic text of the letters of that Pope, and in the Greek Acts of the Council by Photius. Baronius* has placed the two texts side by side and shown the falsifications. Photius was therefore completely rehabilitated by the Council, and, if one may trust the Acts after seeing what that intriguing prelate was capable of, the legates of the Pope were grievously wanting in their duty. The affair of Bulgaria was left in abeyance. As

* “Annales,” ad an. 879.

to the Procession of the Holy Ghost "a Filio," it was not mentioned. But, six weeks after, at a meeting of the legates at the Imperial Palace, Photius got a profession of faith admitted for the East, in which was renewed the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus *to subtract from, or to add to, the symbol of Constantinople.* This was, in the mind of the schismatical Patriarch, to blame, indirectly, the addition of the "Filioque." But if he was content with this much now, he soon renewed his attacks on the subject in a book expressly composed, and entitled: "The Sacred Doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost,"* a book which he spread among the Eastern prelates and even sent into the West. Cardinal Hergenröther, when he was professor at Würzburg, first published this work. In it Photius develops all the arguments which the Greeks urge against the Latins on this point of faith. Mgr. Macarie, the present Archbishop of Moscow, points it out to orthodox Greeks as the best authority to consult.

The Holy See now found itself in very great difficulties. Italy was constantly menaced with incursions of the Saracens; the Pope did not know, with certainty, what had been done at Constantinople. He saw well enough that his orders had not been obeyed. He complained of it to the Emperor and to Photius, whom he, however, left in possession of his dignity. But when he did know exactly the truth, he anathematised the false Patriarch. But Photius knew how to keep this sentence from becoming public in the East, and he went on undisturbedly until the death of the Emperor Basil (+ 885). Leo the Philosopher, the son and successor of Basil, had personal reasons for hating Photius; he expelled him from his see, and confined him in the Armenian monastery of Bordi, where, five years later, he died. Such was the end of the man whom the schismatical Greeks venerate as a saint; whom we rightly regard as the first author of the Greek Schism, and the most fatal enemy that Christian unity ever had.

2. *Michael Cerularius.*

The successors of Photius, Stephen, Anthony Cauleas, Nicholas the Mystic, recognised the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and exhibited on the Patriarchal throne such virtue that the Greek Church venerates them as saints. By their efforts the schism was extinguished in a few years. The union happily re-established lasted a century and a half, almost with-

* Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μυσταγωγίας. Migne, "Patr. Gr.," t. cii.

out interruption.* Nevertheless, the Church of Constantinople was never radically healed of its wounds. Photius had left the germs of discord deep in men's minds. The complaints against the Church of Rome, although unfounded, as we shall show further on, were re-heard every time any difficulty arose with the Holy See. This, however, was only a secondary cause,—rather, a pretext. The true cause must be sought in the Imperial policy, the ambition of the Patriarchs and the degradation of the clergy, who had become completely servile to the Emperors. The Byzantine Emperors aspired to reconquer the empire of Constantine; and the Sovereign Pontiffs had, in re-establishing the Empire of the West, by the consecration of Charlemagne and his successors, opposed to this aspiration a very solid barrier. The Emperors desired, therefore, to free themselves from Roman authority, and, as the means to this end, to enslave the clergy of Constantinople, to corrupt them, and then to push them into revolt. And this was done. The Emperors arrogated the right to dispose of the Patriarchal See, and placed there their own relatives, friends, or creatures. Simony crept in among the clergy and monasteries. Things went so far that wives were given to monastic men, and husbands to monastic women.† Thus the fourth son of the Emperor Lecapene, named Theophylact, was, in defiance of the canons, fraudulently substituted, at the age of sixteen years, for the Patriarch Tryphon. Thus, again, Sisinnius, from a simple laic, and master of the Imperial Militia, became Patriarch at once and without further preparation. And he hastened to substitute the name of Photius for that of the Pope in the diptychs.‡ This renewal of Schism was only extinguished under his successor Sergius. In order still further to withdraw the Patriarch of Constantinople from Pontifical authority, the Emperor Basil II., in concert with the Patriarch Eustathius, his creature, strove, by money and by force, to obtain the title of “Ecumenical” for the See of Constantinople in the same sense that the Pope was called Universal Pontiff. Another Emperor, Lecabene, profiting by

* We give a list of the Patriarchs who succeeded each other in the See of Constantinople, from Photius to Michael Cerularius; they were all, except Sisinnius, in communion with the Holy See. Stephen (886–893), Anthony Cauleas (893–896), Nicholas the Mystic (896–925), Stephen II. (925–928), Tryphon (928–931), Theophylact (933–956), Polyenete (956–970), Basil I. (970–974), Anthony II. (974–979), Nicholas II. Chrysoberges (983–994), Sisinnius the Schismatic (996–998), Sergius II. (998–1019), Eustathius (1019–1025), Alexis (1025–1043).

† See the Synod held in 1027 by the Patriarch Alexis. Darras, “*Histoire de l’Eglise*,” t. 20, p. 532.

‡ Darras, “*Histoire de l’Eglise*,” t. 20, p. 386.

the weakness of John XI., obtained that the Patriarchs of Constantinople might take the pallium without having recourse to the Apostolic See. Things were in this state when Michael Cerularius* ascended the patriarchal throne. We must become acquainted with this man, who completed the Greek Schism.

With less education than Photius, and also with less ability, Michael had, in common with him, ambition and the art of falsifying Pontifical documents. At first he was implicated in a political conspiracy and banished to a monastery, where he embraced the monastic life. He was taken hence, in 1043, by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, to be placed in the See of Constantinople. In the following year he showed what sentiments animated him. In a homily† delivered on the first Sunday of Lent, he confounded, in the same eulogium, Photius and his adversary St. Ignatius, and launched anathema against every one who had written or spoken against these two Patriarchs.

Nine years later he thought himself sufficiently secure in his see to set aside completely the yoke of Pontifical authority. To the complaints which Photius had uttered against the Latins he added new ones,—such as the custom of shaving, of eating the flesh of animals strangled, which, according to him, was contrary to the Council of the Apostles, and of conferring baptism by only one immersion. Above all, he sharply upbraided the Latins with consecrating in unleavened bread. In concert with Leo, the Metropolitan of Acrida, in Bulgaria, he put forth a Synodal Letter, in which he exhibited all these accusations. The Archbishop of Trani caused a copy to reach Pope St. Leo IX., who made a reply, in which he justified the Roman Church with as much erudition as gentleness. He showed that the custom of consecrating with unleavened bread went back to the Apostles, that it is justified by the very institution of the Eucharist, wherein our Lord made use of azyme bread, such as the law of Moses prescribed for the Paschal festival.‡

It was by this question of leavened and azyme bread that Michael drew to his party the Greek Patriarch of Antioch.§

* From *κηρυταριον*, the place where were kept the candles which the people came to buy and have blessed. Michael had been, at first, in charge of the *κηρυταριον*, whence his name.

† This homily has been edited by Migne, "Patrol. Græca," t. cxx. col. 723 sqq. The editor shows that Montfaucon made a mistake in attributing it to the Second Council of Nicæa.

‡ St. Leo IX. "Epist. 102 ad Michael. Constant." Migne, "Patrol. Lat." t. 143.

§ See the letter of the Patriarch of Venice to Peter of Antioch, and the reply of the latter, in Migne's "Patrol. Gr." t. 120, col. 751 sqq.

We do not dwell on this point; it has been sufficiently elucidated. Consecration is valid whether leavened or unleavened bread be used. The Church approves of both rites: she obliges the Greeks to use leavened bread, as she obliges the Latins to use unleavened. No serious obstacle to the reunion of the two Churches can arise on this point, any more than on their differences of rite. We confine ourselves to one observation. Many persons believe that all Orientals consecrate, and have always consecrated, with leavened bread. This is an error. The Jacobites and the Nestorians do employ leavened bread: and (except the Copts) they join to it oil and salt. But the Armenians and Maronites use azyme bread, and this was, it is certain, the usage which obtained at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, from the first ages. We have, on this point, the testimony of St. Rabulas, Bishop of Edessa, at the commencement of the sixth century, in his "Letter to Gamulinus," which M. Overbeck has lately edited from Syriac MSS. in the British Museum.* The use of unleavened bread is also recommended in the "Exposition of the Liturgy of St. James," which some attribute to the Patriarch John Maro, and others to the Jacobite bishop Denis Bar-Salibi; and the Armenian Patriarch Gregory, in the twelfth century, reproaches the Jacobites with using leavened bread. The outcry of Michael Cerularius against the Latins on this point has therefore no foundation.

Cerularius did not confine himself to recriminations; he closed the churches of the Latins through all his jurisdiction; he rebaptized those who had received baptism according to the Latin rite; and he went so far as to excommunicate those who had recourse to the Holy See. He arrogated to himself the title of Ecumenical Patriarch, and pretended "that the seat of Empire having been transferred by Constantine to the borders of Asia, it is no longer to Rome, but to Constantinople, that spiritual supremacy now belongs."

The Pope sent three legates to Constantinople to recall the

Peter of Antioch and Michael Cerularius insist chiefly, in support of their opinion, on the fact that the Evangelists say our Lord, for the institution of the Eucharist, took *bread, āpros*. Mgr. Macarie, one of the greatest theologians of the present Russian Church, again insists on this difficulty — which is really not a difficulty; for azyme bread is equally *bread, āpros*, as well in the Septuagint as in the New Testament.

* See what we said on this subject in "Barhebraei Chronicon Eccl." t. i. col. 485, not. 3. These are the words of St. Rabulas. He is opposing certain abuses: "They have the host fermented a long time, and prepared and baked with care, to make for themselves nourishment of that which ought only to serve for the Sacrament of the body of Jesus Christ, which is mystically represented by azyme bread," or, according to another text: "which is received under the species of azyme bread."

Patriarch to his duty. They were well received by the Emperor, but the Patriarch refused to see them. The legates, finding all their efforts useless, proceeded to spiritual penalties. On July 16, 1054, in the presence of the people assembled in the church of St. Sophia, they solemnly placed on the altar the act of excommunication of Michael Cerularius and his adherents: then they departed for Rome. The Patriarch refused to submit, and the Schism was completed. Despite attempts at general reunion, and partial reunions, the great Schism still continues.

Michael had revived the domineering pretensions of Photius; he also imitated his tricks. As soon as the legates had gone he issued a "Synodal Declaration,"* in which he falsified the letter which the legates had written to him, and made the people believe that these legates were impostors, whom the Pope had not sent at all. The following is an extract which will help one to form a judgment of the boldness of this falsifier and new Photius:—

Men who came out of darkness (for they came from the West—the setting sun) arrived in this religious and pious city, from which orthodoxy flows as from a high and plentiful spring, to irrigate with its pure waters the entire universe, and to make the dogmas of a holy faith germinate in souls; these men, like to thunder, or to a tempest, or to a hailstorm, or rather to a wild-boar of the forests, have precipitated themselves upon her, seeking, by their false teaching, to pervert true doctrine. They went the length of placing on the holy altar, in the great church of God, a writing, fulminating anathema against us, against the Orthodox Church, against all who would not allow themselves to be led away by perverse teaching, but wished piety and orthodoxy to flourish. They accuse us of many things, among others of not allowing them to shave our beards and to take from us the man's face which nature has given us, and of not separating ourselves from priests bound by the marriage tie. They upbraid us with our refusal to change the Creed that all the Councils have sanctioned with their invincible decrees: they would like us to use their irregular, perverse, audacious words, professing, with them, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and not from the Father only. . . . They went so far as to pretend that they had come from Rome, and that the Pope had sent them, whilst, in fact, they are nobody, and were sent by themselves, and the Pope never sent them. They fabricated letters, coming, they said, from him: others, beside myself, have discovered the falseness of them, particularly by the mark which these letters bear of false seals.

Then he gives the writings of the legates—in his own fashion—and adds that they would not appear before a Synod, and

* "Michaelis Cerul. Edictum Synod," ap. Migne, "Patrol. Gr." t. 120, col. 737 sqq.

that the goodness of the Emperor allowed them to depart. He concludes by anathematizing them.

Michael Cerularius had drawn into his schism the Archbishop of the Bulgarians and the Patriarch of Antioch; he sought also to draw into it the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria. It is not exactly known how far he succeeded. However it may be, Michael worked unceasingly to strengthen his schism during the very short reigns of Theodora and Michael Stratonicus. He grew yet more enterprising under Isaac Comnenus, whose usurpation he had favoured; but he thereby caused his own ruin. Comnenus, in fact, could no longer bear his unreasonable requirements, and banished him to Proconnesus, where he died the same year, 1095. The schism did not die with him: but the Patriarchs freed themselves from the yoke of the Roman Pontiffs only to bend under a still harder yoke—that of the Emperors. They paid dearly indeed for their independence of a spiritual power; for they were henceforth left completely in the grasp of the temporal power. Instead of having to obey an authority wise, paternal, just, which neither interest nor passion could turn aside from right and justice, they were subjected to a power which was rarely impartial, often tyrannical, voluptuous, ambitious, which ruled things spiritual according to its caprices, interests or ambition. Religion, the daughter of Heaven, became the slave of Imperial domination, the daughter of Earth. The Emperors, who had only too often interfered in the election of Patriarchs, arrogated the right of nominating and deposing them at their pleasure. When a Patriarch, faithful to his conscience, opposed the caprices or the ambition of an Emperor, he was sent into exile or banished to a monastery. The Patriarch of Constantinople underwent henceforth all the vicissitudes of the Byzantine Empire, and, according as the latter gained or lost provinces, the patriarchate gained or lost dioceses. It was political events rather than religious questions which henceforward were to determine whether the Bulgarians, the Wallachians, and the Servians were to obey or to reject the authority of the Patriarch.

The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, far from bringing back union, as might have been expected, on the contrary, increased the hatred of the Greeks against the Latins, and deepened the separation still more. There had already been an almost impassable wall between the Church of the East and the Church of the West: a barrier had been raised which a few brave spirits in vain tried to break through—such as Nicetas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, Nicephoras Blemmidas, John Beccus, who courageously defended the Union. On the one hand the acts of rapine and violence of which the Latins

were guilty ; on the other, the perfidious policy of the Greek Emperors, and the hatred and fanaticism of the monks, separated minds more and more, and rendered abortive all the attempts at union made by upright and unprejudiced minds and by the true faithful. Pope Innocent III., in a letter of the year 1205, complains bitterly of the Crusaders—forgetful of their vow—having thrown themselves on Constantinople, and still more of their having “pillaged the treasures of churches, profaned sanctuaries, brought away crosses, images, and relics, in such way that the Greeks, whatever ill treatment they may suffer, cannot make up their minds to return to obedience to the Roman Church, since they see in the Latins only crimes and works of darkness, so that they abhor them as dogs.”

As soon as a Latin Patriarch was established at Constantinople, the Greek Patriarch emigrated and settled himself at Nicæa, where Theodore Lascaris had founded a kingdom on the *débris* of the Greek Empire. The fall of the Latin Empire (1262) allowed the Greeks to return to their ancient possessions. The patriarchate was re-established at Constantinople, and the Schism continued to thrive under the protection of the Emperors, until the taking of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) brought the Greek Church under Mussulman oppression.

3. *Acts of Union. Return to Schism.*

The primacy of the Roman See stands out so evidently in the Acts of the Greek Church, and in the teaching of her doctors, as we will show further on, that when once passion is at rest and search is made honestly for truth's sake, obedience to the Pope comes as a necessity. It is this which gave rise, from time to time, to attempts at union on the part of sincerely pious Emperors and Patriarchs. Two of these attempts are famous : the first is that of the Council of Lyons, in 1274 ; the second, that of the Council of Florence, in 1439.

The Emperor Michael Palæologus having retaken Constantinople from the Latins, with the view of consolidating his throne made urgent advances for the reunion of the two Churches. The sovereign Pontiffs, Clement IV. and Gregory X., seconded, with all their power, this magnanimous intention. After great efforts union was proclaimed at the Council of Lyons, in 1274. The Greeks acknowledged and loudly professed the procession of the Holy Ghost “a Filio,” and the primacy of the Holy See over all the Church, and declared their faith to be in everything that of the Apostolic See. In return, the Greeks were authorised to keep their rites and recite their

Creed as of old, without the addition of the "Filioque."* John Beccus or Veccus having become Patriarch of Constantinople, defended with as much energy as talent the union thus effected; he justified the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost "a Filio," in eloquent discourses and in learned writings. He composed a treatise expressly against the "Mystagogia" of Photius, in which he refutes him point by point. Cardinal Hergenröther† published this valuable work some years ago. But the greater part of the Greek prelates and monks hardened themselves in schism. They were exiled or dismissed. Troubles followed, in the midst of which the Emperor died (1282). His son and successor, Andronicus II., recalled the schismatical bishops, and broke up the union in less than six years after it had been established.

But the alarming advance of Islamism, which was taking possession, one after another, of the Greek possessions in Asia and in Europe, and the approach of the Turks to Constantinople, once more turned eyes towards Rome and thoughts to reunion. After not a few difficulties union was again effected in the Council of Florence. All the points of separation between Greek and Latin were warmly and fully discussed, and at last settled by common agreement after a most profound examination.‡ One only prelate, Mark of Ephesus, opposed to the end. The Decree of Union was proclaimed July 9, 1439, by Pope Eugene IV., and received the signatures of the Emperor John Palæologus, of the legates, of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and of Jerusalem,§ and of all the clergy, Eastern and Western, present at the Council.|| The following are the principal enactments of this memorable Act, written in both Greek and Latin:¶

* See the "Letter" of Michael Pal. to Gregory IX. in Labbe, "Concil. Collect." t. xi. p. 966, and Benedict XIV. Constit. "Allatæ sunt." n. XI.

† It is inserted in the great collection of Greek Fathers by Migne, t. 112, together with the other writings of John Beccus.

‡ The résumé of these discussions may be seen in the work of Pitzipios, "L'Eglise Orientale," part ii. Rome, 1855.

§ The Patriarch of Constantinople had just died, an adherent of the union.

|| Mark of Ephesus had withdrawn.

¶ The Greek and Latin text is to be found in Hardouin, "Concil. Collect." x. 423. This is the Latin text:—"In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritis Sancti, hoc sacro universali approbante Florentino Concilio diffinimus, ut hæc fidei veritas ab omnibus Christianis credatur et suscipiatur, sicque omnes profiteantur, quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre et Filio æternaliter est et essentium suam, suumque esse subsistens habet ex Patre simul et Filio, et ex utroque æternaliter tanquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione procedit: declarantes quod id, quod sancti doctores et patres dicunt ex Patre per Filium procedere Spiritum

“In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with the approbation of the holy and universal Council of Florence, we define that this truth of the faith ought to be believed and received by all Christians, and that all should profess: that the Holy Ghost is eternally from the Father and the Son, and that he receives eternally his essence and existence from the Father and simultaneously from the Son; that he eternally proceeds from both as from one principle and by one only spiration. We declare that the assertion of holy doctors and fathers who say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son, goes to signify that just as is the Father so is the Son—according to the Greeks the cause, according to the Latins the principle, of the subsistence of the Holy Spirit. And because all that the Father has, the Father himself has given to his only begotten Son, in begetting him—all except his Paternity, so the Son receives eternally from the Father of whom he is eternally begotten, even this, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son. We define also, concerning the words ‘Filioque’ that they were lawfully and reasonably added to the Creed for the sake of explaining the dogma, and were necessary at the time. Also that the body of Christ is truly produced in azyme, or in leavened wheaten bread, and that priests ought to consecrate the Lord’s body in the one or in the other, each according to the usage of his own Church, whether the Eastern or the Western.”

After the definition of what concerns Purgatory, a point on which the Greeks made fewer difficulties, the Decree continues:

“We define, also, that the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possess primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor of blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and the father and doctor of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, full power has been given by our Lord Jesus

Sanctum ad hanc intelligentiam tendit, ut per hoc significetur, Filium quoque esse secundum Græcos quidem causam, secundum Latinos vero principium subsistentiæ Spiritus Sancti sicut et Patrem. Et quoniam omnia quæ Patris sunt, Pater ipse unigenito Filio suo gignendo dedit, præter esse Patrem, hoc ipsum quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, ipse Filius a Patre æternaliter habet, a quo etiam æternaliter genitus est. Diffinitivus insuper, explicationem verborum illorum, ‘Filioque,’ veritatis declarandæ gratia, et imminente tunc necessitate, licite et rationabiliter symbolo fuisse appositam. Item, in azymo sive fermentato pane triticeo, corpus Christi veraciter confici; sacerdotesque in altero ipsum Domini corpus conficere debere, unumquemque scilicet juxta suæ Ecclesiæ sive occidentalis sive orientalis consuetudinem. . . . Item, diffinitivus sanctam Apostolicam sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse Beati Petri principis Apostolorum et verum Christi vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput et omnium Christianorum patrem et doctorem existere; et ipsi in Beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis œcumenicorum conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continentur.”

Christ, to feed, to rule, to govern the Universal Church—even as also is contained in the Acts of the Ecumenical Councils and in the sacred canons.”

Union being thus re-established, the Easterns returned to their sees and the Emperor to Constantinople. Metrophanes, who was elected in place of Joseph, who had died at Florence, published the Union, and the Schism was for the moment extinct. But Mark of Ephesus, who had never ceased his opposition in the Council, soon after sowed new seeds of discord. Many monks of Constantinople and its environs joined their clamour to that of the bishop of Ephesus, and as early as 1452 the Pope was obliged to send to Constantinople, Isidore, the primate of Kieff, to appease the disturbances. The Turks, on their side, seeing in the Roman Pontiff their most redoubtable adversary, strove to detach the Christians of the East from Rome. Thus they urged the three Patriarchs of Antioch, of Jerusalem, and of Alexandria to assemble in Council, in 1443, to declare the Act of Union of Florence wicked, and to separate themselves from the Patriarch Metrophanes.*

The fall of the Byzantine Empire and capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II., in 1453, forcibly put an end to all relations between the East and the West. The Turks, continually at war with Western princes, whom the sovereign Pontiffs aided with all their power, exerted themselves to prevent any relations between their Christian subjects and the Latins. Any Patriarch of Constantinople who should have dared publicly to speak of his union and submission to the Pope, would at once have been considered a traitor, and would have exposed his person, his clergy and his people to the greatest trouble, perhaps even to complete extermination. This explains how Gennadius and his three immediate successors were able to occupy the Patriarchal see without manifesting in their words or acts either any trace of schism, or any mention of the union, or of the sovereign Pontiff. A paramount interest, a supreme necessity may at least excuse, if it cannot justify, their conduct.†

The East thus found itself once more in Schism as did, quite recently, the United-Greeks of Chelm, almost without knowing it. Political reasons, not religious motives, brought about the separation. We have a proof of this in the Greek Churches of Sicily, Austria, and Hungary; they were not subjected to the yoke of the Ottoman, and have remained faithful to the union made at Florence. At the present moment Austria alone counts more than four millions of United-Greeks. If further proof is

* Pitzipiós, *opere citato*, p. 59.

† Pitzipiós, p. 74—78.

needed let attention be given to the way in which the nomination of the Patriarch Gennadius was made, and the truth of what we have advanced will be easily understood.

Mahomet II. having rendered his name for ever famous by the capture of Constantinople; having destroyed the beautiful churches of that city; having converted the sumptuous basilica of Saint Sophia into a mosque, and massacred a multitude of Christians, grew terrified at the solitude which he himself had created, and determined to repeople Constantinople. He summoned the Christians thither, gave them back certain churches, and permitted the free exercise of their worship. The patriarchal throne was vacant. Mahomet desired that a Patriarch should be chosen in accordance with ancient customs. George Scholarius, a very learned monk, who had supported the union at Florence, was elected against his own wish. Mahomet claimed for himself the same rights as the schismatical Emperors had claimed for themselves. Seated on a throne magnificently adorned, in the grand hall of the palace, he received the newly elected bishop and placed in his hand the pastoral staff. Then, forgetting that he was a Mussulman, he pronounced, in Greek, the formula adopted by the Emperors: "The most Holy Trinity, who has given me the Empire, makes thee Archbishop of Constantinople—the new Rome—and ecumenical Patriarch." At the same time he clothed the Patriarch with a rich pallium, enjoining on him to govern the Church according to ancient customs, and constituting him head of all his co-religionists, civilly as well as religiously, with the title of "Milet-Bachi" (head of nation), and with orders to keep all Christians in submission and obedience to the new sovereign. After a long discourse, in which the Patriarch explained to the Sultan the Christian teaching, without making mention of the Pope, the Sultan reconducted Gennadius to the door of the Hall of Audience. A horse from the Sultan's stables, richly caparisoned, was led up for the Patriarch, and the grandees of the palace accompanied him as far as the cathedral. A Berat, or diploma, was sent to him, in the name of the Sultan, which conferred on the Patriarch the largest civil and judicial rights over his co-religionists, and exempted him and his successors from all compulsory labour and taxes. The rights and privileges conferred by the Sultans on different Christian communities are, to this day, regulated according to the tenor of this Berat.

In this manner the Sultan put himself in the place of the schismatical Emperors and excluded all intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Greek Church fell again under the domination of the temporal power, and was more enslaved than ever. Simony quickly made itself felt in the nomination of

Patriarchs, and the Byzantine Church, which the union of Florence had raised up, sank once more into schism and worthlessness. The first Patriarch who bought his dignity from the Sultan, was Simeon. In order to obtain it he bound himself to pay a fine, called *karazion*, of a thousand ducats, and to give up the salary which his predecessors had received from the public treasury. And he was supplanted, at the end of a year, by a rival who engaged to pay a *karazion* of two thousand ducats. And this one again, in his turn, was displaced by a third, who bid fifty ducats more. At last the *karazion*, under the Patriarch Joachim, towards the year 1500, had grown to be three thousand five hundred ducats, without counting gratuities and presents of every sort given to the eunuchs of the palace and to other *employés* of the Sublime Porte.*

In order to be able to meet all these expenses the Patriarch levied a money payment in return for the collation of holy orders. Thus, simony spread to every rank of the clergy, and hence came the promotion to ecclesiastical dignities and to the patriarchate of incapable and corrupt subjects. But efforts were made at times, by pious prelates, to heal the Greek Church of the wound of simony. The Patriarch Jeremiah II. (1572-1594), in a numerous Synod, recalled to notice the canonical prescriptions as to the gratuitous collation of orders, and all bishops were forbidden, under pain of deposition, to receive any recompense for conferring sacred orders. It was this same Patriarch Jeremiah who, in 1584, wrote to Gregory XIII. that "it was his (Gregory's) office *as head of the Catholic Church* to point out what means ought to be adopted against the Protestants."†

It is not our purpose here to trace the history of the attitude which, in spite of its schism, the Eastern Church has maintained towards Protestantism. It is known that in four successive Councils she energetically rejected the errors of Luther, of Calvin, and of the other pretended Reformers.

The Patriarch of Constantinople gradually grew weaker under the iron hand of the Sultans. The erection, in 1589, of a Russian patriarchate at Moscow, by Jeremiah II., diminished very notably the influence of the Greek Church upon the Church of Russia. The foundation of the Holy Synod (1721) completely emancipated the Russian Church from the patriarchate of Constantinople. In their turn the Greek Churches claimed

* Lequien, "Oriens Christianus," I. 145 sqq; Pitzipios, *op. cit.*, 2nd part, p. 81, sqq.

† See Schelstrate, "Acta Orientalis Ecclesiæ contra Lutheram," I., 219—252.

their autonomy, and were emancipated in 1833. Thirty-six bishops of Greece, assembled at Nauplia (15-27th July, 1833), defined that the orthodox Oriental Church of Greece recognized no other supreme head than Jesus Christ.* As to the temporal administration of that Church it is subject to the King of Greece, who, as supreme chief, names the members of the Synod which is placed at the head of the whole neo-Greek Church, just as the Tzars nominate the Holy Synod of the Russian Church. More recently the Bulgarians have, in like manner, demanded autonomy. After many difficulties the Churches of Bulgaria are at last subject to an exarch, or primate, who is independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The last war and the Treaty of Berlin have still further diminished the extent of the jurisdiction of the latter.

ORGANIZATION AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople. — The Schismatic Greeks who are subjects of Turkey number 11,000,000 to 12,000,000, inclusive of Bulgarians. Like the Russians, they pretend to be, and call themselves, "Orthodox." Their head is the Patriarch of Constantinople, and he assumes the title of Ecumenical Patriarch. By virtue of the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon† he is superior to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. The last-named administers the patriarchate during a vacancy. The Patriarch is not only spiritual head of all who profess the Greek religion, but also their temporal head, under the supreme sovereignty of the

* Nevertheless the Patriarchs of Constantinople never ceased to assert their rights over Greece. But at last, seeing that their demands were useless, they definitely recognized, in 1868, the autonomy and independence of the Church of Greece.

† This canon reads thus:—"The throne of ancient Rome, because it was the capital of the Empire, was adorned with privileges by the Fathers. For the same motive the hundred and fifty bishops, beloved of God, decide to attribute the same privileges to the throne of New Rome, so that she may enjoy equal privileges with ancient Rome, even in matters ecclesiastical, and thus be raised in honour the second after her. . . ." This same canon extends the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. But this canon, decreed in the absence of the Pope's legates, was never ratified. It is wanting from the "Canonical Collection" of Dionysius Exiguus. The essential part of it is wanting even in a MS. of Moscow, as was noticed by Cardinal Pitra in his great work "Juris Eccles. Græc. Historia et Monumenta," I., 532. The Emperors of Constantinople having arranged the hierarchical order of the Patriarchal Sees thus:—Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem—Innocent III., in the fourth Council of Lateran, ratified it, ordering that every Patriarch should receive the pallium from the Supreme Pontiff, and take an oath of obedience to him.

Sublime Porte. The Ottoman Government does not interfere in the spiritual and interior administration of the different Christian communities of the Empire. The Patriarch is named for life, and cannot be deposed except for the crime of high treason. But the Holy Synod can, in two cases, solicit and obtain of the Government his deposition: 1. for violation of the Orthodox faith; 2. for maladministration of the patriarchate. This last point has often given opening to intrigue and consequent unjust depositions.

*The Holy Synod.**—To assist him in his spiritual and temporal functions the Patriarch has a Council called the Holy Synod, and, in addition, a considerable number of functionaries, lay and ecclesiastical. The Holy Synod is generally composed of twelve bishops of metropolitan rank. The Patriarch may reduce the number to ten, but not lower: he presides over the Synod, and freely chooses its members, except the metropolitans of Heraclea, of Cyzicus, of Nicomedia and of Chalcedon, who, as nearest to the capital, are members by right, and guardians of the patriarchal seal. By reason of this function and of the part which they must continually take in synodal affairs, these four metropolitans have right of residence at Constantinople, and the Patriarch cannot oblige them to return to their dioceses. According to ancient custom, based on the canons, and expressly recognised by the Porte, all patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops who are present in Constantinople, have the right to take part in the deliberations and decisions of the Synod whenever affairs of importance have to be dealt with. Ordinary business is expedited by the Patriarch and the four metropolitan guardians of the seal. Appeals from the decisions of bishops are tried by the Holy Synod; its own judgments are final. The Synod is the natural Council of the Patriarch, who can decide nothing in the general affairs of the Church, spiritual or temporal, without its consent. Its consent is likewise required for the nominations made by the Patriarch to vacant sees. To it alone belongs the right of judging the Patriarch and pronouncing on his culpability or innocence,—except as to high treason, the examination of which charge is reserved to the Divan. In case the Patriarch should be declared guilty, his sentence is notified to the Porte, which, at the request of the Synod, pronounces the deposition of the Patriarch. This right forms the chief prerogative of the Synod. The Synod also regulates the ecclesiastical revenues, and makes their distribution. It has its own seal, formed of four pieces, of

* For all that follows, see Silbernagel, "Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämmtlicher Kirchen des Orients," Landshut, 1865, p. 1—71.

which one is entrusted to the Patriarch and the three others to three metropolitans chosen by the Synod. The meetings of the Synod generally are held on Sundays and festivals after Divine service. Most of the Synodal decrees are rendered operative by an Imperial firman.

Election of the Patriarch.—When the patriarchal see becomes vacant, the members of the Holy Synod, as well as the archbishops and bishops present in Constantinople, assemble in the Patriarchal Palace situated in the Fanar (Greek Quarter), in the hall called *Synodicon*. Here, in the presence of a Government commissary, they proceed by vote to the choice of three candidates. Formerly the candidates might be taken from the ranks of the inferior clergy; at the present day they must have the dignity of metropolitans. This election completed, the result is directly communicated to the “Community” assembled in the court of the Synodicon. The Community, or Nation, is composed of dignitaries of the Patriarchal Palace, both cleric and lay, of notables chosen from the upper merchant class and the *bourgeoisie*, and of heads of corporations. The Community mark that one of the three candidates whom they accept by the ancient acclamation “Axios” (ἄξιος, worthy). The Act is at once prepared and signed. The Synod immediately transmits the result to the Porte. The latter, after the payment of a sufficiently large “karazion,” grants the Berat, or diploma of investiture, in which the powers and privileges of the Patriarch are determined and detailed. The day after the election, the newly-elect pays an official visit to the Grand Vizier, who delivers to him his Berat, and, according to ancient usage, gives him, as presents, rich ornaments, a pastoral staff of elegant workmanship, and a white horse. Then the Patriarch calls upon the other ministers to make his official visit, and then comes the enthronization, which takes place with great pomp at the cathedral. When the *cortége* arrives at the door of the cathedral, the secretary of the Grand Vizier reads the Berat, and the procession then enters. The metropolitan of Heraclea presides at the ceremony: this right comes to him from ancient date; for anciently the Bishop of Constantinople was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Heraclea. The latter conducts the Patriarch to his throne and seats him in it three times: at each time the assembly repeat the cry “Axios;” and at the same time the celebrant sends the Patriarch his mitre and pastoral staff.* A solemn Mass ends the ceremony.

Jurisdiction of the Patriarch.—As we have already said, the Patriarch is at the same time spiritual and temporal chief of the

* The patriarchal staff differs from the crosier of our bishops.

Schismatical Greek community of the whole Empire. He has, therefore, two jurisdictions, the spiritual and the temporal. The first extends over all the dioceses of Turkey in Europe, and over all those dioceses of Turkey in Asia which are outside the patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. In recent times the exarchates of Bulgaria and Montenegro made themselves autonomous, as Greece had done already. The canons regulate the spiritual powers of the Patriarch. He is the supreme authority in the Church, makes laws, governs, and administers. He also settles disputes arising in the dioceses, always with the assistance of his Council. Both priests and people greatly fear his excommunications, because they are thereby deprived of all defence before Mussulmans; and if they die without having been absolved are deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture.

The *Berat* details his principal powers as follows:—

The Patriarch has the direction of the Orthodox Greek churches and monasteries, and the superintendence of their financial administration. He may, at his pleasure, nominate and depose the archbishops and bishops. It is on his proposition that the Porte grants the *Berats* necessary to newly-nominated bishops. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem cannot come to the capital without the permission of the Patriarch and his Synod.

The Patriarch and his Vicar have the entire duties on marriages and wills.

The Patriarch has the right of inflicting penalties on members of the clergy conformably to the canons of the Church. All the faithful are rigorously bound to obedience to the Patriarch, who can strike them with excommunication and refuse them ecclesiastical burial.

The Patriarch has, besides, right of *stauropigion** in all his dioceses, and the exclusive power of consecrating the holy chrism.

As temporal head, the Patriarch has various civil and judicial duties. He can cite delinquents to appear before his tribunal (*κριτηριον*) and inflict correctional punishment on them. He has, in consequence, his police (*kawas*) and his special prison. His tribunal, presided over by himself or his protosyncellus, sits twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays. The sittings are public. All civil disputes between Greeks are brought before his court and judged by the Byzantine law, such as it existed under the Emperors. Mixed cases between Greeks and Turks belong to Mussulman courts. We know of what injustice the Christians have been the victims in these latter courts, where the

* That is to say, of planting a cross in the spot where the altar is to be placed, of a church or monastery which it is desired to build. The church or monastery is subject to him who planted the cross.

Mussulmans are always right and Christians always wrong. The Treaty of Berlin has introduced various modifications in favour of the Christians in this matter of administering justice. Article 62 stipulates that "all subjects of the Sultan are admitted, without distinction of religion, to give testimony before the tribunals." There are particular stipulations for Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, and the island of Crete. Formerly Christians were not admitted to give testimony in Mussulman courts at all. The judiciary power of the Patriarch no longer extends to Bulgaria (now an autonomy); it is and will be further modified, or even suppressed, for Eastern Roumelia, Crete, and Cyprus, according as judiciary organization develops itself. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the administration being under Austria, the temporal power of the Patriarch of Constantinople will necessarily diminish, if not die out.

It should be carefully noted that in all these matters, whether civil or religious, the Patriarch must act in concert with his Synod. All the Patriarchal ordinances, before they are valid in the eyes of the Government, must bear the seal of the Synod.

Revenue and Expenses.—The revenues of the Patriarchate are very considerable. First, possessions left behind by metropolitans, bishops, unmarried priests, monks and religious dying without legal heirs, fall to the Patriarch. If the persons just enumerated leave heirs, the Patriarch has a claim only to church goods entered in the sacristy. But these persons may make a legacy in favour of the Patriarch, and this may extend to a third of their fortune. Bishops and monasteries subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the Patriarch pay him an annual contribution. Each priest of the province pays annually a sequin or a ducat; and lay people a tax of ten *aspers*. Add to this the installation dues from metropolitans and bishops, which rise from 150 to 750 *pounds* sterling, ordination dues, collation of benefices, marriage and funeral fees in his own diocese, chancellor's dues, law costs, and offerings of the faithful whether in money or in kind, as silk, honey, wine, oil and provisions. The Patriarch, his agent at the Ottoman Court, and fifteen persons of his entourage, are exempt from the *harady* and other taxes. But, in return, the Patriarch must pay the public treasury an annual royalty of 20,000 piastres and the tax *kalemeye*, that is, the tithes. To which add the expense of supporting soldiers of guard, and of his investiture presents and the other presents he must make in different circumstances to Turkish ministers and functionaries.

The Patriarchal Court.—The Patriarch has a numerous household to help him in the ecclesiastical and civil administration. We may enumerate: 1. *The Grand Econome* (*μεγας*

οικονομος), charged with the administration of the property and the receiving of the revenues, as also with the presentation of subjects to be admitted to holy orders; 2. *The Grand Visitor* (μεγας σακελλαριος), whose office it is to make a visitation of the monasteries of men twice a year. A second visitor is charged with the convents of women; 3. *The Grand Sacristan* (σκευοφυλαξ), the guardian of the Holy Synod; 4. *The Grand Chartophylax*, who is occupied with ecclesiastical causes; 5. *The Prothonotary*, who has in his care wills, contracts, and the correspondence of the Patriarch; 6. *The Grand Logothete* (μεγας λογοθετης), one of the most influential persons in the Patriarchal Court, and about whom we must say a word. The Grand Logothete is a layman chosen by the Patriarch and his Synod from among the nobility of the Greek community. He is the Political Agent of the Patriarchate at the Ottoman Porte. He cannot enter on his duties until he has been received by the Porte. He represents the Patriarch with the Government in all temporal matters; all official communications of the Patriarch with the Government pass through his hands and must be sanctioned by him. He countersigns the Synodal Decrees for the nomination of metropolitans and bishops; and these decrees have no legal force until so signed by him. Among the Patriarchal functionaries we may also name the *Protecdicos* (προτεκδικος), who, with his twelve assistant judges, forms a special court charged with judging cases of minor importance and referring such as ought to be referred to the Patriarch. The Patriarch has also his assistants for the religious offices, and the above-mentioned officials have their assigned places in the choir. All priests, under pain of suspension, must, at Mass, proclaim aloud the name of the Patriarch from the ambo. The present Patriarch of Constantinople has taken the name of Joachim III. He was elected in 1878. His authority is weakened and narrowed with that of the Ottoman Porte, on which he depends.

The other Patriarchs.—The lamentable condition of the Schismatic-Greek Churches of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, reduced to a few thousands of faithful, makes these ancient patriarchates now count for almost nothing. But, from a purely ecclesiastical point of view, they still preserve their ancient prerogatives. They are independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople; they have, like him, their synods, their officials, though on a smaller scale, and the spiritual prerogatives granted to their patriarchates by the canons. They also receive their Berat of investiture; but they cannot obtain it except by the mediation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and it is only by means of him that they can have relations with the Ottoman Government and exercise any civil authority.

The first place, after the Patriarch of Constantinople, belongs to the Patriarch of Alexandria, whose jurisdiction extends over Egypt, Lybia, Nubia, and Arabia. He can count scarcely more than 5,000 subjects. The Patriarch of Antioch occupies the next place in rank. His jurisdiction extends over Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Isauria, and other Asiatic provinces, and the number of his subjects, since the island of Cyprus was made a separate archbishopric, may amount to 28,000. Formerly this patriarchate numbered 150,000 souls. The Patriarch of Jerusalem holds under his jurisdiction the Holy Places, with 15,000 souls. He does not reside in his diocese, but at Constantinople, near the Fanar. The business of the Patriarchate is done by three bishops, living at the great Greek convent, and having the title of Patriarchal Vicars. These bishops, with the others of the province and the Archimandrites of the monasteries, compose the Patriarchal Synod. This Synod names the Patriarch whenever the See becomes vacant. In 1843 the Patriarch of Constantinople wished to arrogate to himself the nomination, but the Synod resisted, and gained its cause after a contest of two years.

Archbishops and Bishops.—There are now few ecclesiastical provinces and archbishoprics with suffragans in Turkey, so that the title of archbishop or of metropolitan is often no more than a title of honour. The archbishops and bishops are named by the Patriarch and his Synod, and receive through him the Berat by which the Porte invests them with their charge and fixes their rights and privileges. Their deposition has no legal force until it is invested with the seal of the Holy Synod. As the archbishops and bishops are restricted to celibacy, it follows that they are necessarily nearly always taken from the monks. In ordinations the *interstitia* must be observed. At least three months must elapse between the priesthood and the episcopate. Promotion to the episcopate cannot take place before the age of thirty years; an irreproachable life and sufficient knowledge of the Holy Scripture and the canons are required. The assistance of three bishops is requisite at the consecration of a bishop. Formerly the consecrating prelate was the metropolitan; at present it is the Patriarch, because the metropolitans are scarcely considered more than simple bishops.

After receiving the Berat which the Porte grants them, the bishops administer their dioceses as freely as the Patriarch does his own. Their powers are regulated by the canons received by the Greek Church. These canons are to be found gathered together in the *Nomocanon* of Photius, in the *Collection* of Balsamon, of Zonares and of Blasteras. According to these canons a bishop has absolute power over his clergy; it is his

duty to confer orders, and to appoint to cures, and to the various ecclesiastical offices. He is forbidden, under pain of deposition, to ordain a cleric who is not of his own diocese. To a bishop falls the burden of caring for his flock, instructing them, and inflicting canonical penalties. Therefore, it is necessary that he should reside in the midst of his subjects. An absence of six months, not justified by legitimate motives, brings on him the penalty of deposition. But a bishop whose Church has fallen into the hands of Infidels may be promoted to another Church. The administration of ecclesiastical property belongs to the bishop, who cannot alienate anything, more particularly real estate. He has under his jurisdiction all the monasteries of his diocese, except those which are immediately dependent on the Patriarch; and no new monastery can be built without his permission.

Revenues and Special Powers.—In every parish a collection is made annually for the bishop. A commission of four or five laymen gather the offerings, going from house to house, to every family. These offerings are of wheat, oil, wine, silk, &c. Each pays besides for the *canonicon* ten to twelve aspers. Each priest of the diocese pays annually a ducat to the bishop. Each cure pays the *Batiki*; that is to say, 20 paras a family. The ordination dues are from 100 to 300 piastres. Besides these there are the tax for dispensations, the dues for marriages, burials, the blessing of water on Epiphany Day, and the *honoraria* for Masses. All these united form, for some bishops, a large revenue: thus the metropolitan of Smyrna enjoys an annual revenue of a million-and-a-half of piastres.

The name of the diocesan bishop must be proclaimed from the ambo at Mass, as is done for that of the Patriarch. The bishop wears, for the pontifical offices, the particular ornaments special to the Greek Church: outside the church he dresses always in the monastic habit. From a political point of view the metropolitans and bishops exercise, in the provinces in which their dioceses are situated, considerable influence, because they form part of the administrative Council of the Vilayet. The regulation of 1868 has special ordinances for the isle of Crete.

The archbishops and bishops, like the Patriarch, have their synod and their *employés*, more or less numerous according to the importance and condition of their diocese. They have a *Protosyncellus*, who performs the functions of the Latin Vicar-General, and a *Protopresbyter*, who holds the place of the ancient Chorepiscopi, visits the churches of the diocese, watches over the clergy, installs the *curés* named by the bishop, and executes episcopal sentences. The protopresbyters resemble very much

our deans or archpriests. The *Chartophylax*, or chancellor, receives wills, and is occupied with all that regards the civil administration. Hence he enjoys great importance. The synod is formed of the dignitaries above mentioned, and of the notables chosen by the community. The bishop, or his protosyncellus, presides over it: it judges civil and religious cases according to the Byzantine *Nomocanon*.* Mixed cases between Turks and Christians, and criminal cases, belong to the Mussulman tribunals.

Under the impulse given by the Patriarch George VI., and by the Holy Synod, there has been formed in every diocese (after the pattern of what was done in the diocese of Constantinople) an ecclesiastical commission composed of three members, who assemble on certain days to treat of ecclesiastical affairs. The first is concerned with ordinations, and examines the qualities of the candidates for sacred orders. The second watches over the sale and publication of books; no book can be published without his *imprimatur*. He also overlooks the administration of the Sacraments. The third has the schools under his care: these he carefully visits,—for, we may remark, the Christians have their own schools, and the Mussulmans do not at all interfere with them. He also overlooks the preaching of Christian doctrine.

The Parochial Clergy.—The clergy of a parish consist of a *Proestos*, or *curé*, whose work is to baptize, marry, and perform the funeral services; of a *Pneumaticos*, or Confessor, who is approved by the bishop; and of an *Ephemerios*, who celebrates mass and recites the canonical hours. In poor parishes there is only one priest, with a deacon or a simple lector. Cures are readily conferred by the bishops, or, to speak more correctly, they are sold; for simony has infected, with its pernicious poison, every ecclesiastical charge. The revenues of the parochial clergy are meagre. They are reduced to the yearly assessment of each parishioner, and the stole-fees, which amount to very little. Thus from five to ten piastres is given for a baptism, three to five for a funeral, and five piastres for a requiem Mass.

As the priests are, in general, married, they cannot support their families on these slender resources, and they are obliged to perform manual labour, and, in defiance of canonical prohibitions, to follow a trade, or at least to cultivate the fields, which renders them contemptible in the eyes of the Turks. From this it may easily be inferred that they are uneducated and very ignorant. They are taught to read and write in a monastery,

* The *Nomocanon* is called *πηδαλιον*. An edition of it was published at Leipzig in 1800, by order of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

and they know the ceremonies of the Church,—and that is all. People who declaim against the celibacy of priests, will surely not pretend that marriage has elevated the Greek clergy; and the Easterns, who so loudly inveighed at the Council of Florence against celibacy, have themselves given it its condemnation, for they require celibacy in their bishops. But if celibacy is not against nature for bishops, who live in the world just as do the parochial clergy, why should it be for these clergy themselves? It should be remarked, too, that the marrying which the Church, in condescension to human frailty, permits to the Eastern clergy, is subjected to certain conditions. Sacred orders may be conferred on a married man who may remain a married man; but once raised to the priesthood, the priest can never afterwards contract marriage, and should he become a widower, he cannot re-marry. Consequently, those who aspire to sacred orders take care to get married beforehand. It is forbidden to raise to the priesthood a cleric who has married a dishonoured girl. All the Eastern priests wear their beards.

Monasteries.—There are many Greek monasteries of men and of women in Turkey. They all belong to either the order of St. Basil or of St. Anthony; those of the order of St. Basil are the more numerous. The order of St. Anthony has monasteries only in the Lebanon, at Sinai, and on the shores of the Red Sea. The monks' habit consists of a long robe of coarse stuff, a leathern belt, a cloak, a scapular and a hood (*κουκουλιον*) ornamented with five crosses. This hood covers the head in the form of a cap, and then falls and covers the shoulders with a species of mantle. The monks wear their hair long, and their beards, and have a large tonsure on the top of their heads. Most of them are laics. Those who are priests have the title of Hieromonachoi (*ιερομοναχοι*).

The greater part of the monks lead a cenobitic life, that is to say, they live in community. There are now no more solitaries, or hermits, except on Mount Athos. There are there large monasteries called *Lauras* (*λαυραι*), wherein each of the monks has a separate dwelling, and they assemble together in the common refectory only on great feasts. The abbot of a monastery has the title of *Hegumenos* (*ηγουμενος*), and the abbot of one of the large monasteries is called an archimandrite. The monks may never use flesh meat, and on fast days are forbidden the use of fish, eggs, oil, and milk foods: they are bound to the canonical hours and have to remain in choir the entire night before certain great feasts. For the rest, they divide their time between the reading of Holy Scripture and work. A monk may not go from one monastery to another; but he may quit the religious life with the permission of his superior. A woman

who should lodge in a monastery of men would incur excommunication; the same would be the case with a man in a monastery of women. But entrance into monasteries of men is permitted to women for purposes of cleaning and washing, and the "enclosure" in houses of women is not very strict. Like the monks, the nuns follow the rule of St. Basil.

Greek Rites.—The liturgical offices in the Greek churches and monasteries of Turkey, except with the Slavs and Roumanians, are performed in the Greek tongue, and according to special rites that are very ancient and most solemn. The liturgical books of the Greeks are:—the "Horologion," a sort of Breviary which contains the offices and prayers of the canonical hours; the "Triodion," which contains the offices of Lent, beginning with Septuagesima, on to Holy Saturday inclusive; the "Pentecostarion," for the offices of Paschal time, from Easter Day to the octave day of Pentecost inclusively; the "Heortologion," or Calendar, which indicates the feasts, ferias, and fasts of the Greek Church; the "Typicon," or "Ordo," which points out the order of prayers at the Divine office; the "Menæa," which contains the lives of the saints recognised and honoured by the Eastern Church; lastly, the principal book, the "Euchology," contains the rites and prayers for the Mass and the administration of the Sacraments. The Dominican Father Goar published an edition of the last named at Paris in 1647.

The Church of Constantinople uses for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice two liturgies (*λειτουργίαι*); that bearing the name of St. Chrysostom and that of St. Basil. The liturgy of St. Chrysostom is the ordinary one, and serves all the year round, and contains the ordo of all Masses and all the rubrics. That of St. Basil contains neither the order of the different prayers nor the rubrics, because these are found in the ordinary liturgy. It is used only on certain fixed days. During Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays, the priest does not consecrate, and there is no Mass, properly speaking; he celebrates with a host consecrated on the previous Sunday. This they call the liturgy or Mass of the "presanctified:" the Latin Church follows this usage only on Good Friday. Of course, the Greek Church celebrates with leavened bread. Like the Latin Church, she has three classes of feasts besides Sundays: feasts of our Lord, of our Lady, of the Saints. The feasts of our Blessed Lord and His Holy Mother are nearly the same in both rites, except that the Epiphany or Theopany, which is celebrated on January 6th, has, with the Greeks, only one object: the manifestation of Jesus Christ at the moment of his baptism in the Jordan. In memory of this event the "Solemn Blessing of Water" takes place in the Greek Church on this day.

Formerly this ceremony took place at midnight, with the church brilliantly illuminated: the baptism of catechumens followed, and each one took home a small phial of the blessed water, which, on the authority of St. Chrysostom, was said to remain pure the whole year. At present the Greeks bless the rivers and streams on Epiphany Day, and as soon as the blessing is over, men and women plunge into the river, and immerse themselves three times. The Latins have always included in the feast of Epiphany the adoration of the Magi, the miracle of Cana, and the baptism of our Lord; the Greeks, on the contrary, join the adoration of the Magi to the feast of Christmas. This usage is very ancient in the Eastern Churches, as may be seen from the writings of St. Ephrem.* Just as in the Latin Church, flesh meat is allowed when Christmas Day falls on a Friday, so, in the Greek Church, meat is allowed when Epiphany Day falls on either a Wednesday or a Friday.

In the Greek rite, on the day following each feast of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, they celebrate the memory of the Saints who took part in the mystery of such feast. Thus, on the day following Epiphany is celebrated the commemoration of St. John Baptist; on the day following, the Purification, which they call *Hypapante* ("Meeting," because St. Simeon met our Saviour), is consecrated to St. Simeon. With the Greeks, as with the Latins, the greater feasts have their vigils with fast; but, in addition, the Greeks have, for the Epiphany and great solemnities, what they call *Proertia*, or ante-feast. The proertia of the Epiphany is kept on January 2nd.

The rites followed by the Greeks in the administration of the Sacraments may be seen in Goar's edition of the "Euchology." We could not enter into details without stretching our Article beyond bounds: we must confine ourselves to a few general observations. The Greeks baptize by immersion, and require triple immersion, which is not at all, though they have maintained it is, required for the validity of baptism; this Catholic theologians have long ago incontestably demonstrated. Directly after baptism, the priest, not the bishop, administers confirmation. The Greeks do not rank the sub-diaconate among Sacred Orders. Marriage is surrounded with touching ceremonies, and the tie is indissoluble; though they pretend that it may be dissolved for adultery. The difficulties they raised on this subject at the Council of Florence are well known. Pope Eugenius IV. refused to consent to legitimising divorces that had been granted for this motive.† Impediments to marriage from rela-

* I propose shortly to publish the "Hymns" of this great Syrian writer on the feast of the Epiphany.

† *Vide* Harduin, "Collect. Concil." x., 430-431.

tionship are more numerous with the Greeks than with the Latins.

Canonical Discipline.—The basis of Greek Canon Law is still, at present, the Apostolic Canons; the Apostolic Constitutions; the Canons of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and of Trullo; of the particular Councils of Gangres, Laodicea, and Antioch; the Canonical Letters of the Bishops;* the Council of Photius, and the Synodal Decrees of the Schismatical Patriarchs. All these documents, except the latter ones, equally form part of the Canon Law of the United-Greeks. Mgr. Pap-Szilagyi has given a methodical *résumé* of them in his “Enchiridion Juris Eccles. Orient.” We have already touched upon several points of general discipline; we may add here something regarding the fast and feast observances of the people. The Greeks have numerous and very severe fasts; but they do not fast on Saturday, and formerly, under Photius (and later still), have blamed the Latins for abstaining on that day. Their reproach falls to the ground before an acquaintance with the reasons that urged the Western Church to abstain from flesh-meat on Saturdays; and this difference of discipline ought to have no weight whatever in preventing a union of the two Churches. Conformably to the 69th Canon of the Apostles, the Greeks fast on Wednesday and Friday of every week, with a few exceptions. They have Lent, as we have. They have also the “Fast of the Mother of God,” from the 1st to the 15th of August; the fast of Christmas, from the 15th November to the 24th December; the fast of the holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, from the first Sunday after Pentecost to the 28th June, and various vigils. The fast of Wednesdays and Fridays, and that of Lent, resembles the Western fast of Good Friday. It includes a rigorous abstinence called by them *zerophagia* (ξεροφαγία);† the use of meat, fish, eggs, wine, milk, beer, cheese, oil, is rigidly forbidden. But wine and oil are often permitted when a feast falls on one of those days—fish more rarely. The other fasts are less rigorous.

In the Eastern, as in the Western Church, the faithful must sanctify the Sunday by assisting at Mass and by abstaining from work—that is, from what is called servile work. They must sanctify, in like manner, a number of other feasts: the

* All these documents are collected by Cardinal Pitra in his great work, “Juris Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monumenta,” Rome, 1864. Only two volumes have appeared.

† “Concil. Laod.” can. 50:—“Οportet totam quadragesimam jejunare *vescentes aridis*, δει—νηστευειν ξεροφαγούνας.”

Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, the second days of Easter and Pentecost, the Transfiguration, and Christmas; these feasts of our Lady—the Purification, Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation, the Immaculate Conception—which they call the conception of St. Anne, and the Assumption—the Nativity of St. John, the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, of St. Elias, St. George, St. Michael, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and some others. But the number of feasts to be observed is not the same with the different nations of the Greek rite. There are other feasts on which it is obligatory to hear Mass, but work is permitted.

It remains for us to sketch, in a future Article, the history of the Russian Church, and to examine what are the general motives which separate all the Churches of the Greek rite from the Latin Church.

T. J. LAMY.

ART. III.—THE APOSTLE OF IRELAND AND HIS
MODERN CRITICS.

1. *Confessio et Epistola Sancti Patricii.* *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, xvii. p. 533. Antwerpæ, 1668.
2. *Triadis Thaumaturgæ seu divorum Patricii Columbæ et Brigidæ acta.* Colganus. Lovanii, 1647.
3. *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres.* Auctore Carolo O'Conor, S.T.D. Buckinghamiæ, 1825.
 - (a) *Tigernachi Annales Hibernici.* Ex Codice Bodleiano.
 - (b) *Annales Ultonienses.* Ex Codice Bodleiano.
 - (c) *Annales Quatuor Magistrorum.* Ex ipso O'Clerii autographo.
4. *Essays on the Origin, &c., of the Early Irish Church.* By the Rev. Dr. MORAN. Dublin. 1864.
5. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. A Memoir of his Life and Mission.* By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D. Dublin. 1864.
6. *Loca Patriciana.* By the Rev. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN. Dublin. 1879.

IN the mind of a Catholic devotion to the saints is a personal matter, and it is strong in proportion to his faith. People, therefore, who look on faith as nothing more than a formal adherence to a dead creed, introduced once for all and then left to take care of itself, are puzzled at our expressions of indignation when outrages are offered to the

memory of the saints, or when they are treated as so many lifeless ornaments of the Church, to be put up and taken down, or painted, according to fancy. But if nations are jealous of the honour of their poets and heroes, with much better reason may we be sensitive in all that regards the glory of the just made perfect, whose words and deeds are at once a revelation of our own supernatural destiny and the support of our efforts to attain it.

Besides these claims upon our love and gratitude which are common to all, there are others which are special and personal, such as the obligations each one is under to that Saint to whom he owes the inheritance of his faith. In the order of God's providence, the virtues and labours, the sufferings and endurance of one man continue to act upon countless generations. Perhaps in no part of Christendom is this more manifest than in Ireland. St. Patrick has had no successor in his apostolic office: fourteen hundred years ago he contracted his mystical espousals with the Church of Ireland, and no union of pastor and flock has ever been more fruitful, or gives better promise of endurance. During those ages Ireland has been convulsed and torn by internal and external enemies—or rather, we should say, by invaders so persistent that they came to be regarded as one with her inhabitants. Centuries of savage wars with Danes were soon followed by others scarcely less savage with Normans and Saxons; so that for a thousand years Ireland scarcely tasted the blessings of peace. Then came a time more fatal still to the moral character of a nation, for religion and law were converted into vile instruments of corruption and oppression; when, in the words of Sydney Smith, “such jobbing, such profligacy, so much direct tyranny and oppression, such an abuse of God's gifts, such profanation of God's name for the purposes of bigotry and party spirit, cannot be exceeded in the history of civilised Europe.”*

At length in our own times peace was proclaimed in Ireland, and she had time to count her losses, and to estimate the ravages of those wars and social struggles which had all the deplorable consequences of civil strife.

She had much cause for mourning in the wild and lawless spirit of her children—the natural growth, in latter times, of their despairing surrender of all hope of even-handed legal justice. But at the same time she found a people second to none in the courage of its men and the purity of its women, those virtues by which nations live; and looking back into the dark and terrible past for the source of her life and the secret

* “Essays,” p. 313.

of its endurance, she traced the preservation of hope, and of all that made life beautiful, to that religion which flowed like an unbroken river of light from the heart of the Apostle and Founder of her faith.

The clients of the Saint may therefore be pardoned if they find it hard to keep within the bounds of literary courtesy in dealing with those writers who, as we shall see, by their random and incoherent theories and flagrant misuse of ancient authorities, have tried to convert the history of St. Patrick into a theatre for the display of feats of historical legerdemain. For a long time Ireland has been deluged with such productions, which are an outrage at once to logic and common sense, to the Irish Church, and to the filial loyalty of the children of St. Patrick.

The work which we have set before us is to give our readers some idea of the character and value of the ancient *acta*, or records of St. Patrick, and of the evidence in support of the Catholic tradition regarding the Saint, as opposed to the Protestant view, which, we are sorry to say, has enlisted some Catholics amongst its supporters. Perhaps this will be done more satisfactorily if we consider, in the first place, the general objections which have been raised against the credibility of the records of the Saint. In this way, while our conclusions will come out more clearly, we may also hope to secure the attention of those who are at present inclined to regard the subject as hopelessly involved; and if our plan gives an appearance of vagueness to our preliminary remarks, it is to be hoped that this will be corrected by the conclusion.

We need not fear contradiction when we state that it is the common belief, not only in Ireland but all over the Christian world, that in the fifth century Ireland was rapidly and completely evangelised by St. Patrick, and that God, in sending him to preach the gospel, invested him with those supernatural powers which are usually attached to the plenitude of the apostolic office. Other saints, with less authentic testimony to their lives and work, reign in peace above our altars. Why is it, then, that controversy so rages around the name of St. Patrick? We unhesitatingly answer—because a host of modern writers have dealt with his life in a manner which, were it universal, would make short work not only with Saints' lives, but with a great part of secular biography.

The objections of the adversaries of the Catholic tradition may be classified under three heads:—

1. Discrepancies in the various lives and records of the Saint.
2. Number and character of his miracles.
3. His superhuman work.

In the first place, it is obvious that the more numerous

are the narratives concerning any person or event, the more there is reason to expect discrepancies: and if these narratives were written at various periods, and in different countries, and are preserved in old manuscripts, which have passed through the hands of many transcribers, we have still stronger reasons for anticipating confusion. All these difficulties meet us in the records of St. Patrick. Jocelyn, who wrote his life, A.D. 1185, tells us that, before his time, sixty-six different lives of the Saint had been written, most of which had been destroyed in the Danish invasions. Of these, six only have come down to us, and it is not certain that all these have been composed by natives of Ireland. Moreover, we have records of the Saint in several ancient annals of England and Gaul, as well as of Ireland. We have very little evidence as to the comparative value of his biographies, and we also know that the historic monuments of the world, during St. Patrick's time, and for some centuries after his death, were almost as chaotic as the times themselves. He was contemporary with Alaric, Attila, and Genseric in Italy; with Clovis and the Franks in Gaul; with the Saxon invasion of Britain; he was in relations with these three countries, and it will be time enough to try the several narratives of his long life by rigid principles of criticism, when "scientific history" shall have harmonised the records of this volcanic age. In the meantime, if they are chosen as a field for the exercise of what, in reference to these writers, O'Curry calls "critical pedantry,"* the ground soon gives way; but the disappearance of the critic does not compensate for the discredit cast upon the life of St. Patrick. It may also be observed that it is writers far from being competent to master ancient Irish manuscripts, who are boldest and most dogmatic in their theories, in which, however, they are carrying on a mere modern tradition with superficial and second-hand erudition. In this, as in all profound and intricate questions, we may measure a critic's attainments by his diffidence. Real scholars like O'Curry and Hennessy have avoided theories; they have left the Life of St. Patrick in its place as part of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. It is on this that we mainly insist. Alone, in the midst of ruins, the Church of Ireland has preserved the integrity of her life and traditions: they are inseparably bound up with St. Patrick, and the fact that discrepancies are found where records are so numerous, only points to the necessity of adhering to those narratives which are in accordance with the traditions of the Church. A great part of the very best biographies must be taken on the faith of the writer: in

* "MS. Materials of Irish History," p. 342.

any life, however prominent, circumstances which are purely personal must stand by themselves; they cannot be balanced and checked like those great events which enter into a nation's life, and are corroborated by the concurrent testimony of all that makes up that life.

St. Patrick was sixty years of age when consecrated bishop by Pope St. Celestine, A.D. 432: and it is from that time that his public history begins. We cannot expect that the life of one residing as an ecclesiastical student, or simple priest, in various parts of Europe, could be accurately followed by the very imperfectly educated writers who composed the Saint's biographies. Some parts of his history can be tested and verified by collateral evidence, such as his connection with St. Martin of Tours, and St. Germanus of Auxerre. On these points the statements of the Irish writers are corroborated by the traditions of the church at Tours, and the testimony of the biographer of St. Germanus; but the wearisome discussions of Lanigan, Todd, and others on the incidents of travel, and the localities visited by St. Patrick, at this period of his life, have only served to mystify their readers. Again, although St. Patrick's life from the year 432 is both the starting point and the foundation of the history of the Church in Ireland, so far as it is supported and verified by her traditions; still, writers strain it too far when they try to make it bear the weight of the secular, as well as religious history of the period. The term "Patrician literature," now in common use, very aptly expresses the state of things as regards the life of the Saint. We take up some book on the subject, and at once we find ourselves, as it were, in a bazaar into which archæological disquisitions, genealogies, and the family histories of obscure individuals are imported. The vast and unexplored treasures of Irish antiquarian lore are a snare to writers who are inclined to prolixity, and a great part of the confusion in "Patrician literature" is to be attributed to the style of its writers: the Saint's own story is short and simple, when it is allowed to speak for itself.

If it occurs to the reader that up to this we have taken rather the line of apology than of argument, we are quite ready to plead guilty. In ancient Irish ecclesiastical history we sorely feel the want of an historian like Venerable Bede, one living near the times of which he wrote, and capable of welding into one the works of inferior writers. We regret that Irish archæology is still a virgin forest, penetrated by very few, who warn us that we may easily lose our way therein; but after all this is nothing more than the apology which has to be made for a great part of ancient history. In spite of the confidence of historians in themselves, and their authorities, oral tradition, and the logic

of a nation's common sense, will often have as much, or even more authority than critical investigations on ground which is unprepared. When, therefore, we take historical critics at their real value—when we find the unbroken history and tradition of the Church, which have a sequence and stability that no secular history can possess, with the *consensus* of successive generations of the faithful in Ireland, all bearing witness to St. Patrick—we come to the conclusion that the repeated assaults made on his history by modern writers must be attributed either to controversial or critical extravagance.

We believe in St. Patrick's history for the same reasons and with the same certainty as we believe in that of his relative and contemporary, St. Martin of Tours. Four Fathers of the Church have written lives of this great Saint; he was in constant relations with the most prominent personages of the age in Italy, Gaul, and at the court of the Emperor; yet we can arrive at hardly any chronological order as to the events of his life; even the date of his death is a matter of dispute, in which we find Tillemont and the Bollandists, with the traditions of the churches of Tours and Milan, arrayed against Baronius and others. Such imperfections have brought no discredit on the acts of St. Martin, and we may therefore claim the same toleration for those of St. Patrick.

The way in which even Catholic writers have assailed the acts of St. Patrick, on the score of the number and character of his miracles, affords another instance of the exceptional treatment which the Saint receives. Most of his miracles are precisely of the same character as those we find in the lives of other saints, under similar circumstances. He healed the sick, the blind, and the lame, and raised the dead; and, considering the results, we see no more reason for suspecting these things in St. Patrick's case than in that of any other apostolic saint. The resuscitation of the dead is the most astounding of miracles, and St. Patrick is said to have brought thirty-three persons to life. It is true that the evidence of these miracles was never juridically investigated; but neither their character nor number surprises us when we find twenty-four similar miracles proved at the canonization of St. Francis Xavier, as worked by the saint in his lifetime; while, as early as the year 1715, *twenty-seven* additional resurrections were recognized at Rome as obtained by the invocation of the saint.*

One of the latest writers on the life of St. Patrick, the Rev. J. O'Hanlon, is as unmeasured as Dr. Lanigan in his language concerning the "incredible fictions" and "fables" related in the

* Giry, "Vies des Saints," 3 Décembre.

ancient lives of St. Patrick. Jocelyn is the special object of his indignation. He characterizes his work as "better adapted for gratifying weak, ignorant, and imbecile minds, than for forming the religious sentiment or for improving the understanding of persons living in a critical or an enlightened age."* Yet he confesses that Jocelyn did little more than put into good Latin what he found in the most ancient sources. For our own part we are simple enough to rejoice that Jocelyn belonged to that school of biographers who have confidence in the discretion of their readers, and can trust them with an unvarnished narrative, free from moral reflections and warnings. His life of St. Patrick has been published by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*; and we may gather from this that his work has found favour with the critical as well as the "imbecile"—more favour, probably, than if he had assumed the ambitious office of "forming the religious sentiment of his age."† Jocelyn tells us that he had carefully collected and reproduced matter which he found in the writings of the disciples and contemporaries of the Saint. They described what they themselves had seen, or received from credible witnesses. People whose first principles lead to the denial of supernatural interpositions and events, are unreasonably indignant; the old chroniclers did not write for such readers. It may also be added, that the results of St. Patrick's miracles are in accordance with the analogy of the faith. Like those of Christ and His Apostles, they have produced an immense and a divine revolution in every sphere of life in Ireland; and, if his biographers could defend themselves, they would probably say that so far as their writings have contributed to perpetuate early Christian traditions, and stamp the image of St. Patrick on the Irish people, they need not repent of the result. Irish Catholicity and the Apostle of Ireland have had more than their share of the scorn of the unbeliever. For centuries, like all things Irish, they have been out of court, and the insolent historical dogmatism of Gibbon and his school has had it all its own way, and still imposes upon many who ought to know better. Gibbon

* "Lives of Irish Saints," pp. 406, 407, 413, 415.

† Jocelyn's work, in many places, reads like a collection of evidence for a process of canonization, and it must not be supposed that the Bollandists were prepared to vouch for the truth of all the miraculous events which are recorded. Again, it is plain that the contemporary Irish biographers of the Saint had no more than second-hand information as to the circumstances of his life before his coming to Ireland: their evidence, therefore, regarding this part of his life is less cogent; but their records of St. Patrick's apostolate were written for readers, many of whom had been themselves witnesses of the events which are related.

was supremely ignorant of Celtic literature : he tells us—"In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders." It is only necessary to say that one of these was James Macpherson, the "ingenious" fabricator of the Ossianic imposture.

Although knowing so little about the subject, or perhaps because of this, Gibbon does not hesitate to pass a sweeping judgment on the ecclesiastical historians of Ireland, as well as on her bards, whom he designates as the "two orders of men who equally abused the privilege of fiction."* Bards and monks are both honoured by the hostility of this writer. His sophistical ingenuity was at fault in supplying a theory to account for the great Celtic religious conquests of the sixth and seventh centuries; his policy, therefore, was to ignore or deny. A widespread revolution, carried out in many countries apparently without definite system or organization, and all the while preserving one type, growing into unity, and gathering wild and warring clans into the fold of Christ, was, humanly speaking, more inexplicable than the effects of the Edict of Constantine. This work was done without any extraordinary aids of intellect or wealth, or the co-operation of any universal temporal power, and, therefore, we all the more expect special signs of supernatural assistance; "one of the most cogent proofs of the miracles of Christ and His Apostles is drawn from their effects; it being inconceivable that a rival power to Cæsar should have started out of so obscure and ignorant a spot as Galilee, and have prevailed, without some such extraordinary and divine gifts."†

Considering the extent and rapidity of the results, it is surprising how any Catholic can have greater difficulties with the miracles of St. Patrick than with those of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Antony, or St. Ambrose. The lives of these saints have been written by St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Athanasius, and Baronius; but the probability of the miracles recorded rests on other grounds than the names of their biographers. We claim, therefore, for St. Patrick's annalists nothing more than the respectful consideration granted to other narrators of similar events. It has been observed that there is a striking resemblance between the acts of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus and those of St. Patrick.‡ The struggles of St. Antony with the spirits of evil are quite as strange and unearthly as those of the Apostle of Ireland; while tradition attributes to St. Ambrose a

* Ch. xxv. s. 2.

† "Essays on Miracles," J. H. Newman, p. 232.

‡ Fr. Morris's "Life of St. Patrick," p. 8.

miracle similar to that recorded as having taken place at Tara, when the earth engulfed the blasphemous adversaries of the Gospel of Christ. Those Catholic writers, who seem to congratulate themselves on having put the biographers of St. Patrick in the pillory, would probably adopt a less triumphant tone if they recognized the logical consequences of their principles.

It remains to consider the third stumbling-block in the ancient records of the life of the Apostle of Ireland. Sir William Betham is astounded by what he styles the "almost ubiquity"* of the Saint, and the Rev. J. F. Shearman thinks that he has found evidence of the same incredible exaggeration in the accounts of the journeys of St. Patrick throughout Ireland. "His presence," says this last-named writer, "in nearly every part of Ireland was represented as not only prolonged, but almost ubiquitous, as is indeed suggested by the author of the 'Tripartite Life,' as far at least as one province of Ireland is concerned;" and he quotes the following extract from this ancient biography in support of his statement: "The learned calculate that he (St. Patrick) made an offering on every seventh ridge that he traversed in Munster."† If Mr. Shearman had read the whole narrative of St. Patrick's mission in this province, he would have found that, so far from attributing ubiquity to the Saint, the writer tells us that he turned aside at this time, and did not visit West Munster.‡ There is nothing strange or incredible in the fact that St. Patrick offered up the Holy Sacrifice on every seventh hill in Munster, and it is very interesting to find in this incidental statement the probable origin of that devotion to the number seven which was afterwards so generally manifested in the religious foundations of the Irish Church.

Here, again, we find that if we set St. Patrick's work, like his miracles, against that of other Catholic saints, it falls quietly into its place. To return to St. Francis Xavier: St. Patrick gave sixty years to the work of the conversion of Ireland: St. Francis was only ten years in India, and when we take the map, and compare the geographical dimensions of Ireland with those of the countries in Hindostan, Malacca, and Japan, traversed and evangelized by the latter, it is evident that the palm of "ubiquity" rests with the Apostle of the Indies: for, at a moderate calculation, he probably went over ten times as much ground as St. Patrick.

* "Antiquarian Researches," p. 245.

† "Loca Patriciana," p. 396.

‡ See Mr. Hennessy's account of the existing local traditions verifying the statement of the ancient chronicle. Fr. Morris's "Life of St. Patrick," p. 115 n.

In this respect the life of St. Francis is a greater tax upon our faith than that of St. Patrick ; it is the stability and endurance of St. Patrick's work which is his special glory. There have been ebblings and flowings in the religious life of Ireland ; but St. Patrick has had no successor in his apostolic office. God gave him a life which was almost miraculously prolonged for the sake of his people.

He lived long enough to see the grey hairs on the heads of those whom he had baptised as children, so that he had time to organise and consolidate the infant Church, and to create a native clergy ; works quite as difficult, perhaps, as the conversion of the nation. . . . Sixty years of ecclesiastical rule in Ireland gave St. Patrick time, not only to teach the faith, but to establish traditions. The rulers of the Church during this time were his own spiritual children, so while one generation passed away, and another succeeded, there was no change or disturbance in the life of that Church which had all its discipline, as well as its doctrines, from one man. The same prodigious power which in the beginning had broken all opposition, preserved unity and peace when the struggle was over, and made the fold of St. Patrick like the infant Church in Judea, where "the multitude of believers were of one heart and one mind." *

These general arguments, drawn from analogy, and supported by history and tradition, will probably satisfy all those who believe that supernatural events can have an historical foundation ; but our work would be incomplete if we did not give the reader some idea of those writings in which the Catholic tradition is assailed.

If we select two, the "Memoir of St. Patrick," by Dr. Todd, and "Loca Patriciana," by the Rev. J. F. Shearman, it is not as regarding the theories of these writers as more formidable than those of Dr. Ledwich, Sir William Betham, and others, but because they come into the field with the accumulated sophistry of their predecessors. In their works, therefore, we may expect to find the sum and strength of those arguments which are supposed to relegate a great part of the personal history of the Apostle of Ireland to the province of nursery tales in the childhood of nations.

The compositions of these two writers are similar in form. Both have swelled their works with matter which hardly seems necessary for the discussion. In a summary of the history of the Irish Church during fourteen centuries, Dr. Todd leads us half way through his book before we are introduced to St. Patrick, and then it is in company with "the blessings" of the

* Fr. Morris, "Life of St. Patrick," p. 148.

Reformation, and the effects of the Legislative union.* In "Loca Patriciana" the space devoted to St. Patrick is even more limited, and the less there is to say about the Saint the more diffuse does the writer become. Thus in his account of St. Patrick's labours in Ossory, he tells us, "the materials out of which he must endeavour to write the early ecclesiastical history of Ossory are now very scanty and jejune,"† so they are supplemented by a history of Ossory down to the middle of the seventeenth century. The prolixity of these writers, however, has had one good result: it has led them on to give both sides of the question, whenever they have fairly grappled with St. Patrick's history, and the consequence is that they have answered their own arguments. This is as might be expected: they have attempted to write history in glaring contradiction with those ancient records which are the sole materials at their disposal. In adopting so original a line as this, the prudent course would have been to give up authorities altogether. "Patrician history," Mr. Shearman tells us, "is a difficult subject to take in hand and to treat in an independent way without disturbing, to some extent, the old and fossilised ideas of the past centuries" (Pref. p. vii.). It would perhaps be more correct to say that it is not merely "difficult" but impossible to treat the history of fourteen hundred years ago in an "independent" manner. Niebuhr has been accused of going too far when he speaks of historical "divination," although he meant nothing more than a faculty in an historian similar to that which enabled Columbus to divine that a new world was to be found in the West. Given certain data, he says, the real historian can arrive at others unknown; but the independent historian appears to be one who can get on without any data at all, like M. Renan or Mr. Froude.

As to the "fossilised" condition of the acts of St. Patrick, we take this to be no slight evidence of their veracity. In the world of ideas it is facts that are certain, and undisputed, which usually assume this consistent and permanent form. Ancient Irish, Saxon, Norman, and even Danish traditions‡ are one on the subject of St. Patrick, for the very obvious reason that there was no other.

It is not an easy matter to give an account of Dr. Todd's

* "Memoir," p. 244.

† "Loca Patriciana," p. 265.

‡ Invoked by the Danes as "Archbishop and head of the Saints of Erin." McFirbis, "Fragments of Irish Annals, A.D. 851." It is evident that Shakespeare had evidence of a popular devotion to St. Patrick amongst the Danes in Catholic times, since we find him introducing Hamlet as swearing "By St. Patrick."

theories and arguments. The difficulty arises from the fact that evidently he had no clear grasp of them himself. He is well known as an author of considerable ability, and of varied, if not profound learning. The most important half of his work, in fact the whole of the actual "Memoir" of St. Patrick, was brought out under the "supervision"* of Dean Reeves, the learned editor of the "Life of St. Columba," and the result of their labours has been to produce a work which so often evaporates in vague assumptions and contradictions, that its only real importance in the present controversy arises from the evidence which it bears to the vital and avenging power of the truth. It is to the credit of Dr. Todd's logic that it proves too strong for his prejudices, as will be seen when we contrast his language in support of his own views with those parts of his work in which he bears witness to the Catholic tradition.

He set himself to prove that St. Patrick was not a Catholic Saint, that he had no mission from Rome, and that a great part of the work attributed to him was not his own. Dr. Todd had satisfied himself that St. Patrick was not a Catholic saint, the next step was to make him a Protestant bishop, and his efforts to naturalise the Elias-like Apostle of Ireland are very amusing. "He believed, no doubt, that his call was supernatural, and that he had seen visions and dreamt dreams," like "other well-meaning and excellent men," but he compensated for this weakness by the fact that "by his judicious management the Christianity which he founded became self-supporting." Again, he appears to have discovered that, like the English in India, St. Patrick was a model of toleration in the face of the abominations of heathenism. "He dealt *tenderly* with their usages and prejudices. Although he *sometimes* felt it necessary to overturn their idols, and on some occasions risked his life, he was guilty of no offensive or unnecessary iconoclasm."†

In a similarly embarrassed style, which reveals his sense of the uncertainty of his ground, he approaches the subject of St. Patrick's mission from Rome. "It *seems probable* that the Irish biographers of St. Patrick *felt themselves compelled* to shorten the life of Palladius, in order to make room for the new commission to succeed him which they assume to have been given to St. Patrick by Pope Celestine. . . . *There is reason to believe*, therefore, that national vanity and national prejudice have corrupted this part of the history."‡ As it is evident that his arguments on this point produce so very dubious an assent in the writer's own mind, it seems quite unnecessary

* "Preface," p. x.

† Pp. 378, 514. (The italics are our own.)

‡ P. 303.

to consider them here, especially as this point has been taken out of the sphere of controversy since the appearance of Bishop Moran's "Essays on the Early Irish Church."

Dr. Todd's assault on the tradition—so incredible to a Protestant—that Ireland was completely converted by St. Patrick, supplies us with a striking example of the way in which outraged authorities recoil on irreverent investigators. He tells us (p. 502) that "there were many districts and tribes of Ireland where the teaching of St. Patrick was rejected;" but his only proofs are the facts that the *one* tribe of the Hi Garchon, *in the first instance*, resisted the Saint on his arrival in Ireland, and the following passage from the "Book of Armagh":—"Quid video dissertores, et archiclocos et milites Hiberniæ, quoa odio habent paruchiam Patricii, quia substraxerunt ab eo quoa ipsius erat: timentque quoniam si quæreret heres Patricii paruchiam illius, potest pene totam insolam (*sic*) sibi reddere in paruchiam quam Deus dedit illi."* In the next page he goes on to say that "many passages in the 'Book of Armagh' afford undoubted proof that *all* Ireland did not submit to St. Patrick's influence."

It is quite inconceivable that the quaintness of the Latin in the above extract could have hidden its real import from Dr. Todd. In reality, it supplies us with a very striking proof of the truth of the Catholic tradition.

At the time when the author Tirechan wrote—that is, about a century and a half after the death of St. Patrick—so strong, he tells us, was the belief that the whole island had become the diocese (paruchia) of St. Patrick, that many dreaded lest the Archbishop of Armagh (heres Patricii) should aspire to an equally unlimited jurisdiction. As to the other passages in the "Book of Armagh" to which Dr. Todd refers, as he has given no references, we can only judge of their import by the one specimen with which he has favoured us.

We will now give some extracts from Dr. Todd in which he appears in a very different character, as the enthusiastic advocate of the Catholic tradition, and the triumphant destroyer of his own sceptical theories. His preface was written when his work was completed, and in it we find the result produced on the author's mind by his own investigations. His language assumes all at once the vigour of conviction. The timid interposition of "it seems probable," "it may be conjectured," &c., are no longer needed in his text, as in bold and forcible language he animadverts on those "writers strongly prejudiced by party feeling, and wholly ignorant of the original sources of

* P. 502.

the history," who have cast doubts on the existence of St. Patrick, and continues thus:—

The traditions collected in the "Book of Armagh" cannot be later than the third half-century after the date usually assigned to the death of St. Patrick. . . . They assume the existence of St. Patrick, as admitted by all parties and never questioned. Had the story of St. Patrick been of but recent origin, some remarks or legends in the collection would certainly have betrayed the fact. That the collectors of these traditions indulged in the unscrupulous use of legend strengthens the argument. There were men alive at the time whose grandfathers might have conversed with disciples of the Patrick, who was said to have converted the Irish in the latter half of the fifth century. Had the existence of this Patrick been a thing to be proved, or ever doubted, some of these men would have been produced as witnesses, and made to tell their experience; but in the whole of this curious record there is not a hint dropped capable of giving support to the hypothesis that the history of Patrick was then a recently invented fable. Had it been so, the resistance to the claims of Armagh could not fail to have brought out some allusion to the fact. It is incredible that a whole nation could have combined thus to deceive themselves; and it is even more incredible that a purely mythological personage should have left upon a whole nation so indelible an impression of imaginary services; an impression which continues to the present day, in their fireside lore, their local traditions, their warm-hearted devotion and gratitude, which has left also its lasting memorial in the ancient names of hills and headlands, towns and villages, churches and monasteries, throughout the country.*

By "unscrupulous use of legend," we presume Dr. Todd means the plain narrative of supernatural events, and, omitting this sentence, we have little to add to his argument. It is evident that "resistance to the claims of Armagh," whose Archbishop reigned and urged his rights as "heir of Patrick," would also have exploded any spurious theories regarding "the Roman Mission, and the universal apostolate of St. Patrick," had these been "recently invented fables."

The evidence we possess of the rigid scrutiny to which the claims of Armagh were subjected, so soon after the death of St. Patrick, is equally conclusive as an argument against the theory of the Rev. J. F. Shearman. We have already remarked that prolixity, the fertile parent of confusion and fallacies, is a distinguishing feature of "*Loca Patriciana*," as well as of the "*Memoir of St. Patrick*." In other respects, however, these works are very different in their character. Dr. Todd is so diffident and apologetic about his own theories, and so enthusiastic in his acknowledgments of the force of the Catholic

* "*Memoir of St. Patrick*," Preface, p. v.

tradition, that at times we can hail him as one of our supporters. Moreover, he is generally clear and scrupulously exact in his references, even when they are absolutely subversive of his own argument. We are sorry that we cannot say the same of Mr. Shearman. As we shall see, this writer manifests as little respect for "old and fossilised" authorities as for ideas in a similar condition, and adopts a style of quotation which in many places almost baffles investigation. If we cannot call his theory more baseless and visionary than the theories of Sir William Betham and Dr. Todd, it is because they are all three substantially identical. St. Patrick in history is as great a puzzle to the critic as his children are nowadays to the politician. The idea of a Saint supreme in the political and intellectual, as well as the moral order, seems to put history out of joint, as completely as the supremacy of the supernatural bewilders the mind of an ordinary statesman. Modern critics, therefore, have set to work to pull St. Patrick to pieces, in the hope of reconstructing him in a modified form on scientific principles: they are welcome to do so, if they can; we only ask for proof as well as affirmation.

The author of "*Loca Patriciana*" tells us (p. 396) that in the process of compiling his work he was impressed with "the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of one person being competent to endure all the labours attributed to St. Patrick." Later on (at p. 431) he gives us his solution of the mystery: "The old writers who took the literary remains of the third Patrick as the exponent and counterpart of his history, which, in fact, belonged to Sen Patrick, shut out from view *the real* Apostle Sen Patrick, consigning him to obscurity and an almost historical extinction." But he tells us in the same page, that were those "literary remains"—that is, the "Confessio" and the "Epistle to Coroticus"—either lost or unwritten, very little more of the third Patrick would be known than his coming to Ireland in 440, his being the daltha or pupil of Sen Patrick, and his death in 493. Therefore, he does no more than transfer "all the labours" to his newly discovered Apostle, and this, too, with an immense aggravation of the load, as he supposes the work to have been done in *twenty-nine years*, instead of the sixty years which ancient writers allow for the Apostolic career of St. Patrick.

This "independent" theory, however, makes several very exaggerated demands upon our credulity. In the first place, we are called on to throw over the aboriginal authorities for the sake of the modern critic; and then to assume, either that the whole Irish Church and nation conspired to extinguish the memory of St. Patrick, or that they suddenly and completely

lost sight of the Father and Founder of their Faith, and unconsciously transferred their devotion and allegiance to a person so obscure, that little or nothing was known about him except what he had said of himself. It should also be observed that this substitution is supposed to have taken place, not in an age of mental or religious apathy, but at the very time when the faith inherited from St. Patrick was in its full meridian splendour, supreme in its influence over the intellects as well as over the hearts of the people of Ireland.

In the DUBLIN REVIEW of October, 1879, p. 547, there appeared a short notice of this theory. The introduction of Palladius, or "Patricius Primus," into the discussion was shown to be quite foreign to the writer's argument: he has no fault to find with ancient authorities on the score of Palladius,* and therefore the confusion created by the mention of a *third* claimant can only be regarded as a gratuitous outrage offered to the Apostle of Ireland. The sum of Mr. Shearman's theory is to be found in the extracts given above. When, however, his statements regarding his second and third Patricks were set against each other in parallel columns, it at once became manifest that by a singular hallucination he had been describing *one* St. Patrick under two aspects, visible only to himself. In fact, he was convicted of the very enormity which he attributes to the venerable ecclesiastical historians of his country. Thus, Mr. Shearman's "Patricius Secundus" has already gone the way of the prehistoric Patrick of Betham, the Palladian Patrick of Todd, and other modern Celtic myths as shortlived as the Ossianic imposture of Gibbon's "ingenious Highlander." It is also easy to show that Mr. Shearman's chief adversary is St. Patrick himself, in those "literary remains" where *defunctus adhuc loquitur*, and therefore it would be unnecessary to go further in refuting his theory, were it not of importance to lay bare the tactics of this school of writers, who have hitherto been so irrepressible that we cannot hope that we have yet done with them.

The steps of a laboured historical investigation which have led to so singular a result, will at any rate interest us by their originality. Indeed, the following announcement in the preface (p. vii.) prepares us for something novel and surprising:—

In taking, perhaps (says Mr. Shearman), a wider scope of observation than preceding writers on the Patrician era, the present essayist,

* P. 411.

† It must be borne in mind that Mr. Shearman does not venture to question the authority of these writings. See "Loca Patriciana," pp. 399, 440, 447.

drifting away from the accustomed moorings, striking out new lines for himself, and leaving the well-known tracks of former inquirers, may appear to have been rash and daring; he is, nevertheless, fully persuaded that most of his views, when examined by unbiassed and well-read students of Patrician history, will find a cordial acceptance.

We have already seen what this author's sentiments are on the subject of "independent" history, and the above extract reveals the manner in which he avails himself of his liberty.

When he recommends his work to "well-read students of Patrician history," we find that he is making no slight demand on their time and benevolence, for, at p. vi. of his preface we observe the following statement: "The early records of North Britain, Cambria, and Armorica have been to some extent investigated in relation to our native history;" but at p. viii. he adds, "The author has to record his regret that some of the early parts of 'Loca Patriciana' were written before he read the valuable works of Mr. W. F. Skene on early Scottish history. His investigations and studies were chiefly made in the loose and uncritical writings of the Welsh historians of the last century." As a compensation for the defects of his own work he adds that "a reference to the accurate and learned volumes of Mr. W. F. Skene will fill up the lacunæ, and will correct omissions or pleonasm both in the text and genealogies." Mr. Skene has written many volumes, and it is important that we should be informed of the exact titles of those to which the writer refers, as it is well known that the learned author of "Celtic Scotland" has been convicted of many serious blunders in matters relating to early Scottish or Irish literature. Like some other modern historians, Mr. Skene has been wanting in respect for antiquity, which has had its revenge; he has attempted to exalt Scotland at the expense of that "Scotia Major" from which she has borrowed her name and language: this vicious bias has infected a great part of his writings, and involved him in many erroneous and absurd conclusions.

The fact is, we can dispense as well with Mr. Skene's Scottish, as with his Welsh erudition: it is accuracy in Irish history that we want, and we are sorry to say that this seems quite a secondary matter in the pages of "Loca Patriciana." Bishop Moran has called attention to the caution requisite in accepting Mr. Shearman's references.* This is not surprising if we consider the incongruous character of the authorities which he has made use of in his dissertation. At p. 413 we read (the *italics* are our own):—

The Chronological Synopsis, referring to the second and third

* DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1880, p. 327.

Patricks, is designed to show their personal distinction, and the leading events in their career. *Some dates* in these tables are adopted from *some* ancient annals in the Leabhar Breac. . . . *Some others are merely inferential*, and a few only are *suggested from some legendary notices* of St. Patrick. They do not, however, *interfere* with the leading and well authenticated epochs marked in these tables. *This diversity of dates clearly indicates* the existence of two missionaries called Patrick, whose lives were nearly contemporaneous, and *yet so individualized as to appear quite distinct* from the first missionary Palladius, or Patricius, as he was called by another name.

The writer has certainly fulfilled the promise of his preface, and taken "a wider scope of observation than preceding writers on the Patrician era." If he merely proposed to amuse us with an historical conundrum woven together from dates, some "inferential," and others suggested by "legendary notices," such as are found in the Ossianic poems, &c., we should not complain, but it is too much for our patience when we find that the very gravest authorities in ancient Irish history receive no better treatment than this at the hands of Mr. Shearman. Thus at p. 401, we read as follows: "The 'Book of Armagh' names two Patricii; 1st, Palladius, alio nomine Patricius, and in the same paragraph, Patricius secundus, his successor, who is evidently the same person as Sen Patrick." Then at p. 408 we find the text on which this statement is grounded.

Palladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur, qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos, at tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ab angelo Dei Victor nomine, et a Celestino Papa mittitur, cui Hibernia tota credidit qui eam pene totam baptizavit.*

Palladius the bishop is first sent, who by another name was called Patricius, who suffered martyrdom amongst the Scots as ancient saints relate. Then Patricius the second is sent by the angel of God, named Victor, and by Pope Celestine, in whom all Hibernia believed, and who baptized almost the whole of it.

This account of the conversion of Ireland was written certainly not more than a hundred and fifty years after the death of St. Patrick: the distinction between Palladius and the acknowledged Apostle of Ireland is clearly drawn out: the narrative is found in a book ever regarded as sacred in Ireland, because of the tradition that the copy of the "Confession" it contains was written by St. Patrick himself. The authors, St. Ultan and Tirechan, make no allusion to the supposed third Patrick, whose "literary remains" were before their eyes: they mention the second Patrick; but in their records he is

* "Lib. Arm.," fol. 16, aa.; and Todd's "Memoir," p. 289.

second, with no successor, as regards his Apostolic office, and yet we are told that, in the mind of the old chroniclers, he was "evidently" the intermediate Patricius Secundus, or Sen Patrick of "Loca Patriciana."

In the following extract, to be found at p. 433, we have a more elaborate specimen of the results produced by "inferential" dates, when treated by an "independent" historian:—

The truth is, that Sen Patrick, the Cambrian or second Patrick, attained the age of eighty-five years, and the Albanian or third Patrick, MacCalphurn, died in his eighty-third year. The chronology of the following writers, founded on his supposed longevity of one hundred and twenty years, thus fixes the dates of his birth and decease: "Stanhurst," 352-472; "Henry Marlborough," 376-499; "Giraldus Cambrensis," 338-458; "Florence of Worcester," 372-493; "Jocelyn," 370-493; "William of Malmesbury," 361-472; "Probus," 361-493; "Annals of Connought," 336-456; "Annals of Ulster," 341-461; "Tigernach," 341-(461?); "Ninnii Scholastes," 352-(462?).

Having made up his mind that the "real Apostle" has been "shut out from view" by ancient writers, Mr. Shearman sets to work to make them confess their fault, and boldly appends this note to his "chronology of the acta" of his resuscitated Apostle Sen Patrick. The authorities quoted in his long *catena* are of very unequal value, indeed some cannot be called authorities at all, yet we observe that, one and all, they bring their testimony against the cardinal point of Mr. Shearman's theory, in which he divides the term of St. Patrick's career in order to make room for another. We also remark that, while he starts with two St. Patricks, he gradually lapses into discussing "the supposed longevity" of *one*: Patrick, the son of Calphurn, whom he styles in the same place "the St. Patrick of popular history," as if he were not at the same time the one whom the Church has ever honoured.

This extraordinary assortment of authors, from the pen of a professedly critical writer, without an attempt at discrimination, is a characteristic specimen of sceptical "Patrician literature." As to the foreign writers quoted, we may dismiss them at once. Jocelyn and Probus give no dates; they are entirely "inferential" on the part of Mr. Shearman. We need only, therefore, notice those Irish annals which give the order of events chronologically. Of these, the Annals of Connacht may be also put aside: either this writer has been betrayed by his copyists, or we must suppose that he was as wild in his "Patrician" chronology as Giraldus Cambrensis himself.

Thus we find ourselves face to face with the only two authorities in the list which are worthy of the name on a question of dates, and this apparently is also well understood by Mr.

Shearman. His mode of dealing with these authors is quite unpardonable. His theory obliges him to fix the death of his Apostle Sen Patrick at the year 458 or 461, and therefore he tries to force Tighernach and the Annals of Ulster into making a similar statement. If the Father of Irish Annals, and the Annals of Ulster, whose accuracy is so universally acknowledged, were found to be at fault regarding the identity of St. Patrick, it would certainly be a serious difficulty. We shall now see what are the real facts.

The venerable ecclesiastic Sen, or old Patrick, whom we are now expected to honour as Apostle of Ireland, was one of St. Patrick's attendants. In an ancient record quoted by Mr. Shearman he is styled "Caput sapientum seniorum ejus," a dignity probably equivalent to a modern provost of a chapter.* He is not mentioned at all by Tighernach, so far as we know, for there is a *hiatus* in the MS. from 388, the date of St. Patrick's captivity, to 490, three years before his death. At this date Tighernach begins again, and under the year 493 thus records the Apostle's death: "Patrick, Archbishop and Apostle of the Irish, went to his rest on the 17th day of March, in the 120th year of his age." It is also remarkable that in this place he quotes an ancient Irish poem in which the Saint is styled the first Apostle—"Primus Apostolus." However, as some leaves in the MS. have been misplaced, and the marginal dates of St. Patrick's birth and captivity incorrectly noted,† these imperfections, with the *hiatus*, have evidently encouraged Mr. Shearman to overrule the plain statement of Tighernach himself.

The Annals of Ulster are equally explicit. Under the year 457 we find this entry—"Death of Sen Patrick, as some writers say;" and again, at 461—"At this time others fix the death of Patrick." The writer is evidently referring to the same obscure personage, the date of whose death he is unable to verify. But the record in these Annals of the death of the real Apostle leaves no doubt either as to time or identity. At the year 493 we read: "Patrick, Archbishop and Apostle of the Irish, went to his rest on the 17th March, in the 120th year of his age, sixty years after his coming to Hibernia to baptize the Irish."‡ In the face of this entry Mr. Shearman tells us that these Annals place the death of the real Apostle of Ireland in 461, *one* of the dates given for the demise of Sen Patrick. It is true that Mr. Shearman has attached *notes of interrogation* to some of the quo-

* P. 433. The obvious sense of this passage has escaped Mr. Shearman: it implies an office under a superior.

† O'Curry's "MS. Materials of Irish History," p. 64.

‡ The Four Masters also fix the death of St. Patrick at A.D. 493.

tations : these ought to be more general, as we presume that by this singular use of authorities, the writer wishes to remind his readers of the request made in his preface, that they should themselves "fill up the lacunæ" and "correct the omissions and pleonasms" of "*Loca Patriciana*."

We hope that we have now made some way in proving that, if modern critics have succeeded in raising doubts about St. Patrick, their success cannot be attributed either to their logic or historical accuracy. Extracts similar to those we have given might be indefinitely multiplied. If we may again borrow the forcible language of Dr. Todd, "garbled quotations," "misinterpreted authorities," "premises from which the conclusions deduced do not follow," and "conclusions deduced from no premises at all," are the characteristics of the sceptical Patrician school. Unfortunately, Dr. Todd himself has not escaped the contagion of that general mental insobriety which shows itself in seeing one St. Patrick double. He was probably betrayed by the indiscriminate indulgence which has been so freely granted to those who have condescended to notice St. Patrick. Any allusion to the Saint seems to be regarded, in some quarters, as a compliment, even when it amounts to nothing more than telling him to get out of the way, and if anything that we have written appears uncourteous to our opponents, we hope that this will be attributed to our conviction that either St. Patrick or his critics must be sacrificed.

It only remains to give a brief account of the most important ancient records of St. Patrick.

In the first rank we must place the Saint's Confession and Epistle to Coroticus, writings admitted to be his genuine compositions by every authority whose opinion on the subject is of any value. Even Dr. Todd ventures to say of the Confession that "it contains nothing inconsistent with the century in which it professes to have been written."* Indeed, if we consider the weight of the authorities whom he quotes in the same page in favour of the authenticity of this tract, as well as the Epistle, including Ussher, Ware, Cave, Spelman, Tillemont, Mabillon, D'Achery, Martene, Du Cange, Bollandus, &c., it appears that it would be hard to find any ancient documents in a position more impregnable to criticism. These tracts form, unquestionably, the most authoritative and interesting part of the acts of St. Patrick. In them we have his own statement that he did the work which history and tradition attribute to him. There is a power in transparent simplicity and sincerity which carries conviction with it, and makes one man's words better than the

* "*Apostle of Ireland*," p. 347.

evidence of a thousand witnesses. Protestants as well as Catholics have felt and acknowledged this in studying the writings of St. Patrick, so that we find the enthusiastic language of Tillemont repeated in the pages of Dr. Todd.* That the character of St. Patrick passed unscathed through the crucible of Tillemont's criticism has been justly regarded as convincing evidence of its conformity with those of the Fathers of the Church. Tillemont's Jansenistical spirit, joined to his intimate acquaintance with the spirit and genius of the primitive Church, may be said to have made him eminently an *advocatus diaboli*, in that species of process of canonization to which Catholic criticism has subjected St. Patrick. He tells us that the result of his study of the writings of St. Patrick was the conclusion, that they were the clear manifestation of a soul so superhuman, that he did not hesitate to compare him to the inspired Prophets and Apostles, rather than to more modern Saints.†

In these writings of St. Patrick we find, in the first place, a revelation of a supernatural character fully in keeping with the extraordinary life and work which his biographers have recorded. The man was as far exalted above ordinary mortals as his actions excelled those of other men: and secondly, we have apparently accidental allusions to his own supernatural life from his early youth, and to the results of his apostolate. Like all the Saints, he tries to suppress and hide himself, but in vain. He does not give a catalogue of his miracles; and, absurdly enough, this has been alleged in argument against them; but he tells us plainly of the work which he accomplished. In his Confession he makes no allusion to any pre-existing Christianity in Ireland—which of itself would be sufficient to refute Mr. Shearman's theory—and pours forth his soul in thanksgiving to God for the grace given to him that "a mighty multitude should be born to God and made perfect through me, and that a clergy should everywhere be ordained for a people newly born in the faith" (s. 16). He goes on to say: "Wherefore, in Ireland, those who never had the knowledge of God, and up to this time worshipped nothing but idols and unclean things, have lately become the people of the Lord, and are called the sons of God" (s. 18). The Epistle to Coroticus bears witness to the same fact. It begins thus: "I, Patrick, an unlearned sinner, have been appointed Bishop in Ireland; I take it for certain that from God I have received that which I am." And then he goes on to speak of the "in-

* "Memoir," p. 383.

† "Hist. Eccl." vol. xvi. p. 455.

numerable (innumeros) Christians” whom he had “begotten in God and confirmed in Christ.” Here, as well as in the Confession, he assumes as a fact perfectly well known to those for whom he wrote, that he had been sent to continue the work of the Apostles—that is, to found a Christian Church in a heathen country. Wherefore, in the Confession, he says:—

I never faint in giving thanks to my God, who has guarded my fidelity in the time of my temptation, so that this day I can fearlessly offer Him sacrifice, and I consecrate my soul as a living victim to my Lord who has saved me from all my trials, so that I may say: Who am I, or what is my prayer, O Lord! who hast disclosed to me such signs of Thy Divinity? So that this day I can exalt and magnify Thy name in every place, as well in adversity as in prosperity, and receive without trouble whatever comes, whether it be good or evil, ever giving thanks to God, who has taught me that I should ever believe in Him without doubting: and who has heard me, so that in those last days I had confidence to undertake a work so holy and so wonderful, and imitate those of whom it was of old predicted by the Lord, that they should announce His gospel as a testimony to all nations before the end of the world. Which, as we see, has been fulfilled. Behold we are witnesses that the gospel has been preached every where, even to the furthest limits of the habitations of men (s. 14).

Our object in these quotations is to show that all those who attempt to deny the greatness of St. Patrick’s work, or to divide his glory with others, are thereby driven to reject those writings of the Saint, which hitherto have never been questioned by anyone whose opinion is worthy of serious attention. They may quote and profess to respect them; but in their case this is no more than that conventional homage which some people pay to the Bible while denying its inspiration.

The Confession and Epistle of St. Patrick are primarily historical, but at the same time they are a manifestation of the dealings of God with a soul which was the theatre of the most sublime operations of grace, and if some passages are difficult to understand, the obscurity must be attributed to the supernatural character of these writings, which, in many places, deal with questions beyond the reach of human language.

They are mystical in the highest sense of the word, and it is this combination of the mystic and the Apostle which gives to St. Patrick’s character so striking a resemblance to that of St. Paul; a resemblance which has forced itself on the minds even of those who are blind to the evidence of his supernatural gifts.

No one who carefully compares these writings with Mr. Aubrey De Vere’s Legends of St. Patrick, can fail to see that the sublime conception of the poet is a faithful expression of the

Saint's autobiography. It is this fidelity to the original which gives its special value to Mr. De Vere's work. To understand and worthily to describe the Saint, it needed a writer kindred in faith and spirit. Mr. De Vere's *St. Patrick* appeals to Catholic instincts like Dante's *St. Francis* or the *Madonnas* of Fra Angelico. At the same time there is no impression of exaggeration left on the mind of the reader. The poet cannot soar higher than his theme. In his account of the Devotional Poetry of Spain, Longfellow remarks, "when imagination spreads its wings in the bright regions of devotional song—in the pure empyrean—judgment should direct its course, but there is no danger of its soaring too high." As regards heroic personal sanctity, these principles can only be applied to Catholic Saints. Imagination droops its wing, and genius is dumb in the presence of characters such as Luther or Henry VIII. Had *St. Patrick* been one of the vulgar sort, or his acts a piece of clumsy patchwork, as superficial writers have supposed, De Vere could have made nothing of him. The inspiration of the Catholic poet flowed from his subject; from the life and character; the invisible presence of one belonging to that hierarchy of the Saints who are the light of the world because they reflect the beauty and the truth of God.

St. Patrick's writings bear the inimitable stamp of sanctity. In every page we seem to see the living Saint, one "suffering divine things," dizzy and as it were amazed by the greatness of divine visitations, trying in vain to hide them, and then turning to creatures to find a vent for that fire from heaven with which he was consumed, crowned by that humility which is so graceful and eloquent in the Saints because of its simplicity. Lastly, although the Saint does not give a narrative of his own miracles, he plainly alludes to them as things publicly known, when he speaks of those "signs and wonders which the Lord hath shown to me many years before they came to pass, as He has known all things before the beginning of time." (*Conf. s. 20*). But enough has now been done for our argument as drawn from *St. Patrick's* writings. Therein we have evidence that when he came to Ireland it was a heathen country; that he possessed all the supernatural credentials of a mission from God, and that in his time the nation was converted to Christianity "even to the farthest limits of the habitations of men."

As this paper aims at nothing more recondite than an appeal from illogical pedantry to history and common sense, a short account of the most important sources of *St. Patrick's* history is all that our argument requires.

Regarded as literary compositions, the ancient records of *St. Patrick* are very rude and imperfect productions, and it is

manifest that this is in itself a strong evidence of their antiquity. The use of the old Itala version of the Scriptures in St. Patrick's writings, and his allusion to the Franks as Pagan in his time, is scarcely a more convincing proof of authenticity than that afforded by the simple style, and barbarous Latin of the Tripartite Life. It is precisely the sort of work to be expected from a writer such as we may suppose its reputed author, St. Evin, to have been. O'Curry considers it very probable that he was a contemporary of St. Patrick,* and therefore a convert from Paganism. The gift of faith does not imply a knowledge of mystical theology, so it is no dishonour to St. Evin to suppose, that although competent to narrate the circumstances of St. Patrick's mission, he was at the same time incapable of describing in appropriate language those manifestations of supernatural power which were brought under his observation. O'Curry also remarks that there is good reason to believe that those lives of St. Patrick, "said to have been written by Colum Cillé, Ultan, Adamnan and others, were primarily drawn from this composition," and that "There can be little doubt that the short sketch of St. Patrick's life written into the Book of Armagh, was taken from this tract."† Subsequent biographers did little more than reproduce the raw material as found in the Tripartite Life, which was evidently regarded with a sort of religious veneration as being the work of one of St. Patrick's disciples. It is difficult in any other way to explain the importance attributed to so rude a composition in ages when Ireland was distinguished for her earning and literary activity.

When, therefore, we have studied the Tripartite Life, we have got the key to all the ancient biographies of St. Patrick, and if it be true that the narrative is at times uncouth and disconnected, still running through its pages, we can trace one unbroken golden thread in the sublime and inimitable individuality of St. Patrick. There is a sense in which it is quite true that old writers must have taken the "literary remains" of St. Patrick as the "exponent and counterpart" of his history. The personality is identical in both. But the supposition that the biography of another man, has fortuitously coalesced, or been fraudulently dovetailed with the autobiography of St. Patrick, is in some respects more extravagant than the theory that the dramas of Shakspeare were the creation of a motley horde of playwrights. It may be said that Shakspeare was not known till after his death, so the myth, in the expressive language of Mr. Shearman, would have had time to "fossilize." But from

* "MS. Materials," p. 351.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 347-351

the day in the year of grace 432, when St. Patrick, for the second time, set foot in Ireland, he has been the central and imperial figure of her history. As Apostle, Archbishop, and Legislator, religion and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, laws and national customs originated with him, and pay that universal tribute to his memory, which, as cumulative evidence, is as strong as it is treacherous to illogical and narrow-minded inquirers. In Ireland, during fourteen centuries the faith which St. Patrick taught has been the animating principle of the nation's life. Those Pagan glories which inspired the poetry of Ossian and her bards, were insular and insignificant compared with the splendours of that age when Ireland was the sanctuary and the university of the Christian world. Three hundred years after St. Patrick's death, the Christian poet *Aéngus Céilé Dé*, in his *Féiliré*, or metrical martyrology, thus celebrates the triumphs of the Cross over Paganism—

Tara has become abandoned and desert under the vainglory of its kings, while Armagh remains the populous seat of dignity, piety, and learning; Cruachain, the royal residence of the kings of Connacht, is deserted, while Clonmacnois resounds with the dashing of chariots and the tramp of multitudes, to honour the shrine of St. Ciaran; the royal palace of Aillinn, in Leinster, has passed away, while the church of St. Brigid at Kildare, remains in dazzling splendour; Emania, the royal palace of Ulster, has disappeared, while the holy Coemghin's church at Gleann-da-Locha, remains in full glory; the Monarch *Laeghairé's* pride and pomp are extinguished, while St. Patrick's name continues to shine with growing lustre.*

When, therefore, we sum up the proofs in support of our argument, the evidence supplied by the ancient Annals of Ireland, the biographies of the Saint, the universal and local traditions of a people singularly tenacious in such matters, the inimitable stamp of a Divine Apostolic mission impressed on the character, and revealed by the writings of St. Patrick, crowned by the testimony of that Church which distinguishes her own in the past as infallibly as in the present; it may, perhaps, be objected that our case is too clear, and that under such circumstances it is inconceivable that so much scepticism should exist in the minds of reasonable men.

If the controversy about St. Patrick had been purely literary and speculative, this would certainly be hard to understand; but, from the way in which it has been carried on, it is plain that it has derived much of its life and energy from political and sectarian considerations, and from the fact that the patronage

* O'Curry, "MS. Materials," p. 367.

of St. Patrick's name carried with it rights to broad lands and rich endowments.

Another reason for the persistent assaults made on the acts of St. Patrick is to be found in the prominence given to the Saint in ancient Irish records of the fifth century. He cannot be ignored; but, at the same time, all the authentic sources of his history are inseparably bound up with accounts of his supernatural powers and miraculous gifts. Writers who assumed that they were free to cut out all such things from the ancient records of the Saint, soon found that the historical St. Patrick disappeared, leaving nothing in their hands but the scattered members of his acts, which they were then constrained to put together in some new fashion of their own. The Irish nation had reverently carried on the history of her Apostle in an unbroken sequence from the Saint's death, at the end of the fifth century, until the compilation of the Book of Armagh in the middle of the seventh, and thence down to the age of the Four Masters. With the death of the latter in the seventeenth century, night began to gather round the history of the Irish Church. A rival held her sanctuaries and her title-deeds, and turned them to her own purposes, and with little fear of opposition, for both the faith and the learning of ancient days were in penal servitude. As regards learning, the state of things in England was very different. In that country Protestantism had to contend with a Church which, up to the time when the struggle began, had all the advantages of peace and high intellectual cultivation. Moreover, her history was bound up with that of other nations; but Ireland was alone and forgotten, while centuries of fire and blood separated her from the age of her peace and intellectual glory. In England, therefore, we find that the succession of Orders was the only relic of the past which the Anglican Church ventured to claim, while in Ireland it was boldly asserted that Protestantism was actually the offspring and logical development of the religion of St. Patrick. In both countries the intruders contrived to elude plain matter-of-fact history, and to bury themselves in the obscure regions of archæology, so that the remarks of Cardinal Newman on the characteristics of the Anglican controversy are equally applicable to our subject: "The volume," he observes, "which I am introducing to the reader, elevates the controversy to a higher ground. It refuses to be contented with such petty and evasive manœuvres in behalf of Anglicanism as Catholic disputants have so often put up with, and claims to discuss and judge of it, not by archæology, but by history and common sense."*

* Preface, "The Anglican Ministry," Fr. Hutton, p. viii.

If, however, the helpless and forlorn condition of Ireland gave a sense of security to the assailants of her faith, it was also very unfavourable to that caution and intellectual sobriety so necessary in historical discussions. The specimens we have selected are very far from being the most extravagant and illogical examples of the traditional arguments of this school; but they were good enough for partisans who were either unable or unwilling to verify the statements or analyze the reasonings of their leaders. It has been our object to prove that the historical and archæological fortifications which have been erected around the *new Apostle of Ireland*, or her *many Apostles*, are only formidable at a distance. Ussher, Ledwich, Betham, and Todd—writers of very different intrinsic worth—have one and all set their hands to a work which will ever be a dishonour to the memory of those amongst them who have any literary reputation to lose.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the Catholic tradition regarding St. Patrick has anything to fear from the investigations of Celtic antiquarians. The labours of the learned translators and editors of the ancient MSS. of Ireland, of the Brehon Laws, or Cain Patraic, and we may add of the Transactions of the Ossianic Society, have all contributed to throw a flood of light on the character and mission of the Apostle of Ireland, "The indelible impression," so evident even to the eyes of Dr. Todd, which St. Patrick has left on the "fireside lore," the "local traditions," and the "Churches and Monasteries" of Ireland, is even less astonishing than the stamp which he has impressed on her laws and literature. None of his contemporaries have given us a connected and philosophical account of the way in which his influence operated; but this does not disprove the fact. We may even go further, and argue that the obscurity which surrounded his work is an evidence of its supernatural character. We see the effects of Divine interference, but we cannot sound the secret springs from which they flow.

Until the year of St. Patrick's mission, A.D. 432, the Irish or Scots were Pagans, the fierce destroyers of Christian civilization in Britain and in Gaul as far as the frontiers of Italy.* Then came an interval in which they were almost forgotten, until, in the century following St. Patrick's death, the results of his labours were revealed to the Christian world. His sixty years of spiritual dominion in Ireland had transformed the nation. The country was covered with monasteries, some of

* Dathi, the last Pagan monarch of Ireland, was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, A.D. 428. O'Curry, "MS. Materials," p. 125.

which numbered their inmates by thousands, while from their gates Apostles went forth to every country in Europe. Ruins, instinct with life, like the grave of Eliseus, tell of these Irish missionaries from Iona and Lindisfarne to Luxeuil and St. Gall and Bobbio, where, in the year 615, nearly two centuries after the mission of St. Patrick, his great son, St. Columbanus, finished his career in the Italian Fatherland of his faith.

In conclusion, it will not be out of place to refer to the way in which ridicule has fastened on the name of the Apostle of Ireland, and created a sort of prescription against the St. Patrick of former days. This is mainly to be attributed to the fact that, in modern times, he has been pre-eminently the patron and representative of that form of Catholicity which, as it borrows little or nothing from art or literature, and lives only in the hearts of the poor and simple, is regarded as fair game for the sneers of the unbeliever. "Hath any of the rulers believed in him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude that knoweth not the law are accursed." Time, however, has proved that the faith of the Irish people in their Apostle is as logical as it is enduring; and ridicule, which seemed for a season to triumph over truth, has returned with avenging bitterness on its originators.



ART. IV.—CHURCH AND SCHOOL IN MAURITIUS.

ON the fourteenth of September 1841, an English mail ship to Mauritius sailed into the harbour of Port Louis. Among the groups of passengers who stood on her deck, gazing with the intense interest of new comers to a strange land, was one that would attract the notice of a Catholic—a small band of priests of various nationalities and mostly young, who had come to devote their lives to the spiritual welfare of this distant island, and in their midst the figure of a Bishop, an Englishman in the prime of life, who had come to work with them and to rule and guide their labours. The last named was the Right Rev. Dr. Collier, O.S.B., the newly consecrated Bishop of Milevius *i.p.i.*, and appointed Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, and one of the most distinguished prelates who have been sent to rule the affairs of this island diocese. One of the priests was, like the bishop, an English Benedictine, others were seculars, and one other, finally, was a Père Laval of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, a Frenchman, who will figure pro-

minently in the wonderful missionary incident we are going to relate.

We begin the story of the Church in this island from the date of Bishop Collier's arrival, not because the Church was then first introduced into the island, but because the date marks an era in her history. That fourteenth of September was the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, a day, surely of most happy omen for the arrival of a Christian Missionary; and the omen has been marvellously verified in the facts of the bishop's career. Those facts which are to be briefly narrated will show the truth of an assertion made by a well-informed priest, competent from long years of work here to speak as he did: "Bishop Collier's arrival," he writes, "opened an era glorious and fruitful, the benefits of which still live with us. The bishop gathered energetic and zealous priests from France, Belgium, and Ireland, who shared with him the glorious task of transforming the island."

A glance backwards at the earlier spiritual history of the island will show how it came to need transformation. It has been related in a former article* that when the French inhabitants of the colony surrendered to the English in 1810, they stipulated for the preservation of their religion. It goes without the saying that that religion was the Catholic; they were Frenchmen. It unfortunately does not follow that their religion was in the vigour of health, or indeed that it showed itself notably in any Catholic life. A large portion of the French emigrants who had flocked to Mauritius during the eighteenth century left their country during the prevalence of Voltairian doctrine and spirit. They had not lost their faith, but many of them had learned to scoff at it, and to regard its practices with indifference if not with a sentiment worthier of their teacher. Indeed so slow are worldly growths to be quite uprooted, traces of this indifference and want of genuine Catholic feeling may still be found in contrast with the more zealous and praiseworthy spirit that generally prevails. The emigrants had come too, firstly and before all, to make a home and a fortune for themselves in the new-found colony: it is not to be marvelled at, therefore, that the care of riches effectually choked the seed of religion and knowledge.

Then came the great Revolution, so destructive of faith and piety in France. It was scarcely less so in this, then French colony. Perhaps the readiness with which these Frenchmen in their far distant homes in the Indian Ocean, with their own special interests and cares, and separated by the immeasurable

* DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1830, p. 1.

sea from the interests and cares of Frenchmen in France, sympathized with the revolutionary doings in Paris, and imitated them here, will be considered by English readers as somewhat remarkable. But they did respond with enthusiastic fervour to every new phase of revolutionary progress, and did their best to travesty gigantic events on their own narrow stage. When in 1790 a vessel arrived from France bringing intelligence of the great power usurped by the National Assembly, and the officers and crew had landed each adorned with the tricolour cockade, the flames of a sympathetic revolution burst forth and quickly spread. "Liberté, égalité, fraternité," were bandied from mouth to mouth by men who would have abhorred all three things in their true interpretation. We shall see a striking proof of this. A Jacobin Club was established, and named the "Chaumière;" a guillotine was erected in a public square of Port Louis, and to complete the admiring imitation of the mother country, noisy patriots paraded the streets, shouting sedition, defying the laws, and terrifying the officials and governing power on the island. The Mauritians, however, discriminated strangely in their servile imitation. When "égalité" was interpreted at Paris to include God, and worship of Him as a Superior Being was forbidden, then, indeed, the colonists were in admiring accord, and promptly closed churches, abolished the Sunday, banished priests, and tried to forget God: but when, again, later, the same "égalité" was interpreted at Paris to exclude slaveholding, the colonists demurred! The decree of the General Convention abolishing slavery in every French dependency was received with indignation; a proclamation of independence was seriously mooted, and finally the Colonial Assembly passed a resolution forbidding the execution of any law emanating from France unless it had been previously examined and sanctioned.

There were at that time only about 59,000 inhabitants on the island, and of these no less than 49,000 were slaves: a dangerous place one would think, in which to shout liberty and equality, unless the cry were honest. Equality was surely as good a plea for the release of chained slaves, as it was for the murder of the old noblesse and the confiscation of their property. But the mere proposal to release the Mauritian slaves brought the revolution in the island to a standstill; there was deep alarm and apprehension lest the slaves should catch an echo of the dreadful cry, and be inspired by it to free themselves. The recent horrors at St. Domingo were talked of as justifying measures of repression, and slavery went on. It is a grim satire on the meaning of moral cries in the mouths of a mob. After this, demagogues left the street platforms and went home to their slaves;

the Jacobin Club was deserted by degrees, and finally the one guillotine was taken down unstained with blood, and the passions of the crowd grew gradually cool.

Buonaparte having, in 1802, re-established by law the trade in slaves, and thus set the fears of masters here at rest, the news of his election as Consul for life was received by the island "with the greatest transports of joy." The revolution being now a thing of the past, the island again followed the example of France: churches were re-opened, priests returned, and people generally were once more at "liberty" to be good if they chose. But unfortunately the evil spirit that had been evoked, would not be banished so easily, and the worst effects of the movement lived on. Men did not come back to church simply because the doors were opened, and for the first forty years of this century the general air of the Christian community was not one of zealous piety; freemasonry was common among the upper classes of men, and indifference and neglect prevailed. For the most part it was thought religion enough to receive Christian baptism at one end of life and Christian burial at the other—more especially if the interval were made honourable by amassing a fortune from a sugar estate. This, it need hardly be said, was the more general and apparent condition of things. That it was by no means absolutely universal, that there were still not a few zealous Catholics, and that much of the neglect arose from want both of opportunity and of the incitement of higher example rather than from want of generosity and good disposition, will be abundantly proved by the rapidity with which people responded to the call to better things when it came.

Up to the time of the Revolution (from 1712 to 1820), the island had been exclusively served by the French Lazarist Fathers. At least one of them had dared to remain during the excitement of the Revolution, in spite of the decree of banishment, and several returned at once to the different churches when the fury of the storm had abated. These zealous missionaries were the founders of the first parishes and churches on the island; Grand Port, Pamplemousses, Moka, Flacq, and others. They left the island entirely on the arrival of the first English Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Edward Slater, O.S.B., in 1820. In 1874, however, at the solicitation of the present bishop, Dr. Scarisbrick, some of these Fathers returned to aid in the work here. One of them at his earnest request came more especially to work for the conversion of the poor Chinese spread in such numbers through this colony. Père Glau, who after ten years of labour in China had retired from ill-health, was the first to come in 1874, and had in the year of his stay here

succeeded in instructing and baptizing some thirty Chinamen. But there are numerous and serious difficulties in the way of a large measure of success, chiefly the many and frightful vices of the Chinese themselves, and their contented devotion to the care of earthly things. Another Father of the same Order continues the Chinese mission—but the utmost zeal and energy is discouraged before the immovable indifference of these Orientals. Intermarriages of Chinamen with Catholic Creoles are frequent—of course the Chinaman has to be instructed and baptized, and when, as sometimes happens, he becomes a Catholic really, he is a very good one, but for the most part he never practises the religion he has been taught. He will, however, take pride in being able to send his wife to Mass richly dressed, and is far from offended when passers-by remark how grand Madame Chinois looks. As a rule these marriages are happy ones for the wives. It is remarkable that whatever may be his own vices, the Chinaman looks for a virtuous wife; hence he is shrewd enough never to marry an Indian woman. But this is digressing from our main purpose.

One event had immediately preceded the coming of Dr. Collier, which it would have been natural to suppose, had only rendered the moral condition of the colony a degree worse than before. In 1839, as has been related* the negro slave population had been emancipated. Almost suddenly and without any previous discipline, more than 65,000 slaves, of a nation proverbially void of foresight and self-control, were abandoned to the difficult task of self-government and self-support. How they fared in the latter respect is not now our concern; we shall presently be interested in learning how they were aided in the former by the Catholic missionaries.

We have said that a small band of priests accompanied Dr. Collier in 1841; he found a few others already at work in his new diocese. But he soon saw that if the state of religion was to be changed, he had need of a much more numerous body of zealous and self-sacrificing labourers, and he at once courageously faced the long voyage back again to Europe, to gather, if he could, recruits for the arduous work. His quick glance had also taken in another need of his charge—that of a good Catholic education for the young. He sent from Europe in 1844 three more priests, one of whom was the Abbé Mazuy, who, like Père Laval already mentioned, became a leader of

* DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1880, p. 12. The explanation was then omitted that after the unattached apprentices had been freed on Feb. 1, the period still remaining for those attached to the soil was made to cease by a Proclamation of March 11, and slavery then entirely ceased.

the religious movement, and in the following year he returned again to Mauritius with some five more priests, and a volunteer corps of brave nuns—five teaching and three lay sisters from the Loretto Convent of Rathfarnham, near Dublin. These Loretto sisters were the first nuns in Mauritius. Bishop, clergy and nuns now devoted themselves, heart and soul, to the task before them. Père Laval, who came here with the bishop in 1841, was a remarkable man both for his natural gifts and his virtues. He had been first a physician and then had studied for the priesthood, and both as a student in medicine and a student in the Church, as a doctor and as a curé, was known for a virtuous man, faithful to God and to duty, charitable and compassionate towards every infirmity, and of that engaging disposition and self-devotedness which attracts and wins all hearts. He joined the congregation which the venerated Père Libermann had lately founded for the conversion of the blacks. His confessor had told him that he was called to work for the most abandoned and necessitous souls, and when he came to Mauritius he found his work awaiting him. He commenced at once, at the Cathedral where he was stationed, catechetical instructions for the blacks; he became their apostle. It was arduous and slow work, and his patience was scarcely less brilliantly manifested than was his zeal. At the end of six months he presented his first three neophytes to the bishop to be baptized by him; he wished the first-fruits of his labours to be received by the chief pastor of the flock. At the end of three years he wrote to his superior, Père Libermann, that three hundred converts had made their first communion; before five years were over, the Cathedral was filled at his instructions, and he himself was fast being spent with the fatigue. From time to time one or other of his religious brethren came to his aid. In the year 1847 he was assisted by two of these, and from that period his mission grew to an extent simply marvellous; first communicants were now counted by thousands. The special benediction of the Providence who had called the apostle was shed over his work; a religious movement had set in which soon took such proportions that the whole island bent before it. A French chronicler of the period says: “Le mouvement religieux était si grand, l’impulsion de la grâce si générale dans toute la population qu’il y avait évidemment des prodiges. On sentait qu’une grande miséricorde s’exerçait sur ce petit pays, et qu’il y avait un Saint qui avait su toucher le cœur de Dieu.”

Before ten years had passed from the baptism of those first three converts, not only had the whole mass of those who had so recently received the precious gift of their liberty,

received the still more precious freedom of the sons of God; but the zealous people soon became by their fervour, simple piety, and self-sacrificing devotion, in their turn apostles of prayer and of example to their late masters. How many thousands of them were baptized in the twenty years of Bishop Collier's administration, which we are now more particularly describing, cannot be exactly told. No careful calculation was made, but it is not an exaggeration to say that they were all converted. Not two per cent. of them became anything else. There was at the period (there is not now) a Wesleyan Chapel which was attended by about a score of them on Sundays.

The Abbé Mazuy had meanwhile by his abilities and virtues become the apostle of the white population, who as we have just said were in no small measure affected and influenced by the zeal and example of the converted *affranchis*. But they were themselves also ready hearers and willing doers when a zealous and devoted priesthood both preached and worked among them. Indeed those days witnessed the religious fervour of primitive times. Once won to the faith or to the practice of true Catholic life, differences of nationality and of colour gave way naturally to form one large but united Catholic family with a community of zeal, and of prayers, and of charity. The few churches that had so long stood half-deserted, not only filled to overflowing, but were soon found to be too distant to meet the requirements of the complete change. New parishes were formed, and churches and chapels, and schools and convents, rose in quick succession in every part of the island. The united body of the clergy too, with even the enthusiasm and devotedness of apostles, were soon insufficient for the spiritual needs of their flocks. Crowded Confessionals and Altar-rails, frequent and devout attendance at Mass, zeal in unobtrusive good-doing, testified to the reality of the spiritual change in the hearts of the people. The rich gave generously of their wealth—the Mauritians are always ready and generous when religion has to be aided. They have fully sustained in this the tradition of their French ancestry. The newly-freed people who had little or nothing yet to give, rivalled the widow's mite by giving themselves. They might often be seen, men and women, in the forests cutting down timber for building chapels, and women young and old, dragging along the roads cart-loads of stones or building materials, and singing their newly-learned hymns as they slowly moved along. In the days of slavery, they said, we were forced to do it and harder work, for our masters, why should we not do as much now freely, for our Redeemer and Lord? This is quite typical of the thorough and enthusiastic way in which they fulfilled all their Christian duties. After their conversion

they were an extremely religious people, of intense simple faith, and, as will not surprise the reader, with a particular fondness for religious ceremonies. They thought nothing of walking, in those days of fewer churches, ten, even twenty miles to be present at Mass or at a function. Such scenes as the following, told by a witness of it, were frequent at that time: "I remember," he says, "one night, the eve of Palm Sunday, about twelve o'clock, before I had gone to bed, I heard the voices and prayers of a crowd of them who had already congregated round the Cathedral. They were going to pass the night there in order to be ready for the opening of the church doors at four o'clock on the Sunday morning. There were mothers there with infants in their arms; I heard them crying." Among other incidents characteristic of this simple-minded people, another missionary tells of an old man who before going to bed on Saturday nights would go out to the cock roosting on the tree at his hut door, and with true African quaintness bid the bird not to forget to crow very early next morning, as he must not miss the five o'clock Mass and Holy Communion. And they were equally constant in less attractive duties; for example, they fasted strictly, indeed many of them ate nothing on fast days before sunset. In their anxiety to be instructed, young children from school often spent the evening at home teaching the catechism to father and mother who were busy at work during the day. There is one other incident out of the multitude that are told of this period of change and fervour, that we should like to tell. A Catholic woman lived at a place called Black River at a point some twenty miles from Port Louis. At that time there was no church nearer than the Cathedral in the city, though no less than three churches intervene at the present day. Regularly, once a month, this poor woman walked on a Saturday to Port Louis, went to Confession, to Communion and Mass on the Sunday, and on the Monday morning walked all the way home again. Nor was this all: not far from her home was a river the bridge over which had been swept away by one of the frequent floods. Her husband used to accompany her as far as the river and help her to wade through it—the water being up to her knees—she then walked the remaining eighteen miles in her wet clothes. On her return on Monday morning she always found her husband waiting on her side of the river ready to help her through it again! The husband was an English soldier stationed there, and was not a Catholic, and his zealous and courageous wife, it is pleasant to add, was an Irishwoman.

In the September of 1864, spent with his unremitting labours, the saintly Père Laval died, and was buried at La Sainte Croix, in the Vallée des Prêtres, where a tomb erected by a grateful

and sorrowing people will long keep alive the remembrance of his noble deeds. His memory is held in benediction; everywhere in the island his picture has a place of honour in the houses of the poor whom he so devotedly loved, and it is even the popular opinion that miracles have been wrought at his tomb. The Abbe Mazuy is still living, and as long as strength did not absolutely fail him, he would never treat himself to the repose which all but himself believed he had well deserved. For ten years past he has been stricken with blindness, but he will not leave Mauritius, and awaits his reward in patience, amidst the scenes of his long labours.

It was impossible not to make prominent mention of these two truly apostolic men, but it is not possible here even to name the long list of priests who gave, together with them, their lives and energies to the grand religious movement. Each man according to his gifts and opportunities was zealous and self-sacrificing to a degree which has made the clergy of that time a model to their successors and an abiding joy to the Church in Mauritius. Nay, the mass of the people were devoted, earnest and good, to an extent that, as has been said, recalled the fervour of Apostolic times. Pères Laval and Mazuy were heroes in a company where all were brave. We may not speak as we would wish of the venerated bishop who gave the impulse and direction to all this marvellous revolution of grace; happily his Lordship is still alive; we shall do best, therefore, to leave aside mere words of eulogy, however highly deserved. But we shall, in justice to our subject, give a statement of facts that will carry their own comment. This much may be permitted us to observe in reference to the great change in the Church here which has always been linked, both by Catholics and Protestants, with Bishop Collier's name, that if the bishop had a noble band of zealous and self-sacrificing priests, these in turn had in him a courageous, able, and sagacious leader. He planned, directed, and still more, gave impetus and character to the movement by the force of his own energy and example. But above them all, both prelate and priest and people, was the grace of Him who blessed them and prospered them in a work of which He Himself is the only reward they have ever sought: *Non nobis, sed nomine Tuo da gloriam.*

We shall, as briefly as possible, sketch the contrast between Mauritius of 1841 and Mauritius of 1863, the year of Bishop Collier's departure. At the former date he found seven priests, at the latter he left no fewer than twenty-eight. During the same twenty years, some twelve churches of stone were erected, and more than twelve chapels of wood in outlying districts, where from the insufficiency of priests Mass could be said only

occasionally. In the year 1846 the number of Easter Communion was computed at 3,473, and in 1861 at 16,904, we may add that last year (1879) the Easter Communion numbered over 20,000. In a "Report" on morality and religion in the island made by the Bishop to Governor Stevenson in January, 1862, he says: "On my arrival here I found an immense number of persons called Christians living in concubinage without remorse; and although this is still too common, it has become, at least by comparison, rare, and there is now affixed to it a degree of dishonour which was formerly unknown." Thus, during the years 1847 and 1848, when the movement of reform was at its height, the number of Catholic marriages had far more than doubled the average of ten years before. People who had not troubled to have themselves married, scarcely troubled to have their children baptized: but the bishop could report a steady yearly increase in the number of baptisms in figures which showed that the neglect of baptism was fast becoming a rarity. The figures are 1616 baptisms for 1858, 1668 for 1859, 1725 for 1860, and 1790 for 1861. The following Table of Baptisms, which also appears in the same Report, testifies to a marked effect of the spiritual influences which had been brought to bear on this colony.

YEAR.	CHILDREN.		TOTAL.	DIFFERENCE.
	LEGITIMATE.	ILLEGITIMATE.		
1847	515	1293	1808	778 Illegitimate
1848	627	1277	1904	650 "
1860	924	801	1725	123 Legitimate
1861	995	795	1790	200 "

It may be remarked that the larger number of baptisms in the two years 1847 and 1848 is due to the fact just before stated; the rush to repair former neglect, when the moral change had set in. It is pleasant to add that up to the present time the number of illegitimate births goes on sensibly diminishing. So far as Catholics are concerned they may soon be reduced to a minimum if only Government will, as there are indications that it will, now aid the clergy in the work of moralization.*

* In the quarter ending 30th Sept. 1879, 3,319 births were registered in Mauritius. Of these 1,124 were legitimate, the remaining 2,195 illegitimate. But it must be remarked, that 2,199 of the total births were among the Indian population, notoriously immoral. There are no

One chief source of aid must come from a more practical marriage code. English readers may be startled at the large figures which represent illegitimate births; two-thirds of the population of the island it must not be forgotten are Indians, with no religious restraints; the lower class population are victims of many temptations, from the mixture of races, religions, and paganisms. The enervating influences of the climate, juvenile precocity, are also influencing conditions. One source of regret to the venerated prelate in the Report is the amount of work done on Sundays. "I regret to say," he continues, "that very little regard is paid in our sugar manufactories to the Christian observance of Sunday. The *corvée* ought to end at eight A.M., it is continued to eleven A.M., and even longer. An Order of Council of July 5, 1841, defines distinctly the kind and duration of Sunday's work. Out of three hundred sugar estates only about thirty observe the law." This bad fruit of the French Revolution has never been got rid of; the clergy have still to complain of the *corvée*; it is, in fact, a practical prohibition to multitudes of Catholic workmen to assist at Mass.

The statistics we have quoted speak for themselves; the labours and prayers of the missionaries had been crowned with success; they had revived a dormant faith and led a whole population to the practice of religion. It would not be possible here to relate in detail all the laborious efforts by which these happy results were arrived at. The erection of schools and convents, the education of the young, and thought and care of the various wants and demands of this most heterogeneous diocese, the care of the sick, and a multitude of other needs had all to be supplied by the direction and often by the personal action of the chief pastor. We have seen that he brought over with him a band of Loretto nuns from Ireland: the generous charity of a few individuals soon provided them with a home and the magnificent grounds in which it is placed. The site is extensive, and the large gardens are supplied with abundant trees of various descriptions that afford grateful and healthful shade for the recreation of the pupils. Here in November, 1845, the first convent of Our Lady of Loretto was opened. As in their mother house at Rathfarnham, so here the sisters offered to girls of the upper classes the best possible education, together with the inestimable advantage of a safe and religious home. The success of the Loretto sisters has been complete. A second home became a necessity, and was founded in 1870 at

statistics to show what proportion of births among the non-Indian or resident population were of this character.—*Registrar General of Mauritius's Report*, Oct. 1879.)

Curepipe. Curepipe is on the higher inland plateau, and has the healthiest and most temperate climate of the island. The sisters' grounds here are also spacious and beautiful. In both these convent-schools the subjects taught embrace the highest subjects for girls usual in European schools, and the teaching is of the best; but those more practical acquirements such as sewing and the like, so necessary to fit even the better class of girls for their future as wives and mothers, receive their share of care and time. More than fourteen hundred pupils, belonging to the best families in the colony, have already been brought up at Loretto, and have taken thence not only learning and accomplishments, but virtuous principles and habits that have formed the greater charm in their influence, and brought grace and happiness to their homes. But the sisters have also extensive free schools, which have been a great success. Large numbers of girls have easily obtained good situations from them; reading, writing, sewing, and other very practical and useful acquirements, joined to thorough religious training, have gained the schools a good reputation. But Bishop Collier also founded an order of nuns, of native ladies, to be devoted to the service of the sick, of the abandoned poor, of orphans, of all who should need their care—the Sisters of Notre Dame de Bon Secours. They spread rapidly, and now count some twenty establishments and nearly a hundred and fifty sisters. They have the care of hospitals, public and private; of Government asylums, of their own orphanages, of their numerous free schools, all taught and supported by the sisters—a few of them being assisted by Government; and finally of their hospital in the city for the care of those afflicted with that most frightful of human diseases, the leprosy. How well the zealous reverend mother and foundress, Mère Augustine, and her sisters have merited of Mauritius—not Catholic Mauritius only, but of all classes and nations—might easily be told here in detail, if we had time to do so. Self-devoted teachers to the numerous children in their schools, mothers to the orphans in their charge, it need not be said they are. Their heroic, self-sacrificing conduct during the cholera of 1854, and other epidemics that have stricken the island, has been recognized by Government itself, which has placed the sisters in some of its own hospitals, and lunatic asylums. During the dreadful epidemic of 1867, the chapel of the mother-house of the order was converted into an ambulance, and more than five hundred victims of the fever were nursed there. Their hospital for lepers lately contained more than one hundred and fifty of those unfortunates. The munificent assistance rendered to these sisters by most of the best families on the island, by an in-

numerable crowd of benefactors of every rank, in founding their houses, schools and hospitals, and contributing to their support, is both a supreme testimony to the esteem in which the people hold them, and is no less a noble proof of the charity of the Mauritians. That charity has been nowhere more conspicuously generous than with regard to the Sœurs de Charité, as these native nuns are deservedly called. To name their benefactors would be to name the whole Catholic colony. And the same may be said of the other orders of nuns, and indeed of every good work from the building of a church or a school to the demands of a parochial charity. The Institute de Bon Secours has completed thirty years of its existence, and already nearly that number of sisters have gone to their reward, the victims, in many instances, of their devotion to the fever-stricken.

We cannot even find room to mention Bishop Collier's many other efforts for the spiritual and general good of his diocese and the success that attended them. Among other efforts for education he introduced the Frères Chrétiennes to teach secondary boys' schools. He found one quarter of the city inhabited by Indians whose fathers had come from the Malabar coast and who of course were Christians, at least by tradition. He applied himself to the spiritual welfare of these disciples of St. Francis Xavier, and obtained the services of some Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and a site, and eventually a church. Some of the Fathers are still entirely devoted to the needs of these people, who have their own chapels, mass and instructions. When the bishop came to this diocese, St. Helena belonged to it: he obtained of Rome, that it should be annexed to the Cape Vicariate. The Seychelles Islands were also under his charge; and in the same way, he induced the Holy See to erect these into a separate Vicariate. In another dependence of Mauritius, the island of Rodrigues, the inhabitants were Catholics by tradition; but had never had a resident priest among them. There is one now, and there are two chapels. Rodrigues is some 330 miles distant from Mauritius. Bishop Collier himself went there; the first bishop that had ever set foot on the island, and when the people had been for some months prepared for the holy sacraments, he administered confirmation to about two-thirds of the whole population. We have said that the bishop left Mauritius in 1862; he felt that his strength was unequal to the further discharge of his onerous duties and he resigned his charge. After what we have read, we are not surprised that Sir W. Stephenson, the Governor at the time of Dr. Collier's departure should have complimented him on "the progress of morality in Mauritius during his episcopacy,"

and still less surprised that the Holy See should have given him the flattering assurance that he had merited its fullest confidence—*plenissimam fiduciam*.*

Having sketched this history of the religious revival in Mauritius, we proceed to give the reader some idea of the actual state of the Church here at the present moment. One result, though we trust not the only one, will be to show that the revival of religion in one people and conversion of another which we have related, was not an evanescent spiritual movement, but a true work of grace which both lives on and shows every token of strength and endurance. *The* religion of the various nationalities which constitute the population of the island, so far as they are Christian, is the Catholic—the exception being the minority which represents the nation that governs. The exception is named in no spirit of discontent. The people of Mauritius have long enjoyed the great advantage, political and commercial, of their subjection to English rule and have prospered therewith: they have also enjoyed on matters religious an amount of help, encouragement, and fair dealing, that even if it be within the letter of a solemn promise, is nevertheless deserving of both recognition and gratitude.† On one subject unfortunately, that of education, the interests and views of Government and of the Church here, have long been and are still in conflict—but this is no more than happens at the moment in almost every Christian nation. And so long as statesmen cannot be brought to recognize the *immediate* and *direct* connection between the school and the church, in Mauritius at least they cannot be charged on the count of a breach of their engagement. The English Government supports the Catholic religion to an extent which it judges a fair one, in the same proportion as it supports the churches and ministers of the English Church; and it may be said that tolerance and a friendly tone has always characterized the legislative acts and the spirit of the executive. Every individual official sent out from England has not risen to the high level of his own government, and treated the Church with the courtesy it deserved, or acted as liberally towards our Christianity as towards the fetichism of Hindus; but these were exceptions. The Catholic Church has been respected by England, and is free in the colony. It need not be added that the Church is loyal to the State, nor that the great object of the efforts of bishop

* Quoted from Article on Bp. Collier in "Men of the Time."

† "That the inhabitants shall retain their religion, their laws and their customs" is the 8th Article of the Act of Capitulation, against which the English wrote "granted."

and clergy is the one for which Government also works—the well-being of the people and the amelioration and moral improvement of the masses.

The Anglican and Independent Churches in Mauritius do not number many more than 6000 souls all told. The appointment therefore of an Anglican bishop it will be seen was a tribute rather to supremacy than the supply of any need. The Church of England and the Catholic bishops and clergy enjoy respectively the same legal recognition; and the State pays them equal salaries. The two bishops are sufficiently distinguished by their titles, the Anglican dignitary being known as the Bishop of Mauritius and our own as the Bishop of Port Louis. The State allows a salary of £200, and £150, per annum, to a number of Catholic priests, fixed according to the supposed needs of the Catholic people. Naturally Government is slow to add to this number—its increase therefore is a very safe test of advance at least as far it goes. When Bishop Collier left the island, there were 28 priests, of whom 23 were salaried, the first twelve on the list at £200 per annum, and the remaining eleven at £150.* There are at this moment 42 State-paid priests. It may be added that the total number of priests on the island is now 57: and that they are far from being a sufficient number for the amount of work before them. The difficulty of the zealous chief pastor of the Church here is, indeed, precisely this: to find volunteers for this difficult and dangerous mission—dangerous, that is, to health. But if the work be both dangerous and arduous; if the grim enemy, fever, lurks in every hut and wayside, and after once taking hold of its victim rarely entirely leaves him; if, here, “the heat of the day,” be literally the “burden” of it—yet is the work among an affectionate and a willing people; a people of great faith and devotion. We think the wants of this important diocese only need to be better known in England and France to draw a sufficient number of fervent young Levites as volunteer recruits; each nation has a particular interest in the welfare of the Mauritian Church. Some readers may wonder why it does not supply its own priests. There have always been a few native priests; and they have generally been conspicuous for ability and virtue. Only a short time ago there were four. Last year the death of one of them—the

* From the great difference in prices, &c., here, this sum represents only half the *value*—*i.e.*, it is equivalent to salaries of £100, and £75 in England. When a priest has served ten years he may be pensioned if over sixty years of age, or broken in health, according to the scale of pensions for all Government servants, the amount corresponding to length of service, nature of duty performed, &c.

Abbé Faduilhe—took place; it was an occasion of general mourning in Port Louis, and of sincere grief among the youths of the poorer classes to whom he had been specially and very successfully devoted. Another, a young man of only twenty-six years, died the year previously; another has retired from ill-health, and one alone remains, but in shattered health. Experience forces the conviction that the Creole constitution is not strong enough for the fatigues of a missionary life in the tropics. There are, however, at this moment, two more native students waiting to go to Europe for their ecclesiastical studies and training for this mission.

The Colonial Government also aids the building of Churches. £1000 is annually voted for Church building-grants, and is distributable amongst the three recognized Churches: the Catholic, Anglican, and Independent. Formerly, £400 of this was the Catholic share. But Bishop Scarisbrick has obtained that it should be raised to £700, a proportion more in keeping with the absolute preponderance of Catholics. Help from this grant is however only made to the maximum amount of £1,000 to a Church, and then provided a sum equal to that granted be raised by voluntary subscriptions. Special help is also afforded by Government in the same manner for the support of Indian Missions, except that the Catholics share of this is only £500.

There is now scarcely a parish in the island which has not a convent, and, with the convent, either a school or some one of the many forms of charitable work. But besides the benefit arising directly from the special work of each house of sisters, they have from the first, silently, but notably, effected a great good among their own sex. Serving as a pattern and an example of woman's most religious and heroic career, they have had an immeasurable influence in elevating a population, that at their coming, had to a large extent, practically lost sight of the Christian idea of woman. What a work had to be done in this respect in elevating the *classe affranchie*, may be judged from the fact that, under French rule, slaves could contract no legal marriages. Their unions were natural merely, and could be broken at the caprice of a master, or at the whim of either party. Of course, they had no legal status, being merely, whatever their sex, the white man's chattels. The people, as has been already said, highly esteem, and generously support their nuns. Besides the two orders mentioned, two other orders of women have now houses in Mauritius: the "Filles de Marie," founded at Reunion, and established here, since 1864; and "Les Réparatrices," brought here in 1866, by Bishop Hankinson, for the care of an Indian orphanage. Concerning the former, very

much the same noble history might, had we space, be told, as has already been sketched, of the "Sœurs de bon Secour." But the "Filles de Marie" are specially devoted to the service of the blacks, and during the famous epidemic, many of them died, the victims of their unselfish devotion. The "Réparatrices" as they are called, are more particularly dedicated to work for the Indian populations, and render valuable aid in this way to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. They are specially devoted to the Blessed Sacrament, which is exposed for adoration every day in their chapel in the Rue Cotton: they have, besides the Indian orphanage and schools, frequent classes of religious instruction; and in their convent ladies make an annual retreat, and girls are prepared for their first communion. The order of Bon Secours was founded for Creole ladies; but these are to be found in every convent. Indeed, the convents, like the colony itself, are communities of every race and colour: European, African, and Indian. It is a source of edification to the English stranger to see the bronze and ebony faces, framed in the familiar white veil of the nun, and recalls the Catholicity of the Church.

Among the many good works, of a more general nature, such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for visiting the sick and needy, &c., we must find a word for one very excellent recent institution. A "Union Catholique," after the model of the English Catholic Union, has been now three years in existence, and is destined we hope in the future, to far excel even the excellent good it has already done. We shall find it taking a notable step in the struggle for Catholic education; but the most praiseworthy result anticipated from it, and already in a measure effected, is the creation of a Catholic public opinion, the spread of sympathy and concern among men of the upper classes for Catholic interests, and of a more genuine and zealous—in a word, of a more Catholic tone and spirit generally. The Catholic Union of Mauritius has no easy task before it. Thus, it lately sought recognition and legal status from the Legislative Council, that would enable it to possess property, &c., a boon which societies of other religions, and of no religion, have already obtained. Two forces were opposed to its demand—bigotry and indifference. A large number of members absented themselves, and left a hostile minority, free to carry the adjournment—equivalent to the rejection of the Bill. The independent press at once saw and exposed the injustice and illiberalism of this treatment.* The reasons given

* "La terreur causée par l'Union Catholique est telle que l'on oublie la loi suprême qui nous régit: la liberté égale pour tous."—Cernéen

in the speeches of the opposing members, were as foolish as flimsy, and quite unworthy of "liberal" statesmen. Dread of the domination of the Church, of the propagandism of Catholic societies, of the growth of priestcraft, are among the puerile reasons given for thwarting a just and temperate demand of the Catholic majority. The Catholic Union, however, is determined not to relinquish the attempt to gain civil personality, because of this rebuff. It will try again; let us trust, for the honour of the Council, with better success. Meanwhile every zealous Catholic wishes it well in all its undertakings.

In spite of this opposition of bigotry and false sentiment, the statistics and details already given will show that the Catholic Church in this island is pursuing steadily a career of success, and accomplishing, under God, the great object of her existence and her desires—the salvation of the souls committed to her care. To convert, if possible, and make a Christian of every man and woman who comes within her influence, whether neighbour or stranger, English or French, Creole, or Chinese, or Indian; this she does, and must do—it is her mission. To gain influence merely, or position, or the domination of priestcraft (whatever that may be), or political power, or any one of the countless other unworthy aims so flippantly laid to her charge, is alien to her spirit, as it is far indeed from the desires of both bishop and clergy.

We now pass to the second half of our subject, the question of education. Unfortunately we have left for it a limited space quite out of proportion to its importance. The character of the struggle, however, here carried on between Church and State is a reproduction with local variations of the great European struggle. The battle may be small, but it is not unimportant; the same passions are at war against the same sacred principles, and the results of defeat to the Church would be ruinous to countless souls.

It is not our purpose to speak of higher education; we will only remark that it is better provided for than would be anticipated in an island of only 100,000 Christian inhabitants. There is a Royal College—Governmental and non-religious of course—which prepares for the professions and for English and French universities. There is also a higher Catholic College,

newspaper, 28th Nov., 1879. "Certains Conseillers se sont figurés que l'*Union Catholique* visait à l'autorité universelle, qu'elle voulait mettre la main sur le pays, et étendre, nouvelle pieuvre, ses tentacules innombrables sur la colonie tout entière. Tout cela est fort bien raisonné, fort bien pensé pour ceux qui ont reçu du ciel une vive imagination dont les personnes pratiques n'ont pas le bonheur d'être douées."—*Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette*, 27th November.

the "Collège Diocésain" in Port Louis, conducted by Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost—the order of which Père Laval was the first member in the island. It was founded in 1863, and from very humble beginnings has flourished and grown both in efficiency and numbers to an extent that speaks absolutely for its high position in the esteem of the people. One of its most successful Superiors was Père Duboin, greatly esteemed for his virtue and abilities, who is now Vicar Apostolic of Senegambia. The Fathers, in 1873, commenced new buildings which have added greatly to both the appearance, healthiness, and efficiency of the College. Numerous pupils of the College have been successful at the university examinations of both England and France. The studies are based on the programme of the University of France, but there is special provision, and a large staff of professors, for the study of English language and literature.

There are for young ladies the Loretto convents already mentioned. There are also private schools of all kinds, and these are both numerous and of an excellent description. Thus there is no dearth of education for those who can pay for it. Our concern is with what is being done for primary education for the poorer classes. In spite of a large expenditure of public money, popular education is less advanced in Mauritius than in perhaps any other British colony.* A large number of children are allowed to grow up without the moralizing influence of any education; whilst those who go to Government schools are educated under a system which is opposed to Catholic principles, and fails to supply the great Catholic need.

There are two distinct classes of elementary schools; the Government or Official schools, and those which are known as the Grant-in-Aid schools. The former are State property, supported by State money, and directed by a State official, the superintendent of schools. They are attended by children of all religions and of no religion, and the teaching is called in the Reports, undenominational—called by Catholics, with much reason, godless. The teachers in them are well-trained and salaried. Scholars attending them enjoy advantages, in competition for scholarships in the Royal College, denied to any other

* 363 marriages were registered in the third quarter of 1879. "In 102 instances only were the registers signed by both parties, in 115 instances by only one, and in 146 cases neither of the contracting parties could sign."—*Registrar General's Report*, page 3. But it must be confessed that the vast immigrant and floating population greatly reduces the significance of the fact, and presents a very serious obstacle to anything like universal education.

schools.* In these schools every pupil is taught reading, writing, and grammar of the English and French languages simultaneously. French because it is the language of the colony, English because it is the language of the Government and the executive. In the Grant-in-aid schools, on the contrary, one language is alone required in the examinations. This is an advantage, as the progress of their children in general subjects is less retarded by difficulties of language. In Catholic schools, of course, French is the language; but English is taught in nearly all of them, because boys aim at obtaining clerkships and other such inferior posts as are open to them in Government offices,† where English is a necessity. English is, however, far more taught in both classes of schools than is of any benefit to the children.

Grant-in-aid schools are the possession of private individuals recognized by Government as managers, and are helped by grants of money from the State according to certain results of attendance and examinations. These schools are denominational—that is to say, religious teaching can be given in them, provided secular instruction occupies four hours daily for 200 school-days per annum, very much as is the case with aided schools in England. Whilst Catholics object to the official schools, they would gladly be content with the grant-in-aid system, if only it were treated liberally or even fairly; then it could be worked for the benefit of Catholic children, very much by the same methods as have been so ably set forth in a recent article in this REVIEW.‡ The complaint is that they are treated neither

* In 1878, four Royal College bourses, and two needlework bourses for girls were competed for. The successful candidates for the former became entitled to three years' free tuition at the Royal College, together with an allowance of cash, 100 rupees (£10) per annum, for personal expenses.—*Report on Primary Instruction in Mauritius for School-year 1877-78*, by the Superintendent and Inspector of Schools, p. 21. Also in 1878 two ex-pupils of Government schools gained English scholarships entitling each of them to £200 per annum free of income tax for four years, £75 for their passage to England, and the same sum their return.—*Report*, p. 23.

† All the higher and responsible offices in the State departments are held by Englishmen. Mr. Pike says: "English is taught in all the schools, but judging from the small amount of it spoken, with no great results; English being the exceptional, not the ruling language" (p. 454). Of course we cannot share the opinion of Mr. Pike and a host of others here, that the prevalence of English would be a boon to the colony. We shall see that the English have created by their action in schools the sentiment that religion is a thing of nationality: the Creole at present thinks of English in connection with law and Protestantism, and the less he has to do with either the better.

‡ "Our Elementary Schools and their Work," DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct., 1879.

liberally nor fairly. In a Minute dated Dec. 10th, 1878, Sir Arthur Phayre, then Governor of this island, stated that for the past twelve years aided schools "have not been treated with justice" by the Government. Injustice still continues; thus the sum of 40,000 rupees (£4,000) only is allowed yearly for grants to aided schools. This sum is remarkable for its utter inadequacy to the purpose. Grant schools can neither increase nor multiply, except by unaided private effort, because the sum voted is already absorbed by existent aided schools. There are at the moment some fifteen schools (seven of them being managed by clergymen of the Church of England) applying for the assistance they cannot get. Numerous other schools would apply, but know the uselessness of doing so. Priests strive to open a school, and supply it with material and with efficient teachers—the expense soon exceeds available means—no aid can be got from Government, and the attempt has often to be abandoned; for an inferior school only does harm by contrasting with the well-supplied and long-established official school, and by furnishing the Inspector with another opportunity of crying aloud against the inefficiency, of which his own Government are really guilty by withholding help. Thus Government schools, so objectionable to Catholics, continue to monopolize the locality, and leave parents no choice.

Official schools are aided by an unlimited supply of funds, and the one verdict on them of both friend and foe is that they are enormously expensive. "There are fifty Government elementary schools. The cost of them in actual annual payments is 191,212 rupees (£19,121). This does not include superintendence, inspection, or expenses for repairs to buildings owned by Government," said the Governor in 1878.* In the same document, His Excellency showed that the net cost to Government of each pupil was:

	In 1875.			In 1876.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
In Government Schools	3	9	2	3	12	11
In Aided Schools	1	6	8	1	3	8

* "Annexure to Minute No. 94 of his Excellency the Governor," 1878, page 6. From Inspector's Report, 1878, 54 Government schools were examined, containing an average of 5337 pupils on the rolls, and 56 Grant-in-Aid schools with an average attendance of 4161 pupils. Of these 56 denominational schools, 38 are Catholic, 16 Church of England, and 2 are classed under "Independent Mission."

The same results still continue. The official system costs Government therefore vast sums of money and has the evil effect of superseding private effort. The aided system is a lighter burden to the State, excites private effort, gives religious satisfaction to parents, and, *cæteris paribus*—is equally efficient.

Mr. Charles Bruce, Rector of the Royal College, writing in 1878, of the official schools says :

It appears probable that out of 2129 children who passed the Standards, at least 1700 passed in the Standards I. to III. In these Standards the work is purely mechanical, and the quality required, strictly moderate, and yet the large sums spent in some of the Government schools, did not, in the great majority of cases, produce results beyond these feeble demands. At Petite Rivière, where each scholar who passed cost the Government no less than 270 rupees, none passed beyond Standard III. ; at Tamarind Bay, where each scholar that passed cost 144 rupees, none passed beyond Standard II. . . . In this system, the principle of result payments works inversely—the less you get the more you pay for it.”*

His Lordship, the present Bishop, who has ever since his coming here in 1872 struggled hard to obtain from the State help and security for Catholic education—and we may add has had the misfortune of struggling thus far without definite success—has founded a “Diocesan Committee of Education” composed of six priests and six laymen ; the six priests elected by himself, the six laymen elected by the Council of the Catholic Union. The object of the Committee is to spread a right sentiment in Catholic minds on this education question, to gain strength by union among the Catholic body, and to secure unanimity in their action in the struggle. In a Paper drawn up by this Committee and forwarded by the Bishop to the Governor and by him placed before the Legislative Council, it is demonstrated : That the number of scholars in Government schools does not increase, whilst the increase is rapid in aided schools—showing the preference of the people : that the success of pupils in the latter compares favourably with that of pupils in official schools: that Catholics who contribute nine-tenths of the Christian scholars and three-fourths of the total number † are con-

* “Annexure A to Minutes of Council of Education, 3rd April, 1878.” fol. 1631.

† The Superintendent’s Report of 1878 shows the religion of scholars thus :

	CATHOLIC.	CHURCH OF ENGLAND.	INDEPENDENT MISSION.	MAHOMEDAN.	HINDOO AND OTHERS.
Government Schools	5406	340	186	427	1160
Aided Schools . .	4108	394	91	164	757

tented with the aided and cannot accept the official schools : that the results obtained by aided schools are the more remarkable that they are in spite of the numerous and great advantages enjoyed by Government schools ; that the Superintendent of Schools though prejudiced against aided schools is obliged to admit both their efficiency and their popularity ; and that the aided schools educate three times the proportion of girls more than do the official schools. This is an important point. The proportion of girls in the last-named schools is thirty-one per cent. ; in aided schools is eighty-seven per cent. Parents prefer religion and the safeguards of one class of schools for their girls. The Sisters of Charity chiefly inspire this marked confidence not only among Catholic but often among Indian mothers. The unreasonable conditions required for teachers' certificates of the higher order, prevent aided schools securing good masters, and deprive them of the services of the Christian Brothers, who would soon by their influence attract a large attendance of boys. One more remark before we pass to the Catholic demands. Of the scholars who at present attend Government schools seventy-five per cent. are Catholics, Anglicans being only five per cent. ; Independents two ; Mahomedans four ; and "Hindoos and others" fourteen per cent. We thus have the spectacle of a Catholic prelate at the head of a flock of at least 84,000 out of 90,000 Christians whose children form the vast majority in every school whether official or other—joined too in their request by the more religious portion of the other Christian communions—asking in vain for schools such as these Catholic children can be sent to without loss of their most precious possession, their faith—offering to supply abundant schools and the best teachers if only they be allowed fair treatment, a fair share of help, and a fair share also in the attractive advantages now enjoyed exclusively by scholars in Government schools ; and opposed in these just demands by sectarian bigotry, by sad indifference, by puerile fear of priests and a church monopoly, all colluding in this case with the insular antipathies of the governing minority.

It is needless to repeat here for English Catholic readers the unphilosophical, even absurd contentions of statesmen and officials in reply to Catholic objections against education without religion. The Catholic doctrine, that education must be guided by religion, and include that religion as an actual part of its course, is not considered. It is even proposed to abolish grant schools, and multiply the official ones, where liberty of conscience will be cultivated by a studious wounding of the conscience, of three-fourths of the community ! To this strange proposal the Anglican Bishop of Mauritius and his diocesan council, have, we regret to say,

lent the weight of their solemn adhesion.* Should this eventually be effected, Catholics will be thrown entirely on their own resources; and the charity of the faithful, already heavily taxed, will, with the utmost generosity and good will—not be equal to supply the enormous demand. There will remain for a large multitude of Catholic children the schools which too large a number at present of necessity frequent. The Protestant gentleman who is Inspector of the Grant-in-Aid schools, who is at the same time Superintendent of the Official schools (a position requiring the simultaneous exercise of diametrically opposite sympathies), supposes there can be no religious objection to the official schools. And this because ministers of all creeds are allowed during one hour a week to instruct their own children in religion; and because in addition, “the first half hour of each school-day is devoted to the preparation of the lessons prescribed by the clergy!” The spectacle of an “Independent or Anglican” teacher, or a teacher of no religion (for Government teachers may be such), zealously superintending the learning of the Catholic catechism, is too edifying to be dreamed of. “A better solution,” says the Inspector of the “conscience” difficulty, “could not, I think, be devised.” (Report, p. 22.) That evil communications corrupt good manners used to be held for a sound practical maxim. If our religion be our treasure, and the only source of pure and graceful lives, what is to be the fate of the seventy-five Mauritian Catholic boys under masters of strict and absolutely unsympathetic neutrality, learning lessons from which *our* religion is rigidly banished, and associating with not only the five Anglicans and two Independents, but with the four Mahomedans, and still worse, with the fourteen “Hindus and others?” Of what avail the one hour’s catechism per week, which will be looked upon by a boy as an additional task and a sort of penalty of his nationality? To call this a “solution” of the religious difficulty which has been “devised,” is surely intended for fine irony.†

Let us hear Dr. Scarisbrick in a letter dated April 30th, 1879, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. F. Napier

* “Appendix No. 2 to Minutes of Council No. 31 of 1879.”

† But we have Mr. Pike, who largely uses the Inspector’s Report writing: “The Government schools are professedly secular as to their curriculum of studies, but in most all the ministers of different creeds have ample facilities for instructing the children in their religious duties” (p. 456). The idea of such writers is that a “minister” can pin on any creed to the tail of a creed-less, religion-less education. Our idea that education is one complete and harmonious growth. Religion must throughout affect it, or its absence will irretrievably vitiate it.

Broome on the Report of the Superintendent, from which we have quoted. That Report, by the way, the Bishop writes :

Is, as usual, full of inaccuracies ; and from beginning to end reveals the strong bias of the gentleman so unfortunately placed at the head of the education of our Catholic children :

Appropos of our immediate subject, he writes :

Speculatively, the religion of the child is respected (in Government schools) but in practice the mischievous influence of the teacher acts daily and hourly upon the minds and hearts of the children, and when they leave school the public are not slow to discover that the end aimed at by Government in the costly maintenance, from the public funds, of these schools has not been attained.*

The demands of the Catholics of Mauritius are few and consistent. They ask for a larger annual sum to be devoted to encourage and spread the system of education which they can accept: they suggest what the late Governor himself proposed†—the abolition of some Government schools in less populous centres, and the transfer of the pupils to aid schools. It has just been seen that three times the number of scholars can be educated for the same sum by the latter system; thus they propose a measure of sound economy. They ask also, and most justly, that in the Council of Education the proportion of Catholic members should correspond with the social and numerical preponderance of the Catholic population—at present it does not—and finally that the grant schools should not have as Inspector the same person who is Superintendent of Government schools. No schools could thrive under a supervision both unfriendly and prejudiced. They seek neither privilege nor monopoly; nor even the creation of a new system; they only ask fair play and sympathetic encouragement under a long existing system. On one side, therefore, in the struggle is an absolute majority of the people—morally speaking the whole people—with just demands and fair, petitioning moreover in the name of religion, the only power that can truly educate, and on which the State can rest for aid in its task of government; on the other side is prejudice, national, and sectarian, and objections that are frivolous, often unfounded. On which side will the victory be? If Mauritius is once more

*“Appendix No. 3 to Minutes of Council No. 27 of 1879.”

† “Minute No. 94 of 1878.” In this Minute Sir A. P. Phayre, who made a great and truly liberal effort to help denominational education, acknowledges that aided schools “in many places are very efficient as means of education for the children of the working classes.” And that they have “one great advantage” in the “greater proportion of girls whom they educate.”

to follow France in her unworthy outbursts of passion, in which as in individuals the lower nature rises into power and clouds reason herself, then, alas, there may be still further repression of every Catholic attempt. Well may the devoted Bishop who now governs the Church here have said that this is "the great anxiety of his ministry." Here as everywhere, the well-being of religion in the next generation depends greatly on the education of the young in this; and here, in addition, on their education will greatly depend the conversion of surrounding heathen to the Church of Jesus Christ. The Governor of the island has lately forwarded his statement on this *vexata questio* to the Colonial Secretary in England, and asked for a final settlement. Perhaps the more recent change of government will again bring delay, but Catholics will not fail both to work and to pray.

The truth is that education without religion is not an advantage even for the heathen. A system of Indian vernacular schools has been commenced on some estates, which Government is to support by grant: the teaching is to have carefully excluded from it all religion, but it is hoped that this mere information will be a boon to the Indian youth, and help to the gradual elevation of the Indian race. But elevation to what? We need not repeat here what has often enough been urged with regard to the action on India of mere school-teaching, divested of all Christianity: that England has taught the Indian to laugh at the religion of his fathers, and left him without any religion in its place to respect. This, however, is the legitimate, and the direct result in its measure, of all undenominational education. It is one thing to destroy Hindus, it is quite another to make Christians. Speaking of the education given to the Indians in India by England, Prof. Monier Williams, says:

I fear the work effected is rather information than education; rather informing the mind than forming the character and raising its tone. This sort of education is, in some cases, better than nothing, but too often it inflates young men with conceit, unhinges their faith in their own religion without giving them any other, leads them to despise the calling of their fathers, and to look upon knowledge as a mere stepping-stone to Government situations which they cannot all obtain.*

This is literally pertinent to the education of Indians and Indian Creoles here, and in a great measure that of the poorer classes. Whether the fears of the late Governor that Indian parents would at once withdraw their children from

* "Modern India and the Indians," by Monier Williams, D.C.L. London, 1878, p. 109.

schools where religion was not carefully excluded be correct or not, at least we know that many parents send their children to our schools. The truth really is, Indians are very fond of Government places and money; but Protestantism, as a religion, cannot inspire an Indian with respect. If anything is to be done for the Christianizing of the Indian races, it must be done by the Catholic Church. There are on this island more than two hundred thousand Indians and Indian Creoles, so that the Christian population is encircled by a pagan population twice as numerous. The Indians are settling down too, and threaten to become *the* element in the colony.* One influence must prevail, either of Paganism or of Christianity. The Indians respect Catholicity—its church, its convent, its priest: they recognize the supernatural. An Indian on the road greets a priest, “Salam Padre,” or “Salam Sahib;” even women of the lowest classes generally mark his approach by assuming a reverent demeanour; and these people have great respect for a Catholic Church, and are more graceful than many Christians; frequently saluting it as they pass the door. Nay, they often come to settle their quarrels before the altar! They are a very litigious people, and for mere trifles give the magistrates serious trouble. The Court settlement is often unsatisfactory to both sides in the dispute; then they agree to an appeal to the *bon Dié* in a Catholic Church, and they buy candles and proceed thither—excited men, women, and children. Lighting the candles before the altar-rails they plead aloud, plaintiff and defendant each for himself! Doubtless they suppose that the actual presence there which they recognize of the Supreme Being (the *bon Dié* as they say), is judged to be the last available resource for bringing excited litigants to a statement of the mere truth. They are a very superstitious people, especially the Hindus, and their superstition and practices are many of them very degraded and disgusting. Witchcraft, evil-eye, spells, and the like, are firmly believed in, and sometimes individual Indians have asked a priest to bless their houses against the charms, and incantations of their enemies. Their festivals in honour of the goddess Durga and others, are marked by self-torture, and other atrocities, not to say immoralities. The ten days of the Mohammadan festival of the Yamsch,† are days of revelry, intoxication, and license. When

* See Article in our January No., page 13.

† A description of the Yamsch or Moharrum, as observed by the Persian Mohammadans is given in a letter from Constantinople in *The Times* of January 16 of this year, headed “A Religious Ceremony.” It shows that these go more earnestly and thoroughly into the work of self-cutting

these are the religious celebrations of a people, we need no description of their private lives. Mr. Pike quotes with approbation the words of an educated Hindu: "The cruel practices (at these festivals) are not worthy of man, and especially of the Mauritian Christian Government, which seems to countenance them, although such monstrous festivals have been nearly put down, even in the superstitious land of India."* But mere repression is negative, and no means of elevating a people: you must at the same time show them a higher channel into which their life and enthusiasm may run, and how they are to make a good use of the powers which are now misdirected. You must give them a noble, spiritual and enticing motive for restraining passions and lawless desires. In a word, you must allow that Church which has before now converted and elevated pagan nations passionately addicted to the superstitious diablery of their festival days—allow her, the Catholic Church, to work unopposedly for the conversion and elevation of these same Indians. It is a work which the zealous bishop and the devoted priests here, especially the brethren of St. Francis Xavier, have greatly at heart: for the success of which many fervent nuns here daily offer their sacrifices of prayer and labour on the success of which depends much of the future happiness of the colony.

There is then in this crowded island—a British possession—a vast field for the Catholic missionary: a large Catholic fold to be cared for, in which many nations have blended into one religious family, and outside that fold a multitude, more than twice as many in point of numbers, who lie, spiritually, deep in the shadow of death, yet not beyond the reach of light and grace. For one religion only outside themselves have they respect and awe—for the Catholic Church with her priesthood and sacraments. May not this good disposition be cultivated and brought at last to be a means of true conversion? At present, the fields show the promise of an abundant harvest, but the labourers are few.

and wounding than do the Mauritian Indians, but with the latter it yearly changes more and more from a religious ceremony into a mere holiday and season of turbulent and wild revelry.

* "Sub-Tropical Rambles," p. 231, *note*.

ART. V.—DR. WARD'S DOCTRINAL ESSAYS.

Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority. By WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, Ph.D. London, Burns & Oates, 1880.

THE eminent man, who was for sixteen years Editor of this REVIEW, has followed up the publication of one volume* of his collected articles by that of a second; and our readers will justly expect that we should give some account of a collection which contains some of the most remarkable papers contributed by their author to one or two of the most exciting controversies of a time now happily gone by. The dozen Essays here reprinted, with some slight additions or curtailments, are concerned chiefly with three subjects—the extent of ecclesiastical infallibility, the historical argument for the Church, and the authority of the scholastic philosophy. The bare enumeration of these titles will suggest to the reader one of the principal points of interest in the book. It is not too much to say that the controversy in each of them—or at least that phase of the controversy with which these Essays deal—is now practically closed. Fifteen years ago we were threatened with a school of English Catholics whose profession it was to be to criticize the Church's utterances, and to protest, openly or silently, against all they could not prove from history and their own reason. Fifteen years ago some people still believed that Anglicanism had its roots in antiquity. And still more recently, the philosophy of St. Thomas of Aquin has been fought over by opposing schools within the Church herself. Now English-speaking Catholics, more widely instructed, and more deeply learned, universally understand that whatever the Church, or the Pope, teaches them must be simply accepted, held, and acted upon. Now, the respectable Patristic argument against Rome has given place to the art of the polemical *chiffonnier*, who collects refuse or creates it, and parades it as the older controversialists used to parade Scripture and the Fathers. And lastly, the question of the scholastics is now practically settled. Towards the conclusion of a period of doubt, and even of danger, and towards the settlement of questions whose settlement is sure to mark the beginning of a great era in Catholicism, it is the glory and the consolation of Dr. Ward to have materially contributed.

* "Essays, Devotional and Scriptural." Burns & Oates.

The volume opens with an interesting "Preliminary Essay," not before published. It is an *Apologia*—by no means apologetic, however—for the rest of the book, and for Dr. Ward's editorship of the DUBLIN REVIEW. To some readers this Essay will seem a little too profuse in its explanations. These explanations are professedly made in the interest of certain "excellent persons" not named, who have taken "grave exception" to several of the Essays here reprinted. Nevertheless, both as a contribution to the history of English Catholicism, and as containing one or two interesting personal details, this Essay will be welcomed. This is what Dr. Ward says of his feelings during the early part of his contest with the *Home and Foreign Review* :—

I had an extremely strong impression on my controversial inferiority to my opponents. . . . I was indubitably their inferior to quite an indefinite extent in literary accomplishments, in general knowledge, in acquaintance with politics and secular history. Even with ecclesiastical history my acquaintance was mainly second-hand. And meanwhile notoriously my style was dull and heavy to an unusual degree. (I do not mean that my style is unsuited for purely scientific discussion, whether theological or philosophical. But where poetry or rhetoric is called for, I am alas! nowhere. Yet even for the due exhibition of speculative truth, poetry and rhetoric are quite indispensable). On reflection, I now think that I greatly overrated the ability of those opponents; very able men though they undoubtedly were. Still more, I under-estimated the intrinsic force possessed by a merely logical exposition of truth, when one is addressing a Catholic audience. Nevertheless at the time I was greatly cowed by the brilliancy and acquirements of those whom I had especially to confront. Moreover, my position was a very invidious one. A Catholic writer has far greater hope of attaining the approval of his co-religionists if he makes it his main work to defend and glorify their then existing position, than if he dwell prominently on what he may consider the doctrinal shortcomings more or less prevalent amongst them. And certainly as a matter of fact (if I may speak colloquially) I received, in the earlier part of my editorship, very many more kicks than halfpence. Both publicly and privately I was visited with a great mass of adverse criticism; while, if there was any considerable number of Catholics who approved the line I took, I had not the good fortune of knowing their existence. The heaviest trial of all was, that persons, whom I profoundly respected, censured my course precisely on the ground of its being injurious to souls. Now there is certainly no limit to self-ignorance: but I am myself hardly aware of any motive which ever prompted me to write a single line, except my desire of forwarding God's cause in the world. It may well be imagined, therefore, how I winced under this particular criticism. After the best attention indeed I could give it—it was quite clear to me (1) that (*cæteris paribus*) God's interests are best promoted by a writer, in proportion as he shall

be more docile to the injunctions and intimations of the Holy See ; and (2) that such docility would necessarily lead him to dwell on those very doctrines which were so much disliked. At the same time, I could not rid my *imagination* of the dread, that at last I might be injuring the very cause which I passionately desired to serve ; and this dread at times made me very unhappy indeed.

Yet on the other hand I should be grossly ungrateful if I ignored the number of kind friends who were ever ready with words of advice when I was perplexed, and with words of sympathy when I was disheartened. In particular there was one immense consolation and encouragement, the value and sustaining force of which I cannot exaggerate. I refer to the fact that my labours as a whole were cordially approved by my two ecclesiastical superiors, Cardinal Wiseman and his successor.—*Preliminary Essay*, pp. 32-3.

Dr. Ward probably knows best when he affirms that there was not "any considerable number of Catholics," at that time who approved the line he took. He had opportunities of knowing how the case really stood, which others could not have had. At the same time, it may be useful, here, to make two remarks. The first is, that the antipathy of a considerable number of Catholics to Dr. Ward's line of argument was not by any means the result of an indisposition to acquiesce in Papal pronouncements. As a matter of practice, English Catholics generally, even at the time when the *Home and Foreign Review* was influential, were disposed to accept whatever the Pope taught. What they did not like was that so much should be made of *infallibility*. You may, on many occasions, be bound to believe a teacher who is not, then and there, infallible. And many English Catholics, whilst acting on this principle, were anxious not to hamper their case against Protestants, by committing themselves to too great an extension of irreformability even in the matters they accepted. There is no need to discuss how far ignorance was at the root of this distinction. On the one hand it is quite certain that Catholics may be obliged, at times, loyally to accept, what may afterwards turn out to be erroneous ; on the other hand to apply this view in taking up one's mental attitude towards the majority of contemporary Pontifical pronouncements in any age, would not only be unsafe and exaggerated, but would destroy the possibility of that childlike submission which alone can lead us to accept doctrinal teaching. But whatever be thought of its justice, this was a distinction which ordinary Catholics acted upon, and by which is explained a good deal of the irritation caused in some quarters by the line of the DUBLIN REVIEW. The second remark is, that Dr. Ward's readers, and in a far greater degree those who did not read him, but accepted him

second-hand, as retailed to them in compressed doses by the critics, who did read him, thought they saw in his writing a disagreeable amount of imputation of motive. They were told that he accused all who differed from him of disloyalty to the Church, of rationalism, of exaggerating the claims of the intellect at the expense of the heart, and of "material" mortal sin. There is no doubt that there was much irritation, much impatience, and also a good deal of honest ignorance of theology, on the side of those who disagreed with Dr. Ward. But these considerations explain, in some degree, why feeling was as much aroused as it was.

Having said this much, it will be interesting to follow Dr. Ward through his "Preliminary Essay," and, without again going into the merits of the subjects discussed, to place clearly before the reader what may be considered to have been the distinct gain of the Church in England through his writings and exertions.

The controversial point which comes out most prominently in the volume before us, is, undoubtedly, the treatment of the Church's infallibility in her practical teaching, or, as Dr. Ward calls it, in her *magisterium*, both theological and popular; and perhaps the learned and profound writer has done nothing in his theological career so useful and so excellent as his establishment of this most vital truth. He thus explains what he understands by the doctrine of the infallibility of the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church:

Catholics throughout the world are instructed in certain *doctrines*; are exhorted to certain *practices*; are encouraged and trained in certain *tempers and dispositions*. The Church's office in providing for this is called her "magisterium;" being that function whereby, as Perrone expresses it, "she leads them, as it were, by the hand, along the path of eternal salvation." "*Catholics contend*," he adds, "*all non-Catholics deny*, that Christ has endowed His Church with *Infallibility* in this respect"—("De Locis," n. 347-8). Now firstly, when we say that this magisterium is *trustworthy*—we mean (1) that the *doctrines* so taught are really truths revealed by God, or legitimate inferences therefrom; (2) that the *practices* thus inculcated are really serviceable for sanctification and salvation; and (3) that the *tempers and dispositions* so encouraged are really acceptable to Almighty God. And, secondly, when we further say that this magisterium is not *trustworthy* only, but *infallible*—we mean that its trustworthiness is guaranteed by God's infallible promise.

Here, however, certain explanations are necessary. When we say that the Church's magisterium is infallible, we do not of course deny, that each several priest throughout Christendom falls probably into one mistake or another, on various minor matters connected with religion. For to deny this, would be almost to maintain that each

several priest is infallible. Nor yet do we deny, that in one or other portion of the Church most serious doctrinal corruptions and heresies may arise; may infect priests and even bishops; and may give the supreme authority great trouble, before they are finally repressed. For to deny this would be to deny facts, which are on the surface of ecclesiastical history from first to last. But all this being fully admitted and allowed for, it still remains true that, in every part of the Catholic Church, there is a large mass of such practical guidance as we have described, given to the people by their priests, with fullest knowledge and approval of the Church's supreme authority.—*Essays*, p. 178.

No one could dream of supposing that the doctrine here expressed was novel sixteen years ago, or say that it has not been explicitly taught in the classes of our Catholic Colleges since their foundation. But there are one or two reasons why it was somewhat passed over, or not fully brought out, until about the date of the celebrated Munich Brief, of 1863. The first was, that our controversial position required us (as it seemed) to be content with as little as possible, in the way of admissions, from those Protestants whom we wished to convert. It was considered—very justly—that one of the first things to do for non-Catholics, is to get them to look Catholicism fairly in the face; and that some very small matter, some dogmatic corollary, or some fervent devotion, may scare them so much at the outset as to prevent them from all calm examination whatever. Thereupon there grew up a disposition on the part of some polemical writers to be very emphatic in *defined* Catholic doctrine, and to dismiss as unimportant everything that was not defined, or *de fide*. It must be said, however, that not one of our prominent controversialists has, as far as we know, ever committed himself to the assertion that nothing in the Church's system need be accepted, except what was actually defined. There is no trace of it in Gother, in Milner, in Hay, or in Lingard, or in any of those numerous catechisms, tracts, and discussions, which have been published during the present century. If they dwelt most on defined dogmas, it was because defined dogma was most assailed, because it was impossible to say everything, and because, after all, "ordinary magisterium," as commonly used, is a phrase which covers a large body of practical teaching, many details of which are not authoritative at all, but shade off into mere pious opinions, or even, at times, touch upon abuse and superstition.

The rise, amongst English Catholics, of a school of brilliant but unsound thinkers, forced the Bishops at length to speak with emphatic force on the question of the Church's ordinary practical teaching. That school was not the produce of this

country, or of any hereditary taint, or corrupt home education. It came from abroad. About forty years ago, young English Catholics of fortune and position began to resort to Munich, and to sit at the feet of Döllinger, Haneberg, and other eminent professors. The want of higher education at home forced them to this. We now know what sort of a "virus," as Dr. Ward would call it, these ardent young men went to imbibe. The spirit of Dr. Döllinger's teaching is summed up and exhibited in his address as President of the well-known assembly of learned men at Munich in 1863, which was the occasion of the *Brief Tuas libenter*. It may be epitomized in three words—research, independence, and criticism; his pupils were to get hold of every fact they could, to arrive at independent conclusions from their facts, and to test by them both the teaching of the pastorate, and the common belief of the faithful—formal definitions alone excepted. This apostleship of Gnosticism soon became a real danger amongst ourselves. Young men returned to England, the clever ones bitten by it, the stupid ones bewildered and paralyzed, and the one or two really able disciples fully prepared to start a propaganda. It was at the time that conversions from among the more cultivated members of the Anglican Church were frequent. There were not wanting among those converts men who had greater intellectual power than they had truly Catholic spirit; and these, joining with the Munich men, were the founders and conductors of those various organs, the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, the *North British Review*, the *Chronicle*, which combined with very great literary power the most dangerous spirit of unbelief that the present century has witnessed.

It is doubtful, however, whether Dr. Ward does not make too much of the danger. He speaks ("Prelim. Essay," p. 4) of the "singularly critical period at which these pernicious utterances began to be heard. Catholic intellect in England was beginning to bestir itself after the paralysis with which the penal laws had visited it." It is surely an exaggeration to speak as if English and Irish Catholics were in a state of paralysis up to 1862. The Munich writers were probably in advance of contemporary Catholics in many matters of scholarship and learning, and even in point of literary ability. But it must be remembered, when speaking of danger, that in 1862 we already had a generation imbued with the intense Catholic spirit and genius of Wiseman, infected by the enthusiastic "Romanism" of Faber, and cultured by the wide and luminous exposition of Newman. It is not to be supposed that the rank and file of priests and educated laymen did not, to a very

great extent, gauge and appreciate at their true worth the solemn or the florid heterodoxy of the new school. It is true that for a considerable time no one spoke. But men were waiting—for the Bishops. At length, in 1862, at the moment the *Rambler* was passing into the *Home and Foreign Review*, Cardinal Wiseman, Bishop Ullathorne, and other Bishops, published elaborate criticisms on the new methods and their consequences. It happened at that time that the DUBLIN REVIEW was not in a position to do effective work. Old editors had gone, and new ones had not arrived. Happily for English Catholicism, Dr. Ward accepted the editorship in 1862, "within a month" of Cardinal Wiseman's address. The new editor set to work to do what no editor worthy of the name could have omitted to do, to place before his public the unsound teaching of the German School, and, by the help of theology, philosophy, and the Bishops, to demolish it. This work Dr. Ward performed with conspicuous ability and unflinching clearness of perception. In the following year the Munich Brief came out, and his task was easier still. And, all the time, there can be no doubt that, so far at least as he followed and amplified the strictures of the Bishops, he had the vast majority of Catholics with him.

But this is not by any means to say that such a task was really easy, or that Dr. Ward has not added immensely to the definite appreciation of the whole subject. Indeed, he has created a literature in reference to this matter. He has laid down the theological and philosophical grounds for the important doctrine of which we speak; he has pursued it into its consequences; he has unravelled the objections of hostile critics; he has gone into the subject of "modern liberties;" he has upheld the Church's power to pronounce on certain questions of science; he has found the root of the minimizing view to be the wrong conception of man's last end; and he has followed into minute detail the questions which concern the "spirit of the Church," the "sensus fidelium" and Catholic instincts. His fertility of thought is very remarkable. One of his most singular powers is that of "amplification." This power, which may be described as the gift of evolving complete situations, given one situation and the general direction in which circumstances are moving, is an endowment of the imagination. Dr. Ward fervently disdains, in a passage already quoted, all capability of poetry or rhetoric; but certainly Aristotle would recognize him as a rhetorician. He "divides" with great facility and fertility; and some of his illustrations are among the happiest to be found in any philosophical writer. In the exposition of abstract principles, such a gift is of the highest importance. Dr. Ward, no

doubt, has written a great deal that is far from being light reading. But this is because he writes on subjects which cannot be treated lightly. To any one who is fairly capable of following him, Dr. Ward is never dry. He has, to begin with, a mind that is never satisfied till it knows what it knows. He is singularly honest, not only with his readers and his opponents, which is common enough, but with himself, which is less common. Having the power of vivid and clear thinking, it is no wonder that he has the faculty of vigorous presentment. It is this quality of strong perception which gives his style its logical power. Reasoning, after all, is only the power of seeing explicitly what is implicitly contained in premisses. Dr. Ward, whether by means of hard labour, or by a happy native gift, seems to see his premisses solidly or stereoscopically. The weakness of human "discourse" is, that in passing from one thing to another the mind loses its hold on what has already been considered, and so the mental picture has only lines or surfaces. The strength of a strong reasoner is to hold always what he has once made out, until reasoning seems to become sight. Dr. Ward has brought these gifts to the discussion, or rather to the exposition, of the great Catholic verity that the Church is infallible in her ordinary practical teaching and system, as well as in her definitions. Those who have followed him in his contributions to the DUBLIN REVIEW, or who now follow his republished essays, have to thank him for giving them a good and clear map of a subject which before, perhaps, they possessed only in outline, or with many a *lacuna* and blurred division.

The complete setting-forth of the doctrine here referred to, has had an important influence in more quarters than one. As Dr. Ward observes when he undertook the DUBLIN REVIEW, "the movement in favour of what some persons called 'corporate reunion,' was in full swing." Dr. Pusey was entreating the Catholic Church to reject and disavow a large part of the doctrine implied in her practical system on the ground that such doctrines had not been defined. And some Catholics, most estimable men in many respects, were countenancing Dr. Pusey, as if a union in the terms of "definitions only" had been possible. There was danger in this—the danger, not that Dr. Pusey and his followers would ever have come over on such an understanding, but that a low, or (as Dr. Ward calls it,) "minimizing" view of the Church's infallible teaching might come to prevail among English Catholics.

By the phrase, "minimizing tenets," I always intended to designate those tenets which tend towards the proposition, that the Church is infallible only in what are most strictly called "definitions

of faith;" that she is not infallible in her ordinary magisterium, nor again in branding any given dictum with some censure other than the special censure "heretical."—*Preliminary Essay*, p. 23.

He was anxious to prevent Catholics from seeming to surrender Catholic truth for the sake of a few conversions—a surrender which would most certainly operate in the long run to put a stop to conversions; but he was even more anxious to unite Catholics among themselves in a hearty acceptance of all Roman teaching.

What I myself felt throughout, and expressed in various shapes, was this. An internecine conflict is at hand, between the army of Dogma, and the united hosts of indifferentism, heresy, atheism: a conflict which will ultimately also (I am persuaded) turn out to be a conflict between Catholic Theism on one side and atheism of this or that kind on the other. Looking at things practically—the one solid and inexpugnable fortress of truth is the Catholic Church, built on the Rock of Peter. But we cannot submit to the Church's authority by halves. We cannot accept what we please, and reject what we please. By rebelling against one part of her doctrine, we rebel against her doctrinal authority itself. But by rebelling against her doctrinal authority, we lay open our one position of security, and become an easy prey to our enemies. The Church's power as witness of the Truth cannot be duly brought into practical action, except so far as the Truth which she teaches is set forth in its full and genuine proportions. Its power, I say, cannot be brought into due action if we choose merely to exhibit what after all are but fragments of her teaching; and very far less if these fragments be united with other tenets which she actually condemns, whether that condemnation be definitional or merely magisterial. Such is the lesson which I had learned from my old friend F. Faber; and with which I have always sympathized most entirely.—*Preliminary Essay*, pp. 24–5.

Following out the line here indicated, Dr. Ward, in the numerous articles which he wrote on matters more or less closely connected with the now forgotten "Eirenicon" of Dr. Pusey, has not only drawn out the historical argument for the truth of Catholicism in a most cogent and useful fashion, but has devoted much space to an equally important subject—the exposition, for the benefit of Anglicans, of Catholic *spirit*. To Anglicans, and to Unionists also, he has said, in effect, "You must take the Church as she is, not as you say she ought to be. You must take her as she is, in her actual devotions, sermons, and (universal) popular beliefs; not as you might construct her out of patologies and encyclopædias." This language was most certainly justifiable, and quite necessary. In spite of the Church's extreme tenderness for souls, she has never, at any period of her history, suffered herself even to treat, much less make a compromise, with heresy itself. The reason is, because

heresy which would treat or bargain must be heresy still. Its very essence is rebellion, and until it submits it exists. Individual teachers or missionaries may be, and should be, tenderly solicitous not to scare individual souls. But the moment that anything like public attention is called to the question of what is, or is not, Catholic teaching, public preachers and writers, and much more the authorities of the Church herself, have no choice but to say plainly out what she requires in those who seek admission to her fold. The consequence of acting in any other way would be to introduce a "solvent" into Catholic dogma, which would not stop at the destruction of popular beliefs, but would be equally powerful against everything but the most formal definitions of faith. Nay, such principles would destroy the Catholic Church; for it would set up two Churches—a Church of the "instructed" minority, and a Church of the unthinking people. And that such plain speaking about Our Lady, for instance, about the Sacred Heart, or about Papal Definitions should operate in checking conversions would be an evil to be lamented, if it were true. But there seems no ground for saying that such a thing ever happens. There is no parallel between the individual missionary, and public pastoral teaching, preaching, or journalism. Individuals have strong feelings, prejudices, and weaknesses, which the missionary must not irritate or contradict (where this is possible). The public, also, has its weaknesses and prejudices; but the public attempt to keep clear of them by toning down doctrine or practice, would only beget public contempt, or indeed, public aversion, as soon as the attempt was found out. And, when one deals with the public, such an attempt must be found out. It must not be understood, for one moment, that, even with individual converts, doctrine is to be "minimized;" but it is true that, partly from the impossibility of going into every thing, and partly from the certainty that a given soul has the true spirit of the Faith, certain questions may be, and ought to be, only lightly treated, when individual conversions are in question. The true spirit of the Catholic faith is the readiness to accept all that the Church has proposed, does propose, or may at any time propose, whether this be gathered from definition, or ordinary magisterium. With a whole community, which has eyes everywhere, the existence of such a spirit for any length of time is incompatible with an aversion for any region of Catholic doctrine. The public sees, the public knows; the facts cannot be concealed; the Catholic Church is seen and known to live up to, and act upon a certain body of beliefs and practices, and he who attempts to hoodwink the public, only

brings on confusion and disaster. The confusion arises from the fact that, when once you admit an inner and outer Catholicism there is no solid ground to stand on; and the disaster is, the apparent assertion that people may become Catholics without making up their minds to enter as living members into the actual life of the living Church.

At the same time, only a fanatic would assert that all things may properly and prudently be insisted on at all times. And no sound theologian would maintain that the forms of Catholic life, as they are subject to the influences of national language, for instance, and national taste, are the essential and vital clothing of Catholic belief. The following passage from Dr. Ward's Essay on "Projects of Corporate Union," well expresses the carefulness of the Church herself in the "proposition" of doctrine; her carefulness, that is, not to lay too startling an emphasis on matters which nevertheless all her children who are at once docile enough and sufficiently instructed, may recognize that she really teaches.

(The Church) is the one ark of salvation; and she must open her doors as widely as possible to all who desire heaven. Here then is her difficulty. Every new doctrinal decision, however necessary, yet erects a fresh barrier against the salvation of individuals; and she is always desirous therefore, to the utmost possible extent, of preserving dogmatic purity by some different means. Take, as one very principal instance, the various doctrines concerning our Blessed Lady, which she practically teaches. Almost all Catholics, who accept the infallible truth of these doctrines, will piously believe that Christ taught them to the Apostles. Yet if the Church formally declared this—if she pronounced them as so many distinct matters of faith—much evil must arise. There is many a well-intentioned, but half-hearted, or puzzle-headed, or eccentric Catholic, who might shrink from accepting these propositions, when thus rigidly and (as it were) coldly put into scientific shape, and who might thus be seriously tempted to apostasy. Nevertheless such a man, if remaining a Catholic, might receive indefinite benefit from the Church's Sacraments and teaching; might probably save his soul; and would at all events educate as Catholics his children, to become perhaps far more loyal sons of the Church than himself. Still more importantly, there is many a non-Catholic, who, as things now are, will submit to the Church; will receive her sweet and gradual training; and under its influence, will learn to sympathize with every high devotion to the Mother of God; who might not have had the heart to make so great a venture, had those various truths, which he has thus unconsciously imbibed, been presented to him at first in the nakedness of theological Decree. And moreover, after all, no such Decree could really have conveyed to his mind the true doctrine, in that fulness and precision with which faithful Catholics really hold it. Why then should the Church throw

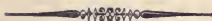
obstacles in the way of such persons? What fear is there, that they will impede the general reception of integral and pure and what we may call "maximistic" doctrine, concerning Holy Mary? That doctrine (thank God!) lives in the heart of the Catholic masses; and any individual is absolutely powerless (even if he wished it) to stem the popular tide.—*Essays*, pp. 196–199.

The only fault we feel inclined to find with Dr. Ward, in reference to his admirable exposition of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church's ordinary magisterium, is, that he hardly recognizes with sufficient clearness the difficulty there is, and must be, in very many instances, of deciding what is, or is not, actually included in the scope of that magisterium. The Church teaches by the mouths of men. Bishops publish pastorals, priests preach and instruct, theologians write, professors teach, Catholic journalists publish their articles, the faithful, as the days and years go on, use their prayer-books and follow their devotions. These things, in the aggregate, express the ordinary practical belief (and therefore the ordinary authoritative magisterium) of the Church. But any one of these organs of teaching or of witness to teaching, may, in individual cases, fall into corruption and error; and such error may even assume considerable local diffusion at a given time. We are very far indeed from denying that Dr. Ward sees and teaches this; and the reader may be referred to the same Essay from which an extract has just been made (pp. 200–1) for an admirably drawn out series of samples of three different degrees of Church teaching in regard to our Lady; that is to say, first, those doctrines concerning her (not formally defined) which are taught "authoritatively and therefore infallibly;" secondly, those which, if not actually taught by the Church with infallible authority, are yet so universally held by devout servants of Mary, that no "cordatus Catholicus" would dream of doubting them; and, lastly, those "pious opinions" which have been advocated by this or that individual, with the Church's full permission. Dr. Ward distinguishes between these classes with great clearness, giving some very well-chosen examples of the two former. But to make such distinctions requires considerable reading, training, and thought. It is quite possible that numberless Catholics, whilst perfectly agreeing with him in his premisses, would feel that in this or that particular instance there was exaggeration or mistake, and that he was extending the area of (the details of) infallibility further than there was warrant for. The matter is one that is, of its own nature, extremely difficult of proof. Whether this or that expression of devotion, for instance, has been used with sufficient frequency, by a sufficient number of sincere Catholics, the Pastorate being sufficiently aware of it—the

discussion of this, we repeat, is not easily made conclusive. It is an impression we derive from Dr. Ward's writings as a whole, that, in practice, he somewhat overlooks this point. If that be so, and if others have the same impression, it is easy to account for the existence of a certain amount of repulsion to his doctrinal writings. And what we say in regard to the subject matter of the Church's magisterium may also be said of the "dicta" in a Papal instruction, that there is often considerable practical difficulty in knowing whether such "dicta" are "obiter dicta" only, or formal pronouncements; or, indeed, in recognizing what pronouncements are *ex Cathedrâ* and what are not.

Whilst admitting that the discussion of some of the matters which Dr. Ward has so ably treated has caused, in some cases, irritation and opposition, we are confident that the complete ventilation of such a burning subject as Papal infallibility has done a great deal of good. Dr. Ward is so well prepared at all points, that it is very rare to find him wrong in what he positively puts forth, or in a citation which he makes. All that people can do, is to complain of "his tone," and the "unmannerly strength" of his language. There are, scattered through this volume before us, various minor retractations, and one or two apologies which we have not taken the trouble to collect. The prevailing spirit of this book is to find out "what saith the Church;" and it is a monument of learning, of zeal, and of true Catholic devotedness.

It should be added that, besides a translation of his Latin pamphlet, "On the Extent of Definitional Infallibility," the learned author has added other new matter in the shape of, first, an Inquiry into the "Doctrinal Authority of the Syllabus," and secondly, an answer to the question, "Are Infallible Definitions rare?"



ART VI.—ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA.

The History of St. Catherine of Siena, and her Companions.
By AUGUSTA THEDOSIA DRANE, Author of "Christian
Schools and Scholars." London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

IN the publication of a life of the Virgin of Siena, Catherine, the Spouse of Christ, there seems to be at the present time a threefold fitness. The reason most apparent is, that the year 1880 has seen the celebration of her fifth centenary, the close of five hundred years since she went forth to meet the Bridegroom after a life that might be called at once secret in her circle of disciples, and publicly laborious even in the political world, a lifelong martyrdom, and an all but incessant ecstasy. As a second reason, it is fitting that this marvellous history should be made known in order to spread the enthusiasm of the saint for the cause of "the Christ on earth," and for the City of Rome, and to revive devotion to her, whom Pius IX. of holy and glorious memory, proclaimed the secondary patroness of the Eternal City. In her days the desolating schism of the fourteenth century, seen in the clear vision of her perfection of faith, appeared in itself so hideous a sight, and so fraught with disaster to souls, that she offered her whole being as a holocaust for the unity of the Holy See, and death consummated the sacrifice of a body and soul worn out with suffering. In our days, the schism of the anti-Popes is buried under the dust of centuries; and the jealousies of nations, and the changes of the political world, appear as transitory as shifting shadows in comparison with the one world-amazing reality, the greatest power on earth—the strong unity of the Church under one immortal and unquestioned headship. But though we witness the spiritual triumph of that See of Peter, for which Catherine of Siena gave her life, who amongst us needs to be reminded that in our day also, though in a far different and less deplorable manner, there exists a central evil crying for redress: that, so long as it lasts, the very name of Rome is a sound of sorrow? What the Saint of Siena saw, we also see—a thorn-crowned Vicar of Christ;* and it is our dishonour if we forget that

* "Veggio
E nel Vicario Cristo esser catto,
Veggio un' altra volta esser deriso
Veggio rinovellar l'aceto e'l fiele." "

Pius IX. passed on to his successor, not only the tiara, but the still more royal crown. The life of the Church is no longer free in its heart centre; a secular power, itself only the pioneer of fresh revolution, has fettered the hands of him whom our saint solemnly revered as "the dispenser of the Blood." We cannot measure the wrongs summed up in the name of the Christian capital, whose very dust there was a Pontiff found to bestow as a relic; we have no statistics to reckon the invisible; no means of knowing how far the huge wrong is influencing for the worse the world's under-currents that shape events. We can only count the lapse of time by the increase of our ardour for the perfect freedom, temporal as well as spiritual, of the Holy See; while yearly when the Church echoes the lamentations of the prophet over the Mistress of the Nations left desolate with none to comfort her, the first outburst of unreproving grief brings to our mind, not so much the image of Jerusalem, as the memory of the city that ten years ago was Rome.

The second special fitness of studying anew in these times St. Catherine's life, lies then in the fact that no one can become familiar with it without feeling the fascination, not only of her unspeakably privileged soul, but of its warmth of sympathy; and no one can be truly devoted to her, without being also devoted to Rome. Her enthusiasm in effecting the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon to war-wrecked Italy, was not national but Catholic; and like all enthusiasm born of faith it did not stop with the first victory. There was no rest for her generous devotion till, when Rome had once more received the Pontiff, her final holocaust was offered for the peace of the Church. But there is more here for us than the influence of her royal-hearted ardour. Beyond the accepted sacrifice, the records of history give a consoling glimpse of deep mysteries by showing how long the schism still lasted, and then how utterly it disappeared. There is every reason to believe that the voluntary suffering and heroic death of that saint of predilection, was efficacious in ending the Great Schism; yet it was not until thirty-four years after her death that the schism was healed at the Council of Constance, by the resignation of the lawful Pope, Gregory XII., the deposition of the two pretenders, John XXII. and Benedict VIII., and the election of one universally acknowledged Pontiff, Martin V. The lapse of thirty-four years, and then the complete answer of the saint's prayer, ought to be a lesson to those who are too ready to be deluded by the doctrine of "faits accomplis."

To pass on from the devotional use of the life of Rome's secondary patroness, there is a third point of appropriateness

to the present time. The "popolana" of Siena, with her mystic and supernatural character, at first unconsciously and then openly becoming a power in the world, until she was the counsellor of Popes, the ambassador of Republics, the adviser of Kings—this "daughter of the people" is a fourteenth-century type of a truth that still asserts itself in the nineteenth, the power acquired even in human affairs by simple faith. It is not too much to say that the one great need of our time is precisely the grand prerogative of St. Catherine, the perfection of faith, for therein seems to lie now more than ever the victory that overcomes the world. In this age with its marked taste for philosophical research and theological discussion, with its tendency on the one hand, away from the ephemeral sects and back to the Church, and on the other, away from all revealed religion, and down into hopeless dust-to-dust utilitarianism, or to a modern luxurious paganism, or to the halfway haze of theistic dreamy systems—it is the hour when wonders are worked by simple outspoken faith, making known the one single system that can boast both antiquity and consistency. If there is abundant proof of rank infidelity around us, there are also tokens everywhere of a thirst for the knowledge of the invisible. And if it was appropriate to the time that we should have seen a veritable Lumen in Cœlo, in the direction of Catholic study afresh to the Angel of the Schools, it is also appropriate that there should be encouragement for all that tends towards a popular study of the highest types of the supernatural life, since such a study is at once in keeping with the new sympathies of the age, and in direct contradiction of its opposite materialistic tendency. Therefore the mystic life of the virgin of Siena attracts us in these days with a more than ordinary fascination; for though it is true that the life of any saint is an exposition of the supernatural order, and a victory of faith, there are few such brilliant examples of faith and asceticism acquiring power for an individual, who by natural gifts alone could have effected nothing, and could not even have had any *raison d'être* in the political world.

As to the manner in which the life of a saint is best written, there exists some difference of opinion. It is well known that most of the religious biographies, which are ranked among the classics of asceticism, are arranged with a view to spiritual teaching alone. Their main object is to describe the soul and interior life of the saint; and they classify virtues rather than events, so that beyond the principal outline there is but a slight thread of chronological sequence, and the attention is not distracted from the main purpose by any lengthy digression towards the material world, much less by any appeal to the

imagination to reconstruct its aspect at the time. Such lives form the treasures of hagiology. But a different method is often necessary when the career of the saint was public and eventful; and the modern spirit of research has given to our literature many noble works, which, without losing their spiritual influence, produce the effect, not so much of the revelation of a soul, as of the bodily resurrection of a saintly life and a bygone time. To this latter class belongs the *History of St. Catherine*, and there are few more perfect specimens of religious biography. The materials found for this life of five hundred years ago were unusually copious and detailed; the present volume is made more generally readable by containing much of the descriptive and discursive element, while it contains also as full an account of the saint's virtues and mystical teaching as could be desired by a seeker of pure and simple hagiology. The public character of her mission, her sorrow over the woes of the Church, the peculiar nature of her relationship with her "family" of disciples, could not have been adequately represented in a mere *Life of St. Catherine*. There was but one manner of faithfully depicting this marvellous figure in the mediæval Church, and explaining her unique position; and that manner is here indicated by the title, telling, as it does, not of a saint's life detached from the world, but of the saint in her place in the world, left among her proper surroundings of time, place, and people. Such is the scope of the *History of St. Catherine of Siena and her Companions*.

Although the story of the Saint of Siena has been told in foreign tongues by more than sixty publications of her life, for English readers there existed hitherto only an imperfect American abridgment of the legend, and a translation of it made by Father John Fen in 1609, re-edited of late years, and now some time out of print. Beside these two brief and almost unattainable versions of the Legend of Raymund of Capua, there is one other in English—a recently published Protestant *Life*, as unsatisfactory as the view of a beautiful stained glass window seen only from outside, with reversed design and unlighted colours. The one standard English work on St. Catherine has at last been given to us, and how a wide subject is grasped and materials held in hand, intricacies unravelled and deep things charmingly simplified, is all said in saying that it comes from the author of "*Christian Schools and Scholars*." The groundwork has been the so-called legend written by the saint's confessor, Raymund of Capua, and her own letters and those of her disciples; but the extent to which all extant records that illustrate her life have been compared and ex-

hausted, can be judged by the bare enumeration in the Preface, where we see reference to many unpublished manuscripts, the originals of which are laid up in the libraries of Siena and Rome: or it is indicated by such evidence of research as the reasons given for the belief that St. Catherine wrote a letter of advice to Richard II. of England, and the extract cited from the Rolls of Parliament referring to the "plusours grantz et notables resons" for England's fidelity to "nostre saint Pere Urban." But the direct compilation from original sources, and the abundance of materials brought together, would only have produced an unsatisfying confusion of riches, had there not been that rare merit, an admirable faculty for arrangement; so that not only is the history of the mediæval life as flowing and lucid as a modern story, but the chronological order ignored by Raymund of Capua himself, is for the first time entirely restored. The mystic life is told to a great extent in the words of the saint herself by means of her letters and her famous "Dialogue." But even when we are wellnigh dazzled by her supernatural privileges, we are always caught back most happily to the truth that the being all but lost in divine light is still of human nature moulded in the common mould. Well it is said here that an injustice is done to the saints by those who represent them as strangers to human emotions, "whereas we judge that the Saint of saints Himself suffered beyond our utmost capacity of comprehension, precisely because, above all men, He possessed most of that keen sensibility which gives the power of suffering." No such injustice is done here; and it is one of the greatest charms of this biography, that even where the very grandeur of the subject must have made difficult the task of keeping its human character, that character has been perfectly preserved, with the result of giving a vivid impression of a distinct individual personality. It is stated that the object was not so much to present a complete history of the age of St. Catherine, as to make the reader better acquainted with the saint herself.

Stupendous as is the story of her life, it has, nevertheless, a side which brings her within the reach of ordinary sympathies. Catherine, the Seraphic Bride of Christ, espoused to Him at Siena; stigmatised at Pisa; supported on the Bread of Life; the Pacificator of Florence; the Ambassadors of Gregory; the Councillor of Urban; the Martyr for the unity of the Holy See—this is indeed a character that overwhelms us with its very greatness. But Catherine, the Lover of God and man, who gave away her will with her heart to her Divine Spouse; the tender mother of a spiritual family; the friend of the poor; the healer of feuds, the lover of her country—Catherine with all her natural gifts of prudence and womanly tact; with her warm

affections and her love of the beautiful; with her rare genius refined, spiritualized, and perfected by Divine illumination; surrounded by men and women like ourselves, with whose infirmities she bore, and whom she loved as heartily as they loved her in return; Catherine, with her wise and graceful words, her "gracious smile," and her sweet attractive presence—this is indeed a being to be loved and imitated; we open our very hearts to receive her within them, and to enshrine her there, not as a saint only but as a mother and a friend.*

Add to this tempting indication of the subject, the fact that the living effect of the whole is legitimate and true, because there is a strict avoidance of all imaginary detail, all heightening of colour, in a word, of anything for which there is not unimpeachable authority—and we have some idea beforehand of the attractive manner in which the English reader is at last shown her, who was not only the greatest daughter of St. Dominic, and the model of myriads since in heroic sanctity,† but also even from a worldly point of view, one of the most remarkable women of the Middle Ages.

The narrative naturally divides itself into three parts:—St. Catherine at Siena; St. Catherine's Embassies; and the Great Schism. The home-life of the saint, her growth in holiness, the power of her prayers, the magnificent favours bestowed on her, her charity to the sick and suffering, and her mission of peace among the feuds of her time—all these are comprised in the first period of the history, though by no means forming only the first period of her life, since they bring us to the eve of the greatest development of her public mission, when she had lived through twenty-eight of her brief life's thirty-three years. First rises before us the hill-city of Siena with its old walls and red-brick towers, the most unchanged of all the cities of Italy, with the Duomo and the church of St. Dominic still crowning its higher ground, the torrent of the Tressa still flowing past the walls; southward in the distance, the rugged heights of Radicofani and Monte Amiata, and northward the plains of Tuscany—"that immense horizon which has its transparent vastness for its solitary beauty." Later we are shown the central space of the city, the Piazza del Campo of the days of the Sienese Republic, now (alas!) the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, where yet stands as of old the Palazzo Pubblico with its lofty campanile. Within, the fading frescoes of the Sala della Pace are traced for us again, to remind us of the time when the practical meaning of those allegories of concord, wisdom, and magnanimity, was taught by a humble

* Preface, xix.

† For a remarkable resemblance, see the Life of S. Rose, of Lima, the first canonized saint of the New World.

virgin to "the Magnificent Lords Defenders of the people." Outside, the Fonte Gaja is shown, now decorated with the bas-reliefs of Jacopo della Quercia, but far more rich in associations than in art, for many a day must Catherine, the Mantellata, have passed it, on her way to the scaffold of the condemned, or to the home of the plague-stricken. Truly, "localities are solemn things. We perish, and they endure: they stand now as they stood centuries ago, with a thousand memories hanging about their walls: memories of things that perish not, when all that is mortal of us has fallen into dust: the fire of genius, the self-devotion of the patriot, the heroism of the saint." But most of all, the heroism of the saint; for the saint alone is in immortality an active living power for the self-same interests that absorbed the mortal life, when the devotion of the patriot is no more than a soul-stirring memory, and the fire of genius a vanishing dream; for time must one day level the campanile, and steal the colour from the wall, and even wear away the forms of sculpture—of all man's handiwork the nearest to the immortal—but when will the day come when the work and living maternal love of Catherine the saint will cease in human souls; or when Siena will not be famed because of the lowly daughter of Benincasa the dyer: or when "Catherina Sponsa Christi" will be no longer the name giving the little Tuscan city a world-wide renown? At this day the pilgrim is met there at every turn by memories of her. The house known as the Fullonica, her father's house, bears over its door the glorious title *Sponsæ Christi Katherinæ Domus*. Every apartment once consecrated by her presence has been preserved with scrupulous care, "her father's workshop, the stairs she often ascended on her knees, the kitchen where she discharged her humble household duties, the chamber she was permitted to use as a chapel, and the little cell which for so many years was the scene of her prayers, her penances, and the marvels of her daily intercourse with God." Not far off, in the street called the Cortone, is the inscription, marking the spot where Catherine stood as a child of six years, when she saw, as if on the gable of the Dominican Church, Christ blessing her from His throne of majesty—the vision which so filled her with light and love, that created things had henceforth no charm for her who had once beheld the glory of Christ; and at the age of seven, with something like the maturity of reason, drawn by the might of that vision, she vowed herself to virginity that He might be her Spouse. Some thirteen years after, when she was about twenty years of age, came the fruition and visible acceptance of that vow, the mystic espousals which have since formed the theme of many a painter striving

vainly to tell in earthly form and colour what the contemplative prayer of five centuries has dwelt upon, sounding yet not to the depths the indéscribable mystery of the soul's union with the Spouse. In the narrative of the vision, two points to be noted are, that it occurred when Catherine was making reparation on the last day of the carnival, and that, the original vow having been addressed through Mary and before her image, it was the same Mother that offered the saint's hand to the Lover of souls and besought Him to accept her.

To which He consented with a very sweet and lovely countenance and taking out a ring that was set about with four precious pearls and had in the other part a marvellous rich diamond, He put the same on the finger of her right hand, saying thus, "Behold I here espouse thee to me, thy Maker and Saviour, in faith, which shall continue in thee from this time forward, evermore unchanged, until the time shall come of a blissful consummation in the joys of heaven. Now then, act courageously: thou art armed with faith, and shalt triumph over all thine enemies." The vision disappeared, but the ring invisible indeed, to other eyes than Catherine's, remained upon her finger; mysterious token of a favour no less mysterious. If every faithful soul is knit to its Creator by the tie of a spiritual espousal, what must not have been the closeness of that union, which Catherine contracted when she received as her dowry "the perfection of faith."

The presence of the ring upon the holy virgin's finger must not be forgotten when, in after years, she put to shame the splendour of the courtiers of Avignon, or spoke as one having power before the assembled governors in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence; nor must we forget what was visible also to Catherine herself, though others saw her only as the rest of the Mantellate, wearing the black mantle and white habit of St. Dominic; when she clothed the Poor Pilgrim, He whom she had covered, coming again in glory, asked her if she recognized the garment she had given, and promised her instead a robe invisible to others, but visible and sensible to her alone, wherewith she should be clad till, in the presence of angels and saints, she would receive the garment of immortality. And, therefore, not only did she secretly wear the espousal ring ever after, but also that robe which had been drawn from the wounded side of her Redeemer and placed upon her with His own Hands, "a robe of sanguine colour, shining all about and yielding a marvellous beautiful light." Moreover, towards the close of her life she bore His Wounds unseen in her hands, and feet, and side, and the thorn-crown had been pressed upon her head by her own happy choice. But there are yet two of those amazing privileges upon which we would dwell in order to form some idea of the source of Catherine's supernatural power in her

public mission. Before the espousal she had been told to pray for the perfection of faith. Later, she was inspired to ask for the perfection of charity, and having obtained the promise that the Divine Will should be substituted for hers, there was given to her that unspeakable privilege to which her prayer had been the prelude, the replacing of her entire will and affection by those of her Spouse—the exchange of hearts which is too deep a mystery to fathom, but the story of which is told to every traveller to Siena, where in the lower part of the Dominican church a sacred spot is marked by a slab, bearing a heart and the brief inscription that here Catherine received the Heart of her Lord in exchange for her own. In her revelations the frequent mention of His wounded Side—whether she was raised up thither for comfort or drank therefrom the priceless reward of her superhuman self-conquest in tending the sick—amply indicates that she shared beforehand the devotion reserved for the latter days of coldness. But however much the exchange of hearts revealed to her of Christ or reveals to us of Catherine, perhaps there is nothing so marvellous as the manner in which she told the result of that favour. Well does our author say that in the soul of her who was regarded as a saint already, there must have been after that day a change as great as the transformation of an ordinary Christian into a saint. Yet she, the mystic Bride of Christ, saying to Him henceforth not I give Thee my heart, but “I give Thee Thy heart,” she who possessed the perfection of charity, and who had been suddenly raised to be conscious of no heart but the Heart of Jesus, could explain the change only by saying in broken words:—“Did you but know what I experience, surely if it could once be known there is no pride that would resist it. The fire of love which burns in my soul is so great, no earthly fire could compare with it, and it seems to renew in me the purity and simplicity of a little child, so that I feel as though I were no more than four years of age.” Yet another marvellous favour throws further light from Siena upon what Catherine was at Florence, and Pisa, and Lucca, Avignon and Rome. It is that mystery contained in the record, that realizing in prayer God’s love for man, her heart broke under the sudden strain of love, and she lay for four hours lifeless, and was mourned as dead. All at once, returning to life with a sigh, she wept ceaselessly for three days and three nights because she had seen heaven, purgatory, and hell, and having tasted the beatitude of the saints and believed her exile over, the Divine Will, the only will she knew, had sent her back to life, to warn the world of its iniquity, and travelling from city to city to win a great number of souls.

Hence her zeal, her life-long energy, and hence, in the beginning of her career, her untiring labours among the terrors of the plague at Siena.

For herself she was insensible either to fear or to the repugnances of nature. She had died and come to life again, and in whatever sense we understand that incident, she had come to regard this world as we also should regard it were we true to our profession of faith; as those could not fail to regard it to whom the last things and the eternal truths had by earnest meditation become realities. What were the chances of life or death, sickness or danger, to one who, as we may say, had seen eternity? What should they be to us who verily believe in it?

It was then with another heart than the heart of flesh, and with sight which had seen eternity, that she answered the command of our Lord, "Daughter, set thyself in readiness to go forth into the world."

Other supernatural favours of hers are beyond enumeration. Her voice in prayer became all-powerful, and her supernatural vision beheld the souls of those around her in life, as well as their state after death; and here it may be noted in proof of her perfect consistency, that her ready service in the burial of the dead arose from her joy in the death of the just. To her was given miraculous subsistence upon the Bread of Life; to her the companionship of Jesus, who spoke with her in her cell as a friend with a friend, or walked with her in the chapel Delle Volte, sharing in the recitation of her Office; and when the Bull of Canonization declares that her doctrine was "not acquired but infused," it is but little to add that she had been taught from heaven the worldly knowledge whereby she read the Office together with her Lord. To her, also, were given the long hours of rapture after communion, the miraculous communions, the life that might be called living in ecstasy. To her was said the sweet word of Providence: "Think of Me, and I will think of thee," and that still sweeter word, when realizing the favour shared by every child of the Church, she received from her Redeemer Himself absolution in the customary form, and felt for many days after the touch of the Divine Hand that had rested on her head in forgiveness. Yea, more, when others doubted her truth, her very face assumed the features of Him who abided within her. It was hers to wear a look which was called more angelic than human, and to diffuse from her touch or presence the perfume of sanctity; hers to pray for the virtue of the angels, until one of them visibly crowned her with a wreath of lilies of such beauty and fragrance that the mere recollection of that garland caused her a kind of rapture. And hers was the privilege of listening to the music of Paradise, at one time, when,

while standing at her window, the starlight of an Italian night rapt her into thoughts of the Eternal Uncreated Beauty, and suddenly there burst from the blue heavens the melody of angels; or at another time, when she heard vespers sung by the white multitude of virgins; or while yet she was conversing on earth, listened to the singing of saints and distinguished as if with mortal ear the voice of the Beloved Disciple and the "high sweet voice" of Mary Magdalen.

It needs instead of a few words a volume like that before us, to show that this ecstatic life rested on the same basis as that of the ordinary spiritual life, and that it would be erroneous to think it was lived under wholly different conditions. Not only are her steps of progress shown, but if we see her favoured beyond the rest, we see her also tried by storms of temptation and of calumny such as few could have survived or borne. We see the spotless spouse of Christ, the exalted ecstasica, lie prostrate upon the floor of her cell under the agony of prolonged temptation; we hear the life-long cry of her pure soul, "Peccavi, Domine, miserere mei!" Out of the whole history there strongly grows upon us the truth that Catherine Benincasa, rapt in ecstasy to see the beatitude of the saints, was still a child of Adam. And if, as it has been well said of the great Spanish Carmelites, it may be that what is laid up for us hereafter was vouchsafed to her here, the kingdom of heaven which was in some sense all but hers on earth, was hers only by the heroic violence that bore it away. She was espoused to Christ forever in vision; but she had endured a pitiless domestic persecution and worked with sweet alacrity at the meanest drudgery to keep her childhood's vow. The one "Cor Cordium" was the heart of her life, but let it be remembered that she had sought expression for her love neither in household charities nor in almsdeeds alone; Him whom she loved she sought "in the streets and broad ways of her native city, and she found Him in the hospitals of the lepers, and wherever sickness had assumed its most terrible and repulsive forms;" and in each sufferer she tended the person of her Lord. If she heard the melody of saints she had spent in silence scarcely hearing a human voice three years from her entrance into the Order of Penance. If she lived on the Food of Angels her life had become by fasting and watching more angelic than human, her fasts being rigorous from childhood and her slumber only half an hour in two days, and that brief rest taken with her head on those steps of brick that are still shown under the window of the cell, or else lying on that bed of boards which her contemporaries constantly mention. And if in that narrow cell

there abided the perfume of Paradise stirring the careless to compunction by its very breath, there were also, as Father Thomas della Fonte, her first confessor, testified, the hidden instruments of penance, the discipline which afterwards looked "as if it had been steeped in blood for a long time and then dried."

But even her austerities no less than her privileges are on such a heroic scale that by their enumeration the woman is lost in the saint. Let us turn then to the pages of her history, out of which comes living from five centuries ago the likeness of her womanhood, not dazzling but humbly winning, not stoical but sympathetic and keenly sensitive, not triumphing with the aureole but often despised and insulted; and surrounded by a crowd of souls, religious and laymen, men and women, attracted not alone by her sanctity but by her sympathy, and uniting with the confiding reverence of disciples the docile familiarity of children. The simple domestic character of the mistress and mother stands out most clearly. Except when she was travelling or paying a visit of kindness or charity, the house of her parents was always her home. Her tastes were refined; had she not been a saint she would still have been a woman of genius; but her heart was essentially homely. The beauty of nature delighted her; flowers, which she wove in crosses and garlands, were a source of pleasure to her even during the three years of seclusion, and she who had been known to sing the unearthly song of ecstasy, recreated herself often with more earthly songs of her Beloved.

She was never idle; when not engaged in prayer or in works of charity for the souls and bodies of others, she was always to be found either reading or working. Burlamacchi bids us take notice of the thimble that was in the bag of eggs, mentioned in one of the anecdotes of her life, as a proof that she was accustomed to use her needle. But we know as much from other circumstances. She mended and patched the mantle of her clothing, and made the vessels and altar-linen of her chapel. In fact she was skilful in all a woman's best accomplishments; she could wash and cook, make bread, or tend the sick, with those same hands that were to be sealed with the mysterious stigmas.

There is indeed, special mention of an ecstasy when she was turning the spit; and though one of the simplest stories, not the least beautiful and heavenly of her life, is the story of the multiplied bread which the Blessed Virgin helped her to make. Nor did the saint, even in public ecstasy, appear as a seraph to the Sienese. If we want to see how human she was and how commonplace she looked, let us turn to the time when she was

charged with singularity and hypocrisy by the townspeople and even by some of her friends, because of her long abstinence from food and her frequent reception of the Blessed Eucharist. The jealousy of her sisters in the Third Order had so worked upon the Prior of San Dominico, that Catherine was even refused when she knelt at the altar rail, and on the rare occasions when she received communion, she was expected to finish her prayers quickly, a thing for her impossible because of the hours of ecstasy which invariably followed it.

Low and vulgar minds will regard even the sublimest mysteries from a low and vulgar point of view. We can fancy the old sacristan fidgeting about with his keys in his hand, unable to shut the church doors because Catherine Benincasa was so long at her prayers. That was the limit of his view of the subject, and he found many among his brethren whose comprehension of the matter did not rise to a higher level than his own. So at last, one day, losing patience, they took her, all in ecstasy as she was, and carrying her off in a rough and brutal manner, they flung her out on a heap of rubbish outside the church doors, which they then proceeded to lock behind her. There she lay, cast out as if she had been some vile reptile, with her senses the while all rapt in God. . . . And this happened not once, but often. . . . She possessed her soul in patience, and by patience she at last overcame. Surely in the sight of the angels this is the sublimest page in Catherine's life. To many it is given in a certain sense to taste of the sufferings of their Divine Master, but comparatively few enjoy the privilege of sharing His humiliation. Catherine in her ecstasy, flung out of the church by rude hands, and lying in the broad thoroughfare under the scorching sun; kicked and spat upon by brutal men and spiteful women; but unmoved in her patience, always calm, always sweet, always silent; what a spectacle is this! what a reflection of the ignominies of Jesus! And having reached that depth of profound abjection, can we wonder that she should soar upwards from it to the sublimest heights of charity?

Such were the trials of the woman Catherine Benincasa, and the vivid picture that we have cited is an example of the manner in which the human depths of her life and its ordinary aspect are brought before us. But there is more than this to complete the character of Catherine; she was not exempt from the common lot of weakness and suffering, but shared it to a more than common degree. It is true that her presence was especially joy-giving, that her countenance readily expressed a gracious gladness, and that her power of consolation for others was unbounded, but in her own body she bore a continual matrydom day after day to life's end. She had accepted in his stead her father's purgatory, in the form of a pain which remained in her side until death. She was scarcely able to touch earthly food, and her incapacity for it caused continual

suffering. She had asked to share her Lord's Passion and as one of her disciples says, she was fastened to the cross all her life by threefold pain. Not only, then, are we to remember her invisible adornment by the Spouse, her glorious visions, her heroic austerities, her perfect simple womanhood; we are also to have before us when we think of the Catherine who was welcomed to Florence or who journeyed to Avignon, one who bore the exhausting burden of life-long pain. This sometimes forgotten fact is beautifully brought forward in a thoughtful passage which we are tempted to quote; it is descriptive of the portrait of the saint; two of these portraits are given in the volume, the first being the nearest approach possible to a likeness, but both agreeing in the chief points of feature and in the gentle bend of the head.

Gaze at it, dear reader, and bear in mind that she whom it represents was never for a moment free from a wearing bodily pain; you will detect in it something of the languor of suffering, and of that calm tranquillity which no provocation ever disturbed; but do not call it sad, for those eyes could have rested on you with unutterable tenderness, and those lips could always command a smile which carried joy and comfort into the hearts of those who beheld it. Raymond tells us that the beauty of Catherine was not excessive. But few persons when they think of the saints represent them as possessed of that kind of beauty which can be depicted by the brush or the chisel. We think of them with the light of faith beaming from their eyes, with purity on their smooth unruffled brows, and every feature sweetened by charity. We think of them as we think of our own mothers, who in the eyes and to the memory of their children are always beautiful; and sometimes we think of them as they were transfigured in moments of prayer and communion even before the eyes of men; a faint foreshadowing of that heavenly beauty which will rest on their countenances when we behold them standing in the eternal light.

Therefore, no matter how brilliant were her supernatural gifts, or how great her mission, St. Catherine stands forth from this history a lowly, or if we may use the word, a homely saint, and from these pages not only do we know her, but we become familiar with her in the strict sense of the word.

After the three years' silence of her cell, her mingling with the world was effected gradually, the intercourse with her family being extended by degrees to those beyond, while there gathered round her the circle of her "spiritual children." The first of these were her near relatives and some of the Mantellate; others came from the religious confraternity which held its meetings under the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala which she frequented; others again were drawn to her from the higher ranks of Siena through her intercourse with the noblest

families, such as the Tolomei or the Salimbeni, for throughout the whole city whether from the days of revolution or the visitation of plague and famine, the name of Catherine was known, and high and low had recourse to her as the angel of peace, the exorcist of evil spirits, the healer of the sick, the virgin powerful in prayer. We leave to readers of the history, the tracing of the lives of her companions. Her life-story was never told until theirs were interwoven with it: and we may well believe of all of them that in eternity they are not divided, but find the immortality of that holy love for God, and in God, which bound them together on earth; for although alas! it is true that an unnamed one fell away, there was for the rest the magnificent promise that not one of those who had been given to her should perish. First among them we must number her sister-in-law Lisa, and the young widow Alexia, and others of the Sisters of Penance such as Cecca di Gori and Giovanna Pazzi, or as she was named in jest, for their very jests are kept for us, Giovanna pazza. Then, turning to the brothers, we find her confessors, who were spiritual sons as well as guiding fathers—F. Thomas della Fonte, the holy but unlearned, F. Bartholomew Dominic with his graphic written portraits of her, F. Raymond of Capua who was to unite the notes of F. Thomas della Fonte and his own to form the basis of the Life or “Legend,” by which the world knows most of her. There was Fra Santi, too, holy in name and life, who found “the precious pearl of the gospel, our blessed Catherine,” and learned more from her discourse than from years in his hermitage. There was Father John Tantucci another hermit, a “great learned Doctor,” whose studies had begun at our own Cambridge; he, who came to disprove her sanctity, and generously acknowledging himself conquered left his hermitage, and followed the holy virgin henceforth in all her journeys, and, as Malevolti says, “he was one of the three confessors deputed by the See Apostolic to hear the confessions of those who by means of the said Holy Virgin, should be brought to salutary penance.” And there was Father William Flete, the English hermit, who did his part during the schism in keeping England faithful to the line of Peter, and who as one of her most attached disciples was wont to say that the Pope himself might think it an honour to be her spiritual son. And amongst men of the world there was the chivalrous Gabriel Piccolomini, planning with her another crusade; Ser Christofano di Gano the notary, without a vestige of romance, poetry or humour, but with “the fidelity and plodding perseverance of a terrier dog;” Francesco Malevolti, the rich young nobleman, brilliant and unstable but persevering even to a final victory of self-annihilation when after the saint’s death

there came upon him the yoke she had promised, in the form of admission among the Carthusians. Nor were there wanting the poet and the painter, among a band of fourteenth-century Italians. We get a glimpse here of her portrait by her disciple, Andrea, one of the artist family of the Vanni; and Anastagio di Monte Altimo and the knightly poet Jacomo del Pecora both celebrated her virtues in verse. Another poet, and one of the most interesting figures of the whole group, was the refined, melancholy, tender-hearted Neri di Landoccio, who ended his days in a hermitage after having been supported by Catherine in his life-long trial of want of hope and courage. The very opposite to his gentle despondent nature was that of Stephen Maconi, with his dashing vivacity and boyish brightness—all gone in a moment, when Catherine the mother was gone and he could only haunt her tomb. Nor must we forget Master Matheu, the rector of the Casa della *Misericordia* with whom Stephen Maconi had the hearty laugh reported in one of his letters. There was also Matthew Tolomei, the son of one of the noblest families of Siena; and many more named incidentally. But even a list of reference would be incomplete without mentioning the third secretary, who with Stephen Maconi and Neri shared the labours of the pen at Catherine's dictation; this was Barduccio Canigiani, worthy to be at her side supporting her in the hour of supreme agony and ecstasy in Rome, and worthy because of his angelic life, to be chosen as another beloved disciple, her "dear son Barduccio." We can only enumerate the chief among this family of benediction; in the history their individuality is strongly preserved and depicted with an admirable insight into character.

But her sphere of charity was never limited to the circle of disciples. Her fame spread from city to city, and every form of need or misery had a claim upon her heart. She was well-known at the place of public execution, the Giustizia, whither she accompanied the last journey and comforted the last moments of many a criminal, and of many another, too, who led astray in the restless revolutions of the time had been condemned for but little cause, and like the Pellico of a later age had accepted human justice as Divine mercy and found therein "la via del cielo, sotto il pese della croce." Nor was the great heart of the saint without its share in her master's zeal for souls. Her attraction of predilection was towards sinners, whom "her beautiful soul, stainless as the driven snow," sought out and rescued, saving, as it is related, thousands and tens of thousands.

Studying the characteristics of her sanctity, we perceive in her youthful perfection what one of our own poets saw in the

experience of age—a being made of many beings. She seems to have shown not one form of sanctity and active charity, but the united forms of many saints. But what shall we say of the unique mission which she was next called upon to fulfil, and which she did fulfil with an energy, a foresight, a manifold readiness and a simple ease of act and speech which showed her as much a consummate diplomatist as a simple saint. She advanced into the public life of her time, called thither by the renown of her sanctity, coming forward always with the reluctance of womanhood, but carried on with the force of a destiny; and throughout the time of her embassies and her intercourse with the Pope and the civil powers, her supernatural favours did not lessen nor her spiritual life change; visions and raptures, austerities, active charity, thirst to save sinners—all went on unchanged from the Tuscan cities to Avignon, from Avignon to Rome. Her union with the Spouse “was not weakened or obscured in after years by her converse with the world; but when outwardly speaking with men, her heart was always inwardly engaged with God, and in this lay the secret of that marvellous power which she exercised over all who approached her.” Her life was at once contemplative and active, hidden and public.

It was the time of Guelph and Ghibeline factions. When the Republican cities of Italy were torn by frequent insurrection, and the country ravaged by Free Companies such as those of a Duke Werner, a Fra Moreale, or a Sir John Hawkwood, who, when they were unemployed as mercenary troops, were little better than armies of brigands. Partly driven from the city of Peter by its tempests of revolution, partly led by the ambition of Philip le Bel, the Papal Court had been fixed at Avignon since 1305, and Rome was left to the bloodshed of party strife, and to consequent abandonment. In 1367, when Urban V. had returned to the Holy City, and gone back disheartened to France, he had found, as contemporary writers tell us, the churches and basilicas dilapidated, grass growing in the thoroughfares, heaps of rubbish and forsaken barricades encumbering the streets. Ten years after, in the time of Pope Gregory, it could have been but little altered, but its desolation was only a shadow of the spiritual desolation of the Church when the exile of Avignon had become changed into the splendour of a worldly Court, the religious orders relaxed, the Sacred College a clique of French courtiers, and the central example encouraging everywhere a splendour of ease and luxury that deadened the ecclesiastical character. Gregory XI. saw the evil, and knew the one remedy lay in a return to the Seven-Hills, but true-hearted Pontiff though he was, his mild irresolution stood

in the way of his wisdom. Too often misgoverned by his legates, the States of the Church were soon on fire with the spirit of revolution, and, led by Florence, no less than eighty minor cities revolted from his suzerainty; Florence, Papal and Guelph as it had been, was at the instigation of the Ghibeline Ricci and the senseless leaders of the "popolani," at open war with the Pope and lying under interdict; while its own government, divided between the contending Eight of War and the Guelph Captains, and shared among committees of magistrates, was, as it is aptly remarked, "a system which seemed to have been devised with the express view of promoting factions and misunderstandings." It was at this time of lawlessness and disaster, and during the course of this blood-stained revolt of the Florentines and the minor cities, that the holy fame of a virgin of Siena having long been whispered through the land, men of high rank from all parts, lay and ecclesiastic, began to have recourse to her for advice by letter, or to ask her assistance on a larger scale in her well-known work of negotiating peace; and thus, as it is expressly stated and amply proved, Catherine Benincasa, the simple tradesman's daughter, was "unavoidably" drawn into the current of public affairs. It was her task to hold back the sister cities of Pisa and Lucca and her own beloved Siena from joining in the revolt, and though they fell into ill-fame by holding intercourse with the greater Republic, and shared to some extent the ban of the interdict, it was largely owing to this one woman's tact and unremitting labour that they had the firmness to resist taking an open share in the crime of the Florentine war—a public crime which, however much provoked by individual mismanagement, had the nature of a parricidal act as well as of a sacrilege. It was in this light that Catherine saw the prolonged breaking away of the Republic of Florence from the Holy See, and her heart was torn, recognizing in it the rebellion of children against a Father, and the ruin of souls. Therefore, while on the one hand she urged entire submission, although she well knew how much reason there was for discontent, on the other she implored a speedy forgiveness and peace at any cost. Before the breaking out of these troubles, she was already in communication with the Pope, for with that enthusiasm which is the dower of all generous natures, she had taken up the idea of drawing the Christian States together for a new crusade; and this was also a cherished hope with Gregory. To bring back the Pope to Rome, and thereby plant in the midst of the Church the new example of a Papal Court with the austere dignity of an ecclesiastical centre of labour, instead of the splendid worldliness of Avignon; to exterminate the feuds of Italian factions by the union of Christendom in a

holy war, and not even to leave the enemies of the Church beyond the universal blessing but to make the conquered infidels "sharers in the Passion and Blood of the Immaculate Lamb"—these were the objects of her longing desire; the desire that was ever in her heart, finding expression by such words as the imploring message: "I am dying of desire and expectation; have pity on me, and beg the Christ on earth not to delay." The hope of a crusade having formed common ground for correspondence with Pope Gregory, before she had begun sending him envoys and letters with the object of effecting peace in Italy; and her personal presence having been of power already in some of the minor cities, the wisest of the Florentines considering her talent for negotiation and her correspondence with the Pope, invited her to their city, in 1376, to be the peacemaker between the great Republic and the Holy See. Already Count Robert of Geneva (destined to be the future anti-Pope Clement VII.) was leading into Italy the Papal army; and the Florence of the interdict was a scene of tumult and spiritual desolation, stained as it was with the slaughter of the Inquisitors and the Nuncio, and with the blood of rival factions. It is something amazing that in the midst of such a confusion of hostility and passion, Catherine Benincasa should have gained a hearing, and gained it despite the whole weight of the powerful Ricci family thrown against her. She made many friends there among high and low, one of them being the father of the future disciple, her dear son Barduccio; and finally, the best members of the Government sincerely, and the rest with at least a show of sincerity, besought her to save the city from destruction by pleading their cause at Avignon with the Sovereign Pontiff. She had already written to Gregory XI. praying for peace and using a familiarity of advice, which not only tells how cordial were her relations with him, but almost betokens the authority flowing from inward consciousness of a divine mission. She had addressed him as her "Dearest Father," conjuring him, in the name of Christ crucified, to come back to Rome, not to be discouraged by news of scandals and revolts, not to be dissuaded by those who would hinder him:—

Be generous and fearless. Respond to the call of God, who bids you return to the city of St. Peter, our glorious Head, whose successor you are; come and live there, and then raise the standard of the Holy Cross. This will deliver us from our wars, and divisions, and iniquities, and will at the same time convert the infidels from their errors. Then you will give good pastors to the Church, and restore her strength, for those who have hitherto devoured her have drained her of her life blood, so that her face is become quite pale. Do not

stay away because of what has happened at Bologna. I assure you the savage wolves are ready to lay their heads on your bosom like so many gentle lambs, and to ask mercy of you, as of their father. I conjure you, then, listen favourably to what F. Raymund and my other sons will say to you; they come to you on the part of Jesus crucified and are faithful children of Holy Church.

But now the written words were to be changed for word of mouth. She was the ambassador of Florence to Avignon; and to the Holy Father she sent beforehand a message, which in our own days has been unconsciously echoed in many a heart far from saintship but true to filial loyalty: "Tell the Christ on earth, that when I have seen him I shall sing my *Nunc dimittis*."

She saw him in the June of the same year, and her presence coming with simplicity but authority into the midst of the courtiers of Avignon caused not only wonder and objection, but in some cases persecution. Raymund of Capua says the whole Court at first rose up against her, but soon there was in all minds a wonderful change, and those who had opposed her most became her benefactors. The favour she found with Gregory is best told in the words of the same witness:—

The Holy Father, in my presence and by my mouth, committed the treaty of peace to Catherine's decision, saying to her: "In order to show you that I sincerely desire peace, I commit the entire negotiation into your hands; only be careful of the honour of the Church."

The result of this full commission of power into her hands would have been entire and immediate peace for the Italian Republics, but for the bad faith of the Florentines themselves. Her arrival at Avignon was to have been followed by the coming of ambassadors empowered to make full submission as a formal prelude to the treaty. But the ambassadors, when after long delay they came, were of the more intractable faction, and their replies to her reveal how mortifying and humiliating was the mission which to our eyes is apt to appear an exaltation rather than what it really was, a laborious and patient and in some degree a thankless undertaking. They curtly refused to treat with her, and when she reminded them of the pledge of submission given by them at Florence, they answered with insolence, refusing to settle the affairs of the Republic with anyone but the Pope. As a necessary consequence, the negotiations fell to the ground. But while she failed in one object through the fault of others, Providence had destined for her journey a far different end; and the grand success she gained was the return of the line of Pontiffs to their own city of Rome after seventy years of ruinous exile. In her personal intercourse with Gregory she forcibly urged upon

him the necessity of the return; but feeling bound under the yoke of the French Court and its Cardinals, and suffering keenly in his gentle nature from the appeals of his near relatives, he had not the strength of mind necessary to carry out his resolution. It was reserved for Catherine to gain the victory, and when she had proved the weight of her advice by revealing to him his own vow to return, a vow made long ago in secret, he was convinced; but he still felt the need of her fortitude, and besought her to remain with him up to the last moment, leaving Avignon only on the day of his own departure. She gladly stayed, gave her advice that preparations should be made secretly, inspired him with confidence for the final trial; and on the 13th of September 1376, while the courtiers refused to believe in the possibility of his actual departure, Gregory left Avignon for ever, achieving a triumph wholly supernatural, since he whose natural tenderness had so long held him captive, stepped forth from the palace doors unmindful of his own father's prostrate appeal. Rome, blazing with illumination, and with thronged streets, received him, as Peter D'Amely says, "with delirious joy;" while she who had been chiefly instrumental in the restoration was once more far from the luxurious French city, and as far from the praises of the world, hidden at Siena in her poor cell at the old Fullonica. But not only had she accomplished that life-giving change; she had won during the journey a harvest of souls, especially at Genoa, where, also, according to Caffarini, she had held discourse with many learned doctors and masters in theology who came to speak with her. Nor had her old project of a crusade been forgotten; and it was not till long after her labours by word and pen at Avignon, that the idea had to be given up, partly because of the feuds of the Italian cities, and partly because of such divisions of Christendom as the long wars between England and France. With regard to the hereditary contest in which England was involved, it may be of interest to note here that the successive Popes, Frenchmen though they were for half a century, and the saint of Siena herself, took a warm interest in negotiations for a peace favourable to England; and there is here a letter from Catherine to Charles the Wise entreating him to forego the question of rival claims and make peace for the sake of souls; still more, while she was at Avignon, the Duke of Anjou, to whom she had written engaging his services for a crusade, besought her to go to Paris and give her assistance in effecting a treaty of peace with the English. It was not only with the royal house of France that the "popolana" of Siena was drawn into correspondence. We find also her letters to the

tyrant Bernabo of Milan, the dread of northern Italy and the scourge of his people: and even his respect she commanded, so that his vain Queen, Beatrice, paid courtesy to the dyer's daughter to win her powerful friendship. To the Queen-mother of Hungary she also wrote in order that her son might be induced to take up arms for the Cross; and (not to mention many others) we have already alluded to a letter of hers at a later date, undoubtedly sent to Richard II. of England, or rather to his advisers, for at the beginning of the schism he was but a boy. There is one more whose name cannot be omitted. Among all Catherine's correspondents one of the most remarkable, because of her singular interest in that unhappy woman, is Queen Joanna of Naples, of dark and tragic renown. Catherine's first letter to her won a promise of co-operation in the expected crusade, a valuable promise, because she who was by a curious title the "Queen of Jerusalem," had command of the Southern Mediterranean, and would make of the Neapolitan kingdom an armed power halfway between the Western countries and the shores of Palestine. But in later years when the schism rent the Church, Joanna, who had been fast acquiring her historical evil name, belied all hopes by first joining the anti-Pope, and then feigning repentance to gain her own ends. There was a time when Catherine was on the verge of visiting her Court; she was reluctantly dissuaded from it, but she never gave up her interest in the unhappy Queen, and even when Joanna was excommunicated for having become a source of public danger through her treachery to the Holy See, it was not until Catherine's influence had long delayed the sentence. Two years after the death of Catherine Benincasa, the wretched Joanna met with her violent death in the Castello dell' Uovo in revenge of her crimes. The confronting of two such characters as the seraphic virgin and the ill-famed Queen of Naples, forms one of those episodes of history which fiction could not have invented, and which criticism does not dare to weigh.

After the restoration of the Sovereign Pontiff to Rome, Catherine's next great embassy was to Florence, whither she went at his desire early in 1378. It was then she delivered her three orations before the magistrates of the Republic assembled in the Palazzo Vecchio, and with such success that the interdict, which had been braved and broken by the Government and people, was once more accepted and obeyed. But though during her visit to the city she was again an angel of peace in reconciling the Guelph and Ghibeline partisans, there came a day when, in the outbreak known as the insurrection of the Ammoniti, her life was in actual danger,

Her advice to the Guelph Captains had been abused, till by lack of prudence they roused a popular tumult; and the ruffians of the city, charging her with the banishment of Ghibelines, sought her life, and would have shed the holy virgin's blood, had she not been delivered by a special Providence from the infuriated mob. She had thirsted in her heart for martyrdom, and kneeling, declared herself willing to suffer for God and for the Church, if only they would let her companions go unharmed. The murderous crowd withdrew in confusion, and she was left untouched, grieving for the lost chance of a swift passage to her Spouse, and still pleading as tenderly as ever for the peace of the city with the Holy See. The treaty was at length signed in July, 1738, and ratified at Rome in the following October. Catherine had refused to leave the city where her life had been in peril, until she saw granted the object of her prayers and labours. It was only after the treaty had been positively signed at Florence, that she acceded to the desire of her followers to place herself in the safety and tranquillity of Siena.

“By the grace of my Saviour Jesus Christ,” she said, “I have followed His commands and those of His Vicar; those whom I found revolted against the Church I leave subject to that sweet and tender mother. Now, therefore, let us return to Siena.”

Once again in her native city, she applied herself diligently to the composition of the celebrated Dialogue, the work that places Catherine of Siena among the few sainted women who have added to the treasures of mystical theology, associating her name in after ages with those of another Catherine, the exponent of the doctrine of purgatory, or of a Theresa who by singular concession has been ranked with the doctors of the Church.

The third and last part of the history opens with a concise narrative of the breaking out of the Great Schism of the West, when in the autumn of 1378 the French Cardinals, the great majority of the Sacred College, disputing the election of Gregory's successor, Urban VI., met at Agnagni, and elected the anti-Pope, the warlike Cardinal-Count of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. and drew away with him in mistaken allegiance France, the leader of Western Christendom, Spain, Scotland, and the treacherous Joanna's kingdom of Naples. England and a large part of Germany, the nobly Christian Hungary and the mountain-bound Bohemia, were foremost among the faithful lands; and that they were faithful is largely to be attributed to the prayers and letters of the humble daughter of St Dominic, who towards the end of that

year was summoned to Rome by Urban to be his counsellor in his hour of need and abandonment.

Like all her other saintly judgments, her horror of the schism took its force from her perfection of faith. At the first news of discord, she wrote to the Italian Cardinals, that the fear of ultimate heresy caused her inexpressible pain, and therefore she conjured them by the Precious Blood of redemption not to separate from the Head. "Alas, what misery! all the rest seems but a straw, a mere shadow, compared to the danger of schism." But the schism was already an existing fact, when for the first time she entered Rome to stand by the Holy Father, gently restraining his too stern temperament, and supporting him by her gift of counsel. If her letters to the Queen of Naples, to the Cardinals, and the powerful Count of Fondi, ended in failure; her energetic action was crowned with success, when she wrote to the magistrates of Florence, Bologna, Perugia, Venice, and her own Siena, to hold back those cities from joining in what her faith and ardour called the work of incarnate demons. The early months of 1379 were spent by her in incessant labour, now setting forth by letter, with clear precision, the arguments proving the validity of Urban's election; now foreseeing inevitable war after the bloodshed caused by the schismatic attack on Rome, and exhorting the commanders of Urban's forces, Count Alberic or the Englishman Hawkwood, to confide in the prayers that would be offered for the success of their arms; but throughout all her active occupation she was still the prayerful contemplative, treading with reverence from shrine to shrine of the city of martyrs, and dwelling within the circle of her spiritual family, some twenty-five of whom had come with her to Rome, their one home being supported only by the alms sent by Providence. At the close of April, the schismatic army of Free Lances having been broken at Marino by Alberic, and the Castle of St. Angelo unconditionally surrendered to Urban, Catherine advised a public procession of thanksgiving, in order to turn the exultation of the Romans into renewed devotion to their Pontiff; and, at her word, Urban walked bare footed from Sta-Maria in Trastevere to St Peter's, surrounded by a vast concourse of his clergy and people. But the following year, 1380, had hardly opened, when the work of treacherous hands became manifest among the Romans, and the life of Urban was in danger from his own subjects. Catherine in vain counselled conciliation instead of the exercise of a just but imprudently severe authority; the people rose in insurrection; and in vision the holy virgin saw the city filled with demons exciting them to parricide. Maimbourg, in his adverse history of the schism,

says that at this time an attempt was made to poison the Pope and that the mob attacked the Vatican, but were overawed by the appearance of Urban confronting them in his Pontifical vestments. He also states that Catherine quelled the popular tumults by open remonstrance, as well as by her prayers. But even if she interfered in person, it was certainly her secret prayer that conquered, for, from the moment when she heard of the threats of the citizens, she began to beseech God not to permit such a crime, and for the peace and unity of the Holy See she was offering the sublimest prayer of the creature, that of self-oblation:—

O Lord (she exclaimed), if Thy Justice must needs be satisfied, inflict on my body the chastisement which this people deserves; for the honour of Thy Name and of the Holy Church, I will cheerfully drain the chalice of suffering and death.

No sooner was the prayer made, than she felt that it was answered. From that day the disturbances in the city calmed down, but at the same time, as Raymund says in the Legend, her sufferings daily became greater, she wasted away till the skin seemed to adhere to the bone, and she was as a phantom of her former self. On Sexagesima Sunday her sufferings increased to a frightful violence.

It appears that whilst still in the Church of St. Peter's, a mysterious vision or sign of her approaching death and of its cause was granted to her. She not only saw but felt the Navicella, or Ship of the Church, laid on her shoulders. Crushed by the awful weight, she sank fainting to the ground; she understood that she was in some way to give her life for the Church, as a true victim, and from that moment her bodily strength began visibly to consume away. This remarkable incident was followed on her return home by an attack or crisis of supernatural suffering.

As she herself declared, the evil spirits were furious against her, and terror was joined to her other pains. The supreme crisis is told by herself with an inimitable power of suggesting the indescribable by human language. On the following day she had left her cell to go to the chapel in her house, leaning on her son Barduccio, when the fury of the demons threw her to the ground.

“And lying on the ground it seemed as if my soul quitted the body; not in the same way as it did that other time, because *then* I tasted the joy of the blessed, enjoying with them the Sovereign Good; but now it seemed to me that I was a thing apart. I did not seem to be in my body, but I beheld my body as though it had belonged to some other person; and my soul, seeing the distress of him who was with me, (*i.e.*, Barduccio), wished to know if I could use my body so as to be able to say to him: ‘My Son, be not afraid.’ But I found I could

not move my tongue nor any other member, any more than if my body had been utterly without life. So I left my body as it was, and fixed my understanding on the abyss of the Holy Trinity."

After narrating her communing with God, her offering of the Blood of the Lamb, and the respite of comfort that followed, her subsequent description continues:—

"Then my body began to breathe a little, showing that the soul had returned to it. I was full of wonder, and there remained such a pain in my heart, that I still feel it. Then all joy, all consolation, and all strength seemed taken from me, and being carried into the room above, it seemed to me full of demons who began a fresh attack, the most terrible I ever sustained; for they sought to make me believe that it was not I that was in my body, but an unclean spirit. But I invoked the Divine Help with the utmost tenderness, refusing no suffering, but repeating, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende, Domine ad adjuvandum me festina!*"

Where is the recorded martyrdom that surpasses the intensity of anguish shadowed forth in these words of the virgin spouse of Christ? And for two days and nights such conflicts lasted, while her disciples mourned her as dead. The marvels of her last sufferings, which seemed to reach both physically and spiritually the verge of human endurance, can only be told by her own letter to Raymund of Capua; but there is one revelation too wonderful to be omitted—the violent taking of her heart by the Eternal God, that its life-blood might be pressed out over His Church, in answer to her prayer: "O Eternal God, accept the sacrifice of my life for the mystical body of Thy holy Church; I have nothing to give save that which Thou hast given to me; take my heart then, and press it out over the face of Thy Spouse!" It was no wonder, then, that when lying on her bed of boards she bade farewell to her son and father, Bartholomew Dominic, Prior of San Domenico, she should have assured him that she desired of God to expiate in person the sins of the schism, and that, should her life end, the cause of her death was the zeal with which she was consumed for the holy Church. So died five hundred years ago, with the triple crown of the virgin, the teacher of truth, and the martyr for the See of Rome, the Spouse of Christ, Catherine of Siena. And we leave to those who follow the pages of her history the privilege of all but witnessing, by means of graphic and detailed narrative, the closing scene of the saint's life, when, calling humbly for pardon and for "the Blood," she went forth from the circle of her weeping children and her own sorrowing mother, to meet the Spouse of her childhood's vow.

From five centuries ago her death as well as her life comes before us in her history as vividly as many a scene of actual

experience in the nineteenth-century world. Well is it said that, in contemplating her and her companions, time vanishes "like the needle's point;" and while we view familiarly the saintly character, we have the advantage over her contemporaries in at least one sense, for we are able to look upon its objects and its effects as a whole. We can see that it was through the simplicity of life and aim engendered of her perfection of faith, that the weak untaught woman of a little Tuscan city became the peace-maker of the Italian Republics and the adviser of kings; and the force of consistent faith and act even in the material world, is surely the legend written across her life in letters so bold that "all who run may read." But the Saint of Siena was also the Saint of Rome; and, glancing at her career as a whole, we perceive what one might venture to call in a high sense the ruling passion of her life and death, in devotion to the person of the Vicar of Christ—the outcome necessarily of her stupendous strength of faith. It is impossible to imagine how much she actually effected for the unity of the Church, not only by her prayers and sacrifice for healing the schism of the West, but still earlier by her instrumentality in restoring the seat of the Papacy to Rome. For nearly forty years the seamless garment of Christ was rent after the restoration; but who can compute how long the scandal of the anti-Popes might have been prolonged, had a disputed election taken place at the Court of Avignon, where the influence of the schismatical party in France might have supported interminably, on ground consecrated in the popular eyes by the tradition of more than half-a-century, a Pope of Avignon against a Pope of Rome. It was a contingency which Catherine's prophetic clearness of sight may well have dreaded. But this is surmise, not history; the historical facts remain that Catherine Benincasa was foremost in effecting the longed-for return from the captivity of Avignon, and that this inestimable service to the Holy See was crowned by the voluntary offering of her life for the welfare of the Church. May she who saw Christ in His Vicar, and was led thereby to such royal-hearted devotion to the See of Rome, strengthen in these days the loyalty that centres in the successor of Peter, of Gregory, and of Urban, and inspire a fresh enthusiasm for the Rome of captivity and humiliation.

ART. VII.—THE SUPPRESSION OF THE
CONGREGATIONS IN FRANCE.

1. *Les Congrégations Religieuses en France ; leurs Œuvres et leurs Services : avec une Introduction.* Par EMILE KELLER, Député. Paris : Poussielgue Frères. 1880.
2. *Les Décrets du 29 Mars, 1880, sur les Congrégations non-autorisées.* Etudes rétrospectives sur les Consultations de MM. H. de VATHESNIL et BERRYER, &c. Paris : Durand et Pedone-Lauriel. 1880.
3. *L'Expulsion des Jésuites, et des autres Religieux au nom des Lois Existantes.* Par ANTONIN LERAC. Paris : Librairie de la Société Bibliographique. 1880.
4. *Enseignement Secondaire Congréganiste.* 3^{ème} ed. Paris : Lecoffre. 1879.
5. *Les Erreurs de M. Spuller.* 3^{ème} ed. Paris : Lecoffre. 1879.

ON the 15th of March, the famous "Article 7" of M. Ferry's Education Bill was rejected by the Senate of the French Parliament by a majority of 18 in a house of 282. At the last moment, and when M. Eugène Pelletan had made a final effort to carry the Government proposal by once more bringing forward the original Clause in the shape of an amendment to the Report of the Committee—at the moment when the vote was about to be taken, M. Freycinet, the President of the Council of Ministers, ascended the tribune and made the following declaration :

Gentlemen :—I have but a single word to say to the Senate. At the end of the first discussion M. Dufaure made an appeal to the Government which we could not leave without a reply. M. Dufaure expressed his hope that, before the discussion was resumed, the Government would be able to find a compromise (*transaction*) by means of which an agreement might be arrived at. Notwithstanding that appeal, and in spite of our respect for the illustrious man from whom it came, we did not propose any fresh form of words, because we really believed that Article 7 was itself a compromise. (Approval from the Left.) That compromise has been rejected, and we cannot see any other solution than to *put in force existing laws* ; and the Government has no choice but to accept the situation in which it finds itself placed by the vote of the Senate. (Applause from the Left. Excitement on the Right.)

These words were the first sounds of that persecution which

was to be begun in a few days with all the formality of Presidential decrees. At the moment, they produced on the Senate no effect whatever, and the amendment was rejected with virtually the same majority with which the Report of the Committee had been carried.

The defeat of the Government project for taking the education of France out of the hands of the "congregations," roused the whole revolutionary party to fury. The "opportunists" (that is, M. Gambetta's intimate circle, who are quietly arranging the future of France) for once broke out into a noisy rage, hardly surpassed by the demonstrations of the Extreme Left themselves. Jules Simon and Dufaure, staunch republicans as they had proved themselves, were abused as violently as the Catholic Chesnelong and Lucien Brun. Since legislation had failed, executive measures must take its place. The "congregations" must be proscribed, if they could not be tied up. The Jesuits, above all, must be dealt with speedily and summarily; the Senate had refused to banish them from the ranks of French teachers; the Government must simply banish them from France itself. Acts of Parliament, it was discovered, were quite unnecessary; there were old laws still in force, shreds and tags of disreputable "decrees" owing all sorts of different authors—Bourbon kings, revolutionary tyrants, dictators, constitutional monarchs—that could be patched together for so good a purpose. M. Gambetta's organ, the *République Française*, frankly declared on March 16th that troubles were about to begin:—

Yesterday's vote seriously changes the situation. For ourselves, we must get ready once more for war. As for the Government—it must assume at once that new attitude, that attitude of firmness and of energy, rendered necessary by the vote of the friends of Simon and Dufaure. For we have the Government still, we Republicans of the Left. The eighteen voices of the Senate do not shake the Government; they strengthen it. Neither the Cabinet, nor the President, who has so boldly pledged himself to action, nor M. Ferry, who has become the bearer of a flag, has lost one particle of authority or of power. The Chamber will soon give them a renewed lease and the plainest directions what to do. . . . No legislation is required. An administrative ordinance is enough; and the administration depends on the Cabinet, and the Cabinet on the Chamber.

The Ferry Bill was bad enough, even without Article 7. It suppressed the admission of Catholic authorities on the Examining Boards of the University; it prohibited all denominational (or "free") establishments from assuming the title of "University," and it decreed that no fees could be charged for the admission of members to any establishment of superior education—thus ruinously handicapping the Catholic Universities in their com-

petition with the highly-paid State faculties. The Chamber of Deputies wanted more; but this was something, and they accepted it. What made them perhaps more readily acquiesce in the amendment of the Senate, was the reflection—distinctly put on record by the Government in the preamble of the measure, even before M. Freycinet's declaration quoted above—that it was not intended, even if Article 7 had been passed, that any existing powers in regard to the Congregations should thereby be rendered inoperative. The wavering fringe of the Republican party caught at this. There was no doubt that Article 7 had made a most violent stir in the country; it would be as well to make sure of the main provisions of the Bill, and throw on the Government the burden of making good—at some future time—the words it had, perhaps somewhat incautiously, uttered.

The Left did not lose a moment in showing they were determined to make the Government act. Devés, Philippoteaux, Spuller, and others, asked M. Freycinet, the very next day, what he meant to do. "We want," said Devés, "a plain declaration (*manifestation nette*) which may reassure the country and put an end to its fears." Some member of the Right here called out, "It is the Republic that the country fears, and no wonder." Then the Prime Minister stood up once more and said:

Gentlemen:—The Government has nothing to add to what it had occasion to say yesterday. The Government declared, and I now repeat; We shall enforce the laws; we shall enforce them on our own responsibility, and under the full sense of the great and manifold interests which are entrusted to us, and for which we must each day account to you. We reserve to ourselves complete liberty of action; we shall always be ready to answer to you for the way in which we use that liberty; and, in this delicate task now before us, a task which requires both prudence and firmness, we ask you to strengthen our hands by the expression of your confidence. (Loud applause from the Centre and the Left.)

The debate which ensued after this so clearly shows the temper of the persecuting party, and is so thoroughly characteristic of a French Chamber, that a few extracts will be both useful and interesting. The Ministerial declaration was accepted at once by both sides as a pledge that the Government was going to expel the Jesuits. The first speaker was M. de la Bassetière, the well-known Catholic orator of La Vendée. His principal point was that the Government had no legal power to expel any "religious" whatever. He reminded the Senate that the point of the legal existence of the Jesuits had been raised in the most formal and precise way in the discussions which preceded the passing of the Falloux Education Act of

1850, and that the amendment which denied that legal right had been opposed by Thiers, Cousin, Dupanloup, and Falloux himself, and registered by the Assembly. Were they going to bring down on themselves the crushing sarcasm of Père de Ravegnan? "The name of Jesuit is one that hate is glad to get hold of; it is a name which makes justice superfluous."* In the name of law and liberty they must have the courage to give the Jesuits fair play.

Thereupon rushed to the tribune M. Madier de Montjau, a deeply-dyed republican, and his speech, though it is not pleasant reading, so well brings before an English public the furious injustice which possesses the dominant party in France that they will be thankful to have a rather long extract from it. "Who talks of law," he shrieked out, almost before he got to the top of the steps; "who talks of law, when he is talking of those whose very existence is a flagrant and permanent violation of the law?" He continued, amid the applause of the Left:

Gentlemen:—The situation of France is at this moment extremely grave; I am not exaggerating; I say it is grave in an unparalleled degree. Men whom France never sees at work except for her degradation and her ruin—men for whose benefit a lying legend of heroism has been invented which they have never deserved—men whose footsteps are found wherever oppression and suffering are found, and whom I follow through history by the bloody track they have made, from the sixteenth century, which gave them birth, down to 1815, when they filled our southern provinces with rapine and murder—(Prolonged applause from the Left and Centre) those disastrous and hateful men, those men whom we cannot but fear, because they consider all means good which will compass their ends, because they make a complete surrender of their will, that is, of their conscience, so as to have, at the service of crime, both the unity of action of an individual and the collective power of an association; these men, twenty times condemned and branded before all the world and before this nation, not only by the national instinct, but by the laws and the law courts—here, I say, lies the seriousness of the situation—these men, under the eyes of a nation which breathes the breath of Rabelais, and lives by the spirit of Voltaire, of a people who may not know all that we know, but which hates these brigands by instinct, and feels the danger of their existence; yes, before the very eyes of this country and this nation, these men, twenty times condemned, twenty times driven out, have not only kept themselves above the national will, and above the law, but they have struck their roots in our generous soil, without laying down one of their own weapons; they have thriven and grown, and taken up strong positions everywhere as if the country belonged to

* Ce nom, il est heureux pour la haine; il dispense de la justice.

them; like the hideous *pieuvre*, they have stretched out deadly arms on all sides to strangle their country, sucking out its money, its intellect, and its conscience! (Cheering from the Left and the Centre.) We have never had a Government yet which could understand the scandal and the sin of allowing this to go on—or which has dared to be the Hercules to deliver the country from this monster. Will you be the one? Or must we seek him elsewhere? Do you feel yourselves big enough and strong enough to crush the thing which hitherto no one has dared to touch? I want an answer. I stand here to ask you if you have this firm determination. I think you must plainly see—how can you help seeing?—what the most careless looker-on must see, this disastrous monopolization of France. I would fain think that you have taken the invincible resolution to fight this solemn and decisive battle all along the line, right flank and left, centre and wings; that you feel that confidence in your cause and certainty of yourselves which are a pledge of victory, and that you promise to bring us home soon the spoils of the vanquished, the spoils of these detestable Congregations! (Some applause on the Left.)

The patience of the Right here gave way—no wonder—and in the midst of a storm of angry exclamations, M. Anisson-Duperron was heard to cry out, “This is shameful! It means hatred and civil war!” The republican orator, however, went on. It appears that he had a very vague idea as to what existing laws were really available for the purpose of crushing the Congregations, for he finished his outburst by entreating the Government, if they had no other weapon, to enforce the law against the “International!” He said:

There is one law which I have not yet pointed out to you; one which, nevertheless, has a marvellous fitness in the present case. I will read Art. I. of this law, which is dated, I believe, 1872. “All International associations”—(ironical laughter from the Right; applause from the Left)—The President of the Council requires power; my object is to give him more. The older texts seem to have left him in some hesitation; I am offering him a weapon fresh from the forge, which will do his work to a nicety. I say “All International Associations, which, under any denomination whatsoever, and notably under that of an International Association of labour”—that last is the only word which does not apply to the Congregations—(laughter and applause from the Left)—“having for its object to impede and stop labour”—we know that whenever a Congregation makes a proselyte it makes him an idle drone—(here the Right exclaimed, but were called to order)—“to impede and stop labour, to abolish the right of property”—mortmain is the abolition of modern property—“to abolish the family”—those who preach that celibacy is the perfect state, and make out marriage to be morally lower, who teach their disciples to break family ties and to change their very names when they enter the cloister, are they not real enemies of the family?—“to abolish La Patrie”—you know their hymn, “Save Rome and France” afterwards,

if there is time!—"to abolish the free practice of religious worship"—they don't abolish that; certainly not; they defend it—by the rack, by massacre, by the stake, by torture, always and everywhere; they patronized it in my own unfortunate country by the assassinations and the "white terror" of 1815; you know well what they mean by liberty of worship. "Every such Association by the very fact of its existing, and having branches in French territory shall constitute a criminal infringement of the public peace." . . . Government, it is your work to put an end to this work of destruction, of gangrene, of national death; you are the nation's servant. Explain to us how and when you are going to do so. (Renewed applause from the extreme Left. Great excitement in the House).

As the French Catholic papers point out, this speech of M. Madier de Montjau's, applauded as it was by a majority of the Chamber, is important as showing how things are going. When he came down, the excellent Catholic orator, M. Keller, undertook to answer him. When he assured the House that it was impossible to separate the cause of the Congregations from that of religion itself, a voice from the Left called out with engaging frankness, "So much the worse for you!" M. Keller made a great point of showing that it was unconstitutional for the Deputies to try to annul a vote of the Senate; and that the Deputies were thus attempting to make one Chamber all-powerful. This, we think, was a mistake. Theoretically, the two Houses are equal; each has a right to vote as it pleases. If at any time they find themselves opposed to each other, the Constitution knows no way out of the dead-lock, except such as the good-feeling of each House may discover. On this particular occasion, after some more discussion, the Chamber, by 338 votes to 147 adopted the "order of the day" of M. Devés; "the House, reposing confidence in the Government, and counting on its firmness in enforcing the laws relative to non-authorized Congregations, passes to the order of the day." The next step was to be taken by the Ministers themselves.

In exactly a fortnight after the vote of the Senate, the *Journal Officiel* published a Report and two Decrees. The Report was addressed by the Minister of Justice, Cazot, and the Minister of the Interior, Lepère, to the President of the Republic. The two Decrees are signed by the President himself, and backed by the signatures of the same Ministers. As these three documents, on the text of which depends the understanding of the exact limits of the present persecution, have never been published in full in English, our readers will be glad to have them placed before their eyes:—

Report to the President of the French Republic.

Paris, March 29, 1880.

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT :—It is a principle of our public law that no religious corporation, whether of men or of women, may establish itself in France without authorization. This principle is particularly laid down in Clause 11 of the Organic Law of the Concordat of the 18th Germinal, year X.—“The Archbishops and Bishops may, with the authorization of the Government, establish in their dioceses cathedral chapters and seminaries. All other ecclesiastical establishments are abolished,” as well as in Clause 4 of the Decree Law of the 3rd Messidor, year XII.—“No aggregation or association of men or women may henceforth be forced under pretext of religion unless it has been expressly authorized by an Imperial decree, after inspection of the statutes and regulations according to which it is proposed to live in that aggregation or association.”

Notwithstanding these precise dispositions, a large number of corporations, both of men and of women, have been formed in France, especially under the Second Empire and since the events of 1870. A census of 1877 showed the existence of 500 non-authorized corporations, comprising nearly 22,000 religious of both sexes. The public powers have sometimes tolerated and sometimes sought to put an end to this state of things, according to the exigencies of the cases and the demands of public opinion. Who does not recollect, for instance, the celebrated interpolation addressed by M. Thiers to the Ministry of M. Guizot in 1845, and which resulted in the almost unanimous adoption by the Chamber of Deputies of an order of the day requesting the Government to enforce the existing laws on the non-authorized corporations?

A similar case has just occurred. After the discussion of the Bill on higher education, and the declarations that the present Cabinet were led to make before the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies voted on the 16th inst., by an immense majority, the following order of the day:—

“The Chamber, confident in the Government and counting on its firmness in enforcing the laws relative to the non-authorized corporations, passes to the order of the day.” The duty, therefore, of the Executive is to bring the various non-authorized congregations scattered over the territory of the Republic, to conform to the tutelary rules marked out by the legislation in force, and to furnish the proofs without which a longer sufferance cannot be maintained. On these proofs being furnished, the public authorities will have to judge which of these communities can be authorized. Among the non-authorized congregations, however, there is one, by far the most important, the special position of which it is impossible to disregard. We mean the Society of Jesus, which has been at various times prohibited, and against which the national sentiment has always been pronounced. There is not a Government which would venture to propose its recognition to the Legislative Assemblies. To ask this Society now to fulfil the formalities preliminary to its authorization, when it is known before-

hand that that authorization would be refused, would not seem either becoming or dignified. It is certainly preferable to accord it at once a reasonable interval, after which it will cease to exist as a community. The object here is not to persecute its individual members, and strike a blow at individual rights, as it has been attempted, but in vain, to show, but solely to prevent a non-authorized society from exhibiting itself by acts contrary to law. We are, therefore, induced, M. le President, to propose to you two separable decrees to put a stop to the abuses pointed out by the vote of the Chamber, the first decree fixing the interval on the expiration of which the establishments of the Order of Jesuits in France must be closed, and the second decree settling the formalities to be fulfilled by all the other non-authorized communities. We beg you to attach your signature thereto. Accept, Monsieur le President, the homage of our respectful duty.

JULES CAZOT, *Minister of Justice.*

CH. LEPÈRE, *Minister of the Interior and of Worship.*

II.

DECREE AGAINST THE JESUITS.

The President of the French Republic on the Report of the Minister of the Interior and of Worship, and of the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice.

Whereas Article 1 of the Law of the 19th of February, 1790, provides that "the Constitutional Law of the kingdom shall no longer recognize solemn monastic vows of persons of either sex; consequently the regular orders and congregations in which such vows are taken, are, and remain, abolished in France, so that similar ones cannot in future be established;"

Whereas Article 1, Chapter 1, of the Law of 18th of August 1792; Article 11 of the Concordat; Article 11 of the Law of the 18th Germinal, year X., provide that "The Archbishops and Bishops may, with the sanction of the Government, establish cathedral chapters and seminaries in their dioceses: all other ecclesiastical establishments are abolished;"

Whereas the Decree Law of 3 Messidor, year XII., which pronounces the immediate dissolution of the congregation or association known under the names of Fathers of the Faith, Adorers of Jesus, or Paccanarists, also provide that "All other communities or associations formed on pretext of religion, and not authorized, shall also be dissolved;"

Considering Articles, 291 and 292 of the Penal Code, and the Law of the 10th of April, 1834;

"Considering, that prior to the aforesaid Laws and Decrees the Society of Jesus was abolished in France, under the Old Monarchy, by various Decrees and Edicts, especially the Decree of the Parliament of Paris of the 6th of August, 1762, the Edict of November, 1764, the Decree of the Parliament of Paris of the 9th of May, 1792, and the Edict of May, 1777;

That a Decree of the Court of Paris of the 18th of August, 1826, delivered by all the Chambers united, declares that the present state of legislation is expressly opposed to the re-establishment of the so-called Society of Jesus, 'under whatever denomination it may present itself;' and that it appertains to the public police of the kingdom to dissolve all establishments, aggregations, or associations which are or might be formed in contempt of the Decisions, Edicts, Law, and Decree above mentioned ;

That on the 21st of June, 1828, the Chamber of Deputies referred to the Government petitions pointing out the illegal existence of the Jesuits ;

That on the 3rd of May, 1845, the Chamber of Deputies voted an order of the day, calling for the enforcement of the existing laws, and that the Government set to work to effect their dispersion ;

That on the 16th of March, 1880, after debates in both Chambers, which more particularly bore upon the Order of Jesuits, the Chamber of Deputies demanded the application of the laws on non-authorized congregations ;

That thus, under the different *régimes* which have followed each other, as well as before as after the Revolution of 1789, the public powers have constantly affirmed their right and their will not to endure the existence of the Society of Jesus, when the Society, abusing the toleration accorded it, has attempted to reconstitute itself and extend its influence ;

It is Decreed :

Article 1.—A delay of three months, from the date of the present Decree, is accorded to the so-called aggregation or association of Jesus, to dissolve, pursuant to the above-named laws, and to evacuate the establishments it occupies over the territory of the Republic.

This delay will be prolonged to the 31st of August, 1880, for the establishments in which literary or scientific instruction is given by the association to the young.

Art. 2.—The Minister of the Interior and of Worship, and the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, are charged—each in his own province—with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*, and in the *Journal Officiel*.

Given at Paris, the 29th of March, 1880.

JULES GRÉVY.
CH. LEPÈRE.
JULES CAZOT.

III.

DECREE AGAINST THE OTHER RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS.

*The President of the French Republic on the Report of the
Minister of the Interior and of Worship, and of
the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice.*

Whereas Article 1 of the Law of the 13th and 19th of February, 1790, provides that : "The constitutional law of the kingdom no longer recognizes solemn monastic vows of persons of either sex ;

consequently orders and regular congregations in which such vows are taken, are, and remain, suppressed in France, and like ones may not be established in future ;”

Whereas Article 1, Chapter 1, of the Law of the 18th August, 1792 ; Article 11 of the Concordat, Article 11 of the Law of the 18 Germinal, year X., provides that : “ The Archbishops and Bishops may, with the authorization of the Government, establish cathedrals, chapters and seminaries in their dioceses. All other ecclesiastical establishments are suppressed ;”

Whereas the Decree Law of 3 Messidor, year XII., decides that : “ All congregations or associations formed under pretext of religion, and not authorized, shall be dissolved ;” that “ The Laws which oppose the admission of every religious order bound by perpetual vows, shall continue to be enforced according to their form and tenour ;” that : “ No aggregation or association of men or of women, can for the future be formed under pretext of religion, until it has been formally authorized by an Imperial decree, based on the Statutes and Regulations according to which it is proposed to live in such aggregation or association ;” that nevertheless the aggregations there named shall continue to exist in conformity with the Decrees authorizing them, “ provided that the said aggregations do present, within six months, their Statutes and Regulations, to be examined and verified in the Council of State, on the report of the Councillor of State charged with all affairs regarding Worship ;”

Whereas the Law of the 24th of May, 1825, provides that ; “ No religious congregation of women shall be authorized until the Statutes, duly approved by the Diocesan Bishop shall have been examined and registered at the Council of State, in the form required for the Bulls of a Canonical Institution ;”

That “ The Statutes cannot be approved and registered if they do not contain a clause that the congregation is subject, in things spiritual, to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary ;”

That “ After the examination and registration, authorization shall by a Law be accorded to such of these congregations as did not exist on the 1st of January, 1825 ;”

That “ With regard to such of these congregations as did exist prior to the 1st January, 1825, authorization shall be granted by an ordinance of the King ;”

That, finally, “ No establishment of an authorized religious congregation of women shall be founded, unless previously it have been informed of the expediency and the difficulties of the establishment, and unless the consent of the Diocesan Bishop, and the Notice of the Municipal Council of the Commune in which it is to be founded, be produced on demand, and the special authorization to found the establishment shall be granted by an ordinance of the King, which shall be inserted within fifteen days in the *Bulletin des Lois* ;”

Whereas the Decree Law of the 31st January, 1852, provides that : “ Religious congregations and communities of women shall be authorized by a Decree of the President of the Republic :

“ 1.—When they shall declare that they adopt, whatever the epoch of their foundation, the statutes already examined and registered at the Council of State, and approved for other religious communities ;

“ 2.—When the Diocesan Bishop shall attest that the congregations which will present new statutes to the Council of State existed previously to 1st of January, 1825 ;

“ 3.—When it shall be necessary to unite several communities which cannot longer exist separately ;

“ 4.—When a religious association of women, that was at first recognized as a community ruled by a local superior, shall show that it was really directed, at the date of its authorization, by a general superior, and that it had formed at that date establishments dependent on her ;

“ And that in no case shall authorization be accorded to religious congregations of women, except after the consent of the Diocesan Bishop has been shown ;”

And whereas there are Articles 291 and 292 of the Penal Code and the Law of the 10th April, 1834 ;

It is Decreed :

Art. 1.—Every non-authorized congregation or community is bound, within three months from the date of the promulgation of the present Decree, to take the steps above specified, in order to obtain the recognition and approbation of its Statutes and Regulations, and legal recognition for each of its establishments actually existing.

Art. 2.—The demand for authorization must, within the interval above granted, be lodged at the general *secretariat* of the Prefecture of each department wherein the association possesses one or more establishments.

A receipt will be given for it.

It will be transmitted to the Minister of the Interior and of Worship, who will examine the matter.

Art. 3.—As to congregations of men, a Law shall be enacted. As to congregations of women, following the rule and distinctions established by the Law of the 24th May, 1825, and by the Decree of the 31st January, 1852, either a Law shall be enacted or a Decree made by the Council of State.

Art. 4.—For those congregations which according to the terms of Art. 2 of the Law of the 24th May, 1825, and of the Decree of the 31st January, 1852, can be authorized by a Decree of the Council of State, the formalities to be followed in the examination of their demand, shall be those prescribed by the 3rd Article of the aforesaid Law of 1825, in which no change is made.

Art. 5.—For all other congregations, the documents to be produced on the demand for authorization shall be those named above.

Art. 6.—The demand for authorization must name the superior or superiors, their place of residence, and assert that such residence is, and shall remain fixed in France. It must point out whether the association extends beyond France, or is confined within the territory of the Republic.

Art. 7.—To the demand for authorization must be appended:
 1. A list of the names of all the members of the association; this list must specify the native place of each member, and whether he is a Frenchman or a foreigner; 2. The assets and liabilities, as also the revenues and duties of the association and of each of its establishments; 3. A copy of its statutes and regulations.

Art. 8.—The copy of the statutes, the production of which is thus required, must bear the approbation of the Bishops in whose dioceses the association has establishments, and must contain the clause that the congregation or community is subject, in things spiritual, to the jurisdiction of the ordinary.

Art. 9.—Every congregation or community that has not, within the delay above granted, made the demand for authorization together with the informations on which it rests, will incur the application of the Laws in vigour.

Art. 10.—The Minister of the Interior and of Worship, and the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, are charged, each in his own province, with the execution of the present Decree, which shall be inserted in the *Journal Officiel* and the *Bulletin des Lois*.

Given at Paris, the 29th of March, 1880.

JULES GRÉVY.

CH. LEPÈRE.

JULES CAZOT.

To make these Decrees perfectly clear, it will be necessary to translate Articles 291 and 292 of the Penal Code, referred to in the Decrees themselves.

Art. 291.—No Association of more than twenty persons, for the purpose of meeting together daily or on certain appointed days for purposes, religious, literary, political or other, shall be formed except with permission of the Government, and on such conditions as the public authority shall impose upon the Society. In the number of persons indicated in these Articles are not comprised those domiciled in the house where the Association meets.

Art. 292.—Every Association of the kind described above, which shall be formed without authorization, or which, after having obtained it, shall infringe the conditions imposed, shall be dissolved. The heads, directors or administrators of the Association shall moreover be punished by a fine of sixteen to two hundred francs.

We have inserted these Decrees and other documents *verbatim* because there is every prospect that they will be acted upon to the letter, at least in the case of the Jesuits and the non-authorized congregations of men; and it is certain that Catholics throughout Europe will watch with the greatest interest the course of the events which will begin on the twenty-ninth of June.

The day on which the Jesuit houses, and more especially

the Jesuit educational establishments, are dissolved and closed will be a momentous one for France, and for the Church of France. We learn from official statistics that there are at this moment in France of non-authorized *teaching* congregations of men, 16; of women, 120. The men actually employed in teaching number 1,556, divided among 81 establishments; the women 4,857, in 555 establishments. The Congregations had in their schools in 1878-79, 61,019 scholars, the men having 20,235, the women 40,784. If to the teaching Congregations we add those, non-authorized, who do not teach, we find that there are in France 7,444 religious men, in 384 establishments, and 14,003 religious women, in 602 establishments. These figures by no means give a correct idea of the number of religious in the country, for the majority of the congregations of women are authorized. Some conception of the enormous work done by religious in France may be obtained from the concluding lines of M. Keller's most useful statistical collection. From him we learn that they have at this moment under instruction no less than 2,208,919 children; and that the number of persons whom they otherwise assist and serve, in hospitals, refuges, lunatic asylums, orphanages, and other institutions, amounts to 200,700.

But we have not to deal, for the moment, with the religious Congregations as a body, but only to try to understand what sort of a gap will be left in the religious and civil life of the country by the suppression of the non-authorized congregations. First of all, some 60,000 school-children will be left without teachers; and some 6,413 teachers will have to be provided by the Government. In the next place a large number of orphanages, refuges, and small local works will come to an end, or have to be taken up by other labourers. And in the third place—and this is the most serious of all—the superior education of the country will be most disastrously checked. We are here, it will be understood, referring principally to the Jesuit Fathers, who have in their hands the training and instruction of such a large proportion of the youth of France. The whole number of pupils in the superior schools or colleges of France, including the *Lycées*, private enterprise schools, and the *petits séminaires* is about 153,324. Of these there are in the Jesuit colleges—without counting the *grands séminaires* directed by them—no less than 11,000 scholars in 28 establishments. It is easy to conceive what a serious matter will be the suppression of a body which is so intimately bound up with the education of France. Take, for instance, the city of Paris itself. The Jesuit Fathers carry on no less than three immense educational institutions in the very midst of the splendour, the

noise, and the vice of the great city. First there is the school of St. Geneviève, founded in 1854. This is the celebrated school of the Rue des Postes, now the Rue L'Homond. Here there are some 420 pupils of the best families of France. The course of instruction is second to none in the world. The pupils who pass from it to the great State establishments—the Ecole St. Cyr, the Polytechnic, the Central, the Naval, the Waters and Forests—and succeed so remarkably wherever they present themselves, prove, with an evidence which no one in France thinks of disputing, that this great school is at the head of French “secondary” education. Then there is, in the next place, the Vaugirard School, founded in 1852; a college of 700 scholars, manned by 44 Jesuit Fathers. And thirdly there is the great day-school in the Rue de Madrid, the Ecole St. Ignace, founded five years ago (1874), and through which 700 pupils have passed since its foundation. It is directed by nineteen Jesuit Fathers. If from Paris we pass to the provinces, we find that there is hardly a town of note in all France where the Society has not a large and flourishing college. At Toulouse they have, first of all, the “College of the Immaculate Conception,” where, last year, 184 pupils were being prepared for the Government schools—a school similar to that of St. Geneviève in Paris; and secondly the “College of St. Mary,” which has been thirty years in existence, and which numbered last year no less than 524 pupils. There are 76 Jesuits in Toulouse. At Amiens there are 62 Fathers, and they direct the large College of St. Croix, founded also in 1850, the epoch of the Falloux Education Bill, and counting last year 594 boys. At Boulogne most English visitors know the splendid college which harbours the exiled Jesuits of Metz. When the College of St. Clement at Metz was suppressed by the Prussian Government at the time of the annexation, in 1871, a large number of both workers and scholars emigrated to Boulogne, and there opened school again. This establishment had 350 boys last year. The large College “de Tivoli” at Bordeaux was attended by 578 pupils last year. Like so many of the Jesuit houses of education this one was founded in the eventful year 1850. Thus a generation of French youth have in many places passed through the Jesuit class-rooms. The Bordeaux College has educated 3,500 boys during the thirty years of its existence. At the great naval station of Brest, there has been for the last eighty years a Jesuit college preparatory to the Government Naval School; in 1879 it had 230 inmates. At Le Mans, Lyons, Marseilles, Rheims and Tours, the Jesuit schools have been founded since the Franco-German war; the number of boys at these establish-

ments ranges from 218 to 487. At Dijon and Lille there are large day-schools also founded since 1871. It is remarkable that, of the 28 colleges conducted by the Society, no fewer than ten were founded in 1850, and only five between that date and the fall of the Empire: the remainder, excluding one or two *petits séminaires*, have been opened since the war.

Although the Jesuit Fathers are more deeply engaged in the work of superior education than in anything else, still it is not in this sphere alone that their suppression will leave a void, and will afflict the Catholic people and clergy of France. In order to understand the feeling of France in presence of this fated 29th of June, we cannot do better than glance through the public protestations which have been uttered against M. Grévy's Decrees by the French Episcopate. Nearly every Bishop in France has spoken; indeed, it may be said with truth, that not a single Bishop has kept silence, for the one exception, or the two exceptions, can be readily explained. Their protests have, in nearly every case, taken the shape of a published letter to the President of the Republic; and if President Grévy has read the half of these letters, and digested them, he must feel in some degree unhappy about his two Decrees. What has struck the whole Republican press, and the whole of France and of Europe, is the perfect unanimity of the French pastorate in making common cause with the threatened Congregations, and especially with the Society of Jesus. The *Temps*, a free-thinking Republican paper, moderate in form, but perfectly anti-Catholic in reality, said, towards the end of April, that it was very striking to observe that every one of the Bishops' letters laid it down as a principle that the cause of the Congregations was the cause of the Church. They asserted this with especial emphasis in speaking of the Jesuits. Not one of the protestations then published but had contained a warm defence of the Society. They all refused to distinguish between secular clergy and regular; they all declared, with the Archbishop of Bordeaux, "Nous sommes solidaires des Jésuites." This, the *Temps* declared, was quite a new thing in the French Church; at no previous time, even under the Restoration, would the Bishops of France have consented to make common cause (*se solidarizer*) with the Congregations, and least of all with the Jesuits. The Positivist Journal was wrong; both in 1762, when the Parliament of Paris, under Jansenist influence, wanted to suppress the Jesuits, and again in 1828, at the time of the famous "Ordonnances" which closed the Jesuit schools, the French Episcopate had identified themselves with the Society and with the regular Orders in general. Still, it is very remarkable how strong and pronounced is the language of the present hierarchy. It would

not have surprised the world if the ardent and militant spirits, the Freppels and the Perrauds, had spoken very plainly and hotly. But when the studiously moderate, the peaceable, the retiring, the safe Prelates, like Cardinal Donnet, Cardinal Regnier, Cardinal Guibert, have felt it their duty to protest, to entreat, to warn and to threaten, public opinion cannot help being somewhat startled. "I am accustomed," says pathetically the aged Archbishop of Bordeaux, "by word and example to preach respect towards the dignitaries of public authority; and it costs me much to lift up my voice on this present occasion in accents of grief and protestation; but conscience urges me; *I cannot be silent.*" The Bishops agree in two important points; they state unanimously, first, that the regular Orders, though not essential to the Church's existence, are yet the lawful and certain consequence of her teaching; are solemnly approved by the Church, and are in a well-understood sense, necessary to her; and secondly that, in France, they are of the utmost practical utility and the obedient helpers of the Bishops in all pastoral work. It is worth while to cite, on the first point, the eloquent words of the earliest and grandest of the episcopal utterances—the letter to M. Grévy signed by the Archbishop of Tours and his suffragans. One of the signatories is Mgr. Freppel; and we may be permitted to recognize his gifted pen in this splendid manifesto:—

No one can be ignorant, for it is a formal article of the Catholic religion, that the evangelical counsels are a part of Christian morality no less than the commandments; that the observance of the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, constitutes a state of perfection, to which not all are called, but which any one to whom God gives the grace ought to be able to embrace without hindrance. To the Church, and the Church alone, belongs the right to regulate the making of this triple vow, and the outward life of the evangelical councils. A religious Order, approved by the Church, becomes a Church institution, which the civil power cannot attempt to suppress without trespassing on ground that is not its own. The civil power has no right to render impossible the observance of counsels which are of divine institution. Admit that the State can touch one Religious Order, and it can destroy them all; religion is unable to put in practice an integral portion of her dogma; she is deprived of institutions, which are her strength and her assistance; and how can you say she is any longer free?

The Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, speaking on the same subject, eloquently says:—

Doubtless, these Congregations do not constitute the essence of the Church. But they are the Church's natural product, just as the branches spring from the tree. They share in the Church's life, and

they diffuse that life around. They are the Church's organs Suppress them, and you may truly be said to mutilate the Church. (Letter of April 7th).

The Archbishop of Paris, in that sober but very effective language with which his diocese and the Government are now becoming familiar, thus speaks on the same point:—

Religion is attacked, and the Church of France mourns. The religious Congregations are an integral part of Christianity, because they represent, in Christian society, the practice of the evangelical counsels. Their form and manner of life is borrowed from the Gospel itself, and their chief observances from the primitive disciples of our Lord. (Letter of April 12th, 1880).

These explanations seem elementary to Catholics; but in France they are necessary. France, even revolutionary France, is not yet prepared to declare war on Catholicism. The Government knows this well enough, and that is the reason why Cazot, in his Circular of April 2, protested that "the Congregations are not of the essence of the Church. Their presence or their absence has no connection whatever with the freedom of religious worship." "Where shall we stop?" exclaims Mgr. Perraud in his letter of April 15th—

Where shall we stop, and what will become of the independence necessary for our ministry, if the civil power sets itself up as a tribunal to decide what is necessary and what is not necessary to the life of the Church in her normal state? . . . The existence of the Religious Orders is a matter which regards conscience; it is a consequence of principles which legislation and the executive powers are alike bound to respect, until it is shown that these principles are abused to the danger of the public safety.

But the passages of the Bishops' letters in which they speak of the services and good repute of the regular Orders, and notably of the Jesuits, are still more interesting at the present moment. Let us return to the greatest letter of all—that of the Province of Tours (April 4th, 1880):—

The Decrees of the twenty-ninth of March affect the interests of all our dioceses. It is too readily assumed that the regular clergy act and work independently of our Bishops, and constitute a body which is beyond our jurisdiction. Nothing is more untrue. These "auxiliary" priests—they are the first to boast of the name—have been called in by ourselves, and perform no function of the sacred ministry without our permission. Whether in regard to preaching or the administration of the Sacraments, they hold all their power from the Bishops, who can give or withhold that power as long as they please. By the rule of the church—and they never for an instant dream of eluding it—they cannot even have Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in their own chapels without an authorization. So much for that pretended

“independence,” which has no foundation either in Canon Law, or in the practice of those pious Congregations whose humility and obedience edify us so much. And why is it that we invite into our dioceses these chosen priests who by their vows must practise evangelical perfection? Because their help is indispensable to us in the ministry of preaching and the direction of souls. The diocesan clergy, especially in the towns, taken up as they are from morning till night with the thousand details of parish administration, are altogether unequal to the work required on extraordinary occasions, such as, for instance, the Advent and Lent stations, which require long preparation. We should be short of priests for the parishes did not the religious come to our assistance in the direction of our Colleges and our Seminaries. And we may add, that it is our duty, for the sake of freedom and peace of conscience, to provide for our people spiritual directors, at times of missions and in retreats, who shall afford them those lights and that care of which they stand in need. It is *our* rights, therefore, and the rights and interests of our dioceses that these Decrees will gravely compromise.

When they come to speak of the Jesuits, the Archbishop and his suffragans make an eloquent panegyric of the Society, in the present as in the past; they refer to the history of France, and of Europe, to sovereigns, to statesmen, to philosophers, and to poets; then they continue:—

And in our days, too, how can it be pretended that these religious, esteemed as they are and so deservedly esteemed, have the popular feeling against them? Our Catholic people press in crowds round their pulpits; wherever they open a College, the trust and confidence of families fills it instantly; and there are no priests to whom the faithful apply more willingly for the direction of conscience.

Cardinal de Bonnechose speaks in the same strain:—

The Jesuits devote themselves to the laborious and often thankless task of education. They open colleges; experience justifies their efforts; families entrust their children to them with the utmost confidence; year by year, public opinion and the Government itself, testify to their success; year by year, they send forth into every career young men who have been taught to respect authority, who are penetrated with the idea of duty; who are fitted to become brave soldiers, conscientious functionaries, and honourable and useful citizens, and who are every one devoted to their country and ready to die for France. . . . What I say of the Jesuits, I say also of the Dominicans, the Oratorians, the Marists, the Picpussians, the Eudists, and of every one of the non-authorized Congregations who possess Colleges enjoying public esteem.

And I cannot pass over in silence the great patriarchal families of St. Benedict, St. Bruno, St. Bernard, St. Francis of Assisi, the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Premonstratensians, the Redemptionists, the Trinitarians, the Brothers of St. John of God, the Trappists, the Oblates, and a multi-

tude of others, whose whole life is consecrated, not to prayer only, but also to study, to scientific toil, to preaching, to agriculture, or to the alleviation of the most neglected and repulsive of human miseries (Letter of April 7).

The Archbishop of Cambrai, Cardinal Regnier, testifies as follows :

The secular clergy are by no means forced to accept the aid of the regulars ; but there is not a parish which does not clamour for them and receive them with gratitude. And in truth our diocesan clergy cannot do without them.

Our Religious Congregations are eminently useful, are even necessary to the secular clergy ; and by the austere regularity of their life and the services of every kind which they render us, they have won the respect, the affection, the confidence of our Catholic people. Their dispersion will cause deep regret, and most justly.

And here I must make particular mention of the Jesuit Fathers, who are to be treated with special severity.

On my conscience, and in the name of truth, President of the French Republic, I bear witness that these religious men, who have so long been abused, spit upon, and calumniated by the anti-Christian press with a malice which no authority has ever attempted to restrain—who are devoted day by day to the hatred and the violence of the mob as though they were an association of malefactors—that these religious are esteemed and venerated in the highest degree by the clergy and by every class of the faithful, and that they are in every way most worthy of it. Their conduct is exemplary ; their teaching can only be blamed by ignorance and bad faith. Many of them belong to the most distinguished families of the country. The house of superior education which they carry on with such brilliant success at Lille, was entrusted to them—I may almost say, forced upon them—by fathers of families who had themselves been brought up by them, and who were determined to provide for their children an education which their own experience taught them to value.

I fulfil a duty of conscience and of honour in addressing to you these simple and respectful observations (Letter of April 8th).

The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris utters these striking words on the Jesuits, so many of whom labour in his diocese :—

Among the religious institutes, there is one which has been more before the world than the others ; which has done splendid service in education, which has shed lustre on literature, which has formed *savants* of the first rank in every branch of science, which has sent missionaries to the extremities of the earth, which has carried civilization into the most barbarous countries, and which has made every shore red with the blood of its martyrs. Marked out by its importance and its success as an object of the hatred of the enemies of religion, the Society of Jesus has always confounded calumny by the splendour of its virtues, its intellectual power, and its work. We

have had it in full operation for fifty years in our midst; to appreciate it there is no need to search the pleadings of its dead and gone enemies; it lives and labours under our own eyes; and modern society, which is accused of disowning it, has to thank it for the formation of the best of its children. To zeal, these generous priests have always united prudence. In the midst of the dissensions which trouble and divide the country, just as the whole of the clergy have kept themselves rigorously within the limits of their spiritual ministry, the Society of Jesus has been scrupulously exact in avoiding all interference with politics. Those who deny this, make assertions without proof. A Bishop like myself who has under his jurisdiction the chief Jesuit establishments in France is in a position to know the truth in a matter like this. It is this Society, this renowned Society, which the executive threatens with its extremest rigour. Parliament is not to be asked to recognize it; it is doomed to die; in three months it is to disappear. I believe I may say with truth that the spirit of moderation has always guided my words and my conduct; but on this present condition, you will pardon me if I feel it difficult to restrain my grief. I have grown old with my century; I have witnessed many political changes; I have seen our dear and unhappy country in many a conflict. But a sight, as saddening as it is novel, has been reserved for my declining age. I was to see public liberty violently arrested in its course by party-prejudice, and the central Power dragged back to the ways and practices of forgotten despotism (Letter of April 12th).

The testimony of the Archbishop of Lyons will also be read with interest. Cardinal Caverot finely says:

It is the privilege of the children of St. Ignatius to be in the front of every battle. I know how hatred, and still more how ignorance and prejudice, have accumulated calumnies against the Society. But I owe it to truth to declare here, that in the course of a ministry of well-nigh fifty years—twenty as priest, thirty as Bishop—I have been able to satisfy myself, and I know, that these worthy and zealous servants of God have well deserved the distinction given to the Society by the Church, when she proclaimed it, in the Council of Trent, a “Pious Institute, approved by the Holy See.” I admire these men in their work of teaching, and in the labours of their apostleship. Nowhere have I met with priests more obedient to ecclesiastical authority, more careful of the laws of the country, more aloof from political conflict; and I affirm without fear of contradiction, that if these Decrees which strike at them have not made any charge whatever against their life and teaching, it is because not a charge could be made which would survive an hour’s discussion (Letter of April 11).

If there were room for further extracts from these admirable letters, the reader would be still more struck with the unanimity, the warmth, and the eloquence of this magnificent simultaneous demonstration of the French hierarchy. Well

worth reading is the long and brilliant letter of the Archbishop of Rheims to the Minister of the Interior (April 12th, 1880); the dignified argument of the Archbishop of Besançon (April 17th), and the ably-reasoned remonstrance, full of telling passages, of the Oratorian Perraud, Bishop of Autun (April 15th). These manifestoes are, indeed, all immediate political considerations apart, very precious for the Religious Orders. The Jesuits, in particular, will be able, from these utterances, to collect a body of episcopal testimony to their ability, devotedness, and deference towards the Bishops such as perhaps they have never before received from a great National Church during the whole course of their existence.

We write on the eve of the day which is fixed for the beginning of the persecution. What will happen, no one can exactly foretell. So far it seems certain that the Government will carry out its Decree against the Jesuits with a ruthless hand, The non-authorized Congregations of women, it is understood, will not be disturbed—for the present. The Congregations of men—the Jesuits excepted—will be called upon, once more, to apply for authorization. And, in regard to the Jesuits' educational establishments, the Decree will not be enforced until August 30th. The 29th of June, then, will apparently bring with it the dissolution of the Jesuit noviciate houses in France, and of all the houses where there are no colleges. We learn from the French journals that the Minister of the Interior—now no longer M. Lepère, but M. Constans—assembled at his official residence in the Place Beauvau on 7th of June, thirty-five Prefects of Departments in which there are Jesuit houses, in order to give them verbal and special instruction how to proceed on the eventful 29th. They were told that if the houses in question were not evacuated by the morning of the 29th—and on this point they were to take care to be informed—they were to send in regular summonses calling upon the inmates to obey the Decrees. If the Jesuits obeyed the summonses, well and good; if they refused to obey, a regular *procès-verbal* of such refusal would have to be drawn up, the usual course would be followed, and the *gendarmes* would be called in to expel the occupants by force. But, continued M. Constans, the houses thus evacuated by force or otherwise, will that be the end of it? The Government is apprehensive that it will not. The Government foresees that it is quite possible that the Jesuits who are driven out on the 29th may come back the next day. What will have to be done in such a case? Will new summonses have to be issued, and fresh *procès-verbaux* drawn up? The Government confesses to some embarrassment on this point. The question of property

is an awkward one to touch. If the houses in question were certainly the property of the Jesuit body, the Government would feel little hesitation in putting its seal upon all of them and upon whatever else was the property of the Society, as other Governments had done many times. But, from what the Government had learnt, it appeared that the houses occupied by the Jesuits did not in reality belong to them, but to a third party. Any interference with them, therefore, would be a violation of the rights of property, and would expose the Government to an interminable series of protests and civil actions. Now the Minister was quite clear that the best thing the Prefects could do would be to avoid as far as possible all suits of this kind. The Jesuits must be kept out of the law courts, and left exclusively to the Executive. And the Minister was not without hope that, at the last moment, things would so turn out that it would be possible to avoid the use of force. He thought that the Jesuits would be advised to make no resistance except so much as was needful to prove they protested against invasion of their rights. If, however, any resistance of an active nature were offered, the Prefects were to consult the Minister by telegraph, and he would reply in the same way.

It is impossible, we repeat, to foretell what turn matters will take. Perhaps by the time these pages are in the readers hands, decisive steps will have been taken, and all will be over. The Jesuits, there is no doubt, will be ably advised, and of course they will act as one man. But, on looking narrowly at the Decrees, it is difficult to help seeing that the Government will have the utmost difficulty in making them effective. It is not that the laws they invoke—obsolete as they are, and stupid as is the attempt to revive them—may not prove sufficient to carry through what they propose. The best lawyers of France, indeed, say that no law quoted in the Government Decrees does authorize the dissolution of a religious institute. We have before us the "Consultation," signed by such eminent names as Berryer, Vatimesnil, and Béchard, which was prepared and published in 1845, at the time when measures very like the Decrees of M. Grévy were threatened against Congregations. The conclusion arrived at by these weighty authorities are, in short: 1. That no law at the present time in force forbids community of life to persons belonging to non-recognized religious associations; 2 That even if such laws did exist, the Executive would have no right to proceed to their dissolution by administrative measures merely—(that is, an Act of the Legislature would be required, or a sentence of a Court of Law); 3. That dissolution by administrative measures would

be impracticable of application and without result.* This "Consultation" and its conclusions received the adhesion of the most able members of nearly forty of the chief "Court," and "Bars" of France.† At the moment that this is written a new "Consultation" has been prepared by M. du Rousse.‡ It is a volume of 300 pages, but it is not yet in the hands of the public, as it has been sent round to all the Bars in order to receive "adhesions." But it is difficult to see what it can add to the keen, dry, and most conclusive argumentation of the older document.

On the very day on which the Decrees came out, the 29th of March, there appeared in the *Paris-Journal* a long and able legal opinion by M. Baragnon, a lawyer of the Nîmes bar, and a Senator. His conclusions are as follows: 1° No existing law forbids the existence of non-authorized Congregations. 2° The Government, if it tried to dissolve or expel them—that is to say, if it tried to expel Frenchmen from their home or from their country—would be permitting an act of arbitrary power against which I should not hesitate to advise legal resistance. He does not, however, indicate what means he would counsel the Congregations to take; before doing so, he says, we must wait to see what the Government will do.

The speech of M. Lamy in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 3rd of May, is one of the most important contributions that have appeared so far in the legal aspect of the question. M. Lamy, who is a lawyer of great reputation, examines one by one the legal texts brought forward in the Decrees, and pronounces that not one of them is applicable. The law of 1790 suppressed Religious Orders as *corporations*, not as associations; the law of 1792, passed at a moment when all was trouble and confusion—passed by an incompetent Assembly, between the terrible 10th of August and the massacres of September—only completes that of 1790; certain secular corporations had continued to exist; the treasury was empty, and these pious associations were rich; they were, therefore, suppressed; suppressed, however, simply as corporations, with the additional prohibition, in 1792, of wearing any monastic or religious habit. The Decree of Napoleon (3 Messidor, year XII.) was utterly illegal. The Decree of the Court of Paris in 1826, though it declares that the law forbids the existence of the Jesuits, pronounces that the Courts cannot touch them.

* The *brochure* at the head of this article "Les Décrets du 29 Mars" is reprint of this famous "Consultation," accompanied by a few explanatory paragraphs.

† *Le Monde*, 4 Avril, 1880. ‡ See Note at the end of this article.

The King closed the Jesuit schools in 1828, not because Jesuits were illegal, but because the Crown had the monopoly of education and could exclude anyone whom it pleased. And as for 1845, when a Resolution passed the Parliament, very like the "Order of the day" of March 16th, 1880, there came of it nothing whatever; all the Government could do was to send an ambassador to Rome to "arrange" for the withdrawal of the Jesuits from France.

Notwithstanding these weighty opinions, it is to be feared that the French Courts, if the matter ever comes before them, will declare that Religious Congregations are forbidden in France, and will thus justify the measures of the Executive. The legal texts are difficult to explain away. There seems to be not the slightest doubt that the laws of the revolutionary period, the Decrees of the Empire, and the judicial decision of the restoration were all *aimed* against the existence of religious Congregations. In France, the idea has always been that an Association must either be fully recognized by the State, or entirely forbidden. The view that the Revolution intended to suppress the Orders as Corporations and let them go on as Associations, belongs to an order of ideas which does not even yet exist in France. When, in 1850, the Congregations claimed their rights as private citizens and proceeded to re-establish themselves, every one felt that they did this in the teeth of the revolutionary legislation, and in the strength of that entire and complete freedom which consistency forced their enemies to allow them. When passions grow hot, consistency disappears. The extreme Republicans in France have no respect for liberty, as such. There is a school of them who really want other men to be as free as themselves; but that school is not now in the ascendant. The spirit which dictated the "Order of the day" of March 16th, is the same spirit which passed the law of 1790 and of 1792, and which formulated the Revolution of 1845; and it is a spirit which is delighted to ally itself even with the despotism of Napoleon in order to crush its enemies. The only way, perhaps, in which the Congregations could hope to win a legal victory would be to prove that the laws invoked by the Government are really no laws at all. This line of argument, it is observed, has been indicated and followed out in all the documentary "opinions" on the side of liberty. To common sense it would certainly seem the most obvious thing in the world that the mad and hasty edicts of the worst year of the Revolution, and the despotic brutalities of Napoleon, had nothing in common with the majestic idea of "law." The Bishop of Autun, Mgr. Perraud, insists, very strongly, that all anti-congregational legislation previous to the

Restoration has been abolished by subsequent laws, and especially by the formation of the Codes; and that the Royal Ordinances since that have been superseded by the law of 1850. (Letter of April 15th.) This is a point which the legal authorities have not by any means lost sight of; but it is always difficult to make good the abrogation of a law which is not explicitly abrogated.

It would be very rash, however, to presume to say decisively what is the real state of the French Law. And it would probably be useless. These elaborate "Consultations," have a great moral effect on public opinion. But in a matter which is certainly not very clear, the French Courts are almost sure to decide in the sense of the Government. The real defence, before the country, of the Orders, is that these Decrees, even if technically authorized by musty and disreputable laws, are directly in the teeth of the great modern principle of personal liberty. If they stand out on their rights as private citizens of France to live as they please, and dress as they please, and be called what they please, and even to "associate," as they please, they will certainly succeed in the end. It is deplorable that Catholics should have to invoke principles which, when absolutely stated, are impious and disastrous. But the demand, not of absolute liberty, but of relative equality as men and citizens with those who preach equality, is not only allowable but praiseworthy, and even necessary. The Government foresees that the battle may be fought here; and M. Lepère, in his circular to the Prefects of April 2nd, bids them observe that the members of the non-authorized Congregations, "will, the very day after their dissolution, be in precisely the same condition as other French citizens, on the sole condition of obeying the laws which affect every one." "The aim of the Government," he continues, "is not to injure individual liberty, but to prevent the members of Congregations from doing what other citizens may not do." But a Religious Order is surely not an ordinary Association; indeed, the Government speakers always lay stress on the difference between the two. An Order is bound together by a tie which the State cannot recognize; its members when they "assemble," live together in their own houses; their objects are entirely spiritual; and those Articles of the Penal Code which were meant to put a stop to political intrigue have no application to men whose superiors are always warning them against politics, and who, moreover, living as they do in fixed domiciles, can be watched with the greatest ease by the police of a maternal Republic. If the law is technically against them, in the name of every republican principle let the law be altered.

But, after all, what can the French Government do? It cannot suppress the Jesuits. It has pledged itself not to banish them from France. It can expel them from their houses; it is uncertain whether it can prevent them from going back; or whether the Courts may not support them in their claims to live as they choose. But even if it prevents them living in large establishments and calling themselves Jesuits, can it hinder them from being Jesuits just as much as ever—from continuing to live in France, in smaller societies and as ordinary priests, but always owning the same obedience and preserving the same organization? Persecution, to be successful, should be thorough. In this instance the Jesuits will be annoyed, and the Catholic people will be irritated; but as long as the Bishops support them and Catholic parents trust them, there seems no reason why they should not go on with their preaching and their educational work very much in the same way as hitherto.

In the meantime, the "Decrees" of M. Grévy, like a tempest which rouses the powers and braces the energies of men, have done more good in France than their promoters could desire. They have called forth a pastoral declaration from a united hierarchy that the Religious Orders are "necessary" to the Church's well-being and the true outcome of Catholic teaching; they have been the occasion of a touching demonstration, through all France, that the Congregations, and especially the Jesuits, have endeared themselves to the Bishops, the diocesan clergy, and the people. The letters of the Bishops have been published in every corner of the land, and the enormous Catholic majority in France has been instructed that the men now in power are laying their hands upon the Church's sacred trust. The French Catholic masses wanted something like this to rouse them. Nothing could happen more fortunately—unless the Government could be induced to decree the expulsion of the Sisters of Charity. There seems now, indeed, to be an opening for a grand Catholic campaign, in the name of constitutional liberty. If an association were formed, funds collected, and the press organized; if, above all, a leader could arise; and if by every possible legal means the present persecutions were resisted—then it would be impossible that the dead weight of Catholicism should not tell in the long run, and the whole country would be so well prepared for the next election—when M. Gambetta is to bid for supreme power—that arrangements, transactions, and compromises, would easily be discovered whereby the Church and the Congregations would be let alone, and France would be both more peaceful and more free.

. As we are going to press, we receive the "Consultation" of M. Rouse, Advocate in the Court of Appeal, Paris.

This document, which will form a volume of 300 pages octavo, is published in the *Gazette des Tribunaux* of June 13. The conclusions at which M. Rouse arrives are precisely those three at which M. Vatimesnil arrived thirty-five years ago, and which have been given in the body of the preceding article, and they are couched in the same words. No existing law prohibits persons belonging to religious associations from living together; the Government, in any case, cannot dissolve them by way of "Administration," but must recur to the Courts of Law; and if they attempt to dissolve them by the Administrative or the Executive force, they will find it impossible to carry out their designs. M. Rouse has embodied in his "Opinion" the whole of the "Consultation" of 1845; but he has added a good deal of his own. He submits the whole of the laws, edicts, ordinances and decrees on which the Government relies, to a searching analysis, taking them in order of time, and citing them in full. He explains their terms, shows how they have been applied, what their results have been, and what is the actual state, at the date of these Decrees of 1880, of the religious Congregations, in regard to the present powers of the French Government. We have a very striking *résumé* of the condition of the Religious Orders under the *ancien régime*; of their continual efforts to place still heavier fetters on the monasteries, and the abuses to which this led; and we have a description of the numerous "suppressions" of the Society of Jesus—by law courts, however, be it observed—before the Revolution. Then we come to the law of 1790; M. Rouse analyses it in two words; it was a decree of "civil death" to the community, and of "civil life" to each religious; and the religious could leave their houses or continue to reside in them as they pleased. Taking in their order the other *visés* of the Government, M. Rouse criticizes them in the same spirit as M. Vatimesnil. But his "Opinion" is valuable for a certain amount of positive information in addition to the negative criticism which chiefly distinguished the "Consultation" of 1845. M. Rouse takes his stand on the Constitution of 1848 and the laws in favour of liberty which have since that time been passed. Articles 7, 8 and 9 of that Constitution (which he quotes) distinctly lay down, for every French subject, liberty of conscience, liberty of association, liberty of teaching. The celebrated law of 1850 most unequivocally asserts that every Frenchman, of full age, may open a free school, no conditions being required except certain enumerated guarantees of capacity and good conduct. Before this article was voted, a discussion

took place in the Assembly precisely on the question whether religious Congregations ought to be allowed to teach—or rather (for this was the real question) whether the Congregations were to be allowed to exist. In this discussion M. Thiers took a prominent part. Among other things he said: “It is the Constitution, not we, that admits the Congregations to teach! ‘We shall have the Jesuits opening schools,’ you say; but how, in the name of your principles, can you help that? Under the old *régime*, with its limited freedom, that was possible; but you will have no restrictions on freedom. You despise the old *régime*, and yet here you are adopting one of its small tricks, its petty jealousies—you say, ‘We will have no more of the Jesuits.’” And liberty carried the day by a large majority. But the Left were not content. A second attempt was made to exclude the Jesuits from the schools. M. Thiers interfered again, and implored the Assembly to do one thing at a time—to pass the School Law first, and then, at some future time, to discuss whether a Congregation should exist or not. He was listened to; the School Law was voted; it was arranged that within a year’s time a Bill on Associations should be brought in. But the year passed, and nothing was done, and nothing has been done up to the present moment.

No sooner was the School Law of 1850 passed than the Congregations, accepting that law as their warrant, opened schools everywhere. The Religious Orders, especially the Jesuits and the Dominicans, claimed and enjoyed, during the eighteen years of the Second Empire, full liberty of association, and full liberty of teaching. After the war, there was, to say the very least, the greatest hesitation on the part of governments and majorities in adopting any measure which seemed an interference with freedom of religious association. There was a discussion on the very subject in 1872, and an influential deputy, M. Brisson, declared, amidst marks of general approval, that no one wanted to revive the laws which forbade “religious association.” In 1875, the Government presented to the National Assembly a Bill on Higher Education. This Bill expressly derogates the well-known clause in the Penal Code, in favour of “teaching associations” for higher education; and when the question of the “religious” was again raised, the Reporter of the Committee declared there was no need to discuss the matter. “Religious liberty,” he said, “is not less admirable than other kinds of liberty, and we have no right to exclude from teaching Frenchmen and citizens, merely because they believe themselves called to a sacred vocation.” And the discussions on Article 7 of the Ferry Bill, are still fresh in every one’s recollection. Both the Deputies and

the Senate knew very well that the real question at issue was the right of the Congregations to exist; and this gives force to the eloquent speeches made by such men as Dufaure, Jules Simon, and others, in favour of liberty. "I hold that clause," said the aged M. Dufaure, "to be a reactionary clause, contradicting a principle of the Constitution of 1848, repeated and organized in the laws of 1850 and 1875, and contrary to the very essence of a republic which lives by the spirit of freedom, as we declared in 1871." Not the least interesting part of M. Rousse's exposition is the conclusion, in which, partly following his predecessors, he demonstrates the difficulty, nay, the absolute impossibility, of putting the Government decrees in force. The strong hand can, of course, do anything; but there are some exercises of power which cause too deep a disturbance to be lightly ventured upon. We hear from France that this "Consultation" has already produced a profound sensation. The author's eminent position, his calm impartiality, his argumentative power, and the clearness of his style, have carried conviction to many who doubted. On the other hand, the Government threatens force and seems prepared to employ it; and the Radical papers are backing it up with energy and relish. What the 29th will actually bring forth, it is, as we have said, impossible to predict. The Jesuit Fathers have as yet given no sign of the course they will adopt. But meanwhile France and the Catholic world are praying. There are pilgrimages to Paray-le-Monial, to La Salette, to St. Michel. During the whole of the week beginning June 27 there are special devotions, now in the Rue de Sevres, now at Montmartre, now at the tomb of St. Geneviève, at Notre Dame des Victoires, at Notre Dame de Paris and the Crown of Thorns. In the provinces, all the great sanctuaries will be thronged. We cannot be sure that God will deign to humble the persecutor or to open the eyes of the blind. But we trust and know that He will give to His confessors strength in the hour of trial, and triumph at the last.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

(By DR. BELLESHEIM.)

1. *Katholik.*

THE February number contains a biography of the late Very Rev. Dr. Molitor, Canon of Spire. He was born in 1819, at Zweibrücken, and applied to the study of law in order to be called in due time to the bar, but very soon afterwards took to theology. After being ordained priest, he was appointed vicar near Spire, and then nominated a Canon of the Cathedral. Widely and thoroughly accomplished in Theology, and Canon and Civil Law, he rose in the course of time to be one of the most influential men in Catholic Germany. Amongst his works, the following deserve special mention:—“The Process Prescribed by Canon Law to be Observed in trying the Clergy,” and the exposition of Innocent III.’s decretal “Per Venerabilem” in which that great Pope establishes the Holy See’s indirect power in temporal matters. This work would of itself suffice to immortalize its author. Eminent for his knowledge of ecclesiastical law, Canon Molitor was summoned to Rome to be Pontifical Theologian in the Vatican Council, and afterwards was commissioned to translate Ceconi’s “Storia del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano” into German. Accomplished as an orator, Canon Molitor excelled also as a poet, and wrote many fine dramas. Some of these rival the best productions of our great German poets—*e.g.*, “Claudia Procula” “Maria Magdalena,” and “Julian the Apostate.” They, for the most part, describe the formidable struggle between Christianity and Heathenism. As a similar war is waged in our days, Canon Molitor published a series of novels and romances denouncing the manifold false doctrines which the church has to deplore. The desire of the Catholic people that Dr. Molitor, who was also an eloquent preacher, should be nominated a Bishop, was not to be fulfilled, owing to political reasons; the King of Bavaria enjoying the privilege of nominating. The February and March numbers contain a learned treatise on the idea of Personality according to St. Thomas. In the April issue we have the first part of a treatise on the Beatific Vision. The scholastic doctrine is very ably developed. After having expatiated on the several kinds of “species,” by which we attain the cognition of external things, and established the absolute necessity that the intellect should be “proportioned” to the things it desires to know, the author discusses the doctrine of the “lumen gloriæ.” He calls it “an inherent quality,” and adheres to the doctrine of those divines who claim it as a privilege of the saints

in heaven. An exception to this common law is admitted by some theologians for the Blessed Virgin only. The light of glory as a supernatural habit influences reason and will; but as it is only a faculty, a further special divine assistance is required in order that it may be actually exercised. It is contained as a germ in sanctifying grace. After the perusal of these treatises bearing on the most sublime doctrines of metaphysics and dogmatic theology, the reader may repose and recreate his mind by going through the instructive contribution on the Frankfurt and Magdeburg "Confession books" of the fifteenth century. It is a common belief with Protestants that in mediæval times, and principally in the period immediately followed by the so-called Reformation, even the very beginnings of spiritual life were unknown to the Catholic people. The church is taunted with having only insisted on the performance of external works, laying no stress on interior conversion and repentance for sin. One of the most striking proofs of the utter injustice of such a reproach is afforded by these confessions, which were largely used in Germany in the old Catholic times.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.—To the February issue I contributed an account of the very instructive work published last year in Paris by the son-in-law of the late Count de Montalembert, Vicomte de Meaux, under the title "Les Luttes Religieuses en France au Seizième Siècle." The contents of this work may be summed up in the following sentence: The history of French Protestantism in the sixteenth century is the history of religious toleration. It may surprise the reader, but it is true. Whilst Protestant England did not scruple to crush a religious minority by the most barbarous laws, surpassing even those invented by heathen governments against Christians, and whilst Germany saw established in her public law the principle of Cæsarism, which gives religious liberty only to the nobles, but not their subjects, Catholic France was sanctioning religious liberty even for those who professed a religion inconsistent with the official religious belief of the country. It cannot be denied that French Protestants were exposed to great hardships, or, to speak more accurately, that the civil laws which condemned to death whoever dared to profess any religion but the Catholic, and to disregard the public law which for centuries bound together the Church and civil society, were unrelentingly carried out against them. But it must be borne in mind that the French Kings in punishing heretics acted not so much as defenders of the Catholic religion, as in their quality of secular princes, whose kingdom was inseparably connected with the Catholic Church. But as soon as Catholic France became aware of the total uselessness of the severe punishments enacted by a legislation for use in times gone by the Huguenots under Henry II. were presently allowed religious liberty. The general feeling prevailing in that period in France was well expressed by the Chancellor l'Hôpital, when he uttered the "parole étonnante": "plusieurs peuvent être cives, qui non erunt Christiani." Certainly it cannot be denied that the exercise of the new religion was to be confined to a certain number of towns, villages, and

castles of the nobility ; but, one would be grievously mistaken by assuming the reason of this measure to be hatred of religion. On the contrary it was dictated by love of peace which could be preserved only by such a law. It is to be observed that it was the very champion of the new religion in France, Henry of Navarre, who energetically exerted himself to enact such a partial exercise of religious liberty, the only safeguard of mutual forbearance of Catholics and Protestants. The accurate researches of the Vicomte de Meaux, irrefutably destroy also the inveterate mistake handed down from generation to generation, that French Protestants acquired religious liberty only by the Edict of Nantes ; on the contrary, the latter only established in a more solemn form what they had enjoyed for twenty years and more. It may even be granted that French subjects professing the new religion were more favoured by law than Roman Catholics. We principally refer the reader to de Meaux's exposition of the peace of St. Germain (1570), which granted the Protestants "free access to the universities, schools, hospitals, and to all magistracies and honours, peculiar judges for deciding their trials, and also special burying-places." Nay, the perusal of the work forces one to observe, that in consequence of religious liberty, Huguenots very soon became a State within the State, and so grew to be an evident danger to France. Eminently worth reading are the chapters bearing on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the accession of Henry IV. to the French throne, and the new life which sprang up in the French Church in the reign of Henry IV. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew has nothing to do with Catholic religion, or Catholic interests. The Dowager Queen, Catherine de Medicis, whose cunning and craft were only exceeded by her "affetto di signoreggiare," unfortunately exercised an almost unlimited power over her son Charles IX., and mother and son must be indicted before the tribunal of history as being concerned in this crime. A question of the utmost importance was before Catholic France in 1584 when the last of the Valois expired. The next heir to the crown was Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots. Was a Protestant by the public law of France allowed to wear the crown? Evidently not. When the Paris Parliament met, a decree was issued stating that the "most Christian King" ought to be a Frenchman and a Catholic. No sooner, therefore, had Pierre d'Epinaï, Archbishop of Lyons, and orator of the League, announced the purpose of Henry to return to the Catholic religion, than the civil war was brought to an end. Henry IV. was instructed by the bishops in the religion of his ancestors, professed the faith July 25, 1593, in St. Denis, and not only remained faithful to his religion personally, but also exerted himself to improve the condition of the Catholic Church in France and fulfil the commands which the Holy See had laid down, when he was reconciled and admitted to the Catholic religion. Amongst these conditions rank foremost the education of the heir apparent in the Catholic religion, and the foundation of two convents in every province and in the country of Béarn. Hence we see the religious life flourishing as it had seldom done

before this period, when State and Church were bound together. And as Henry IV. called to the vacant episcopal sees persons distinguished for learning and piety, the Catholic religion entered on a new period, which in the course of time developed into the "siècle" of Louis XIV. Vicomte de Meaux's work, founded as it is on the most scrupulous study of history, and principally the recently published documents of the time, claims the attention of Catholics of all countries. In the second issue (March) is contained an article on "Napoleon's Marriage with Josephine," in which the Rev. Dr. Knöpfler, of Tübingen, thoroughly establishes the fact that this marriage was truly valid, sacramental, and hence indissoluble. The author refutes the opinion recently published in his memoirs by Prince Metternich, who vindicated the sentence of the Paris Ecclesiastical Commission declaring null and invalid the Emperor's marriage with Josephine Beauharnais. Our author brings before us a far more trustworthy man, the Count d'Haussonville, in his valuable work, "L'Eglise romaine et le premier empire, 1800-1814." According to him it was Pope Pius VII., who, as soon as he became aware that the Empress was only civilly married, insisted on the immediate celebration of a marriage "in facie ecclesiæ," and gave all faculties to Cardinal Fesch, who in the presence of Talleyrand and Bertier as witnesses, assisted in the chapel of the Tuilleries at the ecclesiastical marriage. Cardinal Fesch drew up a document which he handed to the Empress. When the Emperor sought for a divorce, the Empress, although extremely reluctantly, gave way to her husband's pressing petitions and delivered the document to him. It has disappeared for ever. The fact that the Pope kept silence as to Napoleon's second marriage with an Austrian princess, is to be accounted for by the captivity in which he was detained. In case he had enjoyed full liberty, without any doubt he would have denounced the Emperor's proceeding and taken the same course as Clement VII. in the time of Henry VIII. of England.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*.—Father Ehrle continues discussing the bearings of the Encyclical issued by Leo. XIII. on the Restoration of the Catholic Philosophy. He advances most important internal and external reasons which require us to take St. Thomas as the leader to be followed in this work of restoration. There could only be a choice between him on one side, and St. Bonaventura or Scotus on the other hand. But St. Bonaventura is a far more developed mystical nature, and in his commentary on the sentences of Peter Lombard sometimes only reproduces the latter; and Scotus may be an acute thinker, but he lacks not only the deepness, but also the clearness of St. Thomas. Another prerogative of St. Thomas is that he enjoyed as his teacher Albert the Great, who for the first time introduced the study of Aristotle into the Christian Philosophy. Lastly, it is to be observed, that St. Thomas, in editing the two great Summas, sought to meet the necessities of the students who longed for a text-book. For this purpose the two immortal works are eminently adapted. Among external reasons may be adduced the recommenda-

tions of the Holy See and the most eminent theologians from the thirteenth century, down to our time. Our author very accurately comments on the great opposition which St. Thomas's doctrine met with for almost a century; but at last it proved stronger than all its assailants. It was principally in England that the Franciscans, who had two extensive schools both in Oxford and Cambridge, opposed St. Thomas, but at last they were obliged to submit. In the April issue, F. Ehrle goes on to establish the high esteem in which St. Thomas generally was held in the period *after* the Reformation, not only by the Dominicans, but by all religious orders and also by the principal theologians belonging to the secular clergy. And what ought not to be forgotten is, the almost insane fury of the Reformers against our Saint. It is a very strong proof for the excellence of his doctrine. F. Von Hummelauer expatiates on "Ancient Christian Times and their Relation to Physical Science," adducing from every century striking proofs of the undeniable fact that the Catholic Church has promoted the investigation of Nature, inasmuch as it affords a means for ascending from the creature to the Creator.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica. 15 Maggio, 1880.

The Italian Revolution in a Cleft Stick.

AN article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of the 15th May, entitled "La Rivoluzione Italiana al bivio", which we might freely render as "The Italian Revolution in a Cleft Stick," represents it as standing where two roads branch off, each leading to destruction, and under the necessity of making a choice. Since the Revolution took possession of Italy there has been no peace for the country. Its professed liberators promised wonders, but no real change was witnessed, except a progressive increase of misery, suffering, and crime. Complainants were told to wait until the unification was completed, but after Rome, the predestined capital, had been won, and Venice "emancipated," and yet there was no prospect of deliverance from evils which, on the contrary, became every day more intolerable, the smouldering anger at last burst into a flame, and in 1876 the men who had "made Italy" by all their nefarious arts, and had made her miserable also, were thrust aside, and others called to the helm of Government. These men were as liberal of promises as their predecessors, and pledged themselves to repair all past injustices and remove every abuse. The Reviewer proceeds to inquire how, during the last four years of power, the Left has fulfilled its engagements. The present wretched state of things is sufficient answer to this question. Instead of providing for the interests of the country, the leaders have been exclusively occupied in securing the attainment of their own selfish ends or those of the small fraction of the Left to which they belong; for, not only does no such thing as a national representation exist, but neither can it be said that in the chamber itself regular Government

and Opposition parties are to be found, as is the case in the Parliaments of other modern constitutional States. The particular men in power keep their places because they are there, and the rest of the dominant oligarchy who at present rule Italy are only hindered from unseating them by their own internal divisions. All are discontented, all loudly declaim, all upbraid and curse each other, both within and out of Parliament, and tax each other with doing no better than the Right. And this is most true, for there is really no divergence in the political aims of the Right or the Left. If there were only portfolios enough for all the leading men of both parties, they might very well hold office together.

A proof of the immoral selfishness which prompts the rulers of Italy to sacrifice everything to their own personal ambition was given the other day, when, in order to humiliate the Right, the Left was not ashamed actually to reproach that party with the seizure of Rome, flinging in their faces the iniquitous arts by which they had succeeded in installing themselves on the Capitol. Farini, the President of the Chamber, ventured gravely to rebuke them for thus lowering the majesty of Italy, but he paid dearly for this proof of his courage. His own party rebelled against him, and for the sake of his personal dignity he felt himself constrained to resign his post. Neither the Government nor the so-called representatives of the nation know what they would aim at, nor what they would do, yet all feel that there is no getting on in this fashion, and anxiously look out for a solution. But is there one to be found? The Reviewer confidently replies, *none*, and gives his reasons, which are briefly these. He was writing when the dissolution of the Chamber had not yet been resolved upon, but he clearly saw that either a Ministerial or a Parliamentary crisis was imminent, and yet in neither case could the difficulty of the present situation be removed. A change of Ministry would be only a change of men, and could but lead to a continuation of the same indecorous comedy which the Left has been playing for the last four years with its alternation of ministries, Depretis, Cairoli, Depretis, Cairoli, Cairoli—Depretis. On the other hand, no substantial change in the situation could be expected from a new Parliament, for it was impossible, constituted as things are, for any very different political condition to result from the elections; and this is the opinion of all competent judges. Vainly would men shut their eyes to the true cause of the ruinous state of affairs. It is to be found in the absolute division between the rulers and the ruled, a division happily described by a saying of the senator Signor Jacini, which has been seized on and adopted. The former constitute *legal* Italy, the latter *real* Italy. The distinction is most accurate, for the men who ought to represent the needs and desires of twenty-eight millions of Italians, represent only themselves and their paltry private ambitions. They are elected by a very limited constituency, interested or bought, and mostly belong to the legal profession, or are mere political adventurers, with no status in the country. Between them and the country, in short, there is a chasm; they are a mere nucleus of individuals who have as much to do with the nation as have the satraps of Persia or the mandarins of China.

Such an artificial Government can only get on by a succession of stratagems and fictions, and, if such fail at last, it comes to a standstill, with the alternative of going forward towards certain destruction or of dying of inanition. Up to 1870 the leaders of the Revolution were combined in the purpose of destroying the temporal power of the Holy See, which was an obstacle to their unchristian designs; this served as a certain bond of union and furnished an object of external struggle. "We shall stick together," said Guiseppe Ferrari in April, 1870, "as long as possible, from the necessity of making head against the Pontiff." But when this external struggle came to an end, legal Italy was thrown upon internal dissensions and conspiracies to keep up some semblance of life, and not only did Right and Left mutually conspire against each other, but even men of the same party did the like, leading thereby to a Babel of confusion such as we now witness. A State reduced to such disorganization can no longer make a step without falling into the horrors of anarchy or of civil war, a result which the republican and socialistic demagogy daily threaten. On such occasions, a Government has sometimes recourse to the desperate experiment of a foreign war, because in face of the enemy it becomes possible to create a centre of union, and victory may serve to allay the jealousies of internal faction. Many are ready to embrace this expedient, and raise the cry of war against Austria for "*Italia irredenta*;" and, perhaps, before long the Italian revolution may be urged on to adopt this course in spite of the miserable state of the army, the still more wretched plight of the navy, an exhausted treasury, and an impoverished people. Such a war would be inevitably disastrous, as Alberto Mario confesses in the journal *La Lega*, where he says that a rupture with Austria would "plainly entail the certainty of defeat and of the decomposition of Italy." But opponents treat such assertions as blasphemy, and perhaps it may not be possible to restrain the impatient much longer; perhaps the Revolution may see no other way of escape except war. On which course, then, will legal Italy resolve? War with the foreigner, or civil war? Whichever choice is made, there can be little doubt but that it will lead to destruction. There is, in fact, but one way of salvation open to Italy—to retrace its steps, cast itself at the feet of the Pontiff, cancel irreligious laws, repair past injustice, and place in power men who will consult the weal of the country and respect the sanctity of Catholicism. Either there is this way or there is none; either re-action or the abyss; Catholicism or death; the Pope or ruin.

A SUCCESSION of solid articles is now in process of appearing in the *Civiltà Cattolica* on one of the most urgent questions of the day, that between masters and operatives, capital and labour. The new school of poetry, styled *Verismo*, continues also to be treated. The article in the May number sums up its remarks by pronouncing the new school as detestable, for it does not know how to represent in its artistic forms that very humanity which it pretends to substitute for the great Christian ideals. Its men resemble the most

despicable of women, while its women are degraded still further below the type of womanhood. If now and then you chance upon a pretty strophe, or a happy inspiration, it is the exception, and concerns some trivial matter. It is a nest of nightingales, or a child's fair curly head, or some piece of domestic playfulness, which affords this relief in the midst of a mass of rubbish or worse than rubbish. But nothing will you meet with which appertains to the true life of humanity; these little scraps of Nature and prettiness regarding only its least and most accidental belongings.

La Scuola Cattolica. 31 Marzo—30 Aprile, 1880.

St. Benedict and St. Catherine of Siena.

Two articles in the *Scuola Cattolica* for March and April, amongst longer and more elaborate ones on important questions of the day which our limited space forbids us to notice, will be read with interest at the present moment. The first is on St. Benedict and civilization, and briefly sketches the gigantic work accomplished in times of barbarism by him and his children. Saints—those men truly great—are the salvation of the world. God raises them up from time to time in His Church. Such we need at this day, when disorder, moral, social, and political, has invaded every class as it had in the fifth century, albeit in a different form. The second, entitled St. Catherine of Siena and the Papacy, vindicates that great saint from the misrepresentations of the despoilers of Pius IX., who have actually claimed her as a witness in their favour, and quoted her words in excuse of their sacrilegious and iniquitous deeds. St. Catherine is here triumphantly proved to have been very far removed in thought, word, and deed from being a "patriot" of their stamp.

FRENCH AND BELGIAN PERIODICALS.

Revue Catholique. Avril et Mai, 1880. Louvain.

IN two articles in these numbers of the *Revue*, M. E. Vandelaat gives an interesting account of a "Free Colony at Port Breton" (Oceanica), which is being formed by a Breton gentleman, M. Ch. Du Breil, Marquis de Rays. The Marquis de Rays is the possessor of a large fortune, but instead of enjoying it at home, he prefers to use it and his signal talents as an administrator, in organizing a free colony for New Britain. "I wish," he has said, "to colonize for God and for France;" that is to say, he hopes to create in that distant island "a new France worthy of the old, and where the laws of the Catholic Church will be held in honour; to raise also from their profound degradation the unfortunate peoples of that part of Oceanica and to civilize them; neither to drive them back into the forests nor to annihilate them." The colony of Port Breton is to be a work of religious civilization. The small and weak tribes are not to be con-

demned to destruction in the struggle for existence with a more powerful and energetic race—they are to be helped and protected, gathered into a confederacy and encouraged to the difficult task of self-government. To support the action of the Catholic missionaries among them is to be the privilege of the European colonists. “Wherever Catholic Missionaries have been able to act freely and without impediment, the degraded races have little by little been raised to civilization.” In Australia there is a most remarkable exemplification: on one side, in spite of all the English Government has been able to do to the contrary by schools and Protestant missionaries, the aborigines rapidly disappear; on the other, not far from Perth, on the west coast, the monks at New Nursie have, among other wonderful results, civilized a large number of these natives, considered the most degraded type of the human race. The Marquis de Rays, says, enthusiastically: “The monks founded old France, and they will found New France.” The first step in colonization has already been made. The first ship (the *Chandernagor*) left Flushing in September last, with a large and chosen body of sailors, agriculturists, workmen, &c., under the direction of le Baron de la Croix, the future commander of Port Breton.

A second ship has just left Barcelona for Port Breton, by way of Suez and Singapore, taking a large number of volunteers, a company of *gendarmes* recruited from among the best Spanish soldiers of the old army of Don Carlos, and a number of Benedictine religious charged by the Propaganda to establish among the natives missions and schools of agriculture. The large funds in hand and the numerous applications now permit the organization of a third expedition. This will go in the steamer *India*, and will consist of a hundred families of Italian, Spanish, and French farmers, who possess sufficient means to pay their way and build their own houses on their arrival. The Marquis de Rays, who has created and executed this work in ten months, is familiar with the regions he goes to colonize, and has lived there a long time; he knows the people and the difficulties to be expected.

The German Government has made great efforts to create a maritime empire in Oceanica; its attention was particularly called to the islands of the Archipelago of New Britain by Capt. F. Von Schleinitz, charged in 1874 with a scientific mission in those parts, but up to the present no Government has taken possession.

Will the colony succeed? There is no want of funds, of able leaders associated with the Marquis de Rays, or of enthusiasm. The advance guard in the waves of modern colonization has generally been composed of more or less worthless adventurers, selfish, immoral, cruel: in this case the conditions most likely to succeed, both morally and socially, have been carefully considered. The Papuas, the native tribes, are simple, open and hospitable; it may be confidently predicted that they will neither refuse the advantages offered by the new settlers, nor use treachery or foul play to rid themselves of their presence. The motives of the founders of the colony are pure and

elevated—neither aggrandizement nor fame—but the conversion and civilization of the natives. The signal success of the missionaries who accompany them is more than all an augury of happy results.

The reader will find a lengthened, but interesting, description of the islands and the plans and methods to be adopted, in these two articles of the *Revue Catholique*.

Notices of Books.

A Brief Reply to Dr. Bain on Free Will. Reprinted from the *Mind* of April, 1880. By W. G. WARD, D.Ph. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

WE have great satisfaction in calling attention to this further contribution of Dr. Ward to his admirable papers on "Free Will," which, by his courtesy, we are enabled to incorporate in the present number of this REVIEW. Dr. Ward has lately found a new audience for his philosophical articles, and, whilst we should think it extremely hard that he should altogether abandon our own pages, it cannot but be a matter of satisfaction to all who care for Christian truth and sound philosophy that his writings are actually receiving that recognition from non-Catholic thinkers which is implied in the criticisms of the *Spectator*, of Mr. Shadworth Hodgson, and of Dr. Bain himself.

The reply to Dr. Bain does not contain much that is novel to those who have followed Dr. Ward's articles. Dr. Bain had criticized him in the third edition of "The Emotions and the Will," Dr. Ward had replied in two articles in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last year, and Dr. Bain had again rejoined in *Mind*. "In April last" (1879), says Dr. Ward, "whilst cordially acknowledging that Dr. Bain had treated me with most abundant courtesy—I was nevertheless obliged to complain that throughout his criticism he did not so much as once refer to that central and fundamental argument on which I avowedly based my whole case. On the present occasion I must repeat the same acknowledgment and the same complaint." He contents himself, therefore, with stating and enforcing, by new illustrations, his own position, and then answering one by one the somewhat petty and thin objections of his adversary. The Paper is, as usual with Dr. Ward, full of light, of vigour, and of pregnant philosophic thought.

A Life's Decision. By T. W. ALLIES, M.A. London: C. Kegan Paul. 1880.

THIS is a book which, it is not too much to say, is second in interest of its kind only to the "Apologia" of Cardinal Newman. Mr. Allies has here given us the steps of his conversion—the record of the

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ways and means by which God led him, of the surroundings which affected him, of the eminent men who influenced him, in taking the "decision" which, momentous as it was at the time, grows more solemn and more wonderful to contemplate every year that he recedes further away from it.

By what grace of God, by what concurrence of my own will with that grace, by what gradual steps, and amid what conflicting currents of passions, interests, and convictions—being born and bred a Protestant, and having, when my education was completed, after three years' travel in Catholic countries, not only no inclination towards Catholicism, but the strongest prejudice against it—I yet, in after times, when my course in life was taken, when all external well-being and prosperity for myself, my wife, and my children, were inextricably linked with my continuing to be a Protestant, when, moreover, the first affection of my heart had been given to the Anglican Church, and I had for more than twelve years been one of her ministers, and had found unexpected honour and emolument as such—how, I repeat, after all this, I became a Catholic—this, for my own remembrance in future years, if God have such in store for me, and still more for my children who come after me, is the subject of what I am about to write (pp. 1, 2).

The record of these things, now given to the world, is full of every sort of interest. There is the never-dying interest of the struggle of a soul from darkness to light, from light to light. There is the interest of foreign travel—churches, clergy, Catholic people—as it influenced the writer's mind and heart. There are many references to Cardinal Newman, and several letters of his, full of his own characteristics, now for the first time printed. The great names, now so well known, which always appear and re-appear in the history of Anglican conversions during the last forty years, are again brought before us, with fresh traits and new materials—Keble, Ward, Manning, Coleridge, Wilberforce, Gladstone, Palmer, Forbes of Brechin. The volume would be worth securing for the newly-published letters alone. Very interesting to readers of the lately-published instalment of Bishop Wilberforce's Life will be found chapter v., entitled "Solution Helped by a Model Anglican Bishop." Mr. Allies was attacked and threatened with prosecution by Bishop Wilberforce for certain doctrinal statements in his well-known "Journal." Several letters passed, and Mr. Allies says:—

The letters of the bishop may be compared with those he wrote to Dr. Hampden. In the one case he appears soft, sleek, and silky, as is seemly in approaching a Queen's nominee; in the other he is prompt and bristling, as a guardsman eager to cut down a rebel who is running a-muck. . . . These letters from a man made a bishop by mere Court favour, who, while he denied the Real Presence, assumed the tone of an apostle, made me lose all respect for him. . . . I never could find any solid core of truth in him in his conduct to me (p. 208).

Very well worth reading, too, and very touching, is the account of the writer's interview with Pius IX. at Gaeta, in 1850. Of this audience Bishop Grant wrote, a few days afterwards, to Dr. Wiseman:

“By the way tell Mr. Allies that he must *be quick*, as the Pope spoke about him yesterday. . . . Cardinal Ferretti said that the only night of real freedom from melancholy at Gaeta was after Allies and Wynne had been to see his Holiness. Get him converted *quam primum*” (p. 228). All Catholics will share Mr. Allies’s conviction that from the moment of that audience and that blessing the cloud began to dissolve and the daystar to rise.

It ought to be mentioned that, besides matters of graver import, there are numberless good things in the book. As a specimen, take this, attributed to Mr. Ward—he is speaking of the Anglican dignitaries—“If a man be called moderate, or venerable, beware of him; but if both, you may be sure he is a scoundrel” (p. 11).

Biographical Sketch of St. Thomas of Canterbury. By Mrs. WARD.
London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

THIS agreeable volume is a reprint of two articles which have appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW. They seem to have been in some degree suggested by the crude and illiterate “studies” of Mr. J. A. Froude. They follow Father Morris’s well-known “Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury,” and do not, therefore, require us to do more than announce their re-publication. The writer has brought out very successfully both the natural character and the supernatural sanctity of the holy martyr, and her lively and pleasing style, together with her skilful selection from his own letters, although they only present us with a “sketch,” nevertheless give that sketch an enduring value.

The Refutation of Darwinism, and the Converse Theory of Development.
By T. WARREN O’NEIL, Member of the Philadelphia Bar.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

WITH the single drawback that this book is a little rhetorical, and, if the expression may be used, flippant in its invective, we have here a very useful and even original essay on the shortcomings of Darwinism. Mr. Darwin’s facts, allowing for his way of making too much of them, are true, and, being true, must be of the utmost value to true science. Mr. O’Neil accepts his facts, argues that the pet conclusion with which his name is associated is not borne out by them, and then very skilfully shows to what they do really point. Mr. O’Neil considers that all Mr. Darwin’s facts prove the law of Reversion, and not the law of Natural Selection. But Reversion points to a multiplicity of different original types. Mr. O’Neil says very well that there is no proof whatever that variations may proceed to an indefinite extent. Yet Mr. Darwin always assumes this throughout. And not only do his facts not prove it—as how could they?—but his repeated admission that the reason, or, as scholastics would call it, the formal cause of the tendency to Variation is totally

undiscoverable, should make him pause before he pronounces that it can proceed without limit. But—and this is the most original point of Mr. O'Neil's book—Mr. Darwin does lay down one law, the law of Reversion, which goes far to invalidate his continual assumption that there is no limit to Variation. Reversion is the principle that lost characters, features, and organs re-appear in the individual under favourable conditions. Almost every character, for instance, which is developed in animals when domesticated, and cared for by man—all those which have been produced by the presence of favourable conditions of growth—were once, in some period past, in a perfect state, and fully developed, in some remote ancestor. Those characters may seem to have been diminished, lessened, or wholly lost, but they were present all the time, in germ, in every individual of the species, and they only required an opportunity to re-appear to the eye. Now Mr. Darwin concedes that all the phenomena of Variation, with an unimportant qualification, may be ranged under the head of Reversion; and, says Mr. O'Neil, there is not a single fact to be found in any of his works, or within the range of physiology, which militates against this view. But if this theory is true, then the theory of unlimited Variation is false. If the theory of Reversion is true, then the number of "species" was fixed by Nature or by God, the assumption of enormous periods of time is unnecessary, and Holy Scripture and popular belief have not been so far mistaken as the men of science would have us believe. It is to be hoped that this book will be read widely. It is most ably written, displays full knowledge of the subject, and places before the reader one view, at least, that we have not met before.

Gleanings of Past Years, 1843-1878. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. In Seven Volumes. London: Murray. 1878.

THESE "Gleanings" are Essays contributed by Mr. Gladstone at various times during the last thirty-six years to various publications of the day. It is characteristic of the author both that he should have thought it worth while to collect and republish them, and that the republication should have been made in these volumes, whose appearance is significant of a railway book-stall, and whose size, of the pocket of a great coat. There is, according to George Herbert, a kind of humility which is "pride in a chain," and Mr. Gladstone possesses no small share of that dubious virtue.

Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings" fill seven volumes. The first is entitled "The Throne, the Prince Consort, the Cabinet, and Constitution;" the second, "Personal and Literary;" the third, "Historical and Speculative;" the fourth, "Foreign;" the fifth and sixth are denominated "Ecclesiastical;" the seventh is described as "Miscellaneous." Upon the whole we cannot say that we think these books will greatly add to their author's fame, or that they will either delight or profit the bulk of their readers. There are very few review or magazine articles with sufficient body in them to bear republishing.

The effect which most of these compositions of Mr. Gladstone's now produces is as that of the Claret known by his name, after it has been long decanted.

The most interesting of the volumes is, perhaps, the second, which contains articles on Blanco White, Mr. Tennyson, and Lord Macaulay: and, of these three articles, that upon Lord Macaulay is by far the best. It is to that great writer that we owe the justest estimate of Mr. Gladstone's character, in the famous Essay which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1839, an estimate which his whole subsequent career amply justified. Macaulay's words must have left an enduring smart in a mind so sensitive as Mr. Gladstone's, who, indeed, in one place speaks feelingly of his critic's "scarifying and tomahawking powers"; and it is honourable to him that they do not appear to have affected the impartiality of his judgment. He reckons, indeed, among Lord Macaulay's faults "an occasional tinge of literary vindictiveness," and justly. He points out, too, his want of appreciation of "introspective productions, such as St. Augustine's Confessions; they lay," Mr. Gladstone says, "in a region which he did not frequent, and yet they are among not only the realities, but the deepest and most determining realities of our nature." And Mr. Gladstone goes on to reckon his low estimate of this inward work as betokening an insufficient development of his "powerful mind in this direction." This is true enough. It is true, too, that Macaulay's standard for judging of all things human and divine with which he dealt was that afforded by the Whigism of the early nineteenth century; or, as Mr. Gladstone grandiosely puts it, "the higher energies of his nature were summed up in the present." Nor can an impartial critic deny that while "the serious flaw in Macaulay's mind was want of depth;" "the central defect with which his productions appear to be chargeable is a pervading strain of more or less exaggeration;" that he is unjust and hasty in his judgments, and that "a nearly uniform refusal to accept correction may be charged against him." On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone does full justice to his "marvellous accuracy in matters of concrete fact," his "luminous views of single 'objects,' his 'great knowledge, great diligence, great uprightness and kindliness,' his 'consistency,' his 'incapacity for intentional unfairness,' his 'powerful fancy,' 'high standard of excellence in style and unwearied labour to come up to it,' his 'generous love of talent, and the soundness of the aim and basis of his work.'" But let us quote the concluding passage of this Essay of Mr. Gladstone's: it is a fair summing up of the matter and a good specimen of his best work.

Macaulay must and will survive. Whether he will subsist as a standard and supreme authority, is another question. Wherever and whenever read, he will be read with fascination, with delight, with wonder; and with copious instruction too; but also with copious reserve, with questioning scrutiny, with liberty to reject, and with much exercise of that liberty. The contemporary mind may in rare cases be taken by storm; but posterity, never. The tribunal of the present is accessible to influence; that of the future is incorrupt. The coming generations will not give Macaulay up; but they will, probably, attach much less value than we have done to his

ipse dixit. They will hardly accept from him his net solutions of literary, and still less of historic problems. Yet they will obtain from his marked and telling points of view great aid in solving them. We sometimes fancy that ere long there will be editions of his work in which readers may be saved from pitfalls by brief, respectful, and judicious commentary, and that his great achievements may be at once commemorated and corrected by men of slower pace, of drier light, and of more tranquil, broadset, and comprehensive judgment; for his works are in many respects among the prodigies of literature; in some, they have never been surpassed. As lights that have shone through the whole universe of letters, they have made their title to a place in the solid firmament of fame. But the tree is greater and better than its fruit, and greater and better yet than the works themselves are the lofty aims and conceptions, the large heart, the independent, manful mind, the pure and noble career, which in this biography have disclosed to us the true figure of the man who wrote them (p. 341).

Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiæ orientalis et occidentalis, academis clericorum accommodatum. Auctore NICOLAO NILLES, S. J. in Universitate Cœnipontana professore. Cœniponte, ex officina Feliciani Rauch. 1879.

F. NILLES has here given us a work not only full of wide and deep learning, but also in a high degree useful and appropriate. Written principally for his own classes, it meets the wants of all Catholic scholars throughout the world. Eastern Christians united with the Holy See are peculiarly indebted to him. The book owes its origin to the circumstance that a good many seminarists belonging to the several Oriental rites are devoting themselves under the direction of F. Nilles to liturgical study. Moreover, he has erected in Innsbruck a "heortological" seminary where the abstract rules of the "Computus Ecclesiasticus" are adapted to real cases, and the student learns how to arrange the feasts throughout the year. Such an institution is useful in any Seminary. In Austria it is for special reasons indispensable. There are in the Austro-Hungarian Empire about seven millions of Eastern Christians, four millions of whom are Roman Catholics. Our author in publishing this book means to teach disciples who belong to the Oriental rites how to overcome many difficulties necessarily arising from this diversity in the celebration of the Church's feasts. Hence it is dedicated to the Bishops of the Eastern Uniate rites. F. Nilles piously entertains the hope that a good many priests or laymen who unhappily live separated from the centre of unity may make use of it, and hence we have large quotations from those Greek fathers who testify to the Primacy of the Holy See and the Infallibility of St. Peter's successors.

The *Kalendarium* is made up of the following parts. After quoting those decrees in which the Popes express their intention of maintaining the venerable Eastern rites, our author goes on to give a general survey of the Eastern Churches in Austro-Hungary. This is followed by ample explanations of the Eastern liturgical books, as : *μηνολόγιον*.

τυπικὸν, τριῶδιον, ἀνθολόγιον, ὠρολόγιον, ὀκτώηχος, παρακλητικὴ and ψαλτήριον, and by a learned interpretation of those terms, which is necessary for the understanding of the liturgical books. Then we have the Kalendarium, or ἑορτολόγιον, in Greek and Latin.

The main body of the book contains an excellent and instructive commentary on the Eastern Kalendarium, for which the author has been highly praised in Germany. To many scholars he may be considered as having opened out a new world. His thorough knowledge of English, German, and Oriental literature, his masterly grasp of every matter connected with his purpose, and the extensive quotations from the Pontifical decrees, testify to the author's learning and piety. But what we would especially point out for observation is the convincing testimony, on the part of the Greek Church, to the Primacy and Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, here so well brought out.

The "Kalendarium Occidentalis Ecclesiæ" is less well done. The concluding part contains the Kalendars of the Ruthenian, Armenian, Syriac, Malchite, and Servian Catholics, followed by a treatise on the time-signs in the Martyrology, two excellent indices, and a map of the Eastern Church. Only one matter might perhaps be found fault with. F. Nilles treats only of the "festa immobilia." We fail to see why he reserved the moveable feasts for a second volume, and much more why this important circumstance was not plainly stated on the title-page. But, allowing for this defect, we cannot but earnestly recommend to every Catholic seminary this standard work. The second Part is eagerly expected by every lover of the venerable and impressive rites of the Church.

Benedicti PP. XIV., olim Prosperi Cardinalis de Lambertinis de Sacrosancto Sacrificio Missæ libri tres. Juxta editiones Patavinam (1745), Augustanam (1752), Venetam (1797), et Pratensem (1843), denuo edidit et multis annotationibus et additionibus auxit P. JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J. Moguntiæ: Kirchheim. 1879.

AMONGST the Sovereign Pontiffs since the Council of Trent, there is perhaps none to be compared to Benedict XIV., either as a canonist or a theologian. All his works are standard writings, but no one of them is so familiar to the clergy, and especially to priests occupied in missionary work, as his treatise on the Holy Sacrifice. Of its intrinsic merits we need not say one word; it is beyond all praise. What we are concerned with here is the new edition of the work by Father Schneider. Former editions being nearly exhausted, a new and accurate one was eagerly looked for in almost every Catholic country. No fitter person could have been selected for the work than the present editor, well known as he is in Europe, America, and Australia by his excellent "Manuale Sacerdotum." He has not only given us a most accurate text, but has enriched the book with many recent decisions of the Roman Congregations bearing on ritual. Take for example page 16, where he treats in his notes the cases in which altars lose

their consecration, or page 53 where he enumerates the cases where the use of the stole is allowed. Besides these valuable additions we find two instructive *indices*, one containing every work consulted by the Pontiff, and an *index rerum*.

The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops. Edited by JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York. Vol. I. London, 1879. (Rolls Series.)

CANON RAINE has set his hand to a good work, of which the present volume is a long-expected first instalment. Twenty-three years ago a Collection of "The Historians of the Church of York; with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents" appeared in the list of projected publications of the Surtees Society. The proposal dropped out of the Surtees' list, after the Report of 1870, only to reappear, in 1872, in the Rolls Series, as "Corpus Historicum Eboracense," to include the "Documents Relating to the Primacy of York." The work at length comes out under the title given at the head of this notice. The change of name does not imply, it is to be hoped, that the editor is, by some official ruling, to confine his labours to bare biographical and strictly historical material. Among the most welcome features of Canon Raine's editing is the wealth of illustration embodied in his notes, and drawn largely from the Archives of the Northern Sees. The plan of the Rolls Series, for the most part, excludes such annotations; but we trust that, as this collection proceeds, it may be enriched with appendices of York documents (of which no one has so extensive and minute an acquaintance as Canon Raine), not as amply, perhaps, yet somewhat in the same way, as the Durham Historians, prepared for the Surtees Society by its venerated founder.

The volume with which we are now concerned comprises the various lives of St. Wilfrid; the lives and miracles of St. John of Beverley; Alcuin's Poem on the Archbishop and Saints of the Church of York; lastly (and most valuable of all), the first part of the documents which group round St. Oswald the Archbishop, in the shape of the hitherto inedited contemporary life, the source from which later writers, like the Ramsey historian and Eadmer, have drawn their information. It is by no means creditable to English scholars that a piece of such primary importance for the history of the tenth century should have so long remained in manuscript only. Apart from the mere advantage in accuracy of statement, which must be presupposed in favour of an eye-witness as against a compiler, there is something more valuable, more instructive still, in a contemporary narrative; it is—it cannot but be—a reflex, in some measure, of the period; whether a man will, or whether he will not, he must write, if at all, under the influence of his own times and of his own surroundings. The mode of presentment, the turns of expression, the reticences, are so many involuntary revelations of the life, the ideas, the tendencies, of the day. The case in point is no exception to the rule.

St. Oswald does not possess, either in his personal character or his

career, the interest which is excited by his great contemporaries and associates, St. Dunstan of Canterbury and St. Ethelwold of Winchester. He has neither the initiative of the one, nor the energy of the other. In the recoil from the false and unjust conception of Dunstan's career, so long in vogue, there seems, in the present day, a tendency to adopt a view which, though more generous, is still misleading. Hatred of the monk-blinded writers—now happily, half-forgotten (and some whose labours still deserve recognition)—to the merits of the statesman and the greatness of the man. Now, with a truer appreciation of his career as a Minister of State (if we may use the word), it is becoming the fashion to extenuate his position in regard to the monastic reform of his day, and to minimize his ecclesiastical influence.

The actual reformer and promoter of the reform is no longer Dunstan, but Ethelwold, who bids fair, by-and-by, to inherit the reversion of St. Dunstan's old reputation as a harsh and intemperate zealot.

The character of both we have to seek, it is true, in a general view of their public action; but the development of each, and its contrasts, are marked also with unstudied touches in the reports of those who knew them both,—reports where we look in vain for evidence of the newly-imagined laxity of Dunstan's observance. In St. Dunstan the monastic vocation is innate; though it was probably affected, it was not suggested, by the Winchester traditions, which may be traced back to St. Grimbald. It was a living and active force within him long before Dunstan came under the care of his relative, the Bishop of Winchester. The young day-dreams of a strong nature have a tendency to realize themselves in later life; and the boyish vision, in his school days, of a renovated Glastonbury—the outer shrine of a new monastic spirit—shews the workings of a mind influenced, but prepared to be influenced, by the past memories and the present desecration of the holy place. These early imaginings did not pass away in view of the brilliant prospects opening before the young cleric, who had all the advantages of personal capacity and powerful connections. The easy-going discipline of Bishop Elphege (the first) of Winchester, his relative and tutor, and himself a monk, did not long satisfy Dunstan's aspirations; and he betakes himself to retirement, in Glastonbury, to work out the realization of his monastic ideal. He builds, it is true, but only with the essentially practical end of securing the primary requirement of monastic enclosure; the buildings were just like those, it is said (Dunstan himself may be taken as the authority for the tale), which he dreamed of in his boyhood. The care of the temporal business and of the estates of the house would naturally fall on him as abbot; but herein he takes a course which indicated his appreciation of the work incumbent on him individually—the work he, of all men, is called to do. He throws all such worldly concerns on a trusty layman, his brother Wulfric, so that he, no less than his disciples, may be able to keep within the monastic precincts, and, that free from the incumbrance of external affairs, he may be, in his own person, an example to them in all things of the life to which their profession had bound them. In later years, and in

the decline of age, and grown grey in the cares of Church and State, he shews the same solicitude for the reform of which, from the first, he had been the life and soul, and he still continues to go his rounds of visiting the newly established monasteries "for the building up of souls," says his biographer.

The action of St. Dunstan, as supreme in Edgar's counsels, and in the height of his power, is not less significant. Glastonbury, under his care, had been the destined seed-plot of rulers in the Church; now came the transplanting; and men of the new school (in the cases of which there is distinct record, all young men) were put in possession of the principal Sees of England. Nor was the policy thus inaugurated laid aside in process of time, as the records of nearly every English bishopric bear witness. The appointment of Elphege (later, the martyr of Canterbury) to Winchester, on St. Ethelwold's death, shews the settled lines of Dunstan's ecclesiastical administration. He may not figure prominently in the arrangement of details, but he does not withdraw his hand from the direction.

Ethelwold nowhere gives indication of the originality and independence which mark Dunstan. On entering the road of a more strict perfection, though equal in age and birth, he recognizes at once the true and natural relation of their differing characters, and without reserve he commits himself to the rule, the guidance, the direction of Dunstan, but lately his friend and co-disciple at Winchester, a submission which was continued to the very last days of his life. Whilst Dunstan, the abbot, is intent on the sum and kernel of monastic observance and on the cultivation of the spiritual field, Ethelwold, kindly of heart and gentle of soul, busies himself, though constituted monastic dean, in garden work for the commodities of the brethren: the fruit and vegetables at the daily meal are of his planting and tending. How unlike anything recorded of Dunstan is that picture left us of St. Ethelwold gathering the young about him, as a sweet solace of his episcopal cares, and teaching them to render, in their mother tongue, the Latin books of the learned. The different spirit of the two great chiefs of the tenth-century ecclesiastical movement in England is faithfully reflected in their biographies. In St. Dunstan we catch a glimpse of the practical mind which, knowing its end and how to reach it, brushes aside all that is superfluous and unnecessary. In Ethelwold there is an appreciation of the outer trappings (so to speak) of the monastic life which Dunstan, in the spirit of a true reformer on that ground, seems to have held almost in contempt. In the details which Dunstan passed by, Ethelwold was thoroughly at home. Building and planting he loved for building and planting's sake. He went round about the works and himself superintended their progress. In the literary memorials that proceed from his school, the same tone of mind is observable. With an evident pleasure they linger over the new churches, their form and disposition, their towers and doorways, their ornaments and fittings, and the church stuff, the monastery and its fishponds contrived within its walls. Ethelwold entered into the pomp and circumstance of the great renewal, and no one could be

more fitted than he to raise up again, from their desolation, Peterborough and Ely, Abingdon and Thorney; or to bring into the great ancient cathedral churches, in place of the clerical life there prevailing, a monastic observance which should pave the way for a restoration of their exterior splendour.

But to make Ethelwold the prime mover is to put in place of the principal, the agent. St. Dunstan initiates the reform, he trains his agents, he places them in posts of authority where they may act with freedom and effect; in a word, in the beginning he is the inspirer—to the end he remains the master-mind of the movement.

The position of St. Oswald is somewhat between these two; having resolved on the monastic state he has neither the self-reliance of St. Dunstan or the submissive and unquestioning confidence of St. Ethelwold; but, as a middle course, he seeks, beyond the sea, a safe school of discipline in a house of established repute. Returned home and made a bishop by Dunstan's influence, he imitates, in sober measure, and with a certain astute prudence, the proceedings of Ethelwold in building, restoring, propagating. The biographer seems to have recognized the peculiarities of Oswald's character; as he proceeds with his work the great and powerful Ethelwin, Ealdorman (or viceroy, we might say) of East Anglia, Oswald's friend and intimate, and co-founder with him of Ramsey Abbey, becomes as much the hero of the narrative as Oswald himself.

This "Life," now first published, is divided into six parts: the first deals with St. Oswald's family and descent; the second, with his monastic vocation and life at Fleury; the third, with his elevation to the episcopate, and the measures he took to plant new monasteries; the fourth is mainly concerned with the public history of Edgar's reign, and the time immediately following; the fifth, with Oswald at York and Ripon, and with St. Dunstan (nothing new); it gives, moreover, a noteworthy account of the death of Brihtnoth in Maldon fight; the sixth part is devoted to the completion of the great foundation of Ethelwin and Oswald at Ramsey, and the last days and death of the two friends.

The fourth part is a contribution of the highest value and importance to our knowledge of the time, particularly in all that concerns the reaction against the monks that ensued on the death of King Edgar, and the troubles which centre round King Edward the Martyr. The writer often uses vague terms where we should desire precise details; but he had lived through the events, and his fervour and earnestness show that, in recalling them, though years had since passed by, he writes as if still under the influence of those days of dread and danger to men of his habit. The monks, at least in Mercia, were literally turned out of house and home, and reduced to wander over the face of the land; they became a by-word and objects of scorn to the populace. "There breathed out among the Christian people a spirit of very madness, as in Judea, long ago, when they persecuted our Lord Himself in that deed of iniquity when the dull head of Caiphas set itself up, and the *apostolicus vir* became a vile apostate,

and wicked Pilate spoke to Thee (and) the disciples stood full of fear as in these days do the monks full of grief. But this the spirit of Ethelwin, just and upright, could not brook. The hosts assembled, a worthy company, and himself becomes the leader of the array, and the Prince of the Angels guarded and comforted him" (p. 445). Do these words really stand, and stand only, for what they seem to be—an allusion to the Gospel story? Or, under cover of such a parallel, does the writer intend to hint at persons and circumstances he found it not prudent to indicate more exactly? What was the precise attitude taken up at this juncture by the chief men of the day is not to be made out with clearness from the scanty memorials which remain. Did Dunstan (the undoubted *apostolicus vir*, in a passage further on, p. 456) then fail? Did Oswald, the timid, the solicitous, now appear before his time (cp. pp. 470 and 447) as an Angel of Light? Was it that at a critical moment Dunstan was silent, and men, in the excitement of their own fears, misinterpreted his reserve and misdoubted his firmness—forgot the teaching of his whole past history, that he was strong enough to bide his time, and that neither clamour or menace could turn him from his purpose? It seems, however, clear, that in the strong arm of powerful laymen the monks found their immediate protection. First among these were Ethelwin and Alfwold, both sons of the great Duke Ethelstan, *semirex*, as he was called by high and low, on account of his predominant authority in the realm, who ended his days as a monk at Glastonbury. Whether or not Alfwold actually used in the great assembly the very words attributed to him, it may be taken for certain that they represent correctly enough the ideas of those who took that side of the question. "If Christ still grants me life and health" (he is reported to have said) "those things which are my own I will keep [the free disposal of], and I will give them to whom it so please me; and by Him who regenerated me I will not suffer men of religion, by whose prayers we may be delivered from our enemies, to be expelled from our bounds" (p. 445). The interests of the monks, of course, were at stake, but it happened that with those interests were bound up the rights or the privileges of personages of another quality.

If the fourth part of this biography is historically the most important, the sixth is, certainly, not of less personal and social interest. It is a picture drawn from the life; and Ethelwin, the subject of it, is the last link that connected the new generation with the race of great men, whose heyday was in the glorious times of King Edgar. This chapter betrays, too, a certain sense of artistic effect, and is disposed not without some literary skill; in execution it may be somewhat rude and cumbered, but the intention can be divined; what is more, it is marked, here and there, by touches of genuine feeling.

It opens with a description of the great festival which signaled the completion of the Abbey of Ramsey. The writer brings before us the crowd of prelates and nobles—conspicuous among them the two venerable founders—of abbots, thanes, and people; the sounding horn which summons the multitude to take their part in the rejoicings of the day;

the rich adornments of the place; the pealing organ, the sweet voices of the singers. The solemn service was followed by a great banquet, and Oswald was *jocundissimus conviva*, we are told elsewhere. The next day the privileges and liberties of the house were confirmed in a full assembly, and then, the next, after blessing the monks and humbly receiving their blessing in return, the aged prelate takes his leave, never to see them more. Ethelwin cannot separate himself thus from the monastery, the completion of which he had desired with great desire to see. Early in Lent, accompanied by his two sons, Edwin and Ethelwerd, with a few attendants, he came back to Ramsey. It was just before *Oculi mei* Sunday (the third in Lent). The three days thereafter he spent in great need of soul, having the hour of his death, as it were, before his eyes. On the Wednesday morning, after Mass, he went, wholly wrapped up in devotion, to the altar of Christ and St. Benedict, as to a sure defence. For St. Benedict he loved above all the rest of the Saints, and he held in honour whatever he had seen of that Order. He remained before the altar, weeping and prostrate, a son on either side, and these two were sorely grieved to see their father's tears, whilst the community assembled round sang the Penitential Psalms. After which he received absolution from a trusted friend of St. Oswald for more than thirty years, the monk Germanus, whom he entreated not to leave him henceforward to the end of his days. Rising up from the ground, and resting on his staff, he now spoke to the brethren many affectionate words, and bid his sons there present be ever faithful defenders of the house. Then he admitted every one to the kiss of peace, saying, "The Lord bless you from Sion;" and now addressing the monks in consoling terms, he again gave the man old man's blessing, commended himself to their prayers, and wished them ever prosperous and happy days whom, in the past, he had loved and cherished so well. That night strange sounds were heard within and without the precincts of the monastery, as though the church were coming down; another saw, in his dreams, the towers falling; and the brethren discoursed with each other what these portents should mean. They had not long to wait for the meaning, for about complin time* a messenger arrived

* On Thursday, 3 March, 992. The words *post professionem*, p. 469, must not be taken too literally, and it seems clear that the visit of Ethelwin to Ramsey, mentioned, pp. 467-8, is one and the same with that at p. 474. According to Florence of Worcester (vol. i. p. 149, Ed. Engl. Hist. Soc.), the dedication of Ramsey took place in 991, in which he is supported by a passage in the Life (p. 467), *veniensque domi tribus mensibus mansit (Oswaldus) incolumis*—i.e., after the dedication on 8th November. Oswald and Ethelwin both died in 992 (A. S. C. sub anno). In the earlier passage of the Life, it is stated (p. 467) that one of the few days Ethelwin then spent at Ramsey, was the 3rd Sunday in Lent, from the later passage, p. 474, it is clear that the news of Oswald's death came to Ramsey while Ethelwin was staying there. Now St. Oswald died 29th February, 992, which fell precisely on the Monday after the third Sunday in Lent. The news coming round by Worcester to Ramsey, reached Ethelwin's ears before his departure, on the evening of the Thursday, as appears from the sequence of the narrative which is taken up at p. 474, from the point where it was left off, at p. 469. Florence is wrong in saying the dedication was *feria tertia*; 8th November, 991, fell on a Sunday. The Vita (p. 475), and the Ramsey records (Monast. Angl.

from the monks of Worcester, whither word had come straight from York, to say that Oswald was dead. Some one broke the news suddenly to Ethelwin; the old man burst into tears, and, ill and infirm as he was, he rose up and went at once to the church and made no delay in rendering his service of affection and piety. From that time forth the smile of gladness was never seen on his lips; no word or sign of joy, or jest escaped him. A settled grief was now added to increasing pain and weakness. Yet, for all this, he did not forget the duties his station imposed on him in regard to the King and the public weal. So he returned to Winchester,* for his counsels were both acceptable and salutary. Notwithstanding the feebleness of his bodily state, he was ready, in heart and mind, to die, if Christ so willed it, for the welfare of his countrymen. But his infirmities now grew upon him fast, and the end was at hand. He made his confession, was anointed, and received Holy Communion, and then begged those who were about him in this ministry—namely, Bishop Elphege, later the martyr of Canterbury, and his monks, with Germanus who had come with him from Ramsey—to sing with him and for him the psalms which he had by heart. But first, mindful of the needs of his household, he dismissed them, bidding them go into the hall and there spend a merry day, for it was Sunday. Then he and those around him went on singing; when they came to the last psalm of the psalter *Laudate Dominum in cymbalis*, he repeated thrice the final words *omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*; with his right hand signed himself with the sign of the Cross; with his left closed his own eyes, and thus, with the sign of faith and with the praises of God on his lips, he entered into the rest of the saints, and was admitted, we may well believe, into the company of the citizens of Paradise. With much honour they carried the body of the dead prince to Ramsey, and they buried him in the place which, in his lifetime, he had loved so much.

This life abounds with illustrations of contemporary manners and incidental notices of the most varied kinds; it throws light especially on several liturgical observances. Here it may be sufficient to mention (though the choice among so much that is interesting is not easy) the very full description of King Edgar's coronation (pp. 436-8); the finding of the relics of St. Wilfrid (p. 447); the blessed bread partaken of before meals (pp. 454-5); Oswald's love of spring-time is a rare and characteristic touch (p. 461); the custom of carrying relics in

vol. i. p. 231., ed. 1655), again agree as to the date of Ethelwin's death, which happened, according to the former, on a Sunday, according to the latter, on 8 Cal. Maii; the 24th April, in 992, fell on the fourth Sunday after Easter.

* The indications of the contemporary life are here followed in preference to the statements of the "Historia Ramesiensis" (in Gale's xv. Scr. p. 428), which, if definite, are certainly sometimes wrong. The credit hitherto allowed to this Ramsey History is greatly shaken by the publication of the "Life." The account of Ethelwin's last days, for instance, is less a version than a perversion, and a perversion spoilt by the author's gratuitous inventions. The whole tone and character is distorted and lost. A collected and critical edition of the historical memorials of Ramsey (as also of Peterborough and Glastonbury), is an addition to the Rolls Series much to be desired.

the Rogation processions (p. 447); pp. 410-11 and 424-5 are valuable notices of the life in the monasteries before and after the reform; p. 454 is a description of the city of York, which, it is said, then had thirty thousand *adult* inhabitants; the account of the great Council about the monks (pp. 425-7) is written in a strain which suggests that it may be a version or adaptation of some lost metrical piece on the event, similar to those preserved in the Saxon Chronicle, and elsewhere.

A few slips on the editor's part does not detract from the carefulness which characterizes his work as a whole. The unintelligible words "*ad regulum electus*" (p. 421) should read "*ad regimen electus*" (so the MS.); *largitur* (p. 463, l. 1) is a misprint for *largiter*" (so MS.); "*quid erat perendie*" (p. 470) of the MS., is probably correct instead of the *erit* of the print; such slips of the pen (which may certainly be laid to the account of the scribe, not the author) as "*castris*" (for *castri*), and "*impositis*" (for *imposito*) (pp. 413 and 450) should surely be corrected in the editor's text. *Sacerdotale officium* (p. 470) here means St. Oswald's *Episcopate*, not the years of his *priesthood* (as in margin). The narrative (p. 458) has nothing to do with Christ Church at Canterbury, but (as appears on a comparison with the parallel passage in the life of St. Dunstan) refers to a chapel of the Blessed Virgin to the east of the Abbey Church of St. Augustine. It may be added that the MS. of Frithegode, from which Mabillon printed, did not belong to the "German Monastery of Corbei" (Preface p. xl. and p. xlii.), but "*Bibliotheca Corbeiensi in Gallia*," the library of Old Corbie in Picardy, one of the most venerable sanctuaries in Christendom, the remains of which still dominate the plain a few miles north-east of Amiens. The late Sir T. D. Hardy's conjecture (cp. preface p. lxvi.) that the author is probably a foreigner deserves entire reconsideration. The Phillipps M.S., No. 13,560, at Cheltenham, is a Life of St. Wilfrid: is it Eadmer, or the missing Salisbury MS. of Eddius? (see Preface, p. xxxviii).

Il Cimitero di S. Agnese sulla Via Nomentana, descritto ed illustrato da
MARIANO ARMELLINI. Roma. Tipografia Polyglotta della S. C. di
Propaganda Fide. 1879.

HERE is another valuable work from the pen of one of De Rossi's disciples. He follows more immediately in the wake of his master, both as to his choice of subject and the manner of treating it, than M. Le Blant; and, being a much younger man, does not bring to the execution of his task the same amount of experience and learning. This is not, however, the first work of Signor Armellini's, and we hope it will not be the last. He is gratefully mentioned in more than one passage of De Rossi's volumes, as having, by his perseverance and extraordinary keenness of vision, succeeded in deciphering inscriptions which had baffled the weary eyes of his master. Indeed, his first work "*Scoperta della Cripta di S. Emerenziana e di una Memoria relativa alla Cattedra di San Pietro nel Cimitero Ostriano*,"

owes its origin to a discovery of this kind; and now he has devoted himself to a thorough examination of the neighbouring and sister-cemetery (as we may justly call it) of St. Agnes.

Our readers are doubtless already well aware that it is now an acknowledged fact among all Roman archæologists that what used to be called, in Father Marchi's days (forty years ago), the Catacomb of St. Agnes, was not really entitled to that name. It was the *Cemeterium Ostriarium* in which St. Peter had baptized, and where his chair had once been venerated. The real Cemetery of St. Agnes was in immediate connection with the Basilica of that Saint, more than a quarter of a mile nearer to Rome. It was always known that there were subterranean galleries there, full of graves; but it was thought that these were only distant branches of the Catacomb on which Father Marchi spent so many years of labour. This error was, of course, entirely dissipated as soon as De Rossi's invaluable discoveries had established the principle on which these earliest Basilicas were built—viz., as near as possible to the grave of the martyr whom it was desired to honour. Thanks to the impulse given to this branch of archæological research by those discoveries, the Canons Regulars to whom the Basilica of St. Agnes belongs, have prosecuted the work of excavation with unremitting perseverance for some years past; every gallery has been explored, every fragment of ornament or inscription carefully examined, and the whole faithfully registered. It is the result of this labour which Mariano Armellini has here given to the public, illustrated, from time to time, by the discussion of more general subjects which the history suggests. In most of these discussions our author follows, without hesitation, the lines long since laid down by De Rossi; and where he departs from these, because the questions are new and he has not the benefit of such sure guidance, we are not certain that we always agree with him. Nevertheless, we are sincerely grateful to him for his important contributions to our knowledge of *Roma Sotterranea*.

We consider that he has satisfactorily demonstrated that the Cemetery which he describes originally consisted of four distinct *areae*. One of these was the private property of St. Agnes' family; a plot of ground of very limited extent (45 metres by 30), and she was herself one of the last to be buried in it. We read in her Acts that her parents buried her in an *agellus* which belonged to them; and *agellus* is the very word used in more than one Pagan monument to denote the area devoted to the sepulture of some particular family and its dependents. Signor Armellini hazards a conjecture that this particular burial-place belonged to the Gens Clodia; and consequently that the young Saint herself was a member of that family; and certainly many independent arguments seem to give probability to this conjecture. But, however this may be, it is placed beyond all reasonable doubt that this first nucleus of the Catacomb was in use from the very earliest ages of Christianity, and that in it were buried, besides the members of the family to whom it belonged, many other Christians, including both slaves and freedmen "of the house of Cæsar." De Rossi had long

since pointed out a large number of epitaphs from the neighbouring Cœmeterium Ostrianum, of most ancient type, cut in marble, in letters of beautifully classical form, and having many characteristics which oblige us to refer them, if not to the age of those who heard the Apostles themselves, yet certainly of their immediate successors, and now, in this Cemetery of St. Agnes, are found many more of the same class, and still *in situ*; and among the names of the persons thus commemorated are Crescens, Epaphras, Eunice, Epaphroditus, Narcissus, Phœbe, and Alexander—all names occurring in the Epistles of St. Paul. Of this original area there are not more than eight or ten galleries and three or four *cubicula*, remaining; they contain, however, nearly a thousand skeletons still undisturbed in their first resting-places.

Other galleries have been destroyed or rendered inaccessible by the building of the grand Constantinian Basilica, in which, according to the usual practice, the principal altar was placed over the martyr's tomb. Signor Armellini has crept along the subterranean galleries up to the very tomb itself, and ascertained that there still remain many graves untouched in its immediate neighbourhood.

At no great distance from this area, but independent of it, was formed another much smaller Cemetery in the outskirts of a sand-pit. Then, in the latter half of the third century, the burial of the martyr St. Agnes on the confines of the original area was the reason of forming a larger cemetery between the first and the Cœmeterium Ostrianum; its galleries pass and repass under the present Via Nomentana, not penetrating, however, beyond the old road of the same name, which lay further to the right. This area received further extension not long before the conversion of Constantine. Towards the end of that century, a fourth subterranean burial-place was formed in immediate connection with certain Pagan *Columbaria*, not far from the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza, and now having actual communication with it. This last item is of considerable importance, as it serves to explain the only *facts* on which Mr. Parker has raised his monstrous theory as to the Roman Catacombs having been used by Christians and Pagans indiscriminately for purposes of burial. This connection between a *columbarium* and a part of the Cemetery of St. Agnes is one of his favourite instances by which he seeks to support his untenable proposition; indeed, we might almost say that it is the only one which is at all correctly stated in his pages. But, when we come to learn the real date of this part of the Christian Cemetery, it loses all value for Mr. Parker's purpose, since it is obvious that the families to which these *Columbaria* belonged may, by this time, have become Christian.

Of the four aræ which go to make up the Cemetery of St. Agnes, the two latest are much the more extensive, as one would naturally expect. Out of the 5753 graves which Signor Armellini has counted in all, the two last contain more than 4000, and 700 of these are untouched. This is a notable peculiarity of this whole Cemetery, that it has not been so thoroughly plundered as most others. Our readers must remember, however, that we are only speaking comparatively. Every page of the work before us is full of lamentation over the ruthless

ruin that the Cemetery has suffered at the hands of the ignorant and greedy spoilers. Still it is something to be able to reckon within so small a compass 860 untouched graves, and to read about 50 inscriptions that were scratched in the fresh mortar, and 250 engraved on marble. The synoptical tables in which our author has summed up some of the statistics of his subject are not the least valuable or interesting portion of his work—*e.g.*, in the first area he finds one example of a monogram (of late insertion, of course), and no other instance of the cross in any form whatever; in the second, 22 monograms and 6 other crosses; in the third, 90 monograms and 15 crosses; in the latest, 25 monograms and 3 crosses. It may also interest some persons who are fond of statistics, to learn that the proportion of adults to infants and very young children buried in these Catacombs is something less than 67 to 27; and that about $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the graves have some kind of inscription, written on the tiles, or engraved in marble. Again, of the grave-stones in the first area, scarcely one in ten has any inscription, and this invariably of the briefest and simplest kind, a name without a title, or a date, or an aspiration; and throughout the whole extent, one only grave is marked by any little object fastened into the mortar for purposes of identification. In those parts of the Cemetery, on the contrary, which are later than Constantine, at least one grave in ten is so marked, most commonly by little rings of bone, but also by coins, shells, buttons, bits of glass or enamel, and other trifling objects; of glass vessels and of lamps, only a single specimen of each belongs to the first area; in the second, twenty glasses have been found and a dozen lamps; in the third, a hundred and forty glasses and nearly a hundred lamps; in the fourth, forty and twenty respectively.

It is the abundance and minuteness of such details as these which give its special value to Signor Armellini's work; and we hope that he may be induced to undertake the same task for others, suburban Catacombs. We would only suggest to him and to others, his fellow-workers in this extensive field of labour, that there is no necessity for filling any portion of their pages with a *rechauffé* of De Rossi's dissertations. These have attained a world-wide celebrity, and a knowledge of them may be taken for granted in all who will care to read these supplementary volumes. To repeat them adds greatly to the cost of the volumes, and little or nothing to their value. We should hail the advent of any number of auxiliaries in the field of Roman Christian Archæology who will work with the same zeal as Signor Armellini, and record what they see with the same fidelity and intelligence; only do not let them think it necessary to review, at every turn, the position of the main body of the army and recount its victories.

The third and last part of Signor Armellini's work is taken up with an account of the Cemetery, which was made here, as at San Callisto, above ground, around the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza, the Christian origin of which building he places beyond all doubt.

Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty and the Reformation Period.

By S. HUBERT BURKE, Author of "The Men and Women of the Reformation." Vol. I. John Hodges. London, 1879.

A VALUABLE addition has been made to the too scanty stock of reliable works on the English Reformation, by this, the first instalment of Mr. Hubert Burke's "Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty." We say a valuable addition, because the author, already favourably known to the Catholic public, has given us in an agreeably written and handsome volume the result of many years' labour and research in our National Archives. Mr. Burke's aim has been to arrive at the truth concerning the characters and events of which he treats, by consulting, wherever such a course was possible, the original documents, and by allowing due weight to the opinions and judgments of those who were contemporary with the chief men and women of the Reformation. It is needless to say that the result puts before us a very different picture from that which is usually given; and it is significant that the authorities quoted, whose united testimony goes to form this picture, as favourable to the Catholic side as it is unfavourable to their adversaries, belong, for the most part, to the adversaries themselves. Indeed, we do not hesitate to express our frank opinion that Mr. Burke, in his determination to be impartial, has not allowed full measure of credit to the early Catholic historians of the Reformation period. We allude, in particular, to the decided, and, it seems to us unwarranted animus shown to the reputation of Sander, of whom it is surely unfair to say that his "reputation for truth is on a par with that of John Foxe," (p. 92), seeing that, of late years, the discovery of contemporary and corroborative evidence has raised the reputation of Sander from the unmerited obloquy which had so long overlain it. If proof of our words is needed we need only refer to Mr. Lewis's "Introduction and Notes to Sander's Rise and Growth of the English Schism." The grounds, apparently, of Mr. Burke's low estimate of Sander's veracity, are the statements which that writer makes (in common, as we now know, with many others both English and foreign), concerning the relationship existing between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. This is not the place, nor have we at present space to go into the question with the fulness which it requires, but we must express our regret that, in a controversy of so important a nature, Mr. Burke has not been at more pains to favour us with exact references to his authorities. Indeed the one fault which we have to find with this volume, and the one feature wherein it so manifestly is inferior to Audin's "Life of Henry VIII.," (a work dealing with the same materials, and with which it provokes comparison), is the absence of references. Thus, in the controversy about the early life of Anne Boleyn, a schoolfellow of hers "who afterwards became an Abbess," is quoted as a witness to the irreproachable life led by Anne before her introduction to the English Court (p. 93). The evidence would be valuable if we were aware of the source whence Mr. Burke derived it. Vague statements like the above interfere with the historical value of the work, and it is not by such means that our author can overthrow a warmly-defended opinion, like that which we

find quaintly expressed in a rare French work of 1644, where, of Henry VIII. we are told, "D'ailleurs, le Roy ay moit eperduement Anne de Bolen, que l'on croyoit toutefois communement estre sa fille."*

Another instance where, for want of references, we are forced to regret Mr. Burke's statements, occurs at p. 298; in which place, speaking of the suppression of the English monasteries, he says, "I find that in the reign of Henry VII., and long antecedent to that period, many priests and nuns from Ireland joined the English abbeys and convents; and the nuns who made the bravest resistance to Lord Cromwell were Irish ladies, who courted martyrdom on several occasions." Far be it from the DUBLIN REVIEW to undervalue the heroism and many virtues of the Irish religious, but before we can place full reliance on Mr. Burke's statement we require more proof than he has yet given. He only mentions the case of the Chaunceys, one of whom became a Carthusian at London, and two sisters joined the Benedictine Abbey at Shaftesbury. The only other instance that occurs to us (and our reading in this department of literature has not been limited), is F. William Tynsby, an Irishman of distinguished holiness, who died in 1529, after thirty years' Priorship of the London Charterhouse. A few isolated facts like this make us unwilling to deprive the English religious of the honours asserted for them in the "Dublin" of 1877. Certainly some of the most prominent opposers of the innovations under Henry VIII., such as Katherine Bulkeley, the last Abbess of Godstone, and her fellow religious Rose Herbert, Isabel Sackville, the Prioress of Clerkenwell, Sybilla Newdigate, Prioress of Holiwell, and Isabel Whitehead, who afterwards died a prisoner for the faith in York Castle, Alice Fitzherbert, of Polesworth, and Agnes Lawson, of St. Bartholomew's, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, all Englishwomen born, and all of whom figure honourably in the annals of the time, vindicate the claims of the English nuns to at least equal honours with their Irish religious sisters.

There are other points which we should like to touch upon, but their consideration must be deferred. It must not be imagined that our remarks are unkindly meant; on the contrary, it is with the hope that, in successive volume and future editions, the wants we have pointed out may be supplied, that we have ventured to call attention to what we consider a drawback to the higher uses of an otherwise excellent work.

History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland chiefly. By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH. Translated by EVELINA MOORE. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

WE expressed our opinion of the merit, or rather the want of merit, of this work, when noticing the first volume in April of last year. The perusal of the second volume has not changed that opinion. There

* The passage occurs at p. 908 of the "Nouveau Theatre du Monde," par D. T. V. T. Paris, Boulanger, 1644.

is in this volume, *inter alia*, an attempt to review critically Luther's general character, in order to ascertain in what particularly lay the secret of his greatness. The author concludes that Luther was conspicuously neither a philosopher, nor a *savant*, nor a saint!—but that he was conspicuously “a genius presided over by Religion, and supported by a German spirit and nature.” We may agree to the last clause. The work of the translator is done well up to the end: it is a pity, indeed, that such very good work was not expended on a better book.

Oxford Sermons. Preached before the University, by the Rev. EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D.D., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan. 1879.

THIS book is chiefly notable as a “Sign of the Times” in the Established Church. For the last thirty years and more the Anglican Communion has been losing such semblance of dogmatic character as it once possessed. The defeat of the Tractarian party was the victory of religious Liberalism, and these Oxford Sermons of Dr. Abbotts show strikingly how far that victory has been carried. The Rationalism of the “Essays and Reviews” is as nothing to the Rationalism of this representative of the latest phase of Anglican development. The miracles of Our Blessed Lord, as recorded in the Gospels, together with the primary miracle of the Incarnation, he rejects altogether as additions to the original tradition, or as the “result of metaphor misunderstood,” (p. 142). The Resurrection he resolves into vision.

The same unique and unparalleled force which enabled Jesus, in the course of nature, to convert an enemy after death, may also, in the course of nature, have so thrilled the hearts of His disciples with the same creative desire and the same self-justifying trust, as to reproduce, first before one, and then before others who may have at first *doubted*—as the Gospel tells us they did—the same image of the risen and triumphant Saviour.

Thus, step by step, we are led, as the result of a dispassionate investigation, to see that we must accept as historical some kind of appearance, we will not say supernatural, but so marvellous that it well deserves some distinctive epithet, such as preternatural, whereby Jesus, after death, converted an enemy to a friend, and impelled the Christian Church on its career of conquest (p. 164).

So much may suffice as a specimen of Dr. Abbott's teaching; and surely we may say of it, with exact truth, in the words of the author of the New Republic, that “it is simply our modern Atheism trying to hide its own nakedness for the benefit of the more prudish part of the public, in the cast grave-clothes of Christ, who, whether he be risen or not, is very certainly, as the angel said, not *here*.”

Boston Monday Lectures, U.S., on Scepticism, Biology, Transcendentalism, &c. By the REV. JOSEPH COOK. First, Second, and Third Series. London: R. D. Dickenson, Farringdon street. 1878-9.

MR. COOK is a Protestant minister who has succeeded in gaining the ear of many of the better educated of the inhabitants of Boston. What is the precise variety of Protestantism which he professes we do not know, nor is it material to inquire. Evidently the backbone of his creed is New England Puritanism. His main positions are those of the Pilgrim Fathers, but he presents them in a new aspect, transformed, sublimated. Spiritually as physically, the Americans are not people of strong digestion; their mental palate is revolted by the coarse food which contented their simpler ancestors. Mr. Cook knows his countrymen, and caters for them accordingly. In his "Monday Lectures" he serves them quite "a dainty dish," which has been highly esteemed by a judicious public.

Mr. Cook ranges over a vast variety of subjects. Scepticism, Biology, Transcendentalism, the themes specified in his title-page, are wide terms enough, but they do not cover all his topics, he appends to them, and rightly, an *et cetera*. Glancing at random at the list of contents of his volumes, we come upon "The Microscope and Materialism," "Matthew Arnold's Views on Conscience," "Maudesley on Hereditary Descent," "Love Without Marriage," "Marriage Without Love," "True and False Optimism," "The Nerves and the Soul." That "to be various is to be superficial" is generally true; but we must do Mr. Cook the justice to say that manifold as are the subjects of his lectures, there is not one of them which is not worth reading. He is always earnest, eloquent, and thoughtful. A Catholic critic must find him sometimes wrong; but even his errors are suggestive. On the other hand, he is very frequently right. Thus, his arguments against Materialism are always forcible and often original, and his refutation of Theodore Parker's teaching is masterly. There is, in his compositions, more tall talk than is agreeable to English taste. But, of course, that might have been expected from an American popular lecturer. And sometimes his imagination takes very grotesque flights, as when he pictures Dean Stanley and Mr. Carlyle singing *Te Deum* as a duet (First Series, p. 130). But his volumes are full of pithy and pregnant sayings, sometimes not destitute of quiet humour. Take the following as specimens:—

It is now the highest office of philosophy to shew man not only that he has conscience; but that conscience has him. (First Series, p. 22.)

All disloyalty to the "still small voice" which declares what ought to be, is followed by pain. *What if it were not?* Is God God, if, with our scientific literature, we, in our philosophy, put the throne of the universe upon rockers, and make of it an easy chair from which lullabies are sung, both to the evil and the good? (*Ibid.* p. 40).

Matthew Arnold's out-look on religious science and philosophy is like a woman's out-look on politics. (*Ibid.* p. 44.)

Our present philosophies, metaphysical and physical, all stand on the basis of self-evident truths, or intuitions; and although your physicist,

who never has studied metaphysics, does not know who sharpened his tools, or, sometimes, what his tools are, he, every day, is using self-evident truth, and stands on the intuitions at which he scoffs. (*Ibid.* p. 56).

Americans have all sorts of sense, except historic sense." (*Ibid.* p. 32).

Mr. Cook reminds us more of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson than of any other English divine. He has not, indeed, the Brighton Apostle's polish, but he appears to have wider reading and a more powerful intellect. We have read his lectures on the whole with pleasure, but with a strong feeling of what is lacking to him. It is a deficiency which Catholic philosophy and theology alone can supply.

Mind in the Lower Animals in Health and Disease. By W. LAUDER LINDSAY, M.D. In Two Vols. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1879.

DR. LAUDER LINDSAY, as we learn from the introduction to his work, is a Scotch physician, the special business of whose life it has been, as he expresses it, "to deal with the phenomena on abnormal mentalization in man." More than twenty years ago, he tells us, it fell to his lot to conduct a series of investigations in Comparative Pathology, and latterly his studies have been determined in the direction of Psycopathology. He "was led, in the first instance, to inquire what relation madness in the lower animals bears to insanity in man, the result being the conviction that the lower animals are subject to the same kinds of mental disorders, producible by the same causes as in man. This inquiry formed but the precursor to a much more comprehensive investigation of the normal phenomena of mind throughout the animal kingdom" (*Int.* p. xii.). The result of that "comprehensive inquiry" is the work now given to the world.

It is not an easy task to say anything by way of criticism on these volumes because of the uncertainty in which we find ourselves as to the point of view from which they should be regarded. When we first took them up we were inclined to look upon them as a colossal skit, and although the grave profession and Caledonian nationality of the author militate against that hypothesis, we do not feel sure that it is not the true one. Dr. Lindsay's method is a very simple one. He takes, on the one hand, certain of the lower animals, and, on the other, adult savage man, and then draws a comparison not flattering to humanity.

If, (he says,) the student will take the trouble of comparing, one by one, the negative qualities—intellectual and moral—of savage man with the positive qualities of certain other animals—especially the well-bred dog—the conclusion arrived at will probably be what appears to me the inevitable one, that *psychical superiority* frequently pertains to the "lower" animal and not to man (*vol. I.* p. 50).

The author, it will be seen, is a disciple of Captain Lemuel Gulliver.

Dr. Lindsay's first volume is devoted to the mind of the lower animals in health. He considers this subject under the five heads of "Morality and Religion," "Education and its Results," "Language," "Adaptiveness," "Fallibility." For a specimen of his method let us turn to his chapter on "Religious Feeling in the Lower Animals." He quotes, approvingly, the saying attributed to Robert Burns, that "man is the god of the dog—the canine god, in a far more real sense than the God of the Bible is the subject of genuine adoration by many so-called Christians."

The dogs' *worship of man* (he continues) in many respects compares favourably with much at least of man's worship of superior beings, real or supposed, animate, inanimate, or spiritual. It does so, for instance, in the *quality and duration of the love* which it lavishes, not alone upon the person, but upon the memory and the belongings of the being it adores.

Its affection is not only pure, sincere, earnest, hearty, thorough; it is also disinterested, for it survives neglect and cruelty of all kinds. It is simple, for the animal seems to be possessed but of one dominant idea, and that is his master (p. 221).

All this, alas, is true enough. A little further on the author writes:—

Dogs not only worship man, but they attend worship with him—take part so far in his religious observances. In doing so the following points are to be specially noted:—1. The appropriateness of their behaviour to the place and time, varying in the case of the dogs of Protestant and Catholic masters attending Protestant or Catholic churches or chapels; and, 2. The correct perception of time and locality: a subject, however, that falls more appropriately to be treated of in another chapter. Church attendance by dogs is, and has long been, a common phenomenon in the pastoral districts of Scotland. Scotch shepherds, both in Highlands and Lowlands, are a devout, church-attending race; and, so far at least as concerns regularity of attendance upon the ordinances of worship, and demure, decorous behaviour thereat, their dogs or "collies," are equally devout. These Scotch collies frequently have particular seats or pews—or at least their equivalents—lair or crouching-places—in church; and there, when no attempt is made by them—as it sometimes is—at psalm-singing, the animals rest quietly and sedately until the completion of the service. It may be, and probably is, the case that they frequently coil themselves comfortably and compose themselves to sleep as soon as the service has begun; but that a similar process is quite as common and much more conspicuous and inexcusable in man, I have no room for doubting, inasmuch as I have over and over again myself seen in country—ay, and in city—churches in Scotland, people, mostly males, be it in fairness explained, deliberately composing themselves for a good, sound sleep before the service begins; a sleep so natural in one sense, as to be not unfrequently accompanied by snoring, and to require vigorous nudging or shaking to rouse from it. . . . Scotch shepherds' collies are not, however, the only dogs that have been popularly, and with a certain degree of propriety, denominated "religious." In France, a Catholic country, dogs attend prayers or Mass with their masters, exhibiting in the grand cathedrals of that beautiful land a becoming behaviour, including a gravity of look and

demeanour, silence and motionlessness, an attitude of apparent attention or intentness, and a probable feeling of awe, produced it may be, by the "dim religious light" of such edifices, or by the varied, impressive sights and sounds that environ them—a kind of conduct, in short, only too instructive or suggestive to irreverent man. It would appear farther that, in Catholic countries, imitation of man leads church-going dogs to the stage of fasting, so that Catholic and Protestant dogs may be spoken of with somewhat of propriety, the one group fasting and attending Mass and all Church festivals, like Catholics; the other going to the kirk and sometimes at least attempting psalm-singing, like Protestants or Presbyterians (vol. i. pp. 221–232).

It is passages such as these—and they are very frequent—which favour the supposition that the work is, in truth, a somewhat ponderous satire. But if it is in sober earnest intended as a contribution to science, we can only say that the writer's notions of the nature and force of evidence are as singular as is his mode of citing his authorities. Instead of giving us "chapter and verse" for the references which teem in almost every page, he mentions merely the author or the newspaper on which he relies. "Hozeau," "Animal World," "Figuiet," "Daily Telegraph," such is his invariable mode of indicating the sources to which he has recourse for his facts, or what do duty as such.

As somebody has somewhere said,
Or in some book I've somewhere read,

Is in truth what it amounts to. And what shall we say of a writer (always supposing him to be serious) who, in canine "Church attendance, observance of rites or ceremonies, seriousness of demeanour," finds "evidence of religion in the dog?" (vol. i. p. 232), or who apparently supposes that the following words contain an argument: "Those who have studied *bird-song* have pointed out the interesting fact that the song of the nightingale and other singing birds is capable of reduction to and interpretation by words. It may be translated into man's written words, and it is therefore, in a sense, quite proper to speak of the articulation of bird songs" (*Ibid.* 306). We read, in Swift, of certain ingenious mechanicians of the city of Nuremburg who had invented a man of wood and leather that would reason as well as most country parsons, a "fact" which, by the way, Dr. Lauder Lindsay has strangely overlooked. Certainly—to borrow, with a slight change, our author's words—if the student will take the trouble of comparing, one by one, the negative qualities of the wood and leather personage with the positive qualities of Dr. Lauder Lindsay, the conclusion arrived at will probably be, what appears to us the inevitable one, that *logical superiority* pertains to the Nuremburg creation, and not to Dr. Lauder Lindsay.

Theism : being the Baird Lecture for 1876. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, Second Edition. Blackwood: Edinburgh and London. 1878.

Anti-Theistic Theories : being the Baird Lecture for 1877. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Blackwood: Edinburgh and London.

THESE two works, as Professor Flint tells in the prefatory note, may be regarded as two parts of a system of natural theology, which is still very far from complete. In the Lectures on Theism, the author, after passing in review the issues involved in the questions, Whence and How we get the ideas of God? and, considering the nature and conditions of theistic proof, discusses, in detail, the argument from causality, the argument from order and the moral argument, that is to say, the argument from conscience and history. Then, after considering the ordinary objections to the Divine wisdom, benevolence and justice, he passes on to the *à priori* theistic proof, and concludes by a demonstration of the insufficiency of mere theism. In the Lectures on Anti-Theistic Theories, Atheism, Materialism, both in its ancient and modern forms, Positivism, Secularism, Pessimism and Pantheism, are dealt with. Agnosticism is passed over, because, as the author explains, he is anxious to avoid, in a semi-popular work, abstruse metaphysical discussion, and because he hopes to be able to publish, at some future time, an historical and critical examination of this form of negation, in its various phases.

Such is, in brief, the contribution made by Professor Flint to the discussion of these grave matters, and it is a sincere pleasure to us to be able to bear emphatic testimony to the sterling value of his work. Throughout his volumes there is evidence of wide reading, strong common sense, and religious earnestness. And nothing can be more admirable than the spirit in which he approaches his task, as manifested in the following passage:—

The greatest issues, then, are involved in the investigation on which we enter. Can we think what these are, or reflect on their greatness, without drawing this inference, that we ought, in conducting it, to have no other end before us than that of seeking, accepting, and communicating the truth? This is here so important that everything beside it must be insignificant and unworthy. Any polemical triumphs which could be gained either by logical or rhetorical artifices would be unspeakably paltry. Nothing can be appropriate in so serious a discussion but to state as accurately as we can the reasons for our own belief in theism, and to examine as carefully and impartially as we can the objections of those who reject that belief. It can only do us harm to overrate the worth of our own convictions and arguments, or to underrate the worth of those of others. We must not dare to carry into the discussion the spirit of men who feel that they have a case to advocate at all hazards. We must not try to conceal a weakness in our argumentation by saying hard things of those who endeavour to point it out. There is no doubt that character has an influence on creed, that the state of a man's feelings determines to a considerable extent, the nature of his beliefs, that badness of heart is often the cause of perversity of judgment; but we

have no right to begin any argument by assuming that this truth has its bright side—its side of promise—turned towards us, and its dark and threatening side turned toward those who differ from us. If we can begin by assuming our opponents to be wicked, why should we not assume them at once to be wrong, and so spare ourselves the trouble of arguing with them? It would be better to begin by assuming only what no one will question, namely, that it is a duty to do to others as we would have others do to us. When a man errs, it is a kindness to show him his error—and the greater the error, the greater the kindness; but error is so much its own punishment to every ingenuous nature, that to convince a man of it is all that one fallible person ought to do to another. The scoff and the sneer are out of place in all serious discussion; especially are they out of place when our minds are occupied with thoughts of Him who, if He exist, is the Father and Judge of us all, who alone possesses the full truth, and who has made us that we might love one another.—*Lectures on Theism*, p. 19.

From the tone of mind here indicated, Professor Flint never varies, we think, throughout the two volumes before us. He calls things, indeed, by their right names. He does not disguise the surprise, the pain, the repulsion caused him by certain theories with which he has to deal. He exposes, unsparingly, the fallacies which he has to encounter in the course of his task: exhibits assumptions in their true character, and points out absurdities with a touch of dry humour. But he never mistakes invective for argument, nor attempts to strengthen his own case by understating his opponent's. He knows well that temper and candour are the prime requisites of a controversialist, and has laid to heart the truth so admirably expressed by Wordsworth:—

He only judges right who weighs, compares,
And in the sternest sentence that his voice
Pronounces, e'er remembers charity.

So much we must say in praise of the volume before us. There are in it, indeed, as might have been expected, arguments which we cannot unreservedly follow, and statements as to matters of fact to which exception must be taken. Let us cite a paragraph—with which, in the main, we fully agree—where Professor Flint has misrepresented, quite unintentionally, we are sure, a very eminent Catholic writer.

We have seen how the power manifest in the universe leads up to God as the First Cause, the all-originating Will. We have seen also how the order manifest in the universe leads up to Him as the Supreme Intelligence. But there is more in the universe than force and order; there is force which works for good, and a just and benevolent order; there are moral laws and moral actions, moral perceptions and moral feelings. Can anything be thence inferred as to whether God is, and what He is? I think we shall find that they clearly testify both as to His existence and character.

The moral law, which reveals itself to conscience, has seemed to certain authors so decisive a witness of God, that all other witnesses may be dispensed with. Kant, who exerted his great logical ability to prove that the speculative reason, in searching after God, inevitably loses itself in

sophisms and self-contradictions, believed himself to have found, in the practical reason or moral faculty, an assurance for the Divine existence and government capable of defying the utmost efforts of scepticism. Sir William Hamilton has also affirmed that "the only valid arguments for the existence of God, and for the immortality of the human soul, rest on the ground of man's moral nature." Dr. John Newman has insisted that conscience is the creative principle of religion, and has endeavoured to show how the whole doctrine of natural religion should be worked out from this central principle. A well-known living theologian of Germany, Dr. Schenkel, has attempted to build up a complete theology on conscience as a basis, starting from the position that conscience is "The religious organ of the soul"—the faculty through which alone we have an intimate knowledge of God. These thinkers may have erred in relying thus exclusively on the moral argument—I believe that they have—but the error, if error there be, shows only the more clearly how convincing that argument has seemed to certain minds, and these assuredly not feeble minds. The moral argument is not to be exclusively relied on. It is but a part of a whole from which it ought not to be severed. The office of bearing witness to the existence and character of God can be safely devolved on no one principle alone, even although that principle be conscience. It is a work in which all the principles of human nature are privileged to concur. Either all bear true testimony, or all have conspired to deceive us. The self-manifestation of God is addressed to the entire man, and can only be rightly apprehended by the concurrent action of all the energies and capacities of the soul.—*Lectures on Theism*, pp. 210–214.

Now, of course, we are well aware of the great stress which Cardinal Newman lays upon the argument from conscience, of the unspeakable force with which he has found it come home to him, in his own case. But Professor Flint is very much in error in ranking His Eminence among those who rely exclusively upon it, who regard conscience as "so decisive a witness for God, that all other evidence may be dispensed with." On the contrary, Cardinal Newman has himself very powerfully drawn out the argument from order in a passage in his "Grammar of Assent."

As a cause implies a will, so does order imply a purpose. Did we see flint cells in their various receptacles all over Europe, scored with certain special and characteristic marks, even though those marks had no assignable meaning or final cause whatever, we should take that very repetition, which indeed is the principle of order, to be a proof of intelligence. The agency, then, which has kept up, and *still* keeps up, the general laws of nature, energizing at once in Sirius and the earth, and on the earth in its primitive period as well as in the nineteenth century, must be Mind, and nothing else; and Mind at least as wide and enduring in its living action as the immeasurable ages and spaces of the universe on which that agency has left its traces (iv. i. 4).

It is perfectly true that in a passage of the "Oxford University Sermons" we read:—

It is a great question whether atheism is not as philosophically consistent with the phenomena of the physical world, taken by themselves, as the doctrine of a creative and governing power (p. 194, 3rd edition).

But in the last edition, from which we quote, the Cardinal has guarded himself against misconstruction, by the following note:—

“*Physical phenomena, taken by themselves;*” that is, apart from psychological phenomena, apart from moral considerations, apart from the moral principles by which they must be interpreted, and apart from that idea of God which wakes up in the mind under the stimulus of intellectual training. The question is, whether physical phenomena logically *teach* us, or on the other hand logically *remind* us of the Being of a God. In either case, if they do not bring to us this cardinal truth, we are, in St. Paul’s words, “without excuse.”

Once more, in his Discourses to Mixed Congregations, in the sermon on “Mysteries of Nature and Grace,” His Eminence observes:—

The state of the case is this:—Every one spontaneously embraces the doctrine of the existence of God as a first principle and a necessary assumption. It is not so much proved to him, as borne in upon his mind irresistibly, as a truth which it does not occur to him, nor is possible for him to doubt, so various and so abundant is the witness for it contained in the experience and conscience of every one. He cannot unravel the process or put his finger on the independent arguments, which conspire together to create in him the certainty which he feels; but certain of it he is, and he has neither the temptation nor the wish to doubt it, and he could, should need arise, at least point to the books or the persons whence he could obtain the various formal proofs on which the Being of a God rests and the irrefragable demonstration thence resulting against the free-thinker and the sceptic.

It would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect, but the three passages which we have cited will doubtless be sufficient to satisfy Professor Flint that our exception is well found.

Sermons on some Questions of the Day. Preached before the University of Cambridge, and in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by T. G. BONNEY, F.R.S. Cambridge. 1878.

IN these sermons Mr. Bonney has treated of certain matters with which the teachings of the Christian religion and the discoveries of physical science are popularly supposed to conflict. A Member of the University of Cambridge, of considerable academical distinction, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, he claims, not without reason, to be in an exceptionally favourable position for undertaking this task. “For some years” he writes:—

I have had better opportunities of regarding questions of theology and science from both standpoints than the majority of the clergy. Further, the greater part of my adult life has been spent in University work, so that from personal experience I know well of what importance these questions are to many thoughtful men, and what great mischief is being done by the supposed incompatibility of perfect freedom in scientific inquiry and of a sincere belief in Christianity. As I personally have not found very advanced scientific views (to use a common phrase) irreconcilable with a firm belief in Jesus Christ and His teaching as recorded in the New Testament, I venture to hope that, if this book

attract any attention, some good may result from showing the way in which certain of the questions and difficulties of the present day have presented themselves to my own mind (Pref. p. iv.).

This is the scope of Mr. Bonney's undertaking, an undertaking surely in every way praiseworthy. As to the measure of success which he has attained, we must speak with more reserve. It is doubtless matter for sincere satisfaction that Mr. Bonney has not found "advanced scientific views" incompatible with the teaching of Jesus Christ. But the question arises, how far Mr. Bonney truly apprehends the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is always matter for speculation what anyone external to the Catholic Church means, when he talks of the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is the absence of an authoritative interpretation of that teaching, it may be truly said, as to the meaning which it is made to bear, *quot homines tot sententiæ*. We gather, however, from Mr. Bonney's book, that he believes in the existence of a personal God, in the reality of sin, in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and in the efficacy of prayer. In the present day this is much. And no doubt good may have been done and may yet be done, by the arguments, some of them exceedingly well and ably put, which Mr. Bonney offered to his congregations at Cambridge and Whitehall, and now offers to the world at large to prove that these beliefs are quite reconcilable with "advanced" views of physical science. As a specimen of these arguments take the following extract from a sermon on "The Rationality of Prayer:"—

When we use the phrase "Divine government of the world," we commonly import our anthropomorphic ideas into a sphere for which they are wholly unfitted. The notion of personal government in our mind is quite opposed to that of law, because man is weak and fallible, is unfit to exercise anything like unlimited authority, and, as a rule, is capricious and wayward in its exercise, in proportion as all restraining influences are removed. The history of despots shows them to be those of our race whose actions it was the most difficult to predict, whose procedure was generally more anomalous. But, in proportion to the goodness of a man's character, so will his conduct be more and more distinctly a manifestation of law. Hence, to speak of "law of nature" and "providence of God" as if they were something opposed one to the other, appears to me an entire misapprehension. The most ordinary law of nature, the phenomena which surround us, the mode and conditions of our lives, are really the result of the laws of God and the will of God as much as any incident which would be considered a miracle. In short, such a term, except as a synonym for the unexpected or comparatively unprecedented, seems to me unintelligible, and any essential opposition between law and miracle a mistake. It is quite true that in one sense of the words, the sphere of the miraculous decreases as knowledge increases, but it is not so in another. The apparent violation or supercession of the law of nature in cases, which we call answers to prayers or special providences, is not necessarily one whit the less a result of law than the most ordinary incident of life. Great and small, complicated and simple, are words which are applicable only to man's point of view. Startling as it may seem, we need not fear to accept the Saviour's assertion about the grass of the field and the birds of the air as really more consistent with the true ideal of God, than many a statement of recent philosophy. The Almighty, in answering a prayer,

even with reference to the operation of natural laws, need not in any way be acting arbitrarily or with uncertainty. He may be, in the one case, as in the other, self-consistent, and His actions be the manifestations of those laws of which He is the source. Asking, as a condition of having, is familiar enough in daily life, and is not generally thought to involve an idea of arbitrariness or anomaly.

But, it may be said, how can you talk of law when at one time a certain consequence follows as the result of a series of causes, and at another something quite different, and, it may be, wholly unprecedented? I reply that it is quite as much an assumption to assert that the series of causes is the same in these cases, as that God can hear and answer prayer. I have already mentioned a rough illustration of the case where the causes seemed unchanged when really there was a most important difference, namely, whether a substance was magnetized or not. To this argument it is objected:—such a result comes from a perfectly known cause, the experiment can be repeated at pleasure, and here is the essential difference. I answer that I fail to see this difference. In the one case I know all the causes necessary to produce a result. It follows. But in the other case I do not. I may think that I know them, but I have no proof that I do (p. 81).

In conclusion, we must observe that one thing is certainly lacking to Mr. Bonney. From time to time, in his volume, he reflects with more or less severity, upon “the Church of Rome,” her teaching and her practices, in a manner which convinces us that he has no true conception either of Catholic teaching, or of the religious life of Catholics. This is the more to be lamented as his book abounds with evidence that his mind is not naturally narrow or uncandid, and as in several points (we may instance, as an example, what he says as to the merely negative character of evil, p. 50) he appears to have arrived, by his own study and reflection, at conclusions identical, to a great extent, with doctrines taught by the Catholic Church. We are convinced that if Mr. Bonney would give himself up to the study of, say, St. Thomas and Suarez, Catholic theology would present itself to his mind in a very different light, and would prove of inestimable help to him in the arduous discussions to which he has devoted himself. Or, if this is too much to expect—and much as it is, it ought not be too much—we would, at all events, beg of him to peruse carefully two volumes of Cardinal Newman’s, his “Anglican Difficulties,” and his “Present Position of Catholics.” If Mr. Bonney would read these two not very formidable books in that fair and dispassionate spirit which we think we may look for from him, we feel convinced that his views of “the Church of Rome” would undergo great modifications.

Dante, an Essay. By R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St. Paul’s and Honorary Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. To which is added a translation of the *De Monarchia*, by F. J. CHURCH. London. 1879.

WE are very glad the Dean of St. Paul’s has republished, in a separate form, this Essay, to which, perhaps, we can give no higher praise than to say of it, that it is not unworthy of its subject.

It was, indeed, in a right spirit that Mr. Church addressed himself to his task. After observing that the Divine Comedy stands with the Iliad and Shakspeare's Plays, with the writings of Aristotle and Plato, with the Novum Organum and the Principia, with the Justinian Code and with the Parthenon and St. Peter's, as a landmark of human history, that it opens European literature as the Iliad did that of Greece and Rome, he continues:—

We approach the history of such works, in which genius seems to have pushed its achievements to a new limit, with a kind of awe. The beginnings of all things, their bursting out from nothing, and gradual evolution into substance and shape, cast on the mind a solemn influence. They come too near the fount of Being to be followed up without our feeling the shadows which surround it. We cannot but fear, cannot but feel ourselves cut off from this visible and familiar world as we enter into the cloud. And as it is with the process of nature, so it is with those offsprings of man's mind, by which he has added, permanently, one more great feature to the world, and created a new power which is to act on mankind to the end. The mystery of the inventive and creative faculty, the subtle and incalculable combinations by which it was led to its work, and carried through it, are out of the reach of investigating thoughts. Often the idea recurs of the precariousness of the result; by how little the world might have lost one of its ornaments—by one sharp pang, or one chance meeting, or any other among the countless accidents among which man runs his course. And then the solemn recollection supervenes that powers were formed, and life preserved, and circumstances arranged, and actions controlled, that thus it should be; and the work which man has brooded over, and at last created, is the foster-child, too, of that "Wisdom which reaches from end to end, strangely and sweetly disposing all things" (p. 2).

The refined taste, correctness of judgment, accuracy of scholarship, and loftiness of thought, which characterize Mr. Church, offer sufficient guarantees that the work undertaken in so admirable a spirit would be as admirably carried out. And so it has been. Of course we by no means pledge ourselves to the entire endorsement of all that he advances. Here we have to enter a *caveat*. There a protest. But it is pleasanter, in the case of such a writer, to dwell upon our very numerous points of agreement, than upon our comparatively few points of difference, in judging of Dante. Let us then, quote, as a specimen of his work, the following passage, with which we entirely agree:—

Dante has had hard measure, and from some who are most beholden to him. No one in his day served the Church more highly than he whose faith and genius secured on her side the first great burst of imagination and feeling, the first perfect accents of modern speech. The first fruits of the new literature were consecrated, and offered up. There was no necessity, or even probability in Italy, in the fourteenth century, that it should be so, as there might perhaps have been earlier. It was the poet's free act—free in one, for whom nature and heathen learning had strong temptations—that religion was the lesson and influence of the great popular work of the time. That which he held up before men's awakened and captivated minds, was the verity of God's moral government. To rouse them to a sense of the mystery of their state; to startle their commonplace notions of sin into an imagination of its variety, its

magnitude, and its infinite shapes and degrees; to open their eyes to the beauty of the Christian temper, both as suffering and as consummated; to teach them at once the faithfulness and awful freeness of God's grace; to help the dull and lagging soul to conceive the possibility, in its own case, of rising step by step in joy without an end—of a felicity not unimaginable by man, though of another order from the highest perfection of earth—this is the poet's end. Nor was it only vague religious feelings which he wished to excite. He brought within the circle of common thought, and translated into the language of the multitude, what the schools had done to throw light on the deep questions of human existence which all are fain to muse upon, though none can solve. He who had opened so much of men's hearts to themselves, opened to them also that secret sympathy which exists between them and the great mysteries of the Christian doctrine. He did the work, in his day, of [a great preacher (p. 121).

Zechariah and his Prophecies, considered in relation to Modern Criticism; with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary, and new translation. (Bampton Lectures, 1878.) By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, B.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, &c., &c. Second Edition. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1879.

WE regard this book as one of the most important contributions to the study of Scripture which has appeared in England for many years. It is a book in every way creditable to English (or perhaps we should say to Irish) scholarship. Mr. Wright is well able to hold his own against any of the German critics. His book shows wide and accurate reading in biblical criticism. He is evidently a man of sound and independent judgment. He writes in a clear and interesting way. He never substitutes vituperation for argument, or evades for one moment the difficulties he undertakes to meet. He is clearly a Protestant of the Low Church school, but, after reading his book through with great care, we have scarcely found a word to which a Catholic need object. "Modern Roman Catholic divines," he says, "who have written on Zechariah, have afforded me much assistance, and I rejoice to be able to acknowledge the unsectarian spirit and scholar-like manner in which they have treated the subject." Mr. Wright, himself, in defending the authenticity and unity of the Prophecies of Zacharias, has been defending Catholic tradition against the attacks of modern Protestant criticism. It is gratifying to observe that a work of such bulk and of such solid learning has already reached a second edition.

Perhaps the most interesting and important part of Mr. Wright's book is that which deals with the unity of authorship. It is acknowledged on all hands that the first nine chapters of Zacharias are the genuine work of Zacharias, the son of Barachias, who, along with Aggeus, prophesied at Jerusalem in the reign of Darius Hystaspis. But a large class of critics consider it absolutely certain that the last chapters of the prophecy, as we have it in our Bible (*i.e.* caps. ix.—xiv.), do not come from the same author. Hitzig, in his Commentary on the Minor Prophets, treats the matter in the dictatorial style so familiar in writers

of his school. "The question," he says, "whether the author of Zechariah ix.—xiv. is identical or not with the author of the first chapter is essentially connected with the fundamental question whether there is or can be such a thing as historical criticism." Ewald, in his famous book on "The Prophets of the Old Testament," does not seem to consider the matter worth serious discussion. On matters of detail (whether, for instance, the last chapters are due to one author or more than one), those who deny the original unity of the book as we have it, are not agreed; but they profess themselves certain that the prophet who wrote the first nine did not write the last five chapters, and usually they make the author of the latter part live at a period previous to the exile.

It cannot fairly be said that these critics are without plausible argument for this theory. Even the reader of Zacharias in English or Latin can scarcely fail to be struck with the poetical style of the former, the prosaic style of the latter chapters. Again, in the latter chapters, the humbling of Assyria (x. 11) is spoken of as future, or at least as just taking place; the people are to be restored to Gilead and Lebanon, which had been wasted by Tiglath Pileser (x. 10): the whole language at the beginning of the eleventh chapter appears to point to an Assyrian invasion of the kingdom of Israel: the kingdom of Israel and Judah are spoken of (xi. 14) as if both still existed. Again, the twelfth chapter, at first sight at least, can be naturally referred to the impending siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans. Lastly, the mention of idolatry which has still to be "cut off," from the chosen people is more consistent with the state of the Jews before than after the return from Babylon.

We have not space enough to give at length Mr. Wright's answer to these and similar difficulties. Of some of them, in our opinion, he has completely disposed. And he has given the best proof that the last chapter need not have been written before the exile, by his own commentary, which contains a rational exposition of each verse in the disputed chapter, based throughout on the assumption of the traditional date. He draws out with a masterly hand the argument from the resemblance in the last chapter to passages in writings of the other prophets.

Mr. Wright, moreover, supplies an excellent commentary on the whole prophecy from beginning to end. He has not, of course, the genius of Ewald; he cannot rival—(who can?)—the marvellous felicity with which that great scholar seizes the characteristics of a writer or of an age. But what sound judgment and sound scholarship can do, Mr. Wright does. He has searched everywhere for anything that can throw light on Zacharias. He points out, for instance, how the Assyrian inscriptions have at last settled the meaning of the difficult words at the beginning of chapter ix. "The oracle of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach and Damascus is its resting-place." He also gives admirable critical notes on the Hebrew text, and directs special attention to that difficult branch of Hebrew learning, the laws of the accents. Delitzsch has set a good example in this respect. And he gives information of wonderful interest with regard to the theology of the Targums and the Rabbins. We could have wished that the Introduc-

tion had given a fuller account of the exact divergencies of opinion among critics hostile to the unity of the book. And we are inclined to think that too much help is given on points of grammar, where even a young student might be left to find the solution for himself in Gesenius, or, still better, in Kalisch. But this last is a matter of practical experience, and it is hard to draw the line between excess and defect.

W. E. ADDIS.

Compendium totius Theologicae Veritatis VII. Libris Digestum. Per Fratrem JOANNEM DE COMBIS, ordinis Minorum. Accedunt utiles Annotationes, cum Divi Bonaventurae Terminorum Theologalium declaratione. Denuo edidit Fr. EPHREM, Abbas B.M. de Trappa de Monte Olivarum, pp. 463. Friburgi: Herder. 1880. (*Compendium of the whole of Theological Truth.* By F. JOHN DE COMBIS. Freiburg: Herder. 1880.)

THE author of this small Compendium of Theology, was Lector in the house of his Order, at Lyons, where he published this work in 1569. The work is divided into seven books, and not only contains theology, in the strict meaning of the word, but expatiates also on philosophical science, inasmuch as it declares or defends supernatural truth.* The doctrine of the human soul and its faculties, is very exhaustively explained, pp. 99-127. The same praise must be given to the author for his solid explanation of eschatology, all the more as it is a matter which, in our days, meets with many adversaries. Father Combis, belonging, as he does, to the Franciscan school, is no extreme Scotist, but generally follows St. Thomas as his master. A most appropriate and useful addition to the work is S. Bonaventura's "explanation of theological terms," which truly deserves the name of another manual of theology in miniature. To those who intend studying the works of the seraphic doctor it will prove very serviceable. Special thanks are due to the editor for having brought before the public this little jewel in a modern setting.

B.

Theatrum Virtutum Stanislai Cardinalis Hosii, Episcopi Warmiensis. Per THOMAM Treterum (anno 1685 editum). Nunc denuo editum. Brunsbergæ, ex officina Warmiensi, 1879. (*The Works of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius.* New edition. Brunsberg, 1879).

Acta Historica res gestas Poloniæ illustrantia. No. 15. Stanislai Hosii, S.R.E. Cardinalis Majoris Pœnitentiarii, Episcopi Warmiensis, et quæ ad eum scriptæ sunt Epistolæ tum etiam ejus Orationes et Legationes. Tom. I. 1525-1550. Editionem curaverunt Dr. HIPLER, Sycei Hosiani Brunsberg, Professor et Dr. ZAHREZWSKI Caes, Univ. Cracovien, Professor Aracorix, 1879. (*Historical Documents illustrating the History of Poland. No. 15. Letters, &c., of Cardinal Hosius.* Edited by Dr. HIPLER and Dr. ZAHREZWSKI. Krakow, 1879).

AMONGST the great ecclesiastical men to whom Poland, and many dioceses belonging in our days to the Eastern Provinces of Prussia, are indebted for the preservation of the Catholic religion,

foremost stands Stanislaus Cardinal Hosius, Bishop of Ermland, 1550–1579. Having completed his studies in Padua and Bologna, where he entered into close friendship with Reginald Pole, he was appointed secretary to the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland, and afterwards obtained the see of Ermland. There are not to be found many divines in that period who can be compared to him in solidity of doctrine and accuracy of reasoning. We might fitly call him the German Stapleton, because, like Stapleton, in demonstrating the Supremacy of the Holy See, he never employs the Pseudo-Isidore. On the three hundredth anniversary of the Cardinal's death, August 5, 1879, Dr. Hipler, President of the Episcopal Seminary of Braunsberg, re-edited the "Theatrum Virtutum," in which Treterus, the Cardinal's secretary, praises his holy life. Let me quote one passage referring to Hosius's close friendship with Bishop Goldwell, the last survivor of the ancient English hierarchy (p. 98).

Sanderos et Alanos Goldwellsque Schæleosque
Ad se vocatos saepe consulebat.

Together with Dr. Zahrzewsky, Professor Hipler is now beginning a splendid critical edition, in four bulky volumes, of all the documents relating to this great Prince of the Church. They reach the immense number of almost ten thousand, and are buried in great part in the Archives of Upsal and Linköping, Sweden. The first volume, furnished with excellent indices, and a summary of the life of Hosius from 1525–1550, contains more than four hundred documents, partly letters to princes and dignitaries, partly speeches delivered in Italy and in Brussels before the Emperor Charles V. They afford striking proofs of Hosius's immense learning, statesmanlike wisdom and deep Christian piety. At page 129 we meet with a letter to Cardinal Pole, and at page 208 a letter of Pole to Hosius about the exiled Archbishop of Upsal. Complying with the desire of the editors, we earnestly ask all English librarians, Catholics as well as Protestants, in case they should know of any letter written by or to Hosius, to be kind enough to communicate the fact to the Imperial Academy, Krakow, or to any of the above-named editors. B.

Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.

VON JOHANNES JANSSEN. Erster Band. 1876. Zweiter Band. 1879. Freiburg: Herder. (*History of the German People from the end of the Middle Ages.* By JOHN JANSSEN. Friburg: Herder.)

THE Rev. Professor Janssen, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is publishing a work on the History of the German People from the end of the Middle Ages, which has won for him the highest praise from Catholic Germany, and which, from its peculiar merits, claims for a special notice in this Review. The success of Janssen's work, as far as Germany is concerned, is really unprecedented, the first volume having already gone through five editions, whilst eight thousand copies of the second have been sold in less than a year, and a new

edition is about to be published ere long. Many years ago Professor Janssen was most favourably known to Catholic Germany by his standard work, "Frankfurt's Reichs Correspondenz," containing the letters of the magistrates of the city, and of her ambassadors to the German Diet; by his learned books on the division of Poland, on Schiller as a historian, and principally by the extensive biography of Frederick Böhmer. The spirit which animated this eminent man, who, although a Protestant, has done more, by the publication of the "Kaiserregesten," than any Catholic scholar in Germany to direct the drift of historical investigation to the glorious periods marked by unity of faith and solidarity of the European nations, has been plentifully imbibed by Janssen. By his recent work Professor Janssen has entitled himself to rank with such Catholic historians as Cardinal Hergenröther, Bishop Hefele, Baron von Reumont, and Onno Klopp.

The unrivalled success of Professor Janssen's book is accounted for by two special characteristics—the manner in which he writes history, and the means he adopts. Considering his book from the first point, it is a standard work, worthy to be consulted by any Catholic in any country who writes history. The reader becomes acquainted with the history of the German *people*; it is not the external history of the country, its politics, its wars, that we are called to look on, but rather the interior history, as it manifests itself in culture, religious influences, spiritual attainments, and immortal monuments in every department of art. It may be fairly said that none but a Catholic can thoroughly understand the Middle Ages, when the Catholic Church was intimately connected with, and put its impress on, every institution of public and private life; and this principle ought to be held still more firmly when we enter the second part of the fifteenth century, when the Catholic spirit brings out its finest blossoms and fruits. It was a masterwork to lay before the public a multitude of unanswerable proofs showing that the very period immediately preceding the so-called Reformation was, as to art, science, religious monuments, social improvement, superior to any other of the Middle Ages; and far from being a time of darkness, spiritual and social dissolution, on the contrary, fully claims the admiration of every man who does not wilfully close his eyes. The astonishing and sad contrast between the second part of the fifteenth century, and the subsequent period of what has hitherto been styled the Reformation, but must henceforward be called an ecclesiastical and social revolution, will be seen in the second volume. As regards the manner in which Professor Janssen is performing his task, we are forced to admit that it is not so much the author himself, but the very men of the times gone by who are speaking to us. To Divine Providence we are largely indebted for the immense exertions which both Catholics and Protestants, since 1848, have devoted to the investigation of the Reformation period. Thirty years ago a work similar to Janssen's publication would have been a sheer impossibility. But since that time of political revolution, not dissimilar from the ecclesiastical revolution which happened three hundred years ago, Catholics

and Protestants in Germany have done their utmost to rescue from the dust of libraries and archives the all but innumerable manuscripts, *incunabula*, small pamphlets and every kind of popular and devotional literature bearing on the Reformation and the period immediately preceding it. Great stress has been laid by Professor Janssen on these small books or pamphlets, showing, as they do, the very effects produced by the ecclesiastical revolution on social and political departments. In masterly handling of the whole German literature bearing on the Reformation period, Professor Janssen is equalled by no living German historian. A good translation of this work would be very useful in England.

The first volume, entitled "The Intellectual Condition of Germany at the end of the Middle Ages," gives an interesting picture of the German people at that period. The first great figure which comes before us is a giant in the intellectual order, Nicholas, Cardinal of Cues, Bishop of Brixen, a bold philosopher and a pious Prince of the Church, and also a true reformer, who, as Papal Legate in Germany, brought about a real reformation in hundreds of religious communities. Next, we become acquainted with the beginnings of the Art of Printing. There is, perhaps, no invention calculated to produce deeper changes in every direction than the art of printing, which Germany can claim as her special prerogative. But long before the Reformation this art was largely employed in promoting every kind of culture. Brought face to face with Janssen's inquiries, Luther's assertion that he had "dragged the Bible from the shelf," is shown up in its utter falsehood. Long before the Reformers appeared on the stage, the Bible had been printed not only in Latin, but also in the German language, and besides the Holy Scriptures there existed in Germany a well-organized Catholic popular and devotional literature, as "Reichspiegel," "Handpostille," and the like. Twenty translations of the Bible were published in Germany before 1500.

The fifteenth century, moreover, witnessed the rise of many flourishing Universities. Professor Janssen gives the most interesting details on the culture and scientific attainments of the Universities of Cologne, Heidelberg, Freiburg, Basle, Tübingen, Ingolstadt, and Vienna. Besides the Universities there were spread all over Germany higher schools, like Eton and Rugby, conducted by the elder Humanists. A peculiar stress is justly laid by our author on the considerable difference between these men, and the school of younger Humanists, who, under the guidance of Erasmus, promoted by their liberalism the destructive tendencies of the Reformation. The former cultivated classical studies according to the great principles of the Fathers and the doctors of the Middle Ages; what they looked for in the immortal literary works of Athens and Rome was the *λογος σπερμετικος*, and the accomplished excellence of "form," which might be useful for the defence of Christian truth. The younger Humanists fell victims to the heathen doctrines embodied in the classics. Hence their strong opposition against the scholastics who were the great supporters of Catholic dogma. The arts of painting, sculpture, wood engraving,

and music attained a very high degree of perfection in the fifteenth century.

The second volume by degrees exhibits the forewarnings of a terrible storm, coming so suddenly, and making itself felt with such power, that Church, Empire, and Society were brought to the brink of a precipice ready to swallow them up, and destroy every department of civilization. These forewarnings arose in the school of the younger Humanists, headed by Erasmus, of Rotterdam. The important questions—who were Erasmus and his companions? what was their character, theology, morals? how did they employ the gifts bestowed on them by the Creator?—these and others less weighty, largely bearing on the history of the Reformation, are for the first time treated by Professor Janssen with a thoroughness and clearness which cannot be too highly eulogized. We become acquainted with the younger Humanists as men mixing up Christian theology with heathen ideas, opposing, therefore, as strongly as possible, the Mediæval theologians, and men whom, although starting from another point, even Luther opposed. The Augustinian monk of Wittenberg, together with Ulrich von Hutten, whose character and writings we forbear to describe, brought about what is styled the Reformation, or rather the ecclesiastical Revolution. Luther's portrait of himself in Janssen's work is well worth reading by Catholic and Protestant alike. A student of medicine having perused this part of the second volume was reported, by the papers, to have said to his father, "If this is the origin of our religion, I cannot remain a Protestant." The third part of the second volume unveils to us the terrible social revolution in Germany, 1522–1525, produced by Luther's treacherous attempts against the Church; the laying in ashes of innumerable convents, libraries, churches, villages; the corruption of morals; the sacrificing of the people's liberty to the encroachments of princes, and the undermining of the existence of the Holy Roman Empire. Benevolence and charity began to disappear so rapidly that Luther wrote, in 1525, "Under the Pope the devil was careful to extend his snares, by erecting convents and schools, and no child could escape without a miracle, but now schools are everywhere pulled down." I conclude by remarking that Henry VIII. of England, very often appears in the expositions of the second volume. The Professor is indefatigably busy in bringing out the following volumes.

Is there not to be found an English Catholic historian who would undertake the translation of Janssen's work?

B.

Poems. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of the Order of St. Patrick. Eighth Edition. Macmillan. 1879.

AMONG the many high gifts of Archbishop Trench, the poet's glory is not wanting; and the compositions which he has given to the world from time to time have been duly appreciated by readers of cultivated minds and keen sympathies. Singing

To one clear harp in divers tones,

his elegiac verses, his story of Justin Martyr, his sonnets, his translations from the Spanish, the Persian, the Turkish, have variously exhibited his true poetic powers, and we hail it as an excellent sign of the public taste that his verses, now collected, have reached an eighth edition. Where there is so much which is very beautiful, and space is limited, the task of quotation is difficult. But the following rendering of a passage of St. Augustine, which we select chiefly because of its brevity, is no unworthy specimen of the author's muse.

A Passage from St. Augustine.

Wert thou a wanderer on a foreign strand,
 Who yet couldst only in thy native land
 Find peace, or joy, or any blessed thing—
 And, thy sore travail to an end to bring,
 Shouldst thither now determine to return,
 Since in all other places doomed to mourn—
 But having need of carriages for this,
 To bring thee to thy country and true bliss,
 What if the pleasant motion which they made,
 With the fair prospects on each side displayed,
 Should so attract thee, thou at last wert fain,
 The things, for use lent only, to retain;
 Entangled so with their perverse delight,
 That from thy country alienated quite,
 And its true joys whereto thou first didst tend,
 And loathing to approach thy journey's end,
 Thou shouldst be now the pilgrim, with the fear
 Lest thy long pilgrimage's close were near—
 If this way it fared with thee, we might say,
 Thou didst man's life unto the life portray.

The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese. By the Right Reverend P. BIGANDET, Bishop of Ramatha, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu. In Two Volumes. Trübner. 1880.

THIS work is one of the greatest authorities upon Buddhism. The venerable author, who for many years has held the office of Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, from the first deemed it part of his duty to make himself as thoroughly acquainted as he could with the religion of the people among whom he was called to labour; not an easy matter, when even of its professed teachers the bulk are very ill-versed in it. No difficulty, however, sufficed to deter Bishop Bigandet from the task he had undertaken, and in the work before us he has published to the world the result of his researches. It consists, mainly, of a translation from the Burmese of the history of the great founder of the Buddhist religion, accompanied by copious annotations of great erudition and suggestiveness from the Bishop's own pen. This fills the whole of the first and half of the second volume, the remainder of which is occupied by abstracts of a few Burmese Dzats or legends, remarks on the typography of the legend of Buddha, a dissertation on the seven ways to Neibban, the Burmese equivalent of

the Sanskrit Nirvana (which holds the same place in the Buddhist system as the Beatific Vision does in the Catholic religion), and an account of the Phongyies or Burmese monks. The extreme value of Bishop Bigandet's work has been fully recognized by all competent scholars, whether English, French, or German. There can be no doubt that the picture it places before us of Gaudama is, upon the whole, the most veracious at present attainable; the Bishop's translation is made from a Burmese version, executed rather more than a century ago, of a Pali work called Malla-linkara Wootto. The date of the Pali original cannot with certainty be fixed, but unquestionably it is of very high antiquity; probably not much later than the fifth century of our era, when Buddhism was introduced into Burmah from Ceylon. There is, of course, much legendary matter in it; but through the mist of fable we can discern, at all events in outline, the original tradition regarding the great teacher who so strangely stirred men's hearts five centuries before the coming of Christ, and whose religion (in Bishop Bigandet's words) "false as it is, deserves to be known and understood, since in point of antiquity it is second to none except to Brahminism, and as regards diffusion extends its sway probably over one-fifth of the human race" (vol. ii. p. 151, note).

The Life of King Alfred the Great. By ARTHUR GEORGE KNIGHT, S.J.
(Quarterly Series.) London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

THIS volume, the contents of which have already in great part appeared in the *Month*, is a new, original, and most ably-written life and history of King Alfred. Its research is exhaustive, its literary form excellent, and its interest very great. A life of the great English king requires a writer with three qualifications—first, he must be able to distinguish chronicle from chronicle, authority from authority; next, he must have an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Somerset and Wilts; and, thirdly, he must be able to frame a narrative which shall not read too prosaic or too tame, even in competition with the *mythos* which has grown up round Alfred's name. F. Knight's very acceptable contribution to original Catholic literature well satisfies all these conditions. The most exciting portion of his narrative—the description of the Battle of Ethandune and of the romantic events which preceded it—has very much gained in interest by its following Bishop Clifford's masterly archæological Paper, contributed to the proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, entitled "An Inquiry concerning the Real Site of the Battle of Ethandune." But the whole work shows minute familiarity with the best sources, both ancient and modern. No more acceptable present could be made to a boy than this "Life of King Alfred."

Eutropia: or How to Find a Way Out of Darkness and Doubt into Light and Certainty. By the Rev. Father PIUS DEVINE, Passionist. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

IN his admirable little volume "The Priest on the Mission," Canon Oakeley wrote, ten years ago:—"The great accession of converts to the Catholic Church during the last quarter of a century has not only added to the labours of the missionary or parochial priest, but has gone to form quite a new department of priestly duty." "Eutropia" is, however, so far as we know, the first attempt that has been made to supply a young priest with advice and guidance in this special department of duty. The duty is a difficult one, because, as the author reminds us in his preface, it is difficult, at first, to apply dogmatic theology at once to each particular case as it occurs. Further, "surprise is apt to meet a young priest in his first contact with living and breathing error;" doctrines that had been proved in the class-books, and difficulties that had there been satisfactorily solved, when we meet them in the concrete, "furnished with a voice, a reasoning peculiarly their own, and a strong adherence on which we did not calculate, become quite formidable." No book can quite supersede these shocks and difficulties of the novice in society, but no greater boon can well be imagined than a good treatise on this branch of pastoral work, which will help the application of dogmatic lessons, and lend the young priest the use of that wisdom which has been gained by years of experience. This is what the author of "Eutropia" proposes to do. In a series of chapters he traces the different ways in which the grace of conversion may come to a soul; then he treats of the various systems of religious error which converts leave; some miscellaneous doubts are dealt with in the third place; and finally a few chapters treat of the care of the newly-received, and the dangers they are exposed to. This latter portion of the book contains some sagacious observations and very useful hints—indeed, in our judgment, the author is happier in didactic than either in argumentative or descriptive writing. In the last-named, however, there is a certain exaggeration of detail and of style with vigorous epithet that suggests satire, and which many will prefer to more polished and correct writing.

The Faith of our Fathers: being a Plain Exposition and Vindication of the Church founded by our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Most Rev. J. GIBBONS, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Fifteenth carefully-revised and enlarged edition. Baltimore: John Murphy and Co. 1880.

"THE Faith of Our Fathers," which is a volume of 480 pages, has had an unprecedented sale in America, not less than 80,000 copies of it having been bought up. It stands, therefore, as the most popular exposition of the Catholic faith published in modern days. The secret of its success appears to be contained in its being thoroughly *actual*—that is to say, brought close up to the reason and thoughts of

men of the present day. It is written in a plain and pleasing style, and is homely in its explanations. One of the most beautiful chapters is on the Blessed Virgin, a subject of special difficulty to Protestants, and it is handled in a way eminently likely to smooth away Protestant prejudice. His Grace has brought great learning and research to bear upon his labours, but he has known how to conceal the appearance of erudition and learning under forms which are easy and agreeable. We cannot but desire that a work which is rendering such eminent service in America should become widely known in England.

An Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke. By the Most Rev. Dr. MAC-EVILLY, Bishop of Galway. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1879.

WE rejoice to see that the learned prelate has found time amidst the arduous and numerous duties of his episcopate to bring out another volume of his Gospel exposition. We trust that he may be spared to complete his labours on the New Testament by explaining St. John and the Acts. A thoroughly orthodox Scripture commentary in English will be a great boon to Catholics. It will enable them the better to defend their faith and to advance their own spiritual profit. And it is the more welcome at this time when so much interest is excited in Scriptural questions by Protestant commentaries and textual revisions. Such a work as the Bishop of Galway's will show Protestants that Catholics are not behindhand in Scriptural knowledge, nor are our bishops obscurantists. One special charm of this work is that there is no parade of learning, none of that pedantic affectation so frequently visible in other commentaries. Great learning is concealed by greater modesty, and wide reading by a sweet simplicity. There is milk for the babes, and strong meat for the perfect. Another advantage lies in the authoritative character derived from the exalted position of the writer. This is rather felt than asserted. One cannot help wishing that the bishop would tell us his own opinion on some vexed questions more frequently than he does. Yet when the defence of the faith requires it, he speaks out very fully and clearly, as for instance, in his explanation of our Lord's prayer for St. Peter that "his faith fail not" (Luke xxii. 32), the full force of the words is brought out in their bearing on Papal infallibility. St. Luke's Gospel of the Nativity, derived as it probably is from the Queen of Evangelists, is set forth in a commentary inspired by the deepest theology and the warmest piety. We feel sure that Catholic readers will show their appreciation for this volume as unmistakably as they have for the previous volume which the bishop has sent forth.

The Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic Colonization.
By J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1880.

THIS admirable little book deserves to be read by English Catholics because it deals, and deals eloquently, with the spread of our faith in the English-speaking portion of the New World. The mission

of the Irish people, we need scarcely say, is to carry that faith wherever Englishmen have established colonies.

Whoever, (says the author), at the beginning of the present century had considered the state of religion in Great Britain and Ireland, would have had no difficulty in pronouncing, at least, upon one point. He would have felt certain that, whatever might come to pass, there was beyond all question no future for Catholicism in those islands. And if no future there, then no future in North America, in Australia, in half the world. And so it seemed that the English-speaking portion of the human race whose share in moulding the future of the world is to counterbalance that of all others, was irrevocably dedicated to the cause of Protestantism. . . . The century is not near its close, and yet since its opening the cause of Catholicism has undergone a transformation little less than marvellous in the whole English-speaking world.

The changes and progress of religion in the States of America are what chiefly concerns the author. "At the breaking out of the War of Independence there were not more than 25,000 Catholics in a population of three millions." They had few priests, no bishops, no schools, no religious houses. Moreover, the "thirteen American colonies which declared their independence were intensely and thoroughly Protestant." Indeed, bigotry and hatred of Catholics was fresher and more active here than in the mother country at the same date. The Catholic Church is at this moment co-extensive with the country, "its members are counted by millions, its priests and sacred edifices by thousands. Its archbishops and bishops rule over eleven metropolitan and fifty-four suffragan sees." Everywhere are convents and colleges and schools. "The Irish race is the providential instrument through which God has wrought this marvellous revival." This is not all: "there are many reasons for thinking that no other religion is so sure of a future here as the Catholic." The reader ought to go to the book itself for details of these *gesta Dei per Hibernos*. That practical portion of the volume which falls under the second half of its title not only ought to be read of every priest in Ireland, but imparted somehow to the mass of the people wherever there are intending emigrants.

We must content ourselves, here, to have said this word of welcome to the Bishop of Peoria's interesting volume; we hope in an early article to return to the consideration of it more at the leisure and length it deserves.

A Sketch of the Life and Mission of St. Benedict. By a Monk of St. Gregory's Priory, Downside. London: John Hodges. 1880.

The Medal and Cross of St. Benedict. From the French of Abbot GUÉRANGER. Translated by a Monk of the English Benedictine Congregation. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

THESE books, more especially the first, are connected with the great centenary celebration of the birth of St. Benedict, which has just taken place over the whole Western Church. The "Sketch" is a most readable and useful account of the Life and Rule of the Holy

Patriarch, together with an excellently-done history of the spread of the Benedictine Order and of the Apostolate of the Benedictines in England. Perhaps more might have been made of Pope St. Gregory's letters to St. Augustine, and the learned and skilful writer might have dwelt more distinctly on that most interesting feature in the history of the English Benedictines—their establishment by Pope Gregory the Great as a missionary, and even parochial congregation—then a novelty in the Church—and their confirmation and re-establishment as such by at least two other Popes before the Norman Conquest. But considerations of space, no doubt, prevented this.

This new translation of Dom Guéranger's well-known tract on the Medal or Cross of St. Benedict, is well done and beautifully got up. It contains one or two photographic illustrations, and also fine reproductions of the new Monte Cassino Centenary Medal, and the Centenary Cross of the English Benedictines.

Anglican Jurisdiction: Is it Valid? By J. D. BREEN, O.S.B. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

THIS is a brochure of not quite one hundred pages, but we have read few contributions to the question which convey more information or give better arguments. Father Breen shows, by excellently chosen extracts and citations, first, that the Early Church acknowledged the Papal See as the source of "Jurisdiction;" secondly, that our own English Church, from its commencement, down to the change of religion, did the same; and lastly, that the Anglican theory is, officially, that the source of jurisdiction is the Crown. The question of jurisdiction has not yet occasioned quite so much stir as that of Orders among our Anglican friends, but it is beginning to assert itself. Father Breen's book is most opportune. Let Anglicans look at their Church as it is, not as they evolve it from their own consciousness. Three delicious citations given by the author, one from the "judicious" Hooker, another from Bishop Horsley, and a third from Bishop Van Mildert—neither passages well-known—will materially assist them in this process.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING.

1. *The Little Oremus. A Liturgical Prayer Book.* London: Washbourne. 1879.
2. *St. Joseph's Manual of a Happy Eternity.* By FATHER SEBASTIAN, of the Blessed Sacrament. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1879.
3. *Visits to Jesus on the Altar.* By the Author of "Reflections and Prayers for Holy Communion." Translated from the French. Vol. I. London: Burns & Oates. 1879.
4. *Daily Bread: being Morning Meditations for a Year.* By the late Rev. RICHARD WALDO SIBTHORP. London: Bemrose & Sons. 1879.

5. *The Manna of the Soul. Meditations for every Day of the Year.* By FATHER PAUL SEGNERI. (Translation.) Vol. IV. London: Burns & Oates. 1879.
6. *La Dévotion au Sacré Cœur de Jésus.* Par le R. P. SCHMUDE, S.J. Traduit de l'Allemande par le R. P. MAZOYER. Paris: Pous-sielgue. 1878.
7. *Moral Discourses.* By the Rev. PATRICK O'KEEFFE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1879.
8. *How to Live Piously.* By the Rev. THOMAS MURPHY. Dublin: Duffy & Sons. 1879.
9. *Meditations and Contemplations on the Sacred Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Translated from the Spanish of the Ven. LUIS of Granada, O.P. By a Member of the Order of Mercy. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1879.
10. *Miniature Life of Mary, Virgin and Mother, for every day of the Month.* Compiled by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.
11. *The Pilgrim's May-Wreath.* By the Rev. FATHER THADDEUS, O.S.F. London: Burns & Oates. 1880.
12. *The Holy Ghost the Sanctifier.* (Little Books of the Holy Ghost, No. 4.) By HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.
13. *Emmanuel; a Book of Eucharistic Verses.* By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. Fifth Edition. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1880.
14. *Madonna: Verses on our Lady and the Saints.* By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1880.
15. *Mary's Call to her loving Children.* (Our Lady's Library.) London: Richardson and Son.
16. *The Raccolta, or Collection of Indulged Prayers.* By AMBROSE ST. JOHN. Authorized Translation. Fifth Edition. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.
17. *Solid Virtue.* By the Rev. Father BELLECIUS, S.J. Translated by a Member of the Ursuline Community, Thurles. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1879.
18. *The Life and Miracles of St. Benedict.* By ST. GREGORY THE GREAT. From an old English Version by P. W. (Paris: 1608). Edited by DOM EDMUND J. LUCK, O.S.B. London: Washbourne. 1880.

1. *The Little Oremus* is a "liturgical" prayer-book, and those who know the larger work from which it is compiled will be prepared to find considerable transcriptions from the Breviary and the Ordinary of the Mass. It is truly an admirable little manual of Catholic prayer, full of devotion and solidity, and without a line of nonsense or mawkish sentiment.

2. Those who have made the acquaintance of Father Sebastian's former manuals will be prepared to welcome *St. Joseph's Manual of a Happy Eternity*. It is compiled primarily for the brethren of the Association of the Bona Mors, and therefore a large part of the book, amounting to a third, is taken up with the Mass and Office of the Dead, and various prayers. The other two-thirds consist of a number of pious and fervent considerations in preparation for death. We observe that the Latin text and citations are not free from misprints. The book carries the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin.

3. These *Visits*, translated from the French by an anonymous translator, are apparently translated very well. Any one in search of a new and attractive work of the kind, either for private devotion or to give away, might do worse than send for this one.

4. *The Daily Bread* of the late Rev. Father Richard Waldo Sibthorp derives a peculiar interest from the fact that its author died, at the great age of eighty-six, whilst it was passing through the press. Father Sibthorp's career was not an important one, except to himself, and his temporary lapse from Catholicism, though it grieved many, caused little harm to the Faith at large. He was a man of some power, and of some eccentricity. Like many original men, he could not do himself justice in print; perhaps because bright ideas are of little use without both artistic power to frame and environ them, and also patient labour to carry them through. Father Sibthorp, however, could labour. The present work, written in extreme old age, under the constant attacks of painful and wearing illness, is a proof of this. Readers will not perhaps find these lucubrations either very devotional or very striking. They are the thoughts of a man well-informed, well read in Holy Scripture, shrewd and sensible. But they have that fatal vagueness on such subjects as grace, the interior life and Christian perfection, which distinguishes the spiritual treatises of Protestants. Those, however, who knew the author will treasure them, and the excellently done biographical introduction, as a memorial of a friend.

5. We content ourselves with drawing attention to the fourth and concluding volume of the English translation of Segneri's "*Manna dell' anima*," and congratulate the translator, whoever he may be, on the completion of what appears to be a most genuine and readable version of a book which is equally remarkable for its wealth of divinity and its classic literary form.

6. The French translation of the work of Father Schmude on the Sacred Heart of Jesus is a small but valuable addition to books of devotion. The biographical details in relation to the Blessed Margaret Mary, with considerable extracts from her own forms of prayer, seem admirably adapted for giving the pious reader the genuine spirit of the devotion. Father Schmude's own chapters on the love and sufferings of our Lord are moulded upon the Exercises of St. Ignatius, and, therefore, not a line is rapid or superfluous. It would have been well if the author had tried to present our Lord's sufferings in a more winning light. There seems to us too much stress laid on the theory of "substitution," not at all in any way that is the least unorthodox,

but to the exclusion of what seems to us a most true philosophy of the Passion—viz., the view that suffering was accepted to intensify the love and worship of the Sacred Heart. We should also have been glad of some notes on the genuine and veritable way to represent in painting and sculpture that Sacred Heart which Blessed Margaret Mary was given to see. The book is a little carelessly edited. St. Gertrude of Eisleben was not the sister of St. Mechtildis; and St. Francis of Sales did not die in 1625.

7. The Rev. Father O'Keeffe's *Moral Discourses* will be found useful for spiritual reading, and also as "aids" to the clergy; for they are full of Scripture, well-arranged and to the point, whilst their language, though plain, is dignified and eloquent. They range over the principal topics of what is called the *Via Purgativa*. There are a few sermons which have special references to abuses, or evil habits prevalent in Ireland. Father O'Keeffe is well advised in laying it down emphatically that the "pledge" of abstinence is not a vow, but a serious resolution made to a priest (p. 186). The author seems well acquainted with the standard writers, whom he reproduces without servility or direct quotation.

8. The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin has given his *imprimatur* to an extremely useful little manual which is intended to teach plain people *How to Live Piously*; to keep them regular and fervent in the practice of daily prayer, and of Mass, in the use of the Sacraments, and in the observance of the law of God. Father Murphy, of Mountmellick, an experienced parish priest, has arranged, in some fifty brief instructions, practical and easy methods of every Christian duty. The work is enriched with numerous forms of prayer, and is altogether one that we should be glad to see in use in every Christian family.

9. The translator of these *Meditations* from Luis of Granada has made very free with her author. We are not acquainted with either of the two modern Paris editions which she says she has used; but it is somewhat difficult to follow her in the Madrid edition of 1756. She omits in one place, and inserts new matter in another, whilst there is here and there an awkwardness in the English, which seems to betray a French origin. Still, having made this protest from a literary point of view—for Granada is a Spanish classic—let us add that the little volume will be found to provide a large amount of most devout consideration and prayer on the Passion of our Lord. Useful instructions in meditation, likewise drawn from Granada, are prefixed; and the translation is fairly good.

10. A little book which contains a Life of the Blessed Virgin divided into thirty-one sections, on the model of the "Miniature Lives of the Saints," will be welcome to many. Father Sebastian Bowden has compiled it in the pious and practical spirit which is familiar to those who know the former work.

11. The Franciscan Father who has composed the "Pilgrim's May-Wreath" has carried out with fair success a very happy idea. For each day of the month he has given the story of some celebrated English shrine or sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin. Those sanctuaries

are now deserted, and those shrines have well-nigh disappeared; but it is not only touching, but also stimulating to faith and piety, to read how, in every corner of the England of bygone days, wonders had been vouchsafed in answer to prayer, and splendid monuments of piety had commemorated them. The stories are taken from well-known and obvious sources—(why, by the way, does the author insist on abbreviating, past recognition, the titles of the works he quotes?)—but there are no glaring mistakes. Besides the story, each “day” of the month presents us with a “consideration” on one of our Lady’s virtues, and an “example”—the latter not always of the most authentic.

12. Of Cardinal Manning’s most charming and useful little volume on the Holy Spirit, we need only say that it contains in a short compass, and with admirable perfection of literary expression, a complete course of practical divinity and exhortation on the Third Person of the Most Holy Trinity. It is a work which will be found indispensable to preachers, retreat-givers, and devout readers alike. Special attention may be directed to the “Prayers” at the end of each section; prayers in which each word means something and each clause is in its place and sequence, and in which is to be experienced that subtle rhythmical feeling which is never absent from the great liturgical prayers, but which none but a master of language can impart.

13, 14. These are two books of pleasing devotional verse by a Jesuit Father, a nephew of the late Dr. Russell, of Maynooth. They will be found valuable for devout reading and for recitation. Their literary power is considerable.

15. *Mary’s Call* is a little book approved and strongly recommended by the Bishop of Nottingham. It forms part of a series of books of devotion, written or edited by the Sisters of the Convent of the Maternal Heart of Mary at Nottingham, called “Our Lady’s Library.” The present volume, whilst putting before the reader the usual considerations connected with our Blessed Lady and the practice of Christian virtue, is intended to promote prayer for the dying.

16. This new and beautifully-arranged edition of Father Ambrose St. John’s translation of the *Raccolta* has been made conformable, by additions and corrections, to the latest Roman edition (Propaganda 1877). It is a manual so well known and so necessary in every Catholic household that we need do no more than announce this, the fifth, edition, and remind the reader that the translations here given of the Indulged prayers are “authorized” as equivalent to the originals, by a Rescript of the late Pope, dated February 3, 1856.

17. This translation of the admirable treatise of F. Bellecius, S.J., on *Solid Virtue* deserves a most hearty welcome. There are few books of spiritual reading and direction which are more entirely satisfactory. Hitherto the work has not existed in an English dress. The present version has been made from the French, but a comparison with the original Latin proves that the sense has been well preserved. There is a short but interesting preface by Archbishop Croke:

18. One of the Cassinese Fathers at Ramsgate has thought it well to reprint that portion of the old English translation of the “Dialogues

of St. Gregory" which contains the life of the holy patriarch St. Benedict. The little volume is excellently printed and got up, and will be welcome to the many clients of St. Benedict, who are celebrating with special devotion the present year.

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

1. *African Pets, or Chats about our Animal Friends in Natal: with a Sketch of Kaffir Life.* Second Thousand. By F. CLINTON PARRY. London: Griffith and Farran. 1880.
2. *Ways and Tricks of Animals; with Stories about Aunt Mary's Pets.* By MARY HOOPER. London. (Same publishers.)
3. *Christian Elliott; or, Mrs. Danver's Prize.* By L. N. COMYN. Fifth Thousand. London. (Same publishers.)
4. *Wrecked, not Lost; or, the Pilot and his Companions.* By the Hon. MRS. DUNDAS. Sixth Thousand. London. (Same publishers.)
5. *Among the Brigands, and other Tales of Adventure.* By C. E. BOWEN. Fourth Thousand. London. (Same publishers.)

WE have examined these volumes that we might be able to pronounce on their suitability for Catholic children: and they have stood the test very satisfactorily; there is nothing in them objectionable on the subject of religion, and they are all, each in its own way, very interesting in the style that is attractive to juvenile minds. There is so much being talked about Africa just now among their elders that young people are sure to be attracted by the title of "African Pets;" and the book will be a great favourite wherever it is read. The stories about the animal pets which the authoress made during her residence in Natal are well told, and gain an interest from her assurance that they are all true. And from the "Sketch of Kaffir Life" children will learn a great deal more about it than most fathers and mothers know. The "Sketch" is written in a good tone and is full of information. The Zulus are said to be the most intelligent and best looking of the Kaffir tribes; their kraals a "picture of neatness." We are told how they live, dress, what they eat and do; we learn what a "drift" in Kaffirland is, that Cetewayo's name is pronounced as if written *Ketch-y-o*, and much besides that will be very interesting to English boys and girls.

"Ways and Tricks of Animals" appeals to a more juvenile audience than the other books and will be prized as much for its capital pictures as for the illustrative stories. Of the three remaining stories, "Wrecked not Lost," and "Among the Brigands," are full of adventure and marvellous escapes, just of the sort that will hold boys spellbound. But "Christian Elliott" is a charming story of an incident in the quiet lives of a brother and sister; the boy's character, sayings and doings are especially true to life. His flight and early death, too, are well told, and by their natural pathos help to enforce a good moral lesson which is nowhere "preached," but told in a manner that children will see and feel by the incidents of the story itself.

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ART. I.—THE WRITINGS OF MR. T. W. ALLIES.

1. *Per Crucem ad Lucem. The Result of a Life.* By T. W. ALLIES. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.
2. *A Life's Decision.* By T. W. ALLIES, M.A. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

*Translated for the DUBLIN REVIEW from the May and June
Numbers of the "Katholik."*

NO one who is only partially well versed in the English Catholic literature of our times will dispute Mr. Allies' title to be accounted one of its foremost writers. He is the author of the books before us, and well known to our readers through the highly favourable, yet not too flattering, judgment which was passed in these pages on his famous work, "The Formation of Christendom." Beginning with a lecture on the philosophy of history, he there paints in fine and broad outlines a picture of the development of dogma, and of its influence on all the details of human life. Mr. Allies proves the indefeasible right of Christianity—that is, of Catholic Christianity—in a masterly way by minutely following the respective systems of ancient philosophy in their various stages of progression, as well as by taking into account the innumerable fluctuations to which Protestantism has given rise during its bare three hundred years of existence, and which will be still more numerous as time goes on, if appearances are not deceptive. The author's penetration of judgment, his complete way of viewing the wide domain of the different schools of philosophy, his unflinching adherence to Christianity as to the immortal standard by which each and every phenomenon in the spiritual and natural order are to be measured, his deep devotion to the

Church, and the whole tendency of the work in the direction of that scholasticism which she has ever prized, make the perusal of its pages a great treat. There is only one voice in Catholic England about the author's "Formation of Christendom." It is pronounced to be one of the most powerfully learned works in the Catholic sense which has seen the light during the last ten years.

A few months ago Mr. Allies published another work, which deserves to be brought before the notice of German Catholics as far, at least, as its principal characteristics are concerned. There is a twofold reason for making this desirable. On the one hand the work throws a strong and characteristic light upon the spiritual currents of English thought with a special reference to those of the high-minded converts, who, disclaiming all the worldly advantages which would have accrued to them by remaining in error, did not hesitate to land in the haven of security. The more the Anglican press passes over in dead silence the publications which men of so high a character have thought well to issue in defence of their step, the more should Catholic literature in and out of England notice the learned works of converts, and make known the grounds for their return to the Church. In Mr. Allies' case there is something further to be considered which gives his "*Per Crucem ad Lucem*" an intrinsic value of its own. We know of no single Catholic writer in England who, as a converted clergyman, has brought out the fundamental idea of the Primacy and the greatness and fulness of jurisdiction of the Apostolic Chair with so much erudition and penetration as Mr. Allies. It has not been only since his conversion that the author has begun to write upon this grand topic, one of the numerous essays belonging to the subject dates from a time when he was still a respected and benefited preacher of the "word" in the Establishment.

What is true of the "Formation of Christendom" may be largely applied to Mr. Allies' later work; it is one of Catholic England's literary pearls. We are not concerned with an organic whole of any kind. The book is composed of smaller writings and publications which he has brought out on various occasions, both as an Anglican and as a Catholic, and which are here collected for the first time. Mr. Allies has done well to rescue these valuable and learned treatises from oblivion, and to draw the attention of contemporaries to the great thoughts which they contain. For the same question which so keenly roused English minds at the time Mr. Allies first entered the controversial arena on occasion of the Gorham Case has by no means lost its interest in their present estimation. Moreover, events in the most powerful German State, to which we can all bear

witness, and from the consequences of which many of us are suffering, have fiercely stirred up the question of the *source of jurisdiction in the Church*, and given it a prominent place in the discussions of the day. The English work before us happens to throw the strongest light upon a fact which was announced a few days ago by German newspapers—viz., the reading in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies of the royal decree naming a clergyman, who was consecrated by the Jansenistic bishop of Utrecht, to be himself a bishop. The point at issue is this: Can secular rulers impart jurisdiction for the government of the Church of God? and Mr. Allies replies to it in a masterly way. Indeed, the idea that an affirmative answer to the question must of itself lead to the dissolution of any spiritual body runs like an undercurrent through the whole book, and makes its component parts all converge to one and the same leading thought. Unfortunately the untoward changes which have taken place in the Anglican Church have too often confirmed the views which the author has published upon the point in question during the course of more than thirty years. Hence Mr. Allies has prefixed a careful preface to both volumes, which explains the salient features of the various treatises, gives a terse account of their contents, and shows how they may be justified by Church precedents in the Anglican communion as well as by the practice of the Catholic Church, especially as regards the dogma of Papal Infallibility.

Besides a preface of seventy-seven pages, the first volume contains the following four treatises:—1. The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the two spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction. 2. The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity. 3. Letter to Dr. Pusey. 4. Dr. Pusey and the Ancient Church.

As the author remarks in the preface, a most dear friend's leaving Anglicanism in 1845, and publishing a learned work to justify his step, called the first of these treatises into existence. This friend was the present Cardinal Newman, and the work in question was the "Essay on Development," which made a great noise in England at the time. The charge of schism thrown in the face of Anglicanism by Newman was immediately taken up by Allies, who sought to disprove it in a special work, "The Church of England cleared from Schism." The book went through two editions. In course of time, and in consequence of researches accompanied by fervent prayer, the conviction forced itself upon our author that he had only half answered the objection, for, beside the reproach of schism, there was the far graver one of heresy to be removed from his communion. Dr. Pusey it was who encouraged Allies to go to work again on the

same subject with a special reference to the Holy Eucharist. At this juncture the scales fell from his eyes when in the month of February, 1850, he made "the discovery of a very simple fact—viz., that by a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., and accepted by the English Church, the Papal Supremacy had been transferred to the Crown; and that the existing relation between the Church of England and the State was simply the result of that statute, which, though it had been repealed under Queen Mary, had been re-enacted under Elizabeth" (p. 2).

Possessing a clear mind, Mr. Allies drew important conclusions from his discovery, which he laid before the theological portion of the public in the first of the above-named treatises. As he himself remarks, his feeling was one of bewilderment at the clear and powerful light which broke upon him, for his mind was encompassed by a state of things which made it simply impossible for him any longer to defend the religion in which he had been born and brought up, and with which all his chances of earthly prosperity were identified. The treatise on "The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction" was published on purpose to challenge some sort of explanation concerning a fact which seemed to cut the ground away from his feet in his quality of Anglican minister. All the leaders of the High Church party with whom Allies was on friendly terms received copies of the work. Amongst others we may mention two judges now dead, Sir Edward Alderson and Sir J. Coleridge, Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey, and finally Archdeacons Wilberforce and Manning. Not one of the numerous persons to whom the treatise was sent ever attempted either privately or officially to say that the author had misrepresented the fact, or deduced illogical conclusions from the fact. Neither friend nor foe ever undertook to contradict the pamphlet. By the party, so to call it, to which the author himself belonged "it was generally *ignored*, as being ill-timed, for it came out just at the moment of the Gorham decision; or as being importunate, because it brought forward facts most uncomfortable to a Churchman, to which, as nothing could be produced to contradict them, it was desirable to close the eyes and refuse consideration" (pp. 2, 3).

The points which Mr. Allies as an Anglican minister laid before his brother clergymen were:—1. The Royal Supremacy. 2. Orders and Jurisdiction. 3. The two kinds of Jurisdiction, that of the inner and of the outward forum. 4. Testimonies of antiquity in favour of the power of Spiritual jurisdiction. 5. The transferring of this power to the English Crown under Henry VIII. 6. Development of the scheme under Elizabeth. 7. Spiritual jurisdiction of the inner forum. 8. Influence of

the Royal Supremacy. In essence the ideas, which the author unfolds with as much clearness as penetration, contain, certainly, nothing new to Catholic theologians ; or, rather, Mr. Allies refers his exposition, in so many words, back to the immortal Suarez. But the fact that an Anglican minister should have made himself so thoroughly acquainted with the works of a prince of post-Tridentine scholasticism, and should use his ideas with so much skill against Anglicanism, is in itself highly interesting. Details as to the application of the Royal Supremacy, which are scarcely to be found elsewhere, enhance the value of his exposition. But the first axiom of all his deductions is, truth and nothing but the truth, "for to make things appear better than they are because the reality is very trying, very agitating to tender or to doubtful minds, because one would wish things otherwise, because as a question of common Christian right, of English liberty, they ought to be otherwise—this is, I think, in a matter of such moment, playing with souls" (p. 86).

Three documents bear irrefutable witness to the fact that the English Crown transferred the Papal Jurisdiction to itself. The Thirty-seventh Article expressly says that "the Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other of her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain ; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction. . . . The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England." But, says Mr. Allies, should doubt be still entertained as to the meaning of these words, it must disappear before the outspoken decree in which Queen Elizabeth deals with certain interpretations of the oath required by Parliament from the representatives of the nation, the same interpretations being foolish and disturbing to the consciences of her subjects. This very decree as well as the oath in question rest expressly upon the statutes which made Henry VIII. the head of the Church and ascribed to him the fulness of jurisdiction. The words of the oath itself are formal : "I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to *my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminences, and Authorities granted or belonging unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*" All ecclesiastical authorities agree that the Pope's jurisdiction, but not the power of conferring orders, was transferred to the English

Sovereign. For, according to Suarez' detailed explanation, the greatness of the papal dignity does not consist in a power of order surpassing episcopal consecration, but rather in the fulness of jurisdiction.

This banishment from England of the papal authority is condemned, says our author, by the testimony of every century. Fathers of the Church and mediæval doctors, as well as secular rulers, acknowledge the Pope to be the Head of the Church. Thus it is that between the English Sovereign, after the eventful year 1559, and the earlier Kings of England, who were united with the Holy See, there is a wall of separation which appears too high to be scaled. "It is a difference not of *degree* but of *kind*" (p. 108). Norman kings in England, Valois and Bourbons in France, and the ambitious Staufer in the German Empire were jealous to a fault of their royal prerogatives, and sometimes they even stretched their hands beyond their boundaries, and wielded the *judicium finium regendorum* in an arbitrary way. But they had no wish to play the part of the Pope. In every state the existence of two distinct powers was pre-supposed. Queen Elizabeth, on the contrary, concocted a State Church. The first thing she did was to call up a goodly number of prelates who might confirm Parker's election and proceed thereupon to his consecration. Apart from the question, full of the deepest moment to the whole existence of the Anglican hierarchy, whether or not Barlow, the consecrating bishop, had himself received episcopal consecration, it must be admitted that the confirming prelates one and all lacked jurisdiction. "For," to quote Mr. Lewis' words, "in this case there is no shadow of ecclesiastical rule; the confirming bishops were unconfirmed themselves for eleven days after Parker's confirmation; and on the day of his consecration were not certain that even their election to their bishoprics would be allowed by the Queen. They consecrated Parker, December 17th; but the royal assent to their election was not given till next day. This confirmation of Parker was made by those who had no authority to make it: they were without any recognized jurisdiction" (p. 114). As nobody can give more than he himself possesses, Parker could in no wise receive the fulness of episcopal power from the men in question. If, therefore, on the ground of this consecration, and seeing that the whole Anglican episcopacy took their rise from him, either he or any of his successors lay claim to, and exercise, such power, it is conferred by the head of the nation, and will be seen to be a purely civil institution.

One of the most remarkable facts which proves the spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown in Anglican Church history is the

case of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, who was so unfortunate as to kill a man out hunting in Bramzill Park. Guiltless though he was personally, he had nevertheless committed a deed which disqualified him from exercising spiritual functions. The Lord Keeper, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote officially on the subject to the Duke of Buckingham: "His Grace, upon this accident, is by the common law of England to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty; and by the canon law, which is in force with us, irregular *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his superior; which, I take it, is the King's Majesty, in this rank and order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions." After previous deliberation with a commission of bishops appointed for the purpose, King Charles I. issued a decree by which the Archbishop was absolved from all "irregularity, scandal, or infamation, and pronounced capable to use all metropolitical authority" (pp. 116, 117).

Whereas, Allies remarks, the Church has ever distinguished between the outer and the inner forum, the question naturally arises, how did the English sovereign, after the annexation, deal with the *inner* forum of jurisdiction, which power had previously been always wielded by the Pope? The fact that the Anglican Church has retained the form of confession for certain circumstances makes the question all the more pertinent. Allies' answer to this point, which most immediately concerns individual salvation, contains another and a grievous reproach to the Royal Supremacy. "My belief is," he writes, "that it troubled itself very little about the matter; and, considering it as depending on the power of Order, which it is, and on that alone, which it is not, was willing enough that so long as the whole outward jurisdiction was allowed to flow from itself, the inward might accompany those whom it selected for its agents. I suppose, moreover, that for fifty years after Elizabeth's accession sacramental confession was very little practised in the Church of England; by some *âmes d'élite*, like Hooker's, perhaps, but never by the mass of Christ's poor. When, in the times of James and Charles, our divines had risen to higher notions of the Church and its functions, they supposed this power of inward spiritual jurisdiction to reside in bishops and priests" (p. 121).

The sum and substance of our Anglican minister's researches may be thus briefly characterized. 1. The Royal Supremacy rests upon the denial of the text that the Church is the mystical Body of Christ. It puts aside the fact that the Church is a kingdom of God, spreading over the whole earth; governed by spiritual rulers who trace their title-deeds and

their authority back to our Lord's expressed command to the Apostles to do and to preach. The Synagogue of the old covenant is the highest conception of a Church to which this system reaches. 2. It rests upon the denial of the whole idea of a priesthood, questions the Church's right to govern, and, by the very fact, deprives the Church of that indwelling power of regulating her own affairs, which belongs to her, and transfers it to the secular society. If, pointing to the difference between orders and jurisdiction, Anglicans were to reply that the Sovereign only exercises the latter and not the former, Allies says, with great pertinency, "but this is especially opposed to Christ's institution; for it was His will that the Church should be ruled by those whom He made the chief ministers of the Word of God and of the Sacraments, that is by bishops, in whom the power of Order exists in excellency. . . . As then, in the Christian commonwealth, ecclesiastical power, whether of Order or Jurisdiction, is directed to a spiritual end and to the sanctification of souls, these two powers ought to be so arranged in reference to each other as to be joined in the supreme head of the Church in all their perfection and excellency." But hence it follows infallibly that all acts of jurisdiction in the Anglican Church are "null and void" (p. 124).

The second treatise of the collection bears the title "The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity." Its first edition was dedicated to Mr. Gladstone, who was at that time watching the course of events in the Anglican Church with the deepest interest. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Allies for giving us the text of this dedication, as it explains a good deal of Gladstone's now undecided, now hostile, but ever unworthy, behaviour towards the Catholic Church. The author had the happiness of dedicating the second edition—for his conversion took place in the interval—to "His Holiness Pope Pius IX., by whose order the *first* appearance was translated and circulated." Mr. Allies published this valuable treatise towards the close of 1850. It exposes the reasons which led him into the kingdom of truth, exhibiting the grounds on which he felt that he was obliged to surrender Anglicanism. The book contains the following chapters: 1. The Primacy of St. Peter an existing Power. 2. The Scriptural Proof of the Primacy. 3. The End and Office of the Primacy. 4. The Power of the Primacy. 5. The Church's Witness to the Primacy. 6. St. Peter's Primacy and the Royal Supremacy. 7. The Effects of St. Peter's Primacy, and of the Royal Supremacy.

In this work the gifted author already shows an immense acquaintance with the Greek and Latin Fathers. The con-

cluding chapters, in which he compares the ancient Church having the testimony of every century on its side to the creation of the sixteenth century, are especially worthy of notice. "Queen Elizabeth caused an Act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of the power to institute English bishops, and of his dignity as Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. And this Act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities." According to this statute, English sovereigns nominate to bishoprics, as indeed the present Queen has created new bishoprics in the colonies. In other words, the Crown imparts spiritual jurisdiction and exercises sovereign right in matters of belief. What fearful consequences this annexion of spiritual power has brought about? The confessional was sacrificed. "There is one point which runs right into the heart of him who is charged with the care of souls, and day by day leaves its sting there. The Anglican Church abolished at the Reformation that discipline of Penance which existed all over the world. What has she substituted for it? Are her children to sin and sin on, for months and years together, and *restore themselves* when they please to the communion of the Church? sin on, to the very bed of death, in trust upon God's indulgence? Or what living bond of connection is there between the pastor and his flock *in health*? How can he ever come to close quarters with the secret sins of the individual conscience? How to deal with sins committed after baptism is a question of the utmost daily moment to the clergy. How is it ruled for them in Anglicanism? . . . Various parties will answer these questions in different ways. In the meantime the sinner dies" (pp. 266, 267); and we may add more than three hundred years have gone by. What is true of the confessional may be said of the whole teaching and of all the ordinances of the Church. "When the individual conscience asks, What am I to believe *as a matter of divine faith*, on points where authorities disagree, what answer can be given? Accordingly, the result, to every thinking mind, of Anglicanism is, that there is at present no divine teacher on earth at all whom we are bound to believe and obey. That is *naked infidelity*" (p. 269).

As in all past ages, so in our times, the divine primacy of St. Peter accomplishes the high aim which was set before it, unity of faith and of Christian life. "Go where you will, and within the bosom of that communion which is built on the rock of St. Peter's chair you will find no variance of belief," writes our learned author, whose heart was already in the Church, though he did not at that time belong to her outward communion.

Neither clergy nor laity differ as to the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Church, *nor as to all the consequences derived from them.* The parish priest pursues his daily task in no doubt as to the instruction of the young, the recovery of the wandering, the consolation of the dying. Councils of bishops meet in all directions, and send the result of their consultations and prayers to the common Shepherd of all, without contest, without variation of belief, from one end of the earth to the other. The Host comes forth in procession, and every heart is lifted up to the Author of Salvation, every head bowed in worship; one solemn feeling of the Real Presence fills a great church, and inspires its congregation. Moreover, Saints live and grow on it; societies of men and women are inspired by it unto all the labours of self-denying charity. Take as symbols within the one communion the bare table and the deserted shrine; but comfort, respectability, order, the powers of the world that is. Within the other, a people hushed in adoration, a cloud of incense, and the Present God; but poverty, continence, religious communities, the powers of the world to come (pp. 269, 270).

Our author pours forth a soul thirsting after truth in an eloquent panegyric of the Holy Church, which recalls the finest passages of Fénelon and Bossuet:—

Whither shall I turn, but to thee, O glorious Roman Church, to whom God has given, in its fulness, the double gift of ruling and of teaching? Thine alone are the keys of Peter, and the sharp sword of Paul. On thee alone, with their blood, have they poured out their whole doctrine. Too late have I found thee, who shouldst have fostered my childhood, and set thy gentle and awful seal on my youth; who shouldst have brought me up in the serene regions of truth, apart from doubt, and the long agony of uncertain years. Yet before I understood thee, I could admire; before I acknowledged thy claims, I could see that undaunted spirit which would resign everything save the inheritance of Christ; that superhuman wisdom by the gift of which, while earthly states have had single conquerors or legislators, a Charlemagne here, a *Philippe Auguste* there, in Rome alone the spiritual ruler has dwelt for ages smiting the waters of the flood again and again with the mantle of Elijah, and making himself a path through them on the dry land. But now I see that the God of Elijah is with thee. O, too long sought, and too late found, yet be it given me to pass under thy protection the short remains of this troubled life, to wander no more from the fold, but to find the chair of the Chief Shepherd to be indeed “the shadow of a great rock in a weary land” (p. 272).

God has given him the plenitude of that grace which he prayed for in these words as deep as they are ardent, and he, on his side, has applied it to countless others by his valuable writings and the services he has rendered by his connection with the cause of education.

Fifteen years had gone by since the appearance of the last-named work, and far from attempting a complete refutation of the book, the Anglican party had not so much as noticed it. In the year 1865, for the first time, Dr. Pusey referred to it at p. 237 of his "Eirenicon," a treatise which bore the name only of that daughter of heaven, peace, and served but to strengthen the opposition of parties, for, as Newman most pertinently remarked, he "discharged his olive-branch as if from a catapult."* In this passage Dr. Pusey has a great deal to say to Mr. Allies, and amongst other things reproaches him with the direct contradiction existing between his first work, "The Church of England cleared from Schism," and the two books just mentioned. Our author utterly refutes Dr. Pusey by proving that his works on the Royal Supremacy and the See of St. Peter form one complete whole; that so far there is in truth contradiction between the latter and the former, inasmuch as the facts related in the "See of St. Peter" made it impossible for him to continue a champion of Anglicanism. This, strictly speaking, does not constitute a contradiction, but an advance. Dr. Pusey, to whom a copy of Mr. Allies' pamphlet was at once sent, never either privately or publicly acknowledged its receipt. Mr. Allies thus comments on Dr. Pusey's silence:

I would not cite this as an act of personal or particular discourtesy. I rather think that in the mind of Dr. Pusey any seceder from the Church of England—with the exception of Cardinal Newman—is a sort of outlaw, who should be deprived of fire and water. Truth and justice towards such a one were want of fidelity to the Anglican mother (p. 5).

The passages of Allies' beautiful letter in which he contrasts the Dr. Pusey of 1850 with the Dr. Pusey of 1865 are the most telling of all. He points out the flattest contradiction between the two, who, identical though they are numerically, have religious views which are as distinct as day from night. Thus in the year 1850, at the time of the Gorham decision, Dr. Pusey wrote, "To admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed contradictory of the essential meaning of that article, is in truth and in fact to abandon that article." And further he gave expression to the dogmatical statement that "any portion of the Church, which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church" (p. 304). Still the learned doctor in question, who, with many other excellent Anglicans, showed a just

* "Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey." Introduction, p. 9.

anger for a brief space at the violence put upon the Church in the Gorham case, has remained in the Establishment. The consequences of this lamentable decision have not prevented him from continuing to be what he was before—viz., a dignitary in the Anglican Church and a royal professor. Here the contradiction is on Pusey's side, for by remaining an Anglican he has practically accepted that most unchristian judgment. Coming to Dr. Pusey's work on the "Truth and Office of the English Church," Allies very beautifully remarks :

She [the Church] *was* to bear witness to a great truth ; she *was* to perform a great office. The truth to which she was to bear witness was, that to derive the spiritual power of jurisdiction in the Church of Christ from the civil power of the nation in which it lives was an anti-Christian heresy ; and the office which she had to perform was to show during three hundred years to what depths of spiritual degradation, to what dissolution of the faith, to what destruction of discipline, to what utter anarchy and extreme passionateness of division in those who remained within her, to what fertility of minutely-parcelling schism in those who left her, such a principle, made the root of an institution, would lead ! How many of her ministers, how many of her laity, would receive the doctrinal statements of your book ? How many would receive and agree in any definite statement of faith at all ? But if in the United Church of England and Ireland there are as many opinions about the Christian faith as there are individuals, there is but one Royal Supremacy. When doctrines are disputed within her, the same authority which sits as a Board of Trade will pronounce as a Board of Doctrine, and *she* has to receive the solution in the judgment of a creedless council, delivered by an unbelieving chancellor, and *you* have to *protest* and *accept* the judgment. Her truth and her office are before us. It has been a grand illustration carried out on a large scale, and during a long period. No *Eirenicon* will ever reach the force of this *Polemicon*. Be assured the Church of God has registered the experience in her archives, and will not forget it (pp. 306-8).

The fourth and last part of the volume before us is concerned with another treatise of our learned author against Pusey. In his "Eirenicon" Pusey had expressed his opinion that, as a member and a clergyman of the High Church, he in no wise deserved the reproach of heresy and schism, as his Church possesses a true priesthood and true sacraments. "This opinion," remarks Allies, "brings me to examine the erroneous notion that the possession of priesthood and sacraments in what in other respects is an heretical and schismatical Church exonerates individuals in that Church from the guilt of heresy and schism."

Here our author goes back to the patristic age, and proves by the history of the then flourishing African Church and St. Augustine's famous controversy with the Donatists that it is

not the mere possession of the sacraments which will produce a life of grace, but their possession and use in the communion of Christ's true Church under the government of her lawful rulers. The actual Anglicans were up to a certain point the Donatists of the fourth and fifth centuries, with the difference that the Donatist position towards the Church was far more favourable than that of Dr. Pusey and modern Anglicanism, which possesses neither true bishops, priests, nor sacraments. But supposing for a moment that we might concede the latter to the High Church, as Dr. Pusey does, and might "so idealize, as it were, the Anglican position into the Donatist, we should then have persons in the same condition as those to whom St. Augustine used the language which we are about to quote" (p. 320). For, armed with patristic lore, Allies utterly destroys Pusey's comparison between the African Church in its position with regard to the Holy See, and Anglicanism and its opposition to the Apostolic See. Far from bearing any resemblance to each other the two churches are intrinsically and fundamentally different, for (1) Anglicanism throws off the divinely-appointed keeper of the vineyard and puts the civil supremacy as the bond of union in his place. St. Augustine, on the contrary, proves his assertion that Catholics have the right on their side, and that the Donatists are in error by the fact of their separation from the Roman Church which possesses the Holy See, and brought besides the Gospel tidings to Africa. 2. A discussion is raised in the African Church as to the working of divine grace, and such Councils as have condemned Pelagius' views submit their decision to the Roman See. Hence arose St. Augustine's famous expression about the Roman Church's indefeasible right to determine doctrine. In the Anglican Church we have a discussion about the importance of baptismal regeneration, and the cause is carried from the Archbishop's tribunal to the Queen and her Council. The sentence of the lower court is annulled, and the supreme authority orders the Archbishop to give the clergyman, who has denied the sacrament of baptism, a living in the diocese of one of his suffragans, this same suffragan treating the clergyman in question as an heretic and an intruder. 3. The African Church is called upon to decide whether Cæcilianus or Majorinus be Bishop of Carthage. St. Augustine declares that those four hundred schismatical bishops, who are not in communion with the Holy See, "are outside the true vineyard, and withered leaves, which have fallen from the tree of life," whereas "we communicate with the Church beyond the sea *in order* that we may be worthy to be joined to the members of Christ." In England a discussion is raised as to whether Dr. Colenso's metropolitan

had or had not the power to depose him. Dr. Colenso appeals to the Queen as the supreme authority in matters of faith, and the judge so appealed to decides that the spiritual jurisdiction which the judge herself had given to the metropolitan deposing is null and void: that neither metropolitan nor bishop have jurisdiction at all. And in this lay judgment the two Anglican Primates and the first Bishop sit as assessors, but without power: and the whole question is terminated without reference to the "Church diffused through the whole world" (p. 364).

The second title of the book before us, "The Result of a Life," is justified by the greater part of the introductory essay. In it Mr. Allies reviews the last thirty years of Anglicanism, and makes use of a number of facts in support of what he himself has alleged times out of count about the Anglican system. As in all other religious communities cut off from the Holy See, so in Anglicanism, the absence of three fundamental prerogatives is noticeable: 1. The idea of a divine kingdom upon earth; (2) of a supernatural revelation; and (3) of sacramental grace. The Gorham case is the most striking proof of these various negations, and it called forth just anger from such Englishmen as still adhered to Christian principles, and indirectly brought about Mr. Allies' conversion. Under William IV., Queen Victoria's uncle, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council took the place of the Court of Delegates which had been in force since Elizabeth's reign, and for some thirty years now it has sat and deliberated upon the cardinal points of dogma. Whether it was our Lord's atonement for us, or the forgiveness of sins, or the inspiration of the Scriptures and their teaching about eternal bliss and eternal punishment, or belief in prophecies, or the sacrament of baptism, this tribunal's decisions have been binding on all members of the English Church. In the cases of *Liddell v. Westerton* and *Liddell v. Beal* this Judicial Committee—

Laid down that in the Church of England there was no longer an altar or sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper; that the term altar is never used to describe it, and there is an express declaration at the close of the service against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with which the ideas of an altar and sacrifice are closely connected (p. 32).

To form a complete conclusion upon the inmost nature of the Royal Supremacy, Mr. Allies most properly dwells on the fact that one and all the members of the Privy Council can claim no more than a deliberative voice, whilst the final decision in matters of doctrine rests wholly and entirely in the person of the Sovereign. However, it cannot be denied that the views

of these various members may have great weight with the Sovereign. If it be remembered that the famous Lord Palmerston, whose ultra-liberal views brought about the most perilous consequences in far different departments to that of theology, was one of the Council on the Gorham Judgment, all must agree with Mr. Allies when he writes, "While I profoundly feel that the system is utterly dishonest, I feel also that individuals may be sincere." The iron grip of the Supremacy necessarily holds together outward unity in the Establishment, but, on the other hand, the variations in its teaching are called Legion.

Looking at government and doctrine together, we may say that she is a political Cerberus, with three heads, but one body—the heads being all jointed on to the unity of the Royal Supremacy, can only bark and growl at each other, neither can devour and make an end of either; but if only a scent of the Catholic Church reaches the three heads, they bark at once in unison at the common enemy, and are ready together to rend it. It was to guard against this foe that Cerberus was compacted, and she knows her office (p. 44).

The second volume of "*Per Crucem ad Lucem*" contains the following treatises: 1. Introduction; 2. Testimony of Grotius and Leibnitz to Catholic Doctrines impugned in the Sixteenth Century; 3. Action of the Church of England in the Work of Educating her Ministry from 1559 to 1850; 4. Christian and Anti-Christian Education; 5. Relation between Church and State established in England by the Reformation; 6. Catholic and Protestant Conception of Missionary Work; 7. St. Peter: his Name and his Office as set forth in Holy Scripture. The latter treatise is a further development of the essay on the Prince of the Apostles contained in the first volume, and in it the author shows not only an extensive reading of Holy Scripture, but also a very deep and profound knowledge of it. There would not be space in these pages for even the briefest sketch of the collective riches stored up in the text. We will content ourselves with touching upon certain points which are of the greatest moment as affecting needs of the present day. But it is true to say that all the contents of the second volume serve to throw light upon the deep antagonism which exists between Catholicism and Protestantism—an antagonism which the thinking mind can trace in the most different departments of life. When, in particular, Mr. Allies speaks of the Scriptural proof for the office of St. Peter, he may well cry out triumphantly:

The treatise on "St. Peter: his Name and his Office" draws out the prodigious fabric of Scriptural proof in favour of the Primacy of

St. Peter. To judge of the force of this, it ought to be contrasted with the support which Holy Scripture gives to the Royal Supremacy. Where is that to be found? Can any known method of interpretation produce one scrap from the Bible in favour of the temporal Sovereign originating spiritual jurisdiction? I have waited thirty years in vain for the discovery of any such text, or the exhibition of any such method. Instead of it, Primate from above and Curate from below pursue the old trick of asserting that the Church of Rome is corrupt. The value of their assertion depends, of course, upon the credit of those who make it. But, in any case, how does an imputed corruption in one body justify an actual Royal Supremacy in another? What is the position of those who rest their salvation not upon a Divine promise made to themselves, but upon the sin of others? (p. 2).

Whilst we are writing these lines, the fact upon which the author has laid the greatest weight—viz., that spiritual power in the Anglican Church does not belong integrally to her, but is far rather an efflux of the Crown—has received new confirmation. One of the last acts of Lord Beaconsfield's Conservative Ministry, before it retired in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, and of the new elections, was the creation of the new Anglican see of Liverpool. It must be admitted that the greatest spiritual needs will exist in a town of Liverpool's commercial importance, where industry is developing not yearly but day by day, and that those of Protestants and Catholics alike ought to be met. William the Conqueror's famous Domesday Book, with its register of English landed property, chronicled a handful of houses on its present site. In the year 1561 the inhabitants numbered 690, in 1700 about 5,000 are recorded, and they have increased in our days to 500,000. Whilst the town forms the see of a Catholic bishop, with 283 priests, 141 public churches, chapels, and stations, together with 400 schools, unequal provision had been made for members of the State Church. Hence influential and self-sacrificing men clubbed together to found an endowment for the new diocese, and it is astounding to be told by the newspapers that a sum was collected which assures the new prelate a yearly revenue of 3,000*l.* Where such sacrifices are made for spiritual advantages, we may gather that there still exists a strong backbone of Christian feeling in spite of any progress which may be registered by Agnosticism and Spiritism. On the other hand, a Catholic is not much astonished at the following circumstances connected with the new see. Notwithstanding the ritualistic tendencies of the most important members of the above-named committee, amongst whom Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., is worthy of particular mention, the Rev. Dr. Ryle was nominated to the new bishopric. Polished and cultivated though he is, he by no

means favours a Conservative theology. The Queen immediately issued a decree solemnly conferring the episcopal dignity upon the new prelate. The decree contains the following passage: "The Bishop of Liverpool is constituted a body corporate with all such rights, privileges, and *jurisdictions* as any other bishop in England, and is subjected to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York."* It is hardly possible to imagine a stronger proof in favour of Mr. Allies' assertions, and in refutation of the assumed independence of the English Crown claimed for their particular Church by the Ritualists.

Anglicanism bears another and a solemn witness to the fact that schism contains in itself the germ of heresy. The difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is thus distinctly qualified: "The Royal Supremacy rules a community embracing every possible variety of doctrine, and St. Peter's Primacy directs an homogeneous Church, full of growth indeed, but growing on one stem from one root" (p. 4). But because the essence of Catholicism reaches its highest expression in the Primacy, and because the Primacy exercises its highest prerogatives when he who bears it interprets Christian teaching, Mr. Allies here gives "as the compendium of the whole two volumes" a remarkable letter which he addressed on Palm Sunday, 1870, to the Editor of the *Tablet*. The author's eminent learning, the appositeness of his remarks, and the courage of his confession opposed to a centrifugal state of feeling then widely spread in England, but more especially due to foreign agency, gave his letter a peculiar weight. If it may be confidently asserted that a certain tendency to oppose the Vatican which showed itself in Germany no longer exists, this interesting document ought to be read by the future historian. Moreover, it will tend to silence the reproach so often repeated that the definition of Papal Infallibility may have had an unfavourable effect in non-Catholic circles, and have caused persons who were halfway to the Church to turn aside into another path.

An abridgment of the letter is as follows:—

To the Editor of the Tablet.

SIR,—Feeling myself an intense desire that the present Council of the Vatican may, by a clear and indubitable definition, set its seal on the words used respecting the successor of St. Peter by the Councils of Chalcedon in 451, of Lateran in 1215, of Lyons in 1274, and of Florence in 1439, I cannot but thank you for your unceasing advocacy of such an event. And I wish to add my testimony to that of a distinguished convert, Mr. Thompson, given in your pages a few weeks ago, as to the conviction entertained by the converts as a body

* *Tablet*, 1880, i. 518.

on the subject of the Papal Infallibility. If I have any right at all to speak on such a subject, it is that for nearly five and twenty years it has engaged my thoughts.

The following grounds are given in support of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility:—

1. The gift of inerrancy, in decisions *ex cathedra* upon faith and morals, is bestowed by our Lord Himself upon St. Peter in the three great texts, Matt. xvi. 18, 19, Luke xxii. 31, 32, and John xxi. 15, 17. Each one of these texts conveys it by itself, and much more do they, when put together, strengthen each other and convey it by accumulation.

2. From the beginning Pope after Pope has appealed to these three texts as bestowing upon the perpetual living Peter precisely the two gifts of doctrinal inerrancy and universal jurisdiction. No Council has treated it as a usurpation.

3. The Decretal Letters of the Popes of the first three centuries have perished, but with Siricius, in the year 384, a regular series of them begins. They are the public Acts of the Church's chief bishop in his ordinary government, written to bishops all over the world, and accepted as laws by those to whom they were written. A learned writer who has compiled the most ancient says of them, "Out of so many Pontiffs, singular for their learning and holiness, whom I will not say to charge, but even to suspect, of arrogance or pride were rash in the highest degree, not one will be found who does not believe that this prerogative has been conferred on himself or on his Church, to be the head of the whole Church." But the gifts of headship are precisely infallible authority and universal jurisdiction.

4. Leo the Great is an invincible witness for the prerogative above mentioned as belonging to the holder of the Apostolic Chair.

5. At every great crisis of Church history this infallibility of the Papal See is required in order to maintain the infallibility of the Church. It is so especially in all the controversy concerning the Greek schism.

6. So again in the great schism and revolt of the sixteenth century it was the infallible authority of St. Peter's See which saved the Church amid a tremendous defection.

7. A series of dogmatic decisions issued by the Holy See from 1563 to 1869, and accepted by the Church as infallible, confirms what has been said.

8. Thus all preceding history corroborates what the nature of things tells us, that the power of universal jurisdiction, which no one can be a Catholic without admitting to reside in the Holy See, requires for its exercise the gift likewise of infallible authority.

9. The Church being an indefeasible kingdom, the authority of which is never dormant or suspended, requires in her Head a permanent infallible confirmer of his brethren. She is not subject to deliquia of three centuries, because, by the appointment of Christ, one possesses "full power to feed and govern her."

10. Lastly every canonized saint has believed and ardently professed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility.

Allies is of one mind with the then Father, now Cardinal, Newman, who wrote, "We are all at rest, and have no doubt, and at least practically, not to say doctrinally, hold the Holy Father to be infallible." But he goes still further. He applies Newman's famous description of the Athanasian Creed to the definition of Papal Infallibility which is to him as "the war-song of faith, with which we warn first ourselves, then each other, and then all those who are within its hearing, and the hearing of the Truth, who our God is, and how we must worship Him, and how vast the responsibility will be if we know what to believe, and yet believe not."

He writes :

I do not accept it, because I cannot help it; but I exult in it as a glorious endowment bestowed upon His Church, by Him who said those words to Peter, and in so saying created the Rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. So it appeared to St. Augustine when he said, not only "securus judicat orbis terrarum," but,

"Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,
Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit videte,
Ipsa est Petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ."

If after four centuries he so appealed to it, how much more may we after eighteen? Therefore to my mind the majestic march of the Royal See of Peter through secular revolutions, changes of peoples, languages, and races, a new Europe, a new America, is the most wonderful, the most enthralling, the most convincing fact of history. Even when I was a Protestant it exercised this power over me.

He has not the smallest fear of any of the consequences of this definition, for "to the men of my own time, whom I have known, the most learned, the most intellectual, the most earnest of the converts, this doctrine never was a stumbling-block" (pp. 4-9, vol.ii.). A man who had been a clergyman up to middle life spoke these wonderful words to the Catholic world three months before the publication of the first dogmatical constitution on the Church of Christ. What made it the more remarkable was that at the same time an Englishman, born in the Faith, was manufacturing calumnies against the Pope, the Bishops, and the Council, and circulating them through the world from the capital of Christendom, whilst in Germany the new prophets took open part against the Holy See, and spread distressing doubt and discussion amongst their neighbours.

In our days the question of education, whether inside or outside of Parliament, is part of the order of the day, and is agitated with a warmth not dreamt of in former times.

Although the State has an immense interest in the cultivation of its citizens, it is not its subjects' general schoolmaster. Rather it appears to be an institution called into existence by God for the protection of right and the maintenance of outward prosperity, which seems to answer to a natural need deposited in man's nature, who is qualified as a political animal by Aristotle. God has given to the Church the task of educating peoples. Thus, if the question of education is to be solved in a satisfactory way, she has a foremost interest in it, in connection with the family. But the Church is bound to attach a far greater importance to the work of educating candidates for the priesthood in a manner calculated to further and promote religion. Allies' essay on the "Action of the Church of England in the work of educating her ministry, from 1559 till 1850," offers an argument *a contrario* for Catholic seminaries. After describing, on the testimony of Protestant authors, the most miserable state of things brought about by the so-called Reformation, he shows the nature of the thing substituted for the old sciences of theology and philosophy which had been carefully expounded and taught. To Oxford were apportioned the old classical languages with a certain amount of Aristotle; to Cambridge, on the other hand, natural science and the study of law, for the power of thinking schooled in mathematics offered an excellent instrument for disentangling the intricate mass of English legislation. The influence upon the theological training of the Anglican clergy of such a state of things was quite ruinous.

Until quite lately (says Allies), this was all the training to be had at Oxford and Cambridge. The faculty of theology which nominally exists, is, and has been for three hundred years, as we have shown, a nonentity (p. 18). At this moment the great mass of its clergy have no other qualification for their sacred office than the course of about three years which they pass at these universities, and a few lectures subsequently, so trifling in number, and affecting the pupil's tone of mind and character so little, as hardly to enter into computation. What the episcopal seminaries are in Catholic countries, that Oxford and Cambridge are in Anglicanism. They are emphatically the *forma cleri Anglicani* (p. 77).

The author gives a masterly answer to these two important questions, the one as to the nature of this which ought to be a principle of life, and the other as to the results which it has actually brought to light by the proof of facts in the course of centuries. His pictures of Oxford and Cambridge rise up vividly before the reader's eye. Here dwells the youth of the richest country in the world. Here are represented princely houses, the first mercantile firms in whose palaces the transmarine commerce

worth millions is stored up, and "myriads of smiling rectories." As the Duke of Wellington once remarked, it was here that the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo were fought and won. The blossoms of the imperial Anglo-Saxon race here shoot forth into that independence, self-confidence, and originality of mind which are to be the support of England's world-wide power. England's youth are to catch their enthusiasm from the works of the great poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome.

A few years pass, and the majority of those who are now, if most industrious, studying Aristotle, Thucydides, and Tacitus, with an occasional boat-match, or cricket-match, a grave after-dinner party, or a more lively supper, who are urged to the utmost by the desire of renown, will have to preach to corrupted towns and semi-heathen villages the cross of Him who was the outcast of the people.

It is indeed question of a calling to an occupation in direct contradiction with all antecedents. According to Allies, the very notion of "calling" is utterly incomprehensible to the Anglican student of theology.

Lectures are given, not consciences directed. No doubt open immorality is discountenanced; non-attendance at chapel is punished. But the inward being of the pupil remains during all these three years a complete mystery to the tutor. . . . As for an effort to ascertain that there is any real bent to the ecclesiastical state, any real endeavour to lead a pure and holy life, to avoid sins of thought, to mortify worldliness, it is never made. It would be out of character to make it: an ungentlemanly inroad on privacy (pp. 80, 81).

Mr. Allies by no means wishes to assert that the candidate for Anglican theology never gives a thought to his future "profession." On the contrary—

As the young military man looks forward to a commission, and the lawyer to being called to the Bar, so the future ecclesiastic contemplates taking orders. Thus he weighs the matter, and sometimes already has an eye to the future partner of his possible parsonage. But a man may be qualified to become a good lawyer, a good officer, a good merchant, and the rest, and moreover a good Christian in all these, who, becoming with such dispositions a clergyman, would not only be a very bad minister, but probably a very bad Christian (p. 81).

The tone of mind and the character which are cultivated at the English universities are directly opposed to the demands which in this respect the Church must necessarily make upon her servants. Far from being in the least spiritual, they are purely worldly. For—

What is left for Christ? What are the forces here at work? Among those who do not study, pride of wealth and birth, fashion

and custom, expensive habits fostered by a system of almost unlimited credit: among those who do study, emulation, the more intense, since as Greece looked upon her Olympian games and rewarded the winners, so England looks on those who win at her universities, and welcomes them to the more real trials of life. . . . Is not a certain love of ease and refinement, a taste for well-furnished rooms and comfortable sofas, a keen voluptuous enjoyment of literature, and most markedly an indisposition to suffering, and a calculation of virtue by worldly success, generated in the higher class of minds by such an education? Should we expect such to be ready to inhale fevers over sick beds, or teach the first articles of the creed to the children of ignorance? (pp. 82, 83).

There is no thought whatever of self-examination. The "know thyself" of the ancient philosophers recedes into the background, and a Pythagorean would marvel at the order of the day in the Anglican universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

He [the candidate for the Anglican ministry] has been brought up to think that over the internal world of his thoughts no one ought to have the slightest control. . . . He was never brought to confession even before his first communion: he was never told there was any such duty. And to whom should he confess? Where is the place for it, or the time, or the person? He does not hear that his college tutors, if they are priests, are in the habit of receiving confessions, or, indeed, have been instructed how to do so.

The most which may be urged is a quarterly reception of the Lord's Supper. The student obeys because he cannot help himself, for "he feels so perfectly well that he cannot feign indisposition." In the meantime the ordination day draws near. "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?" asks the Bishop of the *ordinandus*, and this is the only guarantee which the Anglican Church possesses that the candidate has examined his conscience and ascertained his vocation. Every reasonable man will certainly agree with Mr. Allies that such a clergyman as this has no preparation for the *cura animarum*.

His own heart, from his childhood up, has been left a wilderness, in which first self-will and then the passions ranged at pleasure: no fatherly voice has warned him of the beginnings of sin; no skilful physician probed the depth of corruption, arrested the disease, and applied the remedy. How can he do for others what has never been done for himself? (pp. 85, 86).

To this picture Mr. Allies opposes the usual order of the day at Catholic seminaries, the chief duty of which is to form the candidate for priesthood after the model of the eternal High Priest, whose servant and representative he is called to be, and to produce all those virtues which may adorn his career

as a priest, and—as Cardinal Wiseman joyfully exclaimed on visiting the Roman University of St. Gregory, where he himself had studied—which gild the evening of his life.

Besides the training of heart and character, the scientific learning which the future Anglican clergyman receives is open to grave criticism. In reading this passage we thought involuntarily of that *cultur* examination so cleverly invented by modern legislators, but which is pervasive of episcopal firmness, sound judgment, and the faith of students of theology. The thought expressed in the Prussian law of the 11th May, 1873, concerning the training and preparation of clergymen, is given much fuller play by the Anglican student, who consecrates three whole years to the almost exclusive study of classical literature with a taste of Aristotle.

As for divinity, every student knows, indeed, that something is so imperatively required, that the want of it will not be compensated by any degree of knowledge in other things. This something is, the being acquainted with the four Gospels and the Acts, in Greek, a general knowledge of sacred history, the subjects of the books of the Old and New Testament, the evidences of Christianity, and the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles, to which the student in honours may add one or more of the Epistles and ecclesiastical history.

But what becomes of dogmatic theology? Unhappily it does not exist at all, unless the knowledge of the Thirty-nine Articles may be viewed in this light.

These Articles, save the first six, being negative rather than positive, and consisting in certain one-sided protests against supposed errors of the Church of Rome, the natural view for a student to take, to whom they are presented as the code of faith and the text-book for comment, will be, that the main function and high prerogative of a Christian in this world is to keep himself clean from the corruptions of Popery.

All other teaching is swallowed up in this notion. The utter impossibility of producing a connected system of theology is to be explained by the fact that "Prayer-Book, Homilies, and Articles are fragments of three contradictory systems, which refuse to coalesce" (pp. 93, 94).

Through the want of an infallible rule of faith, the lack of dogmatic system is not apparent to the Anglican. Thus the Church's dogma appears to him a human invention, and he opposes it to the Word of God, not perceiving that the real opposition lies between the mind of the individual as to what is God's word, and the mind of the Church, and that whilst individuals are subject to all manner of errors, the latter is protected from this, not only by every human safeguard but by an express divine promise. This being the state of things, it

is no wonder that out of one and the same school men of the most contrary tendencies arise, Arnoldites, Puseyites, and Evangelicals, who naturally sow their views afresh in the lay world, and only help on and confirm existing confusion. The Reform inaugurated in the year 1851 is quite as unable to stem the evil. Since October, 1851, the Greek Bible text, St. Justin's first Apology, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Church Liturgy, have been proposed for examination both at Oxford and at Cambridge. "What can be more vague and uncertain than this?" (p. 97.)

But the shortcomings of the Anglican training are far greater as regards moral theology, which is utterly neglected. "That the very distinction between dogma and moral" is unknown, that few Anglican ministers, or even bishops, are aware what it means, or that it exists, is a certain fact. For the Anglican Establishment not being a government of souls at all, but a State department for religion, how can it authorize instruction in a science which from beginning to end it considers to be an invasion of the rights of the individual conscience? Or supposing, in short, that a need of knowing, however imperfectly, that which Catholic science calls moral theology, forces itself imperiously on the minister of the "Word" in question, what remains for him, if he will not entirely disregard the religious needs of his parish, but the study of Catholic moralists. Any one who is acquainted with the religious parties in the Anglican Church knows that in the department of Catholic devotional books, and more especially as far as the works of old and modern Catholic moralists are concerned, the Ritualistic clergymen claim them as their own property. Still, such a rule is soon seen to be untenable, not to say dishonest, for the so-called confessor, having got all his moral theology from the representatives of that faith whose confession his religion formerly suppressed with fire and sword, and deigns to tolerate in our times, proceeds to prohibit these same authors, ascetic and moral, to his "penitents," as well as intercourse with a Catholic, and that with an anxiety bordering on simplicity. This is called Anglican consistency. What the teachers have fed upon would be poison to those whom they are teaching (p. 99).

In a word, the English universities no longer serve the Church or Revelation, but foster a purely naturalistic tone of mind, and cannot, consequently, bestow that learning and education which is in accordance with a sacred calling.

The necessary secularization of a married clergy carried with it the want of spiritual life, and bore the full tide of the world into the sanctuary. It is not corruption in practice, nor the fertile springing up of abuses which we note, but the radical perversion of the idea, the

State taking the place of the Church, and so the dissolution of spiritual authority, and the melting of truth into opinion (p. 109).

The third essay in this volume, on "Christian and Anti-Christian Education," is written with the same depth and comprehensiveness. According to Allies' able exposition, this is just where the dogmatical contrasts between Catholicism and Protestantism are more especially apparent. As Catholicism is the guardian of the principle of authority, so Protestantism favours individual views.

Protestantism, by its revolt against God and the Church, has fallen into a state of absolute impotence to educate. It does not speak with any one consistent or determinate voice as to the relation between God and man. It is not agreed upon what He has revealed, and can but interpret a hundred different ways the volume which it not only asserts to contain the revelation, but to contain it so written on the surface that none can fail to understand it. What can it do for man? A divine authority distinctly setting forth a revealed truth is needed to educate spirits. Protestantism abdicates the spiritual government of man, and leaves him to his private judgment; whereas the very office of education is to mould and determine that judgment.

Here Allies pertinently alludes to a masterly illustration of this point—one of the greatest importance in these days—in Cardinal Newman's "Loss and Gain," where the vicar, Mr. Reding, is made to say:

The heart is a secret with its Maker: no one on earth can hope to get at it, or to touch it. I have a cure of souls. What do I really know of my parishioners? Nothing; their hearts are sealed books to me. And this dear boy, he comes close to me, he throws his arms round me, but his soul is as much out of my sight as if he were at the antipodes. I am not accusing him of reserve, dear fellow; his very love and reverence for me keep him in a sort of charmed solitude. I cannot expect to get at the bottom of him:

"Each in his hidden sphere of bliss or woe
Our hermit spirits dwell."*

As a latest consequence of the application of Protestant teaching to the question of education, the author signalizes the emancipation of the natural sciences from religion and theology, as well as the one-sided stress which is laid on science without regard to what should be its end.

It is the last invention of Protestantism to resign this ground altogether. Dogmatic truth it declares to be doubtful, and moral agency beyond its control. It professes acquaintance with all sorts of gases, but declines managing the conscience. It treats of every disease which affects the blood, except concupiscence. Its professors are to

* "Loss and Gain," p. 1.

write history, without the bias of morality or religion. It promises to impart every science, without consideration of their final ends (p. 153).

The treatment of the school question in our German Fatherland during the last ten years has shown us unmistakably the truth of these words penned in June, 1851. A departure on the part of Catholics from the measures which it has necessitated would practically amount to a denial of the faith.

The fourth essay gives a criticism of a book published by the then Archdeacon of York, who was afterwards converted, Mr. Robert Isaac Wilberforce. Its title is the "History of Erastianism." We have already mentioned the two last treatises.

On numerous occasions we have had the honour and pleasure of being present at the meetings of the Academia of the Catholic Religion, founded by Cardinal Wiseman, and held at the Archbishop's House at Westminster. We were there last on Tuesday, the 25th of June, 1878. When the audience had taken their places in the spacious room, adorned solely with the busts painted in oil of the Vicars Apostolic of London during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that of the first Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Wiseman, the lecturer approached the green table. He was a man of small stature, and thickly-set figure, with an open and pleasant face, lofty forehead, and eyes full of thought and power. It was Mr. Allies. He read a paper on "Church and State in principle as intended by Christ," which thoroughly went into the question. May God reserve many years in the service of religion and science to a man who is so necessary to his generation!

ART. II.—MR. SHADWORTH HODGSON ON FREE WILL.

Dr. Ward on Free Will. By SHADWORTH HODGSON. *Mind*,
April, 1880. Williams and Norgate.

IT has resulted from various circumstances, that our proposed argument for God's Existence has been gradually developed in successive Papers published from time to time, instead of being exhibited once for all in one or two volumes, as the case might be. This course involves, no doubt, certain serious drawbacks; but it is also attended with certain conspicuous advantages. Among the latter is to be reckoned, that we are able to profit by incidental criticisms, and correct our view on this or that minor particular. Another advantage is that, if we may so express ourselves, we can feel our readers' pulse as we

proceed; that we can discover what parts of our philosophical structure we may assume as sufficiently established, and what are those other parts on which further discussion is needed. A prominent instance of the latter sort has already occurred. We set forth in an early paper what seemed (and seems) to us conclusive proof, that certain propositions are cognizable as "necessary." Our reasoning, however, on this head was assailed in various different quarters, and it was requisite to write several successive articles in its defence. Something similar is now happening on the doctrine of Free Will; a doctrine which, in our humble judgment, is hardly less important as a philosophical foundation of Theism, than is the very doctrine of Necessary Truth. In April and July, 1874, we exhibited what we consider an absolute disproof of Determinism. However, we have had to supplement those articles—(see our Numbers for April, 1879, October, 1879, July, 1880*)—in reply to successive objectors; and the imperative task of rejoinder has not even yet terminated. In addition to our original opponent, Dr. Bain, a new champion has taken the field, Mr. Shadworth Hodgson.

We said, indeed, in July, and we still think, that as regards the strict question of Free Will, there is no objection raised in this Paper which we had not answered by anticipation in earlier articles. But we infer from private communications which we have received that, even as regards some persons who warmly sympathize with our conclusions, we have not altogether succeeded in placing our argument before their mind with sufficient clearness. Moreover, much notice has recently been taken of our labours on this head by contemporary writers; and we have, therefore, just now a far better opportunity than might otherwise occur for obtaining attention to what we urge. Now there is no other way, perhaps, by which we could so successfully avail ourselves of this opportunity, as by replying to the objections of a new opponent; and we will devote, therefore, our present article to a rejoinder on Mr. Shadworth Hodgson. We are tempted, indeed, to say, "*Italiam sequimur fugientem*:" it seems as though we should never be permitted to arrive at the final stage of our reasoning—the direct argument for God's Existence. But, for the reasons we have given, we hope the course we propose will be generally admitted by our friends to be less unsatisfactory than the other alternative.

Two preliminary remarks. (1) Mr. Hodgson has a philosophical system of his own, to which, very naturally, he refers

* The paper, to which we refer as of this date, appeared in the *Mind* of last April, and was appended to our number of July.

throughout. We shall not attempt any appreciation of this system as a whole ; but only so far as it impinges on the doctrine of Free Will, or on our reasoning in behalf of that doctrine. (2) Then we shall have no scruple in inserting frequent and sometimes lengthy repetitions of what we have already said—often, indeed, in the very same words as before. We cannot expect our reader to have ready at hand all that we have previously written on this subject ; and we must, therefore, place directly before him whatever we desire him to bear in mind.

Mr. Hodgson is a consistent and very decided advocate of Determinism ; though (in our view, most strangely) he considers himself also to maintain Freedom of the Will. On this latter head we shall say a few words before we conclude ; but the former is, of course, our chief theme. Now, what is the doctrine of Determinism ? Briefly this—that every man at every moment infallibly and inevitably, by the very constitution of his nature, elicits that precise act of will, to which his entire circumstances (external and internal) of the moment dispose him. Mr. Hodgson, then, we say, is a Determinist. That “ Freedom ” which he admits, is merely “ the action and reaction of motives with each other within the mind, not fettered by external restraint, but free to exert each its own kind and degree of energy ” (p. 229). All Determinists, we need hardly say, admit that, so understood, Free Will exists. In a later passage (p. 248) he states with great candour the Libertarian’s well-known objection : “ Since we did not make our own nature,” argues the Libertarian, “ then, if our acts of choice are determined by our nature (as they are in the last resort on the Determinist’s theory), we should not be morally responsible for our acts of choice, unless we suppose that we have a power of choosing *independent* of our nature.” Mr. Hodgson expresses himself “ not insensible to the great apparent cogency ” of this argument, and accordingly attempts a reply ; but in his reply he entirely identifies himself with the Determinist’s position. Nor is it only with Determinism in general that he identifies himself, but also in particular with what may be called “ Hedonistic ” Determinism ; we mean with the doctrine, that man’s will is always infallibly and inevitably determined by *the balance of pleasure*. Thus he says by most manifest implication, in p. 238, that at any given moment the stronger pleasure will, with infallible certainty, carry the day against the weaker ; though in *judging* the comparative strength of “ disparate pleasures,” “ often the only way open to us is to see which of the two is actually obeyed at the moment of choice.” But we need not proceed with further citations ; as no one who reads Mr. Hodgson’s

paper can doubt—nor would he himself dream of denying—that he is a Determinist pure and simple.

For our own part, in treating this most vital theme—before entering on the direct question of Free Will—we have always begun with maintaining a purely negative doctrine, which we have called Indeterminism. This, we say, is a purely negative doctrine; being neither more nor less than the doctrine, that Determinism is untrue. And so much having first been securely established, we have afterwards proceeded by help of further considerations to demonstrate the full doctrine of Free Will. Mr. Hodgson (p. 230) considers that “nothing can be clearer or more convenient” than this arrangement. At the same time, as he most truly proceeds to say, in one sense our doctrine of Indeterminism is positive and “aggressive” enough. We have brought, he says, “a long array of cases”—he is kind enough to add “well-chosen cases”—“to prove no negative point, but a positive fact—viz., that the course of the will’s action is often in opposition to the man’s strongest present impulse.” We cannot wish the purpose of our argument to be more clearly stated.

Now, in arguing against Determinism, we have commonly—as we think most controversialists on either side have done—bestowed our chief attention on that particular class of cases, in which two, and two only, alternatives are at the moment open; so that the agent has no resource but to choose between these two alternatives. Whatever doctrine is established in regard to these cases may most easily be extended to those other occasions, on which the agent has *several* different courses of action at his disposal. Let us suppose, then, that at this moment I am obliged to make a choice between two mutually inconsistent alternatives, both of which I more or less desire. Mr. Hodgson alleges that, under such circumstances, the “stronger” of the two antagonistic desires infallibly and inevitably carries the day. This statement, unless it be simply tautological and therefore unmeaning, is one which (in virtue of our theory) we entirely repudiate. But before we come into conflict thereon with Mr. Hodgson, we must begin by attaching to it some precise signification. What, then, is meant by a “stronger” or “weaker” desire? If by the “stronger” desire be merely meant “that desire which in action prevails over its rival,”—then the statement is (as we just now implied) purely tautological: it is purely tautological to say, that that desire which prevails over its one rival infallibly carries the day. On the other hand, if we use Mr. Hodgson’s terminology—if we say that the “stronger desire” means precisely “the desire of that alternative which at the moment

is apprehended as the more pleasurable"—then we fall into a serious difficulty. There are many Determinists who are very far from holding in any obvious or intelligible sense, that the desire of that pleasure which is apprehended as greater, invariably prevails over the desire of that pleasure which is apprehended as less. As regards Dr. Bain himself, *e.g.*—no obscure or subordinate champion of Determinism—we pointed out this fact in April, 1874, p. 331; see also the note there appended.* With the hope, then, of avoiding such equivocations, many Libertarians repudiate altogether the phrase "stronger," "weaker," desire. For ourselves, however, we have always thought that the phrase may be used in a very serviceable sense; and that, if used in that sense, it throws great light on the psychological questions connected with Free Will. In order to explain this sense, we will first set forth what is a very critical and fundamental fact in relation to our whole argument.

When two different desires come into collision, it happens very far more commonly than not, that there results at once a certain spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse of the will in one direction or the other. For example. A, an extremely keen sportsman, is called very early on the first of September. Two different desires come into antagonism: on the one hand, a desire to sleep off again; on the other hand, a desire to be among the partridges. Under the circumstances, his spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse is, we may expect, unmistakably, and indeed most strongly, towards the latter alternative. On the other hand, B, who is no sportsman, has also ordered himself to be called on the same morning, for a very different reason. He will be busy in the middle of the day, and he would rise betimes to visit a sick dependant. His spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse, on being called, may very probably be towards sleeping off again. We do not, of course, deny that he has full power to resist such impulse; on the contrary, that is the very conclusion which in due course we shall maintain: but we say that his spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse, at the moment he is called, may very probably be towards renewed slumber. In defining, then, the terms "stronger" and "weaker" desire, we take as our foundation the fact of this spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse. We say that A's desire of being early among

* Our point in April, 1874, was that, by help of certain very forced and recondite explanations, Dr. Bain's theory might be brought into accordance with that of "Hedonistic" Determinism. We are now drawing attention to the correlative fact, that Dr. Bain's theory *cannot* be brought into accordance with the doctrine of Hedonistic Determinism, *except* by means of certain very forced and recondite explanations.

the partridges was "stronger" than his desire of renewed sleep ; whereas B's desire of renewed sleep was at the moment "stronger" than his desire of rising to visit his sick dependant. Or (to put the thing generally) my "stronger" desire or motive* is that which at the moment prevails over the other, in generating my spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse. That which at any given moment I "most desire," is that to which at the moment my spontaneous impulse prompts me.

One further explanation is of great importance towards a clear comprehension of several facts. My "strongest desire" at any moment is very far from being synonymous with my "strongest emotional craving" at that moment. We should hold a most shallow view, if we supposed that the will's spontaneous impulse is determined as a matter of course by the mere balance of emotional craving and excitement. Habits of the will, *e.g.*, are also important factors in the result. Suppose I have acquired a firm habit of temperance, and an unwholesome dish is placed before me. My *sensitive appetency* may prompt me to indulgence: but my spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse, under the influence of habit, prompts me to forbearance ; and I should be doing violence to the predominant impulse of my nature, if I succumbed to the sollicitation. Or consider the case of paternal affection. A father, who severely pinches himself for his son's temporal benefit, may in many instants of the day feel more vivid emotional pain from his own privations, than he feels of emotional delight at the thought of his son's well-being. Yet the spontaneous unforced impulse of his *will* is no less unrelentingly directed at that moment, than at others, to the continuance of his benefaction. Here again possibly, as in the former instance, is seen merely the result of *habit*; but we should ourselves be disposed to explain the phenomenon much more prominently, by this or that man's natural temperament and mental constitution. Certainly habit is not the *only* reason why the spontaneous impulse of a man's will diverges at times from his pre-

* For convenience' sake, we will use the word " motive " as expressing inclusively any *assemblage* of motives, which at the moment may be influencing the mind in one or other direction.

In our earlier articles we distinguished between two different ideas, which are commonly expressed by this word " motive." We still regard this distinction as of much importance, in the *exposition* of what we account sound doctrine. But when we wrote our paper of last July we had come to think that, in arguing with an opponent, we may conveniently waive this distinction. Here, therefore, we use the word " motive " to express any thought, which in any way prompts the will to act in any given direction. In pp. 233-4 Mr. Hodgson criticises our original use of the word " motive." We shall argue, before we conclude, that his criticism is entirely baseless ; but, in this earlier portion of our article, we no longer employ the terminology to which he objects.

ponderance of emotion. Consider what Dr. Bain calls the influence of "fixed ideas," "infatuation," "irresistible impulse." "There are sights that give us almost unmitigated pain, while yet we are unable to keep away from them."* In such cases the abnormal impulse of the will conquers the emotional repugnance. Enough, however, of such matters for the present occasion. We certainly think that this general question—an investigation, namely, of those psychological laws which determine the will's spontaneous impulse—is of extreme scientific importance, and that it has been very unduly neglected by psychologists. But at last it has of course no direct relevance to the Free Will controversy.

We have now said enough on the first stage of our argument. We have made clear, we think, what we mean, by "the will's spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse." We next proceed to point out another fact, which is as heartily admitted by Mr. Hodgson as by ourselves. Every man's spontaneous impulse of the moment is the infallible and inevitable outcome of his entire circumstances, external and internal, as they exist at the moment. This spontaneous impulse, according to Mr. Hodgson, results from the "inner necessity of his nature" (p. 228); from "the action and reaction of motives on each other within the mind" (p. 229); from "internal circumstances reacting on external" (p. 232). Mr. Hodgson, in fact, will say just what we say—viz., that my spontaneous impulse of this moment faithfully and infallibly indicates what it is to which my entire circumstances (internal and external) of this moment are disposing me. And we are thus at last brought to what is the critical issue between our able opponent and ourselves. Mr. Hodgson, as a Determinist, holds that all men at every instant elicit that precise act of will to which their entire circumstances (external and internal) of that instant dispose them; or, in other words, that they elicit that precise act of will to which their spontaneous impulse prompts them. "What a man is," he says, epigrammatically (p. 233), "*manifests itself* in what he does." If, therefore, we are able to show that on various occasions men are found successfully to *resist* their will's spontaneous impulse,—we thereby show that on various occasions men do *not* elicit that act of will to which their entire circumstances of the moment dispose them. And if we establish that conclusion, *ipso facto* we overthrow Determinism. Here, then, is the main battle to be fought out between Mr. Hodgson and

* "Emotions and the Will," third edition, p. 390. We are disposed to agree with Dr. Bain on every point, as to the genesis of the will's spontaneous impulse. Our difference from him is the fundamental one, that we maintain confidently men's power of *successfully resisting* that impulse.

ourselves : Do men, or do they not, ever successfully resist their spontaneous unforced impulse? Our opponent answers this question in the negative, while we confidently answer it in the affirmative.

Or let us express the same issue in a somewhat different shape. By the term "effort" we understand "resistance to desire." Mr. Hodgson, of course, agrees with us, that "effort" is a sufficiently common phenomenon in human life. The difference between him and ourselves is this. On his view no kind of effort is possible, except that which crushes a "weaker" desire under influence of a "stronger:" as, *e.g.*, the sportsman, when called on the first of September, crushes his desire of lying in bed by his stronger desire of being early among the partridges. This kind of effort we have ourselves always called "congenial." By "congenial effort" we mean then "resistance to some (at the moment) weaker desire or weaker motive, in order to the gratification of some (at the moment) stronger desire or stronger motive." But we earnestly maintain against Determinists that a kind of effort is possible, and, indeed, frequent enough, which is fundamentally different from what we have just described; a kind of effort whereby I successfully resist what at the moment is my *strongest* desire and my *strongest* motive. This kind of effort we have always called "anti-impulsive effort;" and Mr. Hodgson holds, as heartily as we do, that if the human will be really capable of anti-impulsive effort, his doctrine of Determinism is fundamentally false. It bodes favourably for the fruitful result of our discussion, that our opponent is so entirely agreed with us as to what is the point at issue.

Further, the appeal between Mr. Hodgson and ourselves is to experienced psychological facts; and, from the very nature of the case, can be to nothing else. We have never denied, indeed, that there are various instances in which it is not easy (perhaps not possible) to distinguish with certainty between "congenial" and "anti-impulsive" effort. But we have further maintained that there are also instances—and those, indeed, very numerous—in which the contrast between the two classes of effort is vividly and clamorously exhibited; so vividly and clamorously, that no competent judge can shut his eyes to it, unless he be blinded by some adverse philosophical theory. What we have next, therefore, to do, is to reproduce some of the instances we have alleged in earlier numbers for our conclusion; and then to examine Mr. Hodgson's adverse method of explaining those instances.

I. A military officer, possessing real piety, and steadfastly purposing to grow therein, receives at the hand of a brother

officer some stinging and (as the world would say) intolerable insult. His nature flames forth, and urgently solicits him to inflict some retaliation, which shall at least deliver him from the charge of cowardice. Nevertheless, it is his firm resolve to conduct himself Christianly; and his *resolve* contends vigorously and successfully against his predominating *desire*. Mr. Hodgson, who quotes our passage verbatim (p. 239), does not attempt to deny that such a case as we have supposed may well exist in real life. Yet surely no one can look such a fact fairly in the face and doubt that the agent of whom we speak is *disposed* by his aggregate of circumstances (external and internal) to *retaliate*; that his spontaneous unforced impulse, his strongest desire, is in that direction. But if so, it is a plain matter of fact that the act of will which he does elicit is something entirely different from, or rather directly contradictory to, his spontaneous impulse. His will moves in a direction *opposed* to that, towards which his entire circumstances of the moment predominantly and vehemently dispose him.

Now, take a fundamentally different class of case. Consider some gallant soldier in the heat of action. He puts forth intense effort, braves appalling perils, confronts the risk of an agonizing death. He is so carried away by military ardour, by desire of victory, by zeal for his country's cause, by a certain indwelling savage aggressiveness, that under the influence of these and similar motives he performs prodigies of valour. In seeking to gratify these overwhelming and sovereign desires, he tramples under foot an indefinite number of those weaker wishes, which have just now no such hold on his will. He faces the most fearful dangers without one pause for deliberation and reflection, because his overmastering crave of the moment intensely impels him so to act. The effort in this case may be no less intense than in the other; but, as is manifest, it is of an essentially different kind. And the difference of kind consists precisely in this, that the last-named soldier is putting forth effort *in accordance* with his strongest desire, whereas the other was putting it forth *in opposition* to such desire. We allege this fundamental difference of character between the two classes of effort, as a fact obvious to any one who shall choose to examine carefully the two cases.

We have already pointed out that, in a controversy of this kind, no appeal is possible except to observed facts; and if therefore an individual inquirer choose to ignore those facts, against him personally it is difficult to see what further step can be taken. For instance. Psychologists point out the elementary truth, that such a mental act as the desire of wealth differs fundamentally in kind from such a mental act as the recognition of a

mathematical axiom; and they then proceed to investigate the laws which regulate these two different classes of psychical action. But suppose me to exclaim "I see no difference of kind whatever between the two acts": what resource does a philosophical teacher possess? I have pretty well taken the wind out of his sails. He will do all he can, of course, to fix my attention on the very salient characteristics which so clamorously distinguish the two acts from each other; but if I still tell him that I really don't catch his point, what is he to do? He must leave me alone; though of course he will call on my fellow-students to join him in protesting against the abnormal puzzle-headedness of which they have been witnesses. Now we must really maintain, that the difference in kind between "congenial" and "anti-impulsive" effort respectively—in such cases as we have been setting forth—is every whit as salient and unmistakable a phenomenon, as is the difference in kind between two such mental acts as desiring wealth and recognizing a mathematical axiom. If an individual inquirer fails to see this, what can be done, except to appeal—not, perhaps, from Philip drunk to Philip sober—but from Philip's strange idiosyncrasy to the common sense of mankind? And indeed we might make much controversial capital out of such idiosyncrasy; because we could point out to the world at large, that he who denies our thesis is obliged to close his eyes against one of the most obvious and undeniable phenomena in the whole mental world.

But before proceeding to this "ultima ratio," perhaps we can induce the individual dissentient to accept the arbitration of an umpire. We will not, of course, ask him to take a philosophical Libertarian as umpire; any more than *we* should be content with a philosophical Determinist in that capacity. We will not, then, resort on either side to the arbitration of philosophers. At the same time, as is clear, neither can we satisfactorily appeal to the verdict of rough and uneducated minds, which may be wholly incapable of correct introspection. It may be plain, indeed, to an impartial observer, that the intimate conviction of such minds is on this side or on that; but we cannot expect that they will *depose* accurately to its existence. The fair arbitrator, then, will be some person, on the one hand, of sufficiently cultivated faculties; but, on the other hand, who has not given special attention to philosophical inquiries. In order that we may obtain from such an one his genuine avouchment, we would deal with him in some such way as the following:—

"How do you account," we first ask him, "for those intense deeds of valour, performed by the military hero during the heat of action?" "I have no difficulty whatever in accounting for them," he replies. "In his original nature bravery was a most

conspicuous quality ; he has led a life eminently calculated to strengthen that quality ; the surrounding circumstances of battle afford the very motives best calculated to stimulate it, and to dwarf in his mind for the moment every antagonistic desire." "But then," we reply, "look at that soldier who has received so stinging an insult, and is now so strenuously resisting the impulse which prompts him to retaliation. Is *that* act also explained, by considering on one side his natural or acquired character, and considering on the other side those circumstances in which he is placed?" "Just the contrary," replies our arbitrator. "One sees at once what his nature under his present circumstances would prompt him to do ; for it would prompt him to vigorous retaliation. This is just what, as a Christian, I so admire in him : for, under his existent circumstances, he is resisting the urgent impulse of his nature by vigorous personal action." Such would be the verdict of our impartial arbitrator , for such, we are confident, would be the verdict of all persons possessing common sense and common powers of observation, who are not entrammelled by a philosophical theory. Now, be it observed, we are not appealing to our imaginary arbitrator for the purpose of showing, that in this latter case the soldier was exerting self-originated *personal action*. We hold this proposition indeed to be most certainly true ; but its enforcement belongs to a later stage of our argument. What we are here insisting on is, that at all events the act of will exerted by this Christianly principled soldier was essentially different from—nay, point-blank contradictory to—that which was prompted by his nature and circumstances. But if there be even one such case, the doctrine of Determinism is false.

II. To make our view still clearer, let us set forth another case of intense effort, which we entirely admit to be "congenial." I am at sea in a pleasure boat, when to my dismay I discover plain signs of a rapidly approaching storm. I at once set to work at rowing to reach the shore for the sake of dear life. The effort which I put forth is intense. Vigorously, continuously, energetically, unflinching, I resist every antagonistic desire. Nevertheless our arbitrator will certainly pronounce that all this effort is fully explained by my nature and circumstances. My strongest desire, or spontaneous impulse, or natural tendency—whichever you like to call it—are prompting me in the exact direction which actually I pursue. Contrast this with my state of mind many weeks back, when for Christ's sake I strenuously resisted my desire of revenging an insult. At the earlier period my effort was put forth in order that I might *oppose* the predominant desire, impulse, tendency of my will ; and our arbitrator will ascribe my course to vigorous personal

action, resisting the promptings of my nature and circumstances. But in the present case my efforts are put forth for an end, which my will, according to its spontaneous impulse, intensely desires ; and, as we have said, they are most amply and easily explained, without supposing any other factor than that nature and those circumstances which we have just commemorated.

III. We will conclude this part of our subject by a longer and more consecutive illustration, which we set forth in our reply to Dr. Bain of last July, and which exhibits one or two further points in the argument.

I am a keen sportsman, and one cloudy morning am looking forward with lively hope to my day's hunting. My post, however, comes in early ; and I receive a letter, just as I have donned my red coat and am sitting down to breakfast. This letter announces that I must set off on that very morning to London, if I am to be present at some occasion on which my presence will be vitally important for an end which I account of extreme public moment. Let us consider the different ways in which my conduct may imaginably be affected, and the light thus thrown on the relative strength of my motives.

Perhaps (1) the public end for which my presence is so earnestly needed happens to be one in which I am so personally interested—which so intimately affects my feelings—that my balance of *emotion* is intensely in favour of my going. This motive, then, is indefinitely stronger than its antagonist. I at once order my carriage, as the station is four miles off and time presses ; and I am delighted to start as soon as my coachman comes round. Perhaps (2) the balance of my *emotion* is quite decidedly in favour of the day's hunting ; because the public end—though intellectually I appreciate its extreme importance—is not one with which my character leads me *emotionally* to sympathize. Nevertheless, through a long course of public-spirited action, I have acquired the firm and rooted habit of postponing pleasure to the call of duty. Here, therefore, as in the former case, there is not a moment's vacillation or hesitation. My spontaneous impulse is quite urgently in favour of going. My balance of *emotion*, indeed, is in favour of staying to hunt ; but good habit, by its intrinsic strength, spontaneously prevails over emotion ; and the motive which prompts me to go is indefinitely stronger than that which prompts me to stay. Or (3) when I have read the letter my will may possibly be brought into a state of vacillation and vibration. My emotional impulse is one moment in one direction and the next moment in another. Then, as I possess no firm *habit* of public spirit, I take a long time in making up my mind : the strength of my motives is very evenly balanced,

whichever may finally prevail. Lastly (4), I have perhaps very little public spirit, and am comparatively fond of hunting; so that I do not even entertain the question, whether I shall offer up my day's sport as a sacrifice to my country's welfare.

Now, all these four alternatives are contemplated by the Determinist, and square entirely with his theory. In each case my conduct is determined by my strongest present motive. There is, however, a fifth case which he does not—and consistently with his theory cannot—admit to be a possible one; but in regard to which we confidently maintain, by appeal to experience, that it is abundantly possible, and by no means unfrequent. It is most possible, we say, that I put forth on the occasion anti-impulsive effort; that I act resolutely and consistently in opposition to my spontaneous impulse,—in opposition to that which at the moment is my strongest desire. Thus. On one side the spontaneous impulse of my will is quite decidedly in favour of staying to hunt; or, in other words, the motive which prompts me to stay is quite decidedly stronger at the moment than that which prompts me to go. On the other hand, my reason recognizes clearly how very important is the public interest at issue, and how plainly duty calls me in the direction of London. I resolutely, therefore, enter my carriage and order it to the station. And now let us consider what takes place while I am on my four miles' transit. During the greater part—perhaps during the whole—of this transit, there proceeds what we have called in our articles “a compound phenomenon;” or, in other words, there co-exist in my mind two mutually distinct phenomena. First phenomenon. My spontaneous impulse is strongly in the opposite direction. I remember that even now it is by no means too late to be present at the meet, and I am most urgently solicited by inclination to order my coachman home again. So urgent indeed is this solicitation—so much stronger is the motive which prompts me to return than that which prompts me to continue my course—that unless I put forth unintermitting and energetic resistance to that motive, I should quite infallibly give the coachman such an order. Here is the first phenomenon to which we call attention—my will's spontaneous impulse towards returning. A second, no less distinctly pronounced and strongly marked, phenomenon is that unintermitting energetic *resistance* to the former motive of which we have been speaking. On one side is that phenomenon which may be called my will's spontaneous, direct, unforced *impulse* and preponderating desire; on the other side that which may be called my firm, sustained, active, antagonistic *resolve*. We allege, as a fact obvious and undeniable on the very surface, that the phenomenon which we have called “spontaneous impulse” is as different in

kind from that other which we have called "anti-impulsive resolve," as the desire of wealth is different in kind from the recognition of a mathematical axiom. Our imaginary arbitrator will at once thus explain the distinction. On one side (he will say) is that impulse which results, according to the laws of my mental constitution, from my nature and external circumstances taken in mutual connection. On the other side (he will say) is that *resistance* to such impulse, which I elicit by vigorous personal action.

The scope of our argument, so far as we have gone, will perhaps be made clearer, if at this point we expressly encounter an objection which has been sometimes urged against us in one or other shape. It may be thus exhibited.

"Doubtless a man's spontaneous impulse is infallibly and inevitably determined by his entire circumstances (external and internal) of the moment. But how can you prove that his *anti-impulsive effort* is not *equally* due to the combination of those circumstances? When the pious Christian receives an insult, what right have you to assume that his Christian forbearance is less inevitably determined by circumstances, than is his spontaneous burst of indignation? And so on with every other illustration you have given."

We have again and again, as we consider, implicitly refuted this objection; but we may probably do service by setting forth such refutation explicitly. Our preceding argument, then, may be thus summed up. We are purporting to disprove the doctrine of Determinism—*i.e.*, the doctrine, that every man at every moment, by the very constitution of his nature, infallibly and inevitably elicits that precise act of will, to which his entire circumstances of the moment (external and internal) dispose him. Now we allege that this doctrine is disproved by taking into combined consideration these two facts:—(1) In a large number of cases, I know, by certain and unmistakable experience, *what* is that act of will to which my entire circumstances of the moment dispose me. (2) In many of such cases, I know, by certain and unmistakable experience, that (as a matter of fact) I elicit some *different* act of will from this. By the very force of terms, that act to which my entire circumstances of the moment dispose me, is in accordance with my spontaneous, direct, unforced impulse. If, then, I act at any moment *otherwise* than according to such impulse—I act in some way *different* from that to which my entire circumstances of the moment dispose me. And if I ever so act, Determinism is thereby disproved. We do not pretend that Determinism is disproved, merely because I act at times in opposition to what would be my more *pleasurable* course; for we entirely admit that my

spontaneous impulse may often enough tend to the less pleasurable course. We do not pretend that Determinism is disproved, merely because I put forth intense effort in opposition to some desire which urgently solicits me; for we entirely admit that my spontaneous impulse often *prompts* such effort. But if it be shown that I can successfully contend against my *spontaneous impulse itself*—then it is most manifestly shown that Determinism is false; because it is shown that I can act in some way *different* from that to which my entire circumstances of the moment dispose me. Determinists, therefore, are obliged to maintain, and do maintain, that no such thing is possible to man as anti-impulsive effort; that I can put forth no effort, except that to which my spontaneous impulse prompts me, and which we have called “congenial.” To this we have replied, that as regards the more strongly accentuated cases, the phenomenal difference of kind between “congenial” and “anti-impulsive” effort is no less manifest, than is the phenomenal difference of kind between the act of desiring wealth and the act of recognizing a mathematical axiom. But this fact, if admitted, is of course conclusive against Determinism.

So much on our preceding course of argument. As for the objection we drew out, we thus reply to it in form:—It is a *contradiction in terms* to say that my entire circumstances of the moment can possibly dispose me to anti-impulsive effort. For consider. We are not here referring to those comparatively few cases of vacillation and vibration, which we have treated at abundant length in earlier articles. In the great majority of instances, however—and it is these to which we here refer—that to which my entire circumstances of the moment (external and internal), by their combined influence, dispose me, is one stable, definite, given course of action: a course of action accordant with one stable, definite, and spontaneous impulse. If you affirm, then, that my circumstances of the moment, by their combined influence, dispose me to anti-impulsive effort, what can be the possible meaning of your statement? If you mean anything, it must be, (1) that my whole assemblage of existent circumstances (external and internal), by their combined influence, dispose me to one stable, definite course; and (2) that at the same moment they do *not*, by their combined influence, dispose me to that course, but to some other. A contradiction in terms.

Before proceeding to the next stage of our argument, we will examine Mr. Hodgson's replies to our reasoning as far as it has gone. And we must say at once, that nothing can be controversially fairer than his course throughout. He takes real pains to understand rightly our various points and encounter

them in their true significance. Of course, however, we are very far from thinking that he succeeds in his enterprise.

I. He alleges, in the first place (p. 230), that the words "self-restraint," "self-command," which we had used to express "anti-impulsive effort," in common parlance express quite as naturally "congenial" effort. We cannot think that this is a true interpretation of those phrases; but, as the question is a purely verbal one, we abstain from such terms in our present article.

II. Mr. Hodgson next refers (p. 231) to one of our incidental and minor illustrations. A young man has been warned by his dentist to brush his teeth carefully every morning; but one day he is in a great hurry to get to his breakfast and go out hunting. He is on the point of disregarding his dentist's advice; but on second thoughts compels himself, by anti-impulsive effort, to perform the important dental operation. According to Mr. Hodgson, all which really passes in such a case is this. By the working of natural laws, some new motive—Mr. Hodgson suggests "the dignity of keeping a good resolution"—enters the youth's mind. By the further working of natural laws he is led to ponder with due earnestness on this motive; and thus he is induced to change his course of action. We reply, that nothing is more possible or more frequent than a psychical fact of the kind Mr. Hodgson describes. As we should express the matter,—under the influence of this new motive, which his existent circumstances dispose him thus earnestly to ponder, the youth's spontaneous impulse gradually changes; and by a "congenial" effort he sets to work brushing his teeth. Nothing, we say, is more intelligible than such a psychical phenomenon; and (as we heartily admit) it proves nothing whatever against Determinism. We only say, that the mental phenomenon on which we relied was not the phenomenon described by Mr. Hodgson, but one fundamentally different. What we urged was, that on certain occasions, *while my spontaneous impulse is unchanged*, my will nevertheless may—whether in the matter of tooth-brushing or any other—successfully resist that impulse, and put forth "anti-impulsive" effort. In one word, we alleged phenomenon A as disproving Determinism; and Mr. Hodgson replies, that phenomenon B does *not* disprove Determinism. Of course we never thought it did. What we said was, that phenomenon A disproves Determinism; and what Mr. Hodgson had to prove, if he could, was, that phenomenon A is psychically impossible. But this task Mr. Hodgson has not even attempted to perform, though it is simply indispensable to his controversial position.

III. Later on (p. 239) Mr. Hodgson criticises an illustration,

which we have set forth in the earlier pages of this article. We refer to the illustration we derived from contrasting the military officer's efforts in the heat of battle with his effort in forgiving a gross insult. It is a manifest fact of observation, we have said, that the former class of efforts are "congenial," the latter "anti-impulsive." Mr. Hodgson replies that, on the contrary, in the latter case, just as in the former, the agent overcomes a "weaker desire" by a "stronger one." The agent, says Mr. Hodgson, "opposes a desire which is in process of becoming a resolve, by a desire which has already become one; opposes a new desire which derives its strength from its vividness, by an old desire which derives its strength from its fixity." We answer this objection precisely in the same way in which we answered the last. But before proceeding to do so, we will make one or two short comments on Mr. Hodgson's treatment of this particular instance.

Firstly, on what ground does he assume that the desire of forgiving an insult is "an old desire"? It may very easily happen, that only on this very day have I adopted the firm resolution of living Christianly; and that, before the day is over, my good purposes are assailed by the endurance of a stinging insult.

Then, secondly, as a critic asks in the *Spectator* of April 10, "how in the world can a desire derive strength from its fixity? We can barely imagine a desire deriving fixity from its strength, but certainly not strength from its fixity. Let a desire be ever so permanent, yet if it be but faint it will be overcome by a stronger desire."

Thirdly, on our reading of human nature, it is extremely doubtful, to say the very least, whether such a case can ever occur as Mr. Hodgson supposes. If I possess those qualities of character which presumably distinguish a military officer, would my *spontaneous impulse*, on receiving a gross and bitter insult, ever be towards forgiving it? Would forgiveness ever be possible to me, except by anti-impulsive effort?

At last, however, we may waive these three points. Let us grant the supposition to be a possible one, that on some given exceptional occasion my spontaneous impulse, when I receive some stinging insult, is towards forgiveness. In that case, no doubt, the fact of forgiveness proves nothing against Determinism; nor did we ever say it did. It is here just as it was before. We allege phenomenon A as disproving Determinism; and Mr. Hodgson answers that phenomenon B—a fundamentally different one—does *not* disprove Determinism.

In truth, Mr. Hodgson throughout, with the fairest intentions, has nevertheless entirely failed to apprehend what it is

which we allege. He understands us, no doubt (and so far rightly), as maintaining, that acts of anti-impulsive effort differ in kind from acts of congenial effort; and he would, indeed, entirely agree with us on this head, if he admitted that acts of the former kind can possibly exist. But we make a further allegation. On many various occasions—such is our contention—it is matter of direct and unmistakable *observation*, that this or that act is an act of anti-impulsive and *not* of congenial effort. He argues, as though we accounted this quality of the act to be a mere matter of *inference*; and he contends that our inference is not conclusively established. But on the contrary (as we trust we have made sufficiently clear in the earlier part of our article), our whole point is, that the fact on which we rest is one of repeated and most unmistakable *experience*.

IV. The last objection of Mr. Hodgson's which we will here consider refers (p. 237) to a doctrine which we have not yet mentioned in our present article. In our first paper on the subject (April, 1874) we inquired, What are the *motives* in any given case which induce a man to resist his spontaneous impulse? "There are two (and two only) classes of motives," we said, "which occur to our mind as adequate to the purpose. First, there is my resolve of doing what is right; and, secondly, my desire of promoting my permanent happiness in the next world, or even in this." We are still disposed to account this sound doctrine, though the question has no essential bearing on the Free Will controversy. No other motive occurs to our mind now, any more than it did in April, 1874, adequate as a reason for anti-impulsive effort, except only the two we named. But Mr. Hodgson has here seriously misunderstood our meaning in more than one particular.

For instance, he asks (p. 237) whether "virtue and self-interest are such thoroughly unpleasant things, that the pursuit of them can in no degree be owing to their attractiveness?" as though we gave an affirmative answer to this question. Again, in p. 238, he says that we speak "as if virtue and self-interest had not a pleasure of their own, often very intense, and in most cases very abiding." But in the very passage which he quotes from us in p. 237, we implied our entire agreement with Mr. Hodgson on this matter. "We do not for a moment deny"—these were our words—"that Determinists include both the pleasurable-ness of virtue and the pleasurable-ness of promoting our permanent interest, among the attractions which influence a man's will." Moreover, we entirely agree with our opponent, that such pleasurable-ness may be on occasion very intense, and is in most cases very abiding; and exercises accordingly important influence on the will's spontaneous impulse. But

we go still further than this in our concessions to the Determinist, if concessions indeed they are to be called. We have implied in our previous remarks that, in proportion as a habit of virtue may have been acquired, *virtuousness* itself is attractive, apart from its pleasurable nature altogether. In truth, where an intense habit of virtue exists, virtuousness by its own strength is most powerfully influential over the will's spontaneous impulse. There is many a good man, who on occasion conspicuously exemplifies this. Let him have a chance to escape the keenest present suffering by some act of gross ingratitude or treachery,—there will be no need of his resisting such solicitation by anti-impulsive effort. His *spontaneous impulse* will be in the direction of virtue; his desire of avoiding basest ingratitude and treachery will be at the moment stronger, than his desire of avoiding anguish. No thinkers, who do not bear this fact carefully in mind, can escape a very inadequate or rather a very false appreciation of human nature and of human character. Nevertheless, it is not a fact which bears directly one way or other on the Free-Will controversy.

We mention this truth, then, merely as a preliminary, before we encounter the objection which Mr. Hodgson has built on that doctrine of ours which we have just named; our doctrine, that virtue and self-interest are the main, or perhaps even the sole, motives of anti-impulsive effort. Another preliminary must also here be mentioned. There are such things, he says (p. 238), as "abiding latent thoughts, ready to spring forward into distinct consciousness in intervals of reflection." We should be very sorry if we were thought to deny this truth or undervalue its significance. Such "latent thoughts"—or, as we should ourselves rather express it, latent mental tendencies or qualities which on occasion spring into quite unexpected actuality—are, we think, very important parts of the mind's furniture; and deserve, at the hands of psychologists, much more notice than they commonly obtain. "I had not the least idea how warm was my affection towards A. B. till he fell into trouble, poor fellow, and I felt how vehement was my wish to assist him." "Little did I suspect how much envy there was in my composition, until circumstances befell me which gave large incitement to that passion," &c. A moment's thought, however, will evince, that facts of *this* kind, again, however interesting and momentous in themselves, have absolutely no relevance on Mr. Hodgson's argument. They are often of great value in elucidating the *genesis* of my spontaneous impulse on this or that occasion; but they throw no particle of light on the question, whether I have or have not the power of successfully *resisting* such spontaneous impulse.

And now, as a third and final preliminary, what do we exactly *mean* by that doctrine of ours, concerning the motives of anti-impulsive effort, to which Mr. Hodgson objects? It is necessary to say a few words on this; because, though to our mind the thing is as plain as a pike-staff, Determinists seem to have much difficulty in apprehending it. Thus Dr. Bain, commenting on the frequent reference made by Libertarians to the "Ego," complains of them as introducing into psychology a certain arbitrary and unintelligible "meation." And Mr. Hodgson again has evidently altogether failed to catch our point. We would thus, therefore, explain ourselves.

If at this moment I pursue some given course of action, my reason for doing so must either be (1) that I *predominantly desire* such course—that I gratify my strongest desire of the moment by pursuing it; or else (2) that I regard such course as a more *reasonable* one, than that which I do predominantly desire. On the former supposition, I am acting in accordance with my spontaneous impulse;* but on the latter supposition I am putting forth anti-impulsive effort. Whenever, therefore, I put forth anti-impulsive effort, my reason or "motive" for doing so must be, that I regard such effort as being at the moment a more reasonable course, than acquiescing in my spontaneous impulse. Now, there are only two classes of consideration, which have occurred to us as possibly effecting, that anti-impulsive effort shall in any given case be regarded by me as more reasonable, than acquiescence in spontaneous impulse. One of these is my thinking that the former course is more *virtuous* than the latter; the other is my thinking that it is more conducive than the latter to my *permanent happiness*. We hold, therefore, that virtue and self-interest are frequently motives of anti-impulsive effort; and we cannot think of any other motive for it except these.

What, then, at last is Mr. Hodgson's *objection* to this doctrine? We will state it in his own words:—

Are virtue and self-interest such thoroughly unpleasant things, that the pursuit of them can in no degree be owing to their attractiveness? Yet, if some tinge of attractiveness is theirs, then (on Dr. Ward's principles) they must be *pro tanto* contributories to the resultant spontaneous impulse of the will, which, nevertheless, as motives of its anti-impulsive action, they resist. Their position in the economy of volition is then a truly critical one: they are divided against themselves; they resist in one character what they contribute to form in another (p. 237).

* A further sub-division is possible, though we need not pursue it. Either (1) that course which I predominantly desire is regarded by me as my most reasonable course; or (2) it is not so regarded.

We have seldom been more surprised than by the circumstance that our opponent attaches any weight whatever to such an objection as this. Let us exhibit a concrete illustration. I see clearly that A. B. is the best person I can appoint to some important place in my gift, and I therefore resolve to nominate him. Yet in forming this resolve I put forth a certain anti-impulsive effort. Some near relatives of his inflicted grievous suffering on some of my dearest friends, nor has he ever dissociated himself from solidarity with those relatives. My spontaneous aversion, therefore, to doing him a service is considerable. This indeed is so much more the case, because I might without any discredit appoint to the post one who has undeviatingly been my kind personal friend. On the other hand, no doubt, there are various attractions which more or less strongly urge me towards nominating him, who is eminently the fittest candidate. The pleasure of doing what I feel to be right is in itself great; and (for obvious reasons) still greater under existing circumstances. Then, as I have acquired strong habits of virtue, the virtuousness itself of so acting has a great special attractiveness of its own, apart altogether from pleasurable. There is a further attraction again acting on my will's spontaneous impulse, when I remember that by acting as I propose I am preparing for myself increased reward in heaven. At the same time all these attractions combined do not suffice to effect, that my *spontaneous impulse* is towards giving him the appointment. On the contrary, my aversion towards doing him, rather than my own kind friend, so signal a good turn constitutes my predominant impulse; and my desire of giving the place to my personal friend is decidedly my strongest desire. Under these circumstances, I *resist* my spontaneous impulse. I do so, partly that I may please God by acting in a more virtuous way; and partly also in order that I may increase my future blessedness. These two motives have already performed one function, in effecting that my spontaneous impulse towards giving my personal friend the preference is far less intense than otherwise it would be; and now they do a *second* good work, in affording me good reason for *resistance* to my spontaneous impulse. What can be more simple and intelligible? We cannot answer Mr. Hodgson's difficulty, because we cannot even remotely guess wherein it consists. He proceeds, indeed, to say, "The line which separates Dr. Ward from the Determinists is in this place narrow indeed, and to me (I confess) invisible." But such words, we must declare, convey no more meaning to our mind than if they were written in some unknown tongue.

There is a terse and pithy sentence of Mr. Hodgson's in page 240, which may be taken as summing up his view on this

particular part of the subject; and which (we think) conspicuously exhibits the necessary narrowness of a Determinist's psychological insight. Whenever we resist predominant impulse in order to comply with the dictates of virtue, "what we *most desire* at the very moment of choice," says Mr. Hodgson, "is to do our painful duty." We maintain that, in so speaking, he mixes into one two fundamentally different classes of moral action; and that he thereby throws a cloud of confusion and misconception over the whole body of relevant psychical phenomena. On many occasions, we heartily admit, it is most certain that what men most desire under such circumstances is to do their painful duty; but on many other occasions (we maintain) the opposite is equally certain. Let us give an illustrative case under each head.

I have a son, for whom I entertain the tenderest affection, and in whose prospects (here and hereafter) I feel the keenest interest. He has exhibited some very serious fault, and one on which it gives me special pain to address him; while, on the other hand, I clearly see that his whole future may depend on my administering a severe rebuke. My spontaneous impulse, then, is quite intensely directed to so acting; though I distinctly bear in mind how exquisite will be my own suffering on the occasion. In Mr. Hodgson's words, what I *most desire* is to do my painful duty.

Now take an opposite case. I am a large landed proprietor; and I rejoice in my thereby assured income, as a means of securely prosecuting my physical or literary or philosophical studies. Otherwise I am profoundly uninterested in my estate; I cannot distinguish wheat from barley; I am quite indifferent to field sports; I have no value whatever for my social position; I have no tendency towards personal relation with my agricultural dependants. Information reaches me that my agent has been acting with gross injustice to various of my tenants, and is endeavouring to stifle their complaint. What is my spontaneous impulse? Probably to invent some salve for my conscience as regards the tenants, and plunge myself afresh in my favourite studies. I have no particular affection for my tenants; any more than I have for any *other* farmers, who may happen to live in my neighbourhood and pursue their (to me utterly unintelligible) avocations. I can easily persuade myself, if I choose, that I may conscientiously ignore the information I have received, and continue, without further inquiry, to repose trust in my agent. On the other hand, if I am really conscientious, I am able by means of due thought to see clearly where my duty lies. Accordingly, I put forth anti-impulsive effort. With sighing and weariness of heart, I bid adieu to my studies for the necessary interval of painful and laborious inquiry. I resolve to exercise herculean

labour; to interview the complaining tenants; to apprehend (1) the meaning and (2) the merits of the accusation they bring; and finally to take such practical steps as I may judge necessary. What can be more unmeaning than to say, that during all this time what *I most desire* is to do my painful duty? And what judgment shall be formed of a theory which mixes up under one head two such fundamentally different kinds of moral action as those we have specified?

On looking Mr. Hodgson's paper through and through, we can find no other replies than those we have now recited, to the reasoning we have set forth in the earlier part of this article. We must consider ourselves therefore to have established the doctrine of Indeterminism; or, in other words, to have established the negative doctrine, that Determinism is untrue. And here the controversy, as a controversy, is practically at an end. There never was, and we may be sure there never will be, a thinker—who admits indeed that the will is from time to time determined by some agency different from phenomenal antecedents—and who nevertheless considers that agency to be other than the will's free choice. For the sake, however, of philosophical completeness, it is important to exhibit the argumentative grounds for our *further* statement. In other words, we are now to reproduce, and vindicate against Mr. Hodgson's criticism, the arguments which we have alleged in previous papers for our conclusion, that when I successfully resist my will's spontaneous impulse, I do so by my own intrinsic strength and personal exertion.* We will first, then, reproduce the chief of our earlier passages on this subject; and we will then consider Mr. Hodgson's comment on those passages. In the two passages we cite, we make certain small verbal changes, indicated by brackets, to a mention of which we shall afterwards recur.

In April, 1879 (p. 315), we thus expressed ourselves; and Mr. Hodgson (p. 243) has quoted part of our words:—

Consider those various periods of time during which I am occupied in vigorously resisting certain solicitations—*e.g.*, to revengefulness—which intensely beset me. It is a matter of direct, unmistakable, clamorous consciousness that, during those periods, it is my own [self], and no external agency, which is putting forth active and sustained anti-impulsive effort. Nor, indeed, is this remark less applicable to *all* cases of anti-impulsive effort; though, of course, where the effort is less vigorous, the consciousness of which we speak is less obtrusive.

* We need hardly say that—when we speak of the will's "intrinsic strength"—we do not imply a word against in many cases the necessity of *divine grace*. But this, of course, is quite another and further question

But more than this may be said. The experience, which I obtain even in one such protracted and vehement struggle, is amply sufficient to give me an intimate and infallible knowledge of one all-important fact. We refer to the fact, that at every moment of the struggle it has depended on my own free choice, with what degree of efficacy I have contended against the temptation.

In October, 1879 (p. 316), we expressed this argument still more pointedly:—

We now proceed, from the negative argument disproving Determinism, to the positive argument establishing Free Will. And this, we maintain, is even more direct and immediate than the former. We solicit for it our readers' careful attention, because we feel that we did not state it last April with sufficient prominence and emphasis. Consider, respectively, those two distinct phenomena—preponderating spontaneous impulse on one side, anti-impulsive effort on the other side—to which we have so earnestly drawn attention. If we examine them successively with due care, we shall see that they differ from each other in character not less than fundamentally. In experiencing one of them, my will is entirely passive; in experiencing the other, it is intensely active. Consider my will's spontaneous impulse—the impulse, *e.g.* [which prompts me to retaliate against some stinging insult].* In experiencing this impulse, my will (we say) has been entirely passive: the impulse has *befallen* me, *come upon* me, *taken hold of* me; such are the phrases I should naturally use. On the other hand, my *resistance* to this impulse has been not merely experienced by [me], but has rather been put forth by my [own] *intrinsic strength*. I am not only conscious, that I elicit the act of resistance; I am no one whit less directly conscious, that I elicit it *by [my own] active exertion*. The consciousness of one single moment suffices to show me unmistakably that I have the power to do this, because I know unmistakably that I am actually doing it.

All this seems to us as entirely conclusive now, as it did when we originally wrote it; and we were not a little curious to see how Mr. Hodgson would meet our reasoning. He replies (p. 243) that such an argument cannot be legitimately adduced, until we shall have excogitated a consistent scientific theory on “the existence and nature of the soul *per se*.” We do not think that Mr. Hodgson could have accounted his own reply as possessing even superficial force, had it not been for some awkward expressions used by us in April, 1879, to which we refer in a note.† Well, let us receive all due blame

* We substitute this illustration for that which we adduced last October, because it is one which we have given in this article.

† The awkward expression to which we mainly refer is, that in two or three sentences of the preceding extracts we spoke of “my *soul*” where our meaning was “myself.” We have now made the requisite change

for our awkward expressions, and let Mr. Hodgson so far be condoned; but this is a personal matter. What is required in the interests of truth is, that the value of Mr. Hodgson's reply be duly considered, in its bearing against those arguments of ours which we just now cited. And we venture to think that that reply is at once overthrown, by appealing to the most elementary and universally admitted facts of psychology. We would give our exposition of these rudimentary facts in some such way as the following:—

When I am conscious of some mental phenomenon, one indivisible act of consciousness informs me, not only that the phenomenon is such or such;—but also that it is I who experience it, and no one else. The “Ego” is as absolutely, immediately, clamorously testified by consciousness, as is the mental phenomenon itself. If the existence of this phenomenon as a phenomenon must be accepted as a first and most certain premiss in psychological science—and Mr. Hodgson will of course admit that such is the case—so no less must the existence of the “Ego” be so accepted. The latter is no one whit less certainly

throughout, and our readers will have seen how entirely unaffected is our meaning.

Connected with this method of expression on our part, is the following paragraph which occurs in our number for April, 1879 (p. 316). Mr. Hodgson has not adverted to it; but we think, on reflection, that it is very obscurely expressed, and might naturally lead to serious misconception of our meaning. These were our words:—

“Many Libertarians, when explaining Free Will, are in the habit of introducing reference to the human personality; to the ‘Ego.’ We do not find this necessary; and if it be not necessary, we think it very undesirable. Those questions which concern the ‘Ego’ are so intricate, and so mixed up with theological dogma, that their treatment requires most anxious care. Nor can we see that the true doctrine of human personality, whatever it may be, has any special relevance to the exposition with which we are here engaged. Without further reference, therefore, to the ‘Ego,’ we now proceed with that exposition.”

In so expressing ourselves, there was one opinion, which we wished to disavow; and one question, of which we wished to steer clear. Some Libertarians seem to think, that the “Ego,” which puts forth anti-impulsive effort, differs in some respect from the “Ego,” which experiences spontaneous impulse. For this opinion, with very great deference to those writers, we can see no sufficient ground; and we disclaimed it in the above-cited paragraph. Then, further, we wished to steer clear of that intricate question, which inquires wherein precisely consists the *personality* of a rational being. But in real truth we imply no judgment whatever on this question, by availing ourselves of that most convenient term, the “Ego;” and we avail ourselves therefore thereof without scruple in our present article. What we mean by the term, will be made abundantly clear as we proceed in the text.

an immediate deliverance of consciousness, than is the former. But Mr. Hodgson's language implies, that I do not really know my own existence, as of one who experiences this or that mental phenomenon, until I have been able to excogitate some "theory" in regard to my "soul, its nature and its powers." He is surely putting the cart before the horse. First in order of time, comes my knowledge of *myself*; and upon that most certain, immediate, unmistakable knowledge is to be founded any process of discussion, which shall issue in results—whether certain or in various degrees probable—concerning the nature and properties of my soul. Let us now apply this principle to the particular case before us.

1. Preliminary illustration. Some one has died, for whom I have the tenderest affection. Such an event has never occurred to me before; and I experience for the first time, as a mental phenomenon, that particular kind of grief. Firstly, it is I, and not you or any of my friends, who experience—who am the subject of—this phenomenon. Secondly, the phenomenon is what may be called "passive." It *befalls* me; it *comes upon* me from without, not through any exertion or agency of my own.

2. Spontaneous impulse. I have received some stinging insult, and spontaneously flame forth into passionate desire of retaliation. Here, again, just the same remark may be made as in the last case. Firstly, the "subject" of this mental phenomenon is the "Ego." It is I—not you, or any of my friends,—who experience the impulse in question. Secondly, the phenomenon is entirely passive. It *befalls* me; it *comes on* me from without, not through any exertion or agency of my own.

3. Anti-impulsive effort. I vigorously and intensely *resist* my last-named impulse, my desire of retaliation. Here is a mental phenomenon, fundamentally different in kind from the preceding. The subject of the phenomenon, indeed, as before, is the "Ego;" it is I, and not any one else, who am conscious of the phenomenon as my own. But then that of which I am conscious is not that some experience *befalls* me, or comes on me without activity or energy on my part, but the very contrary. That of which I am conscious is, that I exert *power*; that I put forth vigorous exertion *from within*. The fundamental difference in kind between these two classes of phenomena—spontaneous impulse on one side, anti-impulsive effort on the other—is (in the more strongly accentuated cases) a fact which cannot possibly be ignored; a fact which forces itself most distinctly and forcibly on my immediate observation. We may here repeat an illustration which we have already employed. It is a matter of most distinct and immediate observation—so

much no one will deny—that the desire of wealth is a mental phenomenon, fundamentally different in kind from the recognition of a mathematical axiom. But surely it is no less manifest—no less a matter of distinct and immediate observation—that such an act as we have described of *spontaneous impulse* differs fundamentally from such an act as we have described of *anti-impulsive effort*. In this latter act the *one most prominent feature* is that which is *entirely absent* from the former. I put forth vigorous and intrinsic exertion of *my own* by *self-originated effort*. I row against the stream of impulse, and force myself to resist successfully my strongest desire.

In our article of April, 1879, we argued at length that the controversy,—whether man do or do not possess such a power as this,—is substantially identical with the precise controversy, whether he do or do not possess Free Will. Here Mr. Hodgson will be entirely at one with us. He will at once admit, that if I possess the power of successfully resisting my strongest desire, I am thereby proved to possess Free Will in the very sense in which he denies its existence. What he so strenuously repudiates, is the notion that I *do* possess the power of successfully resisting my strongest desire.

To the reasoning which we have now set forth, and which (as we have pointed out) we distinctly exhibited in April and October, 1879, we can find but two replies in Mr. Hodgson's paper, over and above those which we have already encountered. Firstly, let us take the following:—

Dr. Ward, then, I think, is in this dilemma: either the free choice or resolve of the soul is caused by the soul, and then he is a Determinist; or else the free choice or resolve of the soul is caused by the bare power in the soul of freely choosing or resolving, and that is tautology and trifling. I argue, therefore, that unless Dr. Ward is a Determinist without knowing it, the only meaning attributable to his doctrine of Free Will is this, that a free act is an act without an agent (p. 247).

Here, firstly, we must protest against Mr. Hodgson's method of using the word "free." He uses the words "free choice," to include a choice which is infallibly and inevitably determined for the agent by his circumstances (external and internal). Such terminology is, we think, entirely at variance with that of all other Determinists; nor do we see that anything but confusion of thought can arise from its adoption. On this we may have a word or two more to say, before we conclude our article.

Otherwise, the complete irrelevance of the reply we have just quoted seems to us so obvious on the very surface, that we feel real difficulty in formulating arguments which shall render such irrelevance more apparent. Let it be supposed that I elicit some act of will by anti-impulsive effort, different from that to which my

circumstances of the moment dispose me. Determinists maintain, that the supposition is an impossible one; that I *cannot* elicit such an act; that the constitution of my nature renders it impossible. Libertarians say, on the contrary, that I *can* do this if I choose, and that I can choose to do it. But who in the world, before Mr. Hodgson, ever said that such an act of mine, if I could elicit it, would be "an act *without an agent*"? In what imaginable way can an "agent" more irresistibly establish his own existence as such, than by "acting" in direct opposition to the promptings of his nature? And we need hardly say that, according to *our* way of stating facts, "the free choice or resolve of my soul" is not caused by "the bare *power* of my soul," but by my soul's own self-originated act. Mr. Hodgson, indeed, with amazing misconception, considers (p. 247) that, on our theory, my "soul does not" even "*contribute*" to my "free choice." On the contrary, our theory is, that my soul is the one proximate *cause* of my free choice. (See our remarks in April, 1879, p. 315.)

But, in truth, Mr. Hodgson's whole description of our theory is quite incredibly strange. "We are required" by it, he says (p. 247), "to conceive a perfectly *colourless* power of choice." Why, the act of choice, in our humble view, is motivated by one or other of the highest and worthiest motives which can well be conceived—viz., the motive (1) of virtue, and (2) of permanent self-interest. By what extraordinary application of language is such a "power of choice" to be called colourless?*

Mr. Hodgson's other reply is, that "the exercise and even the existence of such a power as" we allege to exist "is not capable of being intelligibly construed in thought" (p. 246). Well, here our appeal must be to the common sense of mankind, who do *most* intelligibly "construe it in thought." Surely Determinists themselves construe our theory in thought, no less intelligibly than do Libertarians, as is shown by the zeal and intenseness with which they combat it. The last thing they would say is, that what they thus earnestly encounter is a mere shadow.

* Even as regards (what we, of course, account) the lowest form in which a man's permanent interest is pursued—viz., his interest merely on this side the grave—Mr. Stuart Mill makes a most just remark. "The power," he says, "of sacrificing a present desire to a distant object or a general purpose, which is indispensable for making the actions of the individual accord with his own notions of his individual good—even this is most unnatural to the undisciplined human being" (Essay on Theism, p. 50). It is surely a most worthy resolve, on some given occasion, to do that which is "unnatural"—i.e., at variance with the promptings of Nature—and resist present desire for the sake of permanent well-being. How amazing to hear such a resolve described as "colourless!"

We have now replied to all those objections of Mr. Hodgson which we can observe in his article. But, further, he has fallen into one or two misconceptions of our meaning, which this will be the most convenient opportunity for setting right. For instance (pp. 241-2) he quotes textually a certain passage from one of our articles, as exhibiting with special force our view on "the full doctrine of Free Will." But we did not direct this illustration to any such end at all. We avowedly employed it for the mere purpose of showing, that the definition of Free Will, which we had "given in our own language and in accordance with our earlier remarks," is in effect "precisely equivalent" to that given by certain representative Catholic theologians and philosophers.

A much more important misconception regards the whole import of our remarks on "Causation and Free Will" in April, 1879. Mr. Hodgson apparently considers, that the main purport of those remarks was to establish controversially the Free Will doctrine. On the contrary, this was a comparatively small portion of their purport. A few words will explain their general drift. Our course of articles, as a whole, is directed to the argumentative proof of Theism; and we need hardly say that (what we account) the true doctrine of Causation is an indispensable link of such argumentative chain. In July, 1876, we had set forth this doctrine to the best of our power; and what we aimed at in April, 1879, was to adjust it with the particular doctrine of Free Will. As we explained at starting, our intention was, "by introducing the metaphysical principle of Causation, to develop the negative psychological doctrine of Indeterminism into the positive metaphysical doctrine of Free Will." We considered such questions as the following:—"In what sense can an intermediate cause be origivative?" "What is to be accounted the proximate cause of free acts?" &c. &c. Any one, who reads that section of our article to which we refer, will see that we are here rightly describing its contents. Indeed, it will have been seen from a quotation which we have already given, that in October, 1879, we were dissatisfied with our article of April, 1879, on the very ground that the earlier article had not given sufficient prominence to the controversial establishment of Free Will.

No doubt, on this general doctrine of Causation, Mr. Hodgson and we are fundamentally at variance. We hope, indeed, to take an early occasion of replying to his criticisms of us, both on that subject and on other parts of our humble philosophical structure. But all this is external to the proper question of Free Will.

One concluding remark on our terminology. Determinists, we venture to think, no less than their opponents, will be disposed

to admit, that if our doctrine be true, our original distinction between "attractions" and "motives" will be found much conducive to its clear exposition. In our present article we have used the word "motive" to express "every thought which prompts my will to action." But there are two senses, fundamentally different, in which some given thought may prompt me to action. On one side it may prompt me to action, by influencing my will's spontaneous impulse; while on the other side it may prompt me to action, by showing me that anti-impulsive effort is more reasonable at the moment than is *acquiescence* in spontaneous impulse. In the former case we have called the thought an "attraction"—in the latter case a "motive." Nor have we failed to point out, that again and again the very same thought may serve in both capacities. Mr. Hodgson's objection to this terminology (p. 234) rests entirely on his objection to the doctrine which it expresses. Nor will any Determinists, we think, doubt on reflection, that our distinction between "attractions" and "motives" is calculated to bring into much clearer and stronger light the essential proposition for which we contend.

In the preceding arguments, as we explained at starting, we have so spoken as to embrace those instances only, in which the agent's choice is practically confined to two rival alternatives. But nothing can be easier than so to express our reasoning, as to include those more frequent instances, in which there are several various methods of procedure from which a selection may be made. In all the more strongly marked of such instances, I can know with absolute certainty to *which* one, among those various methods of procedure, my will spontaneously gravitates. I can know with absolute certainty what is the resultant of those various attractions, which at the moment solicit me; what is the exact course of action, to which my entire circumstances of the moment (external and internal) dispose me. I can know this with absolute certainty; because I can recognize quite unmistakably, what at the moment is my will's spontaneous impulse and desire, its direct unforced tendency. This spontaneous impulse or unforced tendency measures, of course, with infallible accuracy the preponderating influence exercised over my mind (in its present condition) by that complex of attractions, which for the moment is combinedly at work. But I know also, by actual experience, that on various occasions I put forth a vigorous self-originated effort, whereby I compel myself to act in some way entirely *different* from that prompted by my will's spontaneous impulse. On such occasions, then, I know through experience that I compel myself, by a self-originated and vigorous effort, to act in some way entirely different from that, to which my balance of attractions at the moment disposes me. But Determinists will

be the first to admit, that such self-originated resistance to the balance of attractions, did it exist, would be a fact inconsistent with Determinism.

We have now, we think, vindicated against Mr. Hodgson our whole argument for Free Will, as we submitted it on earlier occasions. Nay, we venture to hope that, by encountering this new opponent, we have been able to exhibit our reasoning in still clearer and fuller light. This, of course, is all which is essential to our purpose, and we might very fairly here leave the matter. Still it will be more satisfactory, if we append a few comments on Mr. Hodgson's affirmative position; though those comments must necessarily be very brief, as we have but little more space at our disposal.

1. As we have already said, Mr. Hodgson is not only a Determinist, but a Hedonistic Determinist. In other words—not only he holds that my act of will at any given moment is infallibly and inevitably determined by my circumstances (external and internal) as they *exist* at that moment—but he holds that the determining circumstances are simply the balance of *pleasure* as then apprehended. He admits, indeed (p. 238), as we have already quoted him, that “in *judging* the comparative strength of disparate pleasures, often the only way open to us is to see which of the two is actually obeyed at the moment of choice.” But this very mode of expression implies that, as a matter of course, what “is obeyed at the moment of choice” is always the “strongest” proposed “pleasure.” We have already drawn attention to the fact, that Dr. Bain's doctrine is different from this.

2. Mr. Hodgson writes as a Theist (see pp. 248, 250). In this respect he differs, we fancy, from the great majority of contemporary Determinists; and, in our judgment, we need hardly add, differs for the better. We must frankly say, indeed, that those passages of his which bear on Theism impress us as less considered and less thoughtful than any others in his paper. But, so far as we may wish to criticize them, we must take a later opportunity for doing so. We may not ourselves here assume the truth of Theism; because we are advocating Free Will as a premiss, for the argumentative *establishment* of Theism.

3. According to Determinism, there are at every moment two factors which, taken in combination, infallibly and inevitably determine a man's conduct; one of these being his internal disposition of mind, the other his environment of external circumstances. Yet Determinists, we think, much differ from each other, as regards the comparative *prominence* which they give to these two factors; and Mr. Hodgson lays far more relative

strength on *the former* than is, we think, common in his school. "The decision depends on" a man's "*state of mind*" (p. 232). "What the agent *is* manifests itself by what he does" (p. 246). We have ourselves far more sympathy with this form of Determinism than with the other. Such a mode of exhibiting Determinism as Mr. Hodgson's, tends far more to encourage moral culture and the formation of moral habits, and does far more justice to the inexhaustible variety of human development; whereas the opposite method tends to represent men's acts as proceeding in a kind of wooden uniformity, under the pressure of external circumstances.

4. On this specialty of Mr. Hodgson's depends his strange use of the word "Freedom;" a terminology, which at first sight is startling in the extreme, and in which he differs, we think, from all other Determinists. He considers that, on his view, the human Will may be termed "Free;" because its movements are by no means enslaved to the domination of external circumstances, but are the unforced result of the mind's own constitution and temperament. To us such a terminology appears as inappropriate and inconsecutive, as it is indubitably misleading. My Will, any one would say, is equally *enslaved*, whether its bondage be to my external circumstances or to my mental constitution. In no intelligible sense can it be called "Free," unless it be enfranchised from *both* tyrants.

5. Nevertheless, Mr. Hodgson considers (p. 229) that his sense of the term "Free Will" is that "in which it is understood by mankind at large." We emphatically deny this. When men declare that they possess an unmistakable and ineradicable "sense of freedom," they claim, we are confident, a very different freedom from that which Mr. Hodgson allows them. Take first an illustration. Through what we have called in earlier articles "self-intimacy"—*i.e.*, through my intimate acquaintance with my own series of mental and physical acts—I have a prevalent and pervasive knowledge, that I can move my arms in this or that direction; that I can rise up from my seat when I please, and then sit down again; that I can utter those words which present themselves to my mind, &c. &c. In exactly the same manner (so we maintain), through self-intimacy, I have a prevalent and pervasive knowledge that, within certain limits, I can resist my will's spontaneous impulse whenever I please to do so. It is precisely this prevalent and pervasive knowledge, on our view, wherein consists my "sense of freedom." In our next article on the subject we shall not fail to set forth this proposition and exhibit the ground on which it rests. Here we would point out how signally Mr. Hodgson himself corroborates our doctrine; the more signally in propor-

tion as the more unintentionally. He points out (p. 238) in a passage we have already quoted, how often it happens that "the only way open to us," in order to judge "the comparative strength of disparate pleasures," "is to see which of the two is actually obeyed at the moment of choice." He then adds these very remarkable words:—"It is in this moment of *ignorance*, previous to choice, that a man has that sense of being able to choose, which is called the sense of freedom." He admits, then, in direct contradiction to what he had said in p. 229, that when men account themselves "free," they account themselves "able to choose" between two "disparate" alternatives. Mr. Hodgson's statement, in fact, comes to this: "In real truth I *never* have the power of choosing for myself between two alternatives; but at certain periods of my daily life I am under a *delusion* that I *have* this power of choice: then, and then only, I have a sense of freedom." In other words, according to this dictum of Mr. Hodgson's, my sense of freedom is (on the Determinist theory) a mere delusion. This is the very conclusion for which we contend.

6. Nevertheless, Mr. Hodgson maintains (pp. 247-8) that the Deterministic theory is by no means inconsistent with "the existence of guilt and sin;" "the existence of morality in the Christian sense;" "a moral government of the world." In this, no doubt, he is at one with the Calvinistic necessitarians such as Jonathan Edwards; but we think very few non-Calvinistic Determinists will be found on his side. We can take a curious corroboration of our statement from Dr. Bain. That philosopher puts the case of a schoolmaster, who is rebuking some pupil for having perpetrated a breach of discipline. We may suppose that, with the selfish recklessness of his age, some youth has broken out of bounds; insulted and outraged such persons of lower rank as may happen to have crossed his path; and finally indulged in a bout of drunkenness or worse sensuality. Dr. Bain ascribes no more *moral guilt* to our youth under these circumstances, than to a dog who had broken loose, or to a sheep who had made his way through the hedge. These are Dr. Bain's words; and we italicise a few of them:—

The schoolboy, on being found guilty of a breach of discipline, will sometimes defend himself by saying that he was carried away, and could not restrain himself. He is frequently answered by the assertion that he *could* have restrained himself if he had chosen to do so. Such an answer is a *puzzle* or a *paradox*. The offender was in a state of mind such, that his conduct *followed according to the uniformity of his being*; and if the same antecedents were repeated, the same consequence would certainly be reproduced. In that view, therefore, the foregoing answer is *irrelevant, not to say nonsensical*. The proper form

and the practical meaning to be conveyed is this:—"It is true that, as your feelings then stood, your conduct resulted as it did. . . . But I now punish you, or threaten you, or admonish you, in order that an antecedent motive may enter into your mind, as counteractive to your mind, spirit, or temper on another occasion: seeing that (acting as you did) you were plainly *in want of a motive*. I am determined that your conduct shall be reformed; and therefore, every time that you make such a lapse, I will supply more and stronger motives in favour of what is your duty." Such is the plain unvarnished account of what the master intends in the address to his erring pupil. Finding a delinquency, he assumes at once that a repetition will occur if the same feelings and ideas occur under the same outward circumstances; and accordingly there is nothing left for him but to vary the antecedent, and make sure that a new and potent spur shall be mixed up with the previous combination, so as to turn the conduct in the direction sought.—(*Emotions and Will*, third edition, pp. 477-8.)

According to Dr. Bain's theory, then, supposing me to be a schoolmaster, my position is this: If a pupil of mine breaks out into moral mischief, I should act as unreasonably and preposterously in *blaming* him, as I should in blaming him because some dose of medicine had not produced in him the expected result. In either case, circumstances show that a more copious supply—whether of quinine or of "motives"—urgently needs to be administered; and there is an end of the matter.

We warmly sympathize with Mr. Hodgson in his repudiation of this hideous theory; but we must strenuously maintain, that it is Dr. Bain, and not Mr. Hodgson, whose view on the matter is accordant with Determinism. And perhaps we cannot more suitably conclude our controversy with our present opponent, than by briefly defending this affirmation. Such defence, indeed, is the more appropriate as coming from ourselves; because it is some incidental statements of our own which have led him to speak on the subject.

That there can be no moral good or evil where there is no Free Will—is a doctrine (we consider) which legitimately results from every ethical theory, which recognizes ethical truth as such; from every theory which recognizes ethical truth, as distinct from truth psychological or otherwise experimental. For our own part, however, we are to assume that particular ethical theory, which we ourselves accept as true. Now in January last we wrote expressly on the subject, and we may thus in part summarize what we then maintained. Human reason, we consider, intuitively recognizes as necessary a certain series of propositions—viz., that this, that, or the other act possesses that attribute which is termed "moral evil." *Universal moral judgments*, we further hold, which are more or less

approximately true, are obtained by generalization from these intuitive *individual* judgments. We are now, then, to examine some one of these individual judgments; and we are to see whether its truth could possibly be admitted by those who accept Determinism.

My mother, who has been throughout life my most faithful and self-sacrificing friend, dies. Under the impulse of my grief, I am led to reflect on my past conduct to her; and I bitterly reproach myself for the many many instances in which I have repaid her love by selfish neglect. A philosophical friend, however, assures me, for my comfort, that on every such occasion my self-indulgent conduct was infallibly and inevitably determined for me, by my circumstances external and internal; that I had no more power to pursue any less selfish course of action, than a football has power to trace a path of its own, different from that impressed on it by physical agencies. If I could bring my mind to believe this kindly-intentioned Determinist—and if I brought home his theory to my feelings and imagination—I should be no doubt entirely relieved from my whole burden of compunction. At the same time, it is in the very highest degree improbable, we think, that I could possibly lay any such flattering unction to my soul: my intimate sense of my past freedom would be too strong to be overcome by sophistry however plausible. But whether I do or do not repose trust in my Determinist friend, on either alternative our conclusion equally holds. It is simply impossible for me to believe that my conduct on these various occasions was wrong and blameworthy, if I realize the doctrine that I had no power of acting otherwise. In other words, the notion of moral evil cannot be reconciled with Determinism. For the truth of this statement we appeal to all human beings who are able to understand it, be they virtuous or vicious, cultured or rude.

This was the argument on which we rested, in those episodic sentences of ours which Mr. Hodgson (p. 247) cites. That with which he credits us (p. 248) is entirely different, though we should be quite prepared on occasion to defend it. The argument, however, which Mr. Hodgson ascribes to us, implies (if we rightly understand him) the Existence of God. But, as we have already more than once pointed out, we are advocating the Free Will doctrine as a premiss for the establishment of Theism; and we must not therefore *assume* Theistic doctrine in the course of our discussion.

The more we consider the doctrine of Free Will, the more strongly we feel (1) its absolute certainty on grounds of reason;

and (2) its incalculable importance, as peremptorily disproving those philosophical tenets on which contemporary antitheists rest. We are very desirous, therefore, of exhibiting it with all obtainable completeness; and we hope in our next philosophical article (accordantly with our previously expressed intention) to consider carefully its *extent*. "Our own humble view," we said in July, "is that a man's Will is Free during pretty nearly the whole of his waking life." It will be our business next April to defend this proposition; a proposition which throws, we think, important and quite unexpected light on man's whole moral constitution.

W. G. WARD.

ART. III.—WESTERN SUSSEX.

THE BORDERS OF THE ARUN AND THE ADUR.

THERE has been of late years a considerable reaction in favour of home associations and home scenery. Various publications of varying degrees of merit bear witness to this fact. Perhaps the truth is, however, that instead of successive movements in favour of foreign travel and in favour of staying at home, different portions of the community are differently affected at the same time—that there is an outbound portion and a stay-at-home portion. This may be the case, generally speaking, and yet we are inclined to think that since the stoppage—save by the less frequented routes—of intercourse with the Continent, during the Franco-German war, there has been a perceptible inclination on the part of our countrymen and countrywomen either to stay simply at home, or to confine their perigrinations to British soil. This change, if admitted to be real, we are inclined to ascribe to the cause mentioned, under all its aspects. Intercourse was checked only for a time, but Englishmen saw at that disastrous epoch too much of foreign military despotism, too much of its inevitable counterpart, seething socialistic insubordination and hatred of all government, not to have their home love and confidence quickened, and not to believe their country even in its material presentment fairer than they thought it.

Although we believe it merely a cross freset and not a determined current of artistic taste, the prevalent choice of the "Queen Anne style" in architecture may be taken as a proof that our countrymen at the present time desire to surround themselves with what is English by a prescription of, at any rate, two centuries. The pure and beautiful Gothic architecture introduced among us by the elder Pugin had become so adulte-

rated by deleterious admixture from abroad, that native sympathy with the style was lost, and we have witnessed the secession of a considerable number of "Gothic men" to the Queen Anne camp.

There may be indeed another reason for this. Those who remember the great Wordsworthian movement in letters, who participated in the kindled enthusiasm of that time, those, again, who were engaged in the Tractarian movement of 1830 and downwards, tell us that there is a woful falling off in loftiness of aim and strength of character in the men of our day. And the concomitant of such deterioration would be in art a relapse from Gothic idealism with its necessary accompaniment of imperfection in execution, to what may be perfectly carried out at the sacrifice of the ideal, whilst admitting of much applied gloss of a superficial splendour. In this view of the matter there is, we fear, only too much truth. We may, however, be glad that if we are to have what is commonplace, that commonplace should be English and not foreign. There may appear narrowness in this, but it is, we believe, based upon sound artistic considerations.

We shall endeavour in the pages that follow to lay before our readers a tract of home scenery that may, or may not, be already familiar to them, but that is, if we are not mistaken, worthy of a first and even of a second survey of its natural and historical claims upon their attention.

The traveller amid our domestic beauties who has been initiated into belief in the indubitable fact that there are fine things to be seen nearer the metropolis than in Devonshire, or Wales, or Scotland, will find much pleasure—and pleasure for which he is prepared—in the view to be obtained from Leith Hill on the borders of Surrey and Sussex. Hence, according to Evelyn, "twelve or thirteen counties can be seen." Gossip Aubrey only gets as far as ten, adding, "and, by the help of a telescope, Wiltshire."

Be the enumeration of counties visible from this airy summit what it may, there can be no doubt that even for those upon whom Nature has not bestowed a clearness of vision enabling them to survey a prospect of two hundred miles in circumference, the view is full of beauty. Dennis, the critic maligned by Pope in the *Dunciad*, is quoted as saying that this view is more extensive than that upon Valdarno from the Apennines, than that over the Roman Campagna from Tivoli, "whilst it surpasses them at once in rural charm, pomp, and magnificence." Eustace, the classical tourist *par excellence*, finds a resemblance between the hills of Surrey and the minor eminences that skirt the Lombard plain, an analogy that Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, transfers to the heights of Latium.

These comparisons may be ready and fertile to the minds of those who suggest them. But to us, to liken the view from and the view towards the Surrey hills with foreign prospects, is the employment of a fallacy from which English art of all kinds and grades has long suffered, and, it is to be feared, will long suffer, and which these writers of varying dates employ with unconscious audacity in their estimate of the imperial majesty of Nature herself—viz., that England is to be tutored by Italy, and has virtue not so much by native excellence as by comparison with other lands. There is in this a twofold injustice, an injustice to ourselves and an injustice to Italy. Who, unreasoning national prejudice apart, seriously doubts that Italy has on well nigh every count the advantage over us? Who that has seen the high Alps mirrored in her pellucid lakes; who that has trod for hours upon mountain paths, studded by wayside chapels, in full view of the blushing glory of Monte Rosa; who that has seen rising from the vast sombre plain the pillared edifices of Pæstum; who that has viewed with any fulness of knowledge or capacity of just appreciation the monuments of ancient Rome, the sculptured treasures of the Vatican, and its pictorial adornments by the greatest artist that earth has seen, can doubt that Italy is more beautiful in her scenery, more venerable in her monuments because her civilization is more ancient, and more eminently gifted in the artistic talents of her children than England? Who is there that will not repeat with heartfelt conviction and sympathy the noble apostrophe of Virgil to his native country,* and joyfully acknowledge that the mild lustre of Christianity shed upon that delightful land has enhanced her every charm, and lit with sacred fire the lamp of her secular magnificence?

But if Italy is greater than England, is England on that account to be despised? Are we to be told in Mrs. Browning's phrase in her "Aurora Leigh" that "the very skies look mean" in a land upon which Nature has been so lavish in her gifts as upon this country? Are there not features of landscape beauty with which persons living in this country are familiar, and that solicit the homage of the visitor to our shores that are wanting even in Italy? Is not spring verdure extended through the summer and even to the confines of the autumn months, in compensation for the moisture of our climate, not a choice beauty, and are not our ghyls and forces and brimming well-heads fairer than the parched torrent-beds of the South? Nay, are not snow and storm themselves, and rent forest boughs, and the surge of the ocean, things not only of warning and peril and

* Georgics, II. 135-175.

reminders of scriptural imagery, but also elements in that beauty which is not the peculiar property of north or south, but diffused through both? Has not Italy itself an added attraction, whether materially or in the language of her poets, in the snows of Soracte, and the foaming billows of Benacus?

Does it not seem then that such comparisons as those instituted above should be thrown aside by us as disparaging other lands by asserting that their fairest prospects are surpassed by ours in extent or "in rural charm, pomp, and magnificence," and our country in this regard, that the South is set up as the standard whereby her heaven-born virtue is to be tried?

The only way in which we can do justice to a country, to a literary epoch, to anything in fact, is by discarding showy generalization, and by examining it in and by itself. The fuller the mind that is brought to the task the better, but the mental vision has in our day more need to be purged than stimulated.

The way then that, according to us, a country should be surveyed is with painstaking accuracy, if only with a view to individual knowledge; and this, and by expounding faithfully to others its natural features, its historical associations, and its monuments of antiquity, if what has been called "the demon of exposition" possess us.

This work is discharged year by year by our archæological societies, amongst which that of Sussex holds an honourable place.

We may note in passing, that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the benefit the unostentatious labours of these societies confer upon the historical student, or the advantage they are the ready-made instruments of bestowing upon the community at large, if they had power given them by Government to preserve for our own and future generations the historical monuments of our country. We should not then have to dread that in a new and unwelcome sense we may "leave Old England on the lee;" when with every castle renovated, every church "restored," by the outpouring of a mistaken zeal; or, on the other hand, with the Cornish Druidical circles overthrown for the sinking of mining shafts, and the Roman *via* throughout the land eradicated to extend the area for turnips, everything will be as raw and modern as utilitarianism itself could desire or conceive, or the worthy parson in "The Scouring of the White Horse" recognize with sorrow.

The publications of the Sussex Archæological Society now extend to some thirty volumes, and these must be consulted by all who desire to become intimately acquainted with the history of the county. To them the works of their late editor, Mr. M. A. Lower, are useful auxiliaries. In the matter of eccle-

siology, however, it must be confessed that not infrequently "*bonus dormitat Homerus.*" Mr. Lower's works also display a strong anti-Catholic bias; of little danger it may be considered, however, because so openly avowed. The late Sir William Burrell, of West Grinstead Park, has bequeathed to the British Museum a collection of documents that only await the labours of a competent editor and such a list of subscribers as would ensure the pecuniary success of the undertaking, to become public property of a most valuable kind. The late Gideon Mantell has illustrated in an efficient manner the geology of his native county. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has described compendiously, although not perhaps without failings in the matter of strict accuracy, the sea-board of Sussex. Horsfield's "History" is of the kind usually described as "standard." It has very much the air of having been written to order, and is wanting in originality and interest. The views expressed in it are of the humdrum type of the eighteenth century and of the early part of the present. It is amusing when reading the complacent estimate of men and things in such works as Horsfield's, to think how soon men were to arise to reverse that estimate in well-nigh every particular, to condemn what is applauded and to applaud what is decried. These works have the exceeding glossiness of water just as it approaches the cataract. The late Canon Tierney, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, wrote in two well-sized volumes the "History of Arundel." This is a work of research and well-deserved consideration, written in a clear, agreeable style. It ranks with Milner's "History of Winchester" in the *fasti* of English Catholic antiquarian literature. Mr. Shoberl's "Description of the County of Sussex" is a well-written volume, ranging with the "Beauties of England and Wales." If it were edited with notes, and the general information in the text extended and brought down to the present time, this would be a very agreeable topographical work. There are certain errors—*e.g.*, placing Horsham upon the Adur, instead of upon the Arun—that would have to be corrected. "The Sea-board and the Downs," by an Old Vicar, the late Rev. Wood Warter, Southey's son-in-law and editor of his correspondence, is rather a work of pastoral musing and discursive meditation, for the conveyance of which a vast array of quotations is set in motion, than such a setting forth as might have been expected from the title-page, and the circumstances of the writer, of the natural features of Sussex, and of local history and traditions. All the little fishes of Mr. Warter's sea-board, to transfer Goldsmith's epigram upon Johnson's style, "talk like whales." The work is, however, a curious and interesting one, and brought fully within

the scope of those bibliographical observations by its very excellent illustrations. Mr. L. J. Jennings, in his "Field Paths and Green Lanes," discourses of country walks, chiefly in Surrey and Sussex. Starting from well-selected points, he, despite Sussex mud, minutely and carefully perambulates the neighbourhood thus chosen for miles round, seeing all that is to be seen; conversing—not always an easy task—with the inhabitants, and, taking his ease in his inn at night-fall, records his travels and adventures in clear good English for the benefit of his successors in pedestrian rambles. He does not, however, go below the surface, and his book, taken singly, would be a very inadequate county guide. It is, and such we consider to be the intention of the author, a supplement of a graphically picturesque kind to whatever else of a good class has been written upon the part of England over which—in a double sense—he expatiates. Murray's "Handbook" is, after all, except to a specialist, the best pocket or knapsack companion. Its accuracy is, however, more particularly with respect to road distances, far from infallible. By following the indications given in Mr. Jennings' book, it is possible, moreover, greatly to abbreviate practically such distances as are correctly given. By following a footpath easy of discovery and pointed out by Mr. Jennings, it is possible to shorten—by so much as half—the way from Godstone Station to Crowhurst, in Surrey. This example does not come within our special province, but it is one that we had occasion to verify in the autumn of last year, and we doubt not that Mr. Jennings is equally accurate and veracious in Sussex, *ex pede Herculem*. In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1862, there is under the heading "Sussex" a brilliant panoramic sketch *à vol d'oiseau* of the whole county, if we mistake not, by Mr. J. R. King, whose hand, now stilled in death, has contributed largely to high-class topographical literature. Messrs. Elwes and Robinson have compiled a "History of the Castles, Mansions, and Manors of Western Sussex," chiefly in district. This gives a clear insight into the origin and alliances of the county families, some of them nobles and "squires of name" far beyond the borders of Western Sussex, and some even of national reputation. Messrs. Cartwright and Dallaway have laid the foundations of a "County History" on a great scale, one of those monumental works of which the present generation is so impatient. Canon Tierney says, indeed, that the portion of this work relating to the Rape of Arundel is not free from error, whilst bestowing commendation upon its execution as a whole. Of the portion relating to the "Rape" of Bramber, which we have now before us, we have not, it is to be feared, the knowledge enabling us to give so exact an appreciation.

It is exclusively the work of Mr. Cartwright. The ecclesiology of Sussex has been as yet very insufficiently dealt with. Hussey's "Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey," is good so far as it goes, but that is not very far. The full title is "Notes upon the Churches, &c.," and this vindicates the author from any attempt to mislead his readers. The garrulity that appears not seldom an accompaniment of antiquarian study, has, however, led him in several instances to deal with other than ecclesiastical antiquities. This is a very provoking error of judgment, when the "Notes" are so curtailed in pure ecclesiology as to fail in giving any notice whatever of many churches in each of the several counties, whilst the notices given—unadjusted to any perceptible scheme—are frequently then most meagre when the object spoken of is of the most value, and the bulk of the work reduced by omission of what should have been its most characteristic and important contents. A good feature of Hussey's "Notes," is a list of churches with their modern and Domesday names, the resemblance between which is sometimes so very faint that it is a comfort and economy of time to have it pointed out. Nor is the judgment, in our opinion, thereby injuriously biassed, if, after all, the indication given should appear unsatisfactory. Superseded in Kent, Hussey's "Notes" are still *memoires pour servir*, with regard to Sussex, and are deferentially alluded to by "Murray." We cannot speak so favourably of the claims of another work, Messrs. Nibbs' and Lower's "Churches of Sussex." This disappoints expectation in an extreme and unwarrantable degree. The churches given are a mere titling of the treasures of the county, and that too not in all cases of happy selection. Two pinched modern fabrics—Stanmer and Uckfield—that no one of sense would go a stone's throw to visit, are intruded upon the public. Some of the ancient fabrics represented—*e.g.*, Bersted near Bognor—are so encumbered by accretions of the palmy period of churchwardenism, that their deformity is nothing short of detestable in the pictorial representations of it. The genesis of the work is written on its face. Everything readily accessible from the sea-board, and that is likely to meet the eye of autumnal visitors to the watering-places is introduced, and these readily visible and visitable antiquities squeezed, so to speak, dry like an orange, other antiquities of equal or greater interest are, with trivial exceptions that prove instead of invalidating the rule, omitted as belonging to rural Sussex. Mr. Lower is, as has been mentioned, at his worst and weakest in ecclesiology, and he opens no new Helicon in his notices in Nibbs. We observe, for example, that his account of Warnham—one of the few rural churches he has introduced—extends to nineteen lines (printer's reckoning), three

of which are doggerel expressive of a cricketer's good opinion of his own skill, and this, not as might have been expected from an existing epitaph, but from a long departed alehouse sign. Of the epitaphs, after a perfunctory notice of "the well-preserved monument to Sir John Caryll, Knight, who died in 1613, and his wife Maria," he records that "among other names and families commemorated, are those of Amherst, Yates, Shelley, Michell, Shuckford, Napper Bax, and Rapley." Nothing can be simpler, and nothing, it appears to us, more insufficient. The Carylls were, until fairly broken down by persecution, a very important Sussex Catholic family. As it was at their seat, West Grinstead Park, to which they removed from Warnham, that the incident *really* occurred described in and for all time commemorated by Pope in his graceful poem, "The Rape of the Lock," it might, one would have thought, have been considered worth while to draw attention to their history. The name of Shelley, moreover, is one that might be deemed of general interest. The tombs of the Shelley family are in the south aisle or chapel of the chancel of Warnham Church, and as they are of the immediate kindred of the poet, exclusive of his father and mother who lie at Horsham, the omission of any detailed notice of them seems sufficiently strange. It may be replied that those matters do not lie within the province of ecclesiology proper; but to this we would answer, that Mr. Lower has himself supplied us with the materials for his accusation by referring to them. He, a Protestant of Protestants, does not draw a line at the period of the so-called Reformation. Rather does he consider Sussex to have then emerged to daylight from Cimmerian darkness, under the guidance of certain tailors, wood-cutters, and other villeins, whom he regards as persons of superior intelligence. We remember, with amusement, that having penned a little work upon the Catholic antiquities of London, we were severely handled by one critic of discernment, for mentioning Whitehall, without referring to the execution of King Charles I. The readers of "David Copperfield" are acquainted with a gentleman who made frequent mention of the execution of King Charles, without thereby convincing the world of his wisdom. King Charles I. was one the "deep damnation of whose taking off" we should be the first to condemn; but as he was neither a Catholic nor an ecclesiastical antiquity, we may perhaps be excused for not having followed the example Mr. Dick set before us. Such is not our charge against Mr. Lower. He does not treat what he professes to treat of, or does it in an insufficient way. We shall endeavour when we come to the subject of ecclesiology to supply—as best we can—some of his omissions.

As we have found occasion to point out defects in the compo-

sitions of one upon the whole the most laborious and distinguished of our later Sussex antiquaries, it is with pleasure that we most unfeignedly praise the same author's "Contributions to Literature," a work that not only throws light upon the antiquities of the county, but has a genuine flavour of the county about it, an aroma that those whose acquaintance with Sussex is that of mere sojourners at its watering-places, may altogether fail to perceive.

It is full time, however, that we should give the reader a taste of our own quality in our self-chosen office of expositor of Western Sussex, or such portion of it as is comprised in the "Rapes" of Arundel and Bramber, that spread before us, as in a map, from the summit of Leith Hill. This region may be roughly, yet with sound accuracy, described as "The Borders of the Arun and the Adur." The geological portion of our survey must needs overpass these bounds.

As the "proper study of mankind is man," something should be said either here or at a more advanced stage, of the character of Sussex people. But what can be more difficult? How is a native of Sussex to be discriminated from a native of Surrey or a native of Kent? We have, indeed, before us the example of a neighbour, to whom a stroll over any of the three confines of the county, is suggestive of all sorts of distinctions, and, upon the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, these contrasts are generally favourable to the externs, and unfavourable to the home population. We gravely suspect, however, that a residence in any of the three adjoining counties would seriously modify such an estimate, and, perhaps, lead to a sneaking fondness for Sussex. There are undoubtedly when we take England, so to speak, at long reaches, marked differences of physique and character. A broad, burly Yorkshire man would be very noticeably different from the ordinary type in Sussex. And yet as regards bulk and strength, we are acquainted with Sussex specimens—both from the landward and seafaring populations—that vie with anything that Yorkshire has to show. Where the strength exists, too, there is an ease and litheness in the exercise of it that is much to be preferred to the cumbrousness of the North. But such examples as we speak of are not to be found everywhere, and there is, it must be owned, in Sussex, an uncouth, unkempt mass of the rural population, the very sight of whom is oppressive, so clear is the evidence afforded of sottishness and mental sloth, of lingerings in the alehouse, and all that crop of evils of which John Barleycorn is the fruitful parent. But the Sussex population are so civil and courteous, that it must always be an invidious task to point out their failings, and one that we certainly are not anxious any further to pursue.

Upon this subject of civility, at least in its outward habitual tokens, we have fancied that it would be true to remark that there has been some alteration of late. We have opined that the school-board system was producing its proper fruits, that civility and servility were being confounded, that an unabashed front was being mistaken for true manliness and courage. Strangely enough, upon these cogitations of ours breaks in the announcement that this very system is teaching Northerners how to behave, that "please," and "I thank you," and whatever else belongs to the polite repertory was being at least tentatively introduced. But as the same tree produces not fruit wholesome and unwholesome, the same fountain sweet water and bitter, the decreasing urbanity of the South may be on a level with the stimulated politeness of the North, and the incivilities of Horsham be the amenities of Hawick.

Limiting the force of the remark by the variety of individual character, we should attribute to the people of Sussex a quite peculiar degree of reticence, not so much of external communication, as of anything in that communication indicative of motive, and giving a clue to character. Superficial observers suppose the Sussex peasant stupid, and give vent to many witticisms at his expense. They think him little superior in point of intelligence to the beasts he drives to market. But if the Sussex peasant is an animal, he is a ruminating animal, and, whilst chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy, forms estimates of men and things that deviate by not so much as a hair's breadth from the exact truth. Many a university student or young guardsman has had the measure of his foot taken by a Sussex bailiff or keeper with more sagacity and penetration than by the dons of his college, or by the commanding officer of his regiment. This astuteness is, we believe, common to all classes in Sussex. Sussex, moreover, has contributed, to say the least, its fair quota to the higher ranks of intelligence. The region under our immediate survey was the birth-place of Selden and Otway and Shelley; the first, according to Lord Clarendon, "a man of so stupendous a learning in all kinds, and in all languages, that a man would have thought him conversant with nothing but books; yet," he continues, "his humanity and courtesy were such as one would have thought him bred in the best courts, but," is slyly added, "that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good exceeded that breeding." Shelley is one of those whose name for good or for evil, or rather for good and for evil, is written on the rocks for ever. Of Otway, in his "Venice Preserved," Dr. Johnson says: "The striking passages are in every mouth;" whilst Sir Walter Scott—than whom the ranks of our literary men contain no better judge—

hardily asserts that his powers in the delineation of passionate affection "rival at least, and sometimes excel, those of Shakspeare. More tears," he adds, "have probably been shed for the sorrows of Belvidera and Monimia than for those of Juliet and Desdemona." We may here transcribe the sonnet of a native poet, Charlotte Smith, "To the River Arun," as referring to Otway, and as celebrating the charms of one of those Sussex rivers to whose borders we are now about to lead our readers:—

"Be the proud Thames of trade the busy mart!
 Arun! to thee will other praise belong;
 Dear to the lover's and the mourner's heart,
 And ever sacred to the sons of song!
 Thy banks romantic hopeless love shall seek,
 Where o'er the rocks the mantling bindwith flaunts,
 And sorrow's drooping form and faded cheek,
 Choose on thy willowed shore her lonely haunts!
 Banks! which inspired thy Otway's plaintive strain,
 Wilds! whose lorn echoes learned the deeper tone
 Of Collins' powerful shell! yet once again
 Another poet—Hayley—is thine own!
 Thy classic streams anew will hear a lay,
 Bright as its waves, and various as its way!
 On thy wild banks, by frequent torrents worn,
 No glittering fanes, nor marble domes appear;
 Yet shall the mournful muse thy course adorn,
 And still to her thy rustic waves be dear!
 For with the infant Otway lingering here,
 Of early woes she bade her votary dream,
 While thy low murmurs soothed his pensive ear,
 And still the poet consecrates the stream.
 Beneath the oak and beach that fringe thy side,
 The first-born violets of the year shall spring;
 And in the hazels bending o'er thy tide,
 The earliest nightingale delights to sing:
 While kindred spirits pitying shall relate
 Thy Otway's sorrows, and lament his fate.

"Wild banks," in the above, we understand to refer to the copses that fringe the river, and not to rocks impeding the course and giving anything of impetuosity to the somewhat sluggish course of the Arun. The Rother, sometimes called the Western Arun, is not without a certain wildness. It joins the main stream at Pulborough. The upper course of this main stream is full of charm. We may claim some credit in announcing this fact to the world, as it is only by hard scrambling through thickets, and by leaping the various tributaries, that we have been able to discover the beauties of Arun, or so much as

ascertain its course. We can now say that there are six miles of river scenery between Horsham and Slinfold, quite hidden out of sight from the dusty and uninteresting high-road, that are well worthy of exploration, and that should have at least a foot-path laid down to make their attractions accessible.

It is a common remark that nothing is seen of the country from the railway, nothing, that is, to advantage; and the same thing may be said, if in a less degree, of high-roads. The railway gives a mere section of the country, the high-road frequently a bad perspective. Is it an unavailing hope that a time may come when a subsidiary series of routes may be opened, and the tourist in search of the picturesque, find paths to the summits of our hills and by the banks of our rivers, instead of well-nigh impenetrable thickets blocking his way, or human arrogance threatening him on signboards with fictitious threats of pains and penalties?

This is one of the things that are "done better in France." There, a country-town has its *parc*, in which music is discoursed on Sundays and holidays; its rampart, either an ancient fortification, or one of Vauban's in no very high state of repair, or perhaps simply a shaded walk where erst the walls have been. From such an elevated plateau the cathedral, monastic churches, hotel-de-ville, and whatever else there may be of interest, may be advantageously surveyed, and the adjoining country falls in on the other side with its granges, manor-houses, wayside chapels, perhaps also wooded valleys and castle-crowned heights, all brought into connection, and, here is our point, by-paths and roads all open and inviting, instead of the dog-in-the-manger barricading of everything that is the outward show of true British freedom. Those things, however, are relative. The Tory South is much easier in this respect than the Liberal North.

But to return to Sussex. It has in its hills and downs very much the same character as its northern neighbour, Surrey. The same thing cannot be said of it with regard to its other neighbours, as it differs from Hampshire, and it differs from Kent. The possession of a sea-board by Sussex does not make so much difference as might be anticipated between it and Surrey. The Sussex sea-coast is, where lofty, merely a section of the South Downs, everything inshore having the ordinary characteristics of the county. There are, however, places—such as Worthing and Bognor—that stand on elevated beaches advancing much farther seaward than the line of the South Downs. These have the seaside character—a sandy or pebbly soil, and a comparative dearth of vegetation. This is particularly true of Littlehampton, at the mouth of the Arun, a somewhat

desolate place of summer resort, formed by river deposit and the sea sand and shingle.

The Sussex climate, mild in the western part of the maritime district, is bleak along such parts of the South Downs as are exposed to the south-west wind.

The chief ingredients of the soil are chalk in the Downs and clay in the Weald (or Wald), the wide forest of Anderida that clothed, and still, under the names of St. Leonard's, Tilgate, and Ashdown forests, to some extent clothes the inland part of Sussex. One of these, St. Leonard's, comes under our immediate survey; and we may here say that perhaps the most beautiful points in the scenery to which we are drawing attention are the wooded height of Holmbush and the fair Tempe of Leonardslee. In the northern part of the county there is a large admixture of sand. Upon sandy knolls, "bosomed high in tufted trees," the village churches with their shingled spires—so characteristic of the woodland—are frequently most picturesquely placed. There is a bed of loam on the north side of the hills, whilst gravel lies between the coast loam, where that exists, and the chalk of the Downs. The maritime district has a singular contour. Its length from Emsworth, upon Chichester harbour, to Brighton, is thirty-six miles. At Brighton, immediately to the east of our special district, the breadth is of very small extent. At Shoreham, at the mouth of the Adur, some eight miles to the west of Brighton, the tract of which we are speaking does not attain a breadth of more than a mile. At Worthing and Goring this extent is increased to three miles. This is also the breadth at Littlehampton.

A curious feature of this district is, that there is in it a double row of towns. Brighton is an exception. Even in this case, however, there is evidence that there was, if not a lower and an upper town, a lower site for the whole town than the landward position of what is now known as the Old or St. Nicholas Church would lead us to believe. To this the ancient font of St. Nicholas would seem, upon what appears good authority, to bear witness. It is said to have been removed to its present site from an ancient Church of St. Bartholomew in the lower part of the town. The upper Church of St. Nicholas was, it is asserted, erected in lieu of St. Bartholomew's upon a site rightly deemed, as the experience of centuries has shown, inaccessible to the approach of the waves, and to this the font of St. Bartholomew, undoubtedly of Norman date, whatever may be the explanation of its perplexing imagery,* was transferred. In

* These subjects appear to be Baptism, the Eucharist, Confession (?), a ship with the figure of a bishop at the prow, a seated figure before the mast, a helmsman, and a fourth figure following the ship. The figure before

the case of Brighton we observe the advance of the sea. At Shoreham, owing to the alluvial deposit of the river Adur, it has as manifestly retired. There are here two Shorehams ("dwellings on the shore," as Windsor is "winding shore"), Old and New Shoreham, the former half a mile or more inland from the latter. Strange to say, antiquaries aver that neither Old nor New Shoreham was the Roman *Portus Adurni* (port of the Adur), but Bramber, situated some three miles from the mouth of the stream. This does not, indeed, necessarily place Bramber on the coast line, but it does prove that the river Adur was not then, as now, a stream of no great width, easily spanned by a bridge, but a broad, if shallow, estuary—such as Chichester harbour below Bosham and Emsworth—communicating directly with the sea. Where the mouth of this estuary was anciently, there is now a neck of land by which, if measures were not constantly taken to prevent such a result, Shoreham harbour would be fairly locked in. A somewhat similar state of things may be seen at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, and Teignmouth, in Devon. In an historical tale, "Poynings," by the late J. M. Neale, of Tractarian celebrity, there is a description of the neck of land at Shoreham which may be worth quoting. We may, however, premise that the two miles of length assigned by the writer to "Aldrington Basin," the eastern lobe (to employ an anatomical analogy) of Shoreham harbour, appear to us a great exaggeration. "There is," says the author of "Poynings," "there is a long, straight, narrow strip or tongue of land, stretching away from the little village of Hove to the entrance of Shoreham harbour, and dividing the harbour in the inside, from the sea on the outside. Its length may be two miles, its breadth about a hundred yards; and as it rises to a good height, those who walk by the seaside see nothing but the old tower of Shoreham Church to their right, and the white cliffs of Rottingdean to their left. But when you mount to the top of the shingles there is a high road on the other side of the harbour, which is here very narrow, and a well-inhabited country; labourers' and fishermen's cottages standing close together." This describes the eastern tongue of land. The same general description (*mutatis mutandis*) would apply to the western slip, from the Norfolk bridge at Shoreham to the centre of the harbour. Here the Adur at length breaks through the obstacles that have opposed its passage, and forces its way into the English Channel. It is singular to reflect, if we can imagine

the mast and the helmsman have round bodies, perhaps bags, in their hands. If the bishop is St. Nicholas of Myra, it may be argued that the font belonged to an earlier Church of St. Nicholas on the same site, but this does not appear to have been the case, though asserted by Lower.

the configuration of the shore to have altered in an hour's space instead of in the course of many centuries, that, as one looks forth from the natural bulwark that encloses Shoreham harbour upon the expanse of the ocean, this would be the fourth point from which a traveller would agree with himself that his land journey was at an end and his sea voyage about to begin. Farther along the coast, there is at Worthing and Broadwater the same double disposition to which we have drawn attention. Broadwater, as the name implies, once stood on a wide backwater from the sea, traces of which may be discerned in a salt marsh which has an emissary beneath the road between Worthing and Lancing. Something of the same arrangement may be seen immediately to the west of Worthing. There the town—now sunk into a mere village—of West Tarring has a species of seaport in the village of Heene, now in course of rapid absorption by Worthing. The ruined chapel of St. Botolph at Heene was dependent on the mother church of West Tarring, a noble Edwardian edifice rising above choice specimens of fifteenth-century Domestic Architecture, amid which flourish ancient fig-trees, which, or their precursors, are traditionally asserted to have been planted by St. Thomas of Canterbury. There is no reason, however, to believe that West Tarring ever had any immediate access to the sea. It was an ancient market-town. It has decayed, not only relatively, as is the case with most towns in the south of England, which have paled before their northern rivals, but absolutely, and is now in truth, as we have stated, a mere hamlet. In old days, Arundel was a harbour, and as a seaport town had, like Dover, its *Domus Dei*. At the present time, although vessels of small tonnage can ascend the Arun to Arundel, the port of Arundel is Littlehampton, which, like Emsworth with relation to Chichester and Bosham, has absorbed the trade of the older seaport.

But in a physical survey of Western Sussex the interest centres in the Weald (or Wald), the woodland district which anciently occupied the whole of the interior. As much of the Wealden timber has been cut down, and portions of the Downs—as within the demesnes of Arundel and Goodwood—planted, the distinction between the sea-board and inland scenery is somewhat less marked than formerly.

The finest portion of the remaining timber of the Weald—namely, St. Leonard's Forest—lies in the "Rape of Bramber," one of the two "Rapes," or divisions of the county, as has been stated, to which we are confined in viewing the borders of the Arun and the Adur. The Arun has its source in St. Leonard's Forest. In the upper portion of its course it passes the ancient and now rapidly developing border borough

of Horsham. It then runs some miles westward. At Pulborough, a town remarkable for a fine Third Pointed church and two mediæval bridges, it is joined by the Rother, or Western Arun, the "wild Arun" of Collins and of Charlotte Smith's sonnet. Thence it turns south, by the castle-crowned heights of Amberley and Arundel, to its *embouchure* at Littlehampton. This course lays open much beautiful forest scenery, and also many interesting views in the open part of the valley. In the lower part of this course there is some deduction to be made from the beauty of the river, on account of the general flatness of its immediate margin, the stream lying only a few feet beneath it. Viewed from the river itself, the defect is somewhat less observable, and the finer features of the landscape tell. We remember being particularly struck with admiration of the beauty of the lower Arun when crossing the ferry immediately below the Church and picturesque manor-house at Bury. The Arun has long been celebrated for mullets, trout, and eels. The first of these proceed in summer as far upwards as Arundel, in quest, it is said, of a weed to which the excellence of their flavour is due.

The Adur—sometimes called the Beeding—rises, like the Arun, in St. Leonard's Forest. There is a difficulty in saying which of several converging rivulets is actually the source of the river. Some of these are external to the Forest. One rises about two miles from Slinfold, another about the same distance from Nuthurst; these, uniting near West Grinstead, are swollen by a brook that has its rise in the neighbourhood of West Chiltington. But the Adur may be said, with sufficient safety, to have its source near Slaugham, a place, in former days, of more reputation than at present, but now, as ever, one of the most picturesque of the Forest localities. At Slaugham, the Adur forms the extensive mill-pond. Thence it flows by Bolney, Twineham, and Shermanbury to its confluence with the stream that flows past West Grinstead, after which the united streams pursue their way by the ancient market town of Steyning and the hill-fort of Bramber, as we have seen, the *Portus Adurni* of the Romans, to Shoreham, where is the elevated barrier already described, that impedes, for a time, their discharge into the sea.

The chief feature of the Weald is, as the name announces, its timber. This is principally oak, with which the soil literally teems. But geology teaches us that this district must have once had another, and a much richer, vegetation. Then the temperature supported in their growth plants that we must now go as far as New Zealand to seek. Through the then tropical forest flowed a great river that, as its banks gradually sank, expanded into a lake well nigh commensurate with all Kent and

Sussex. But through these extended waters the current of the river still pursued its course, and deposited vast beds of sand and slime, that at length made their appearance as islands over the surface of the water, and were crowned by leafy trees on their higher portions, whilst the lower were marshes clothed with sedge and reeds. Over the islands roamed the huge iguanodon. On the lower levels, instead of the heron, the pterodactyle had its habitat, and, like a gigantic bat, winged its way over the waters of the marsh. But, although this is the picture of a time so far distant that it is hard to place it before ourselves, there is most distinct evidence of its truth.

We have, however, to trace this history farther. Everything suffered a sea change. The waters of the river-estuary we have been portraying were, by the subsidence of its bed, fairly merged in the ocean. At this date, the tide that beat in surf over the islands engulfed in the flood, invested their surfaces with a coating of sandy mud, and over that of calcareous ooze, forming, upon the Wealden beds of the river formation, the greensand and the chalk of the sea-shore. In confirmation of the view that the Weald was once the bed of a river, the following remarkable fact may be adduced. If the transverse fissures in the North and South Downs by which the drainage of the district is effected could be closed up, all the rivers, as has been remarked by Mr. Conybeare, would be compelled even now to take an easterly course, and to discharge their waters into the sea by Romney Marsh and by Pevensey Levels. These fissures appear to be due to a convulsion of Nature, by which both chains of hills were simultaneously affected. The breaks by which these streams emerge to the basin of the Thames and those to the English Channel are exactly opposite each other. The Wey penetrates the North Downs, exactly in a line with the spot where the Dale of the Arun severs the southern chain. The defile of the Darent corresponds with that of the Ouse. That of the Medway corresponds with that of the Cuckmere. The earthquake that raised the woodland valley above the sea level would raise the bases of the mountains, so that, to employ a loosely fitting comparison, instead of the level impost of Greek architecture, there would be an arch formed by rude mountain blocks, which would not, however, be wedge-shaped, but seamed by wide triangular fissures that have become the channels by which the rivers of the Weald communicate mediately or immediately with the sea. A section of the Wealden beds shows that they have the form of a dome thrust up from beneath and protruded through the crust of chalk. In all probability they rest upon coal.

St. Leonard's Forest has attained distinction, or at least

notoriety, by the singular narrative of a dragon that haunted it in the beginning of the seventeenth century. This portent "listened and looked about with great arrogance." It was seen—always at a safe distance—by various persons. Amongst these was the Horsham carrier, who, it is said, in the authenticated report of the dragon's proceedings, not without unintentional point, "lieth at the White Horse, in Southwark." It has been remarked by Mr. G. B. Holmes, a local geologist, that the wonder-stricken beholders of the dragon "seem to have had a glimpse of the olden world, and to have stolen a march on the palæontologists, so accurately have they forestalled them in describing some of the distinctive characteristics of the Plesiosaurus." In the contributions of his sister Helen to the early history of the poet Shelley, we seem to hear the echo of the exploits of the quondam "Dragon of Faygate." The boy Shelley entertained his sisters with the account of the "Great Tortoise" that lived in Warnham Pond, and any unwonted noise that disturbed the quiet household was attributed to the presence amid the youthful company of this strange visitor. The tortoise appears to have been other things besides a tortoise, and, indeed, anything great and terrible in the incipient stage. But there was, in reality, an "old snake" that frequented the gardens of Field Place for several generations, until, in an unhappy hour, it fell a victim to the gardener's scythe. It is a peculiar circumstance that Shelley had in after years a great regard for these reptiles, and was himself called "Snake" by his intimates, perchance from this circumstance. He may, however, have been so styled from his habit of silently entering and leaving an apartment, his intermediate presence being evident to the company by the shining of his bright eyes upon them, and not by any salutation of his.

Another link may be supplied in the ophidian chain of forest legends. Besides the Chapel in St. Leonard's Forest, dependent on the Church of St. John the Baptist at Crawley, and which had its due place in the ecclesiastical system, there was the Chapel proper of St. Leonard, the hermit-saint from whom it appears that the forest itself is named. The legend is to the effect that this local saint fought with a serpent, or "worm" (a locution to be found in "Antony and Cleopatra," act v. scene 2). The combat lasting a long while, and the combatants passing hither and thither in the forest glades, wherever the Saint's blood descended to the ground, sweet-scented lilies of the valley sprouted forth. Such is the traditional origin of these choice adornments of the forest. A similar productiveness is assigned by the poets to the footsteps of beauty. Thus, Æglamour, in Ben Jonson's "Sad Shepherd," traces the steps of his lost Earine:—

Here she was wont to go ! and here ! and here !
 Just where those daisies, pinks, and violets grow :
 The world may find the spring by following her ;
 For other print her airy steps ne'er left.
 Her treading would not bend a blade of grass,
 Or shake the downy blow-ball from his stalk !
 But like the soft west wind she shot along,
 And where she went, the flowers took thickest root,
 As she had sowed them with her odorous foot.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—SPENSER AS A TEXTBOOK.

Spenser's Faery Queene. Books I. and II. Designed chiefly for the use of Schools. By G. W. KITCHIN, M.A., formerly Censor of Christ Church.

THE selection of new textbooks in the "humanities" for the rising generation is a subject which deserves, perhaps, more attention than it has received. The contest around the bodies of Virgil, Horace, Homer, and Sophocles has raged for many generations, and their high value in education may be said to be now established beyond dispute. Very recently, in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, an eloquent plea on behalf of classical studies, as refining and steadying the mind of youth, appeared from the pen of Professor Bonamy Price. As a fact, the classical writers are taught in all our superior schools, and will continue to be taught. The sorrows of Dido are in no danger of being forgotten, and the heroism of Antigone will stir the pulses of our grandchildren as it has stirred our own.

Nevertheless, though the firmness of the hold which the great classical writers have obtained on the educational *répertoire* of the country be admitted to the fullest extent, still new problems are ever emerging with the gradually altering conditions of English life. In the finely graduated chromatic scale of English society there are grades and half-grades, now very numerous represented, between the class that fills the superior and that which fills the primary schools—which, from the limitations in respect of time and money imposed by the circumstances of parents and the conditions of the callings awaiting them, cannot afford the time which the study of Greek and Latin, if it is to be fruitful in moulding character, requires. The boys and girls who belong to these grades and half-grades, if they learn Latin at all (Greek may be put out of question at once), have only time to obtain a smattering of it, and when this is the case it is

often reasonably doubted whether the time employed might not be more profitably spent in studying a "humanity" which offered fewer difficulties at the threshold. We say a "humanity," for we are not here arguing with those who would at once apportion to natural science or some other "real" study (in the German sense of "real"), whatever was taken from the classics. We hold to the platform occupied—largely in theory, but still more extensively in practice—by an immense proportion of those who carry on the work of secondary education in its lower grades. According to this platform, it is agreed that poetry and literature, whether the classics be adopted or rejected, shall still, for the sake of their humanizing power, enter seriously into the curriculum of things taught. This being granted, we are met by the fact that in very many middle-class schools the pupils do not remain sufficiently long to learn Latin to any purpose, considering the difficulties which the mastery of the language presents. The same difficulty, but in a less degree, is felt in the case of any modern language that may be substituted for Latin. Hence has arisen a demand for classbooks in *English* which may replace, so far as possible, the unequalled models furnished by antiquity. This demand has called into existence a long array of classbooks—the Clarendon Series, the London Series, the Cambridge Series, &c. &c.—in which selected works by renowned English writers are, with every necessary help of glossary and annotation, placed in the hands of teachers and pupils. Thus a large number of Shakspeare's plays, the whole of Milton's poetry and some of his prose works, Bacon's Essays, and selections from Chaucer, Spenser, Pope, Dryden, Addison, Johnson, and Burke, have been recently converted into school-books. It would be tedious to criticize the manner in which the various purveyors who have prepared these works for the market have catered for the educational demand. Yet it is obvious that since these writings—some more than others, but all considerably—appeal forcibly to the imagination, passion, sentiment, and sensation of those who study them; and since these powers of the mind act directly on the will, the function of the editors of such textbooks is one of great importance and responsibility. We intend on the present occasion to take up one of the most popular among them, the selection of which for the purposes of teaching seems to us most open to question, and try to exhibit systematically the grounds on which our doubts are based. In this way we may perhaps succeed in supplying criteria by which the value of any other given vernacular textbook may be tested. It will be seen that in the particular instance which we select the grounds of objection are partly general, but partly have special reference to the requirements of

Catholic schools, in which of course we feel a supreme and preponderating interest.

The textbook to which we refer is Spenser's "Faery Queene," Books I. and II., in two volumes, edited by the Rev. G. W. Kitchin for the Clarendon Press series of "English Classics."

In admiration for the rich and exuberant genius of Spenser, the present writer, though of opinion that this admiration should be restrained within definite limits, would yield to none. So far, the careful notes, the clever explanations, and the elaborate glossary, with which this work of true genius is furnished forth by Mr. Kitchin, are a subject for unmixed satisfaction. But the question before us is—not whether, or in what sense, the "Faery Queene" is a work of genius, but whether it is well adapted for use as a textbook. In order to ascertain this, let us consider what those qualifications are in a textbook which render it suitable for use in teaching. Are they not these three: value of matter, excellence of spirit, perfection of form? Those in which the value of the matter is the chief consideration are textbooks in science and history. That the matters taught should be true, and that they should be in an orderly arrangement, without which truth is not so quickly seen nor so effectually grasped, constitutes the excellence of a scientific textbook. No one asks whether a book on grammar or arithmetic is written in a good style or animated by a good spirit; the one question is, Is its teaching correct and clear? History falls under the same category, but with a difference. The main point is, whether the incidents related and the causes suggested are truly related and suggested; a subsidiary requisite, as in the case of science, is that the arrangement should be orderly. Since, however, the facts of history can be looked at from different sides, and therefore differently understood—since, too, they may be presented beautifully or the reverse—the second and third requirements of a textbook, excellence of spirit and perfection of form (which in this case means style), are partially applicable to history. No one thinks about the style or the spirit of a treatise on arithmetic, but in a history of England both these points rise into importance. The work, however, which we propose to consider has nothing to do with either science or history. It is an "English classic"—that is, a textbook in which an English writer is made to minister to those elevating and liberalizing aims which the old "humanities" were meant to subserve. It therefore comes under the head of "poetry and literature," where the word literature is used in the restricted sense of *belles lettres*, and confined to works of fiction, sentiment, humour, and imagination. In such a textbook the value of the matter goes for nothing, or rather does

not come into question. The sole questions to be asked are : Does this textbook breathe a good spirit? Is it an example, more or less admirable, of beautiful literary form.

It may help us in coming to a decision on the merits of Spenser as a textbook if we compare his spirit and the artistic form of his work with those of a writer to whom the experience of ages has adjudged a high place as the channel of sound instruction ; for instance, Virgil. The spirit by which the "Æneid" is animated is admitted on all hands to be a pure and lofty spirit. Hardly a line occurs throughout the twelve books which needs to be expunged as unfit, on the score of licentiousness, for the young to read. Self-denial, patient endurance, courage, devotion to great ideas, are taught, directly or indirectly, from one end of the poem to the other. If Dido is weak, she expiates her offence by her own blood. If Æneas is for a time forgetful of duty, we know, from his victim's prophetic denunciation, that disaster and suffering will dog his steps through life, and that when success has been won he will have no time left to enjoy it. Again, with regard to the literary form of the "Æneid," its perfection and the refining power which it exerts have been ever felt, if not explicitly acknowledged. What majesty of numbers, what Roman solidity and force, are united to what exquisite melody, grace, sweetness, and variety ! The study of those combinations of words, those inimitable phrases, themselves apparently unstudied, which fall so sweetly on the ear that you could not conceive them otherwise expressed than they are, yet in the fashioning of which there lies an art so unique that no poet, ancient or modern, has in this respect ever set himself on the same plane with Virgil—this study, along with that of all the other beauties of Virgilian verse, has an educational power for the intelligence which words cannot adequately convey.

This is what a classic work, used as a textbook, should be ; this at any rate, is the model which it should approach. What must we say of the "Faery Queene" when tried by such a standard? To consider, first, its literary form. This, it may be truly said, although falling far behind the "Æneid," exhibits a perfection of its own, a peculiar mastery of workmanship, which is of great educational value. Majesty is not there, but the verse is often stamped with dignity, and vocal with a grave and solemn harmony. In sweetness and in copiousness Spenser does not yield to Virgil himself. Hazlitt says of his versification that it is "at once the most smooth and the most sounding in the language. It is a labyrinth of sweet sounds, 'in many a winding bout of linked sweetness long drawn out,' that would cloy by their very sweetness, but that the ear is constantly relieved and enchanted by their continued variety of modulation,

dwelling on the pauses of the action, or flowing on in a fuller tide of harmony with the movement of the sentiment. It has not the bold dramatic transitions of Shakspeare's blank verse, nor the high-raised tone of Milton's; but it is the perfection of melting harmony, dissolving the soul in pleasure, or holding it captive in the chains of suspense." The last sentence is rather too vague and flowery, but on the whole the praise given to Spenser's versification is not exaggerated. We may further notice the skilful use of alliteration, and the interspersion of numerous archaic forms, more or less interesting and beautiful, as other points of literary form in regard to which the "Faery Queene" forms a most suitable vehicle for instructive and stimulating comment. The Spenserian stanza itself, though the discontinuity which belongs to all stanzas makes it inferior as a metrical form to Virgil's flexible and free hexameters, yet possesses great beauty and ingenuity of structure, which to explain and illustrate might worthily employ the pains of intelligent teachers.

Thus far we have found no reason why the selection of the "Faery Queene" as a textbook should not be approved. It is when we consider the second qualification of a literary textbook—the spirit by which it is animated—that we find grave cause for hesitation, before consenting to applaud the choice of an author whose mind was so deeply tainted by licentiousness, and whose moral sense in some directions was so perverted. These are strong expressions, but they are not used without deliberation, and it will be our business to show that they can be abundantly justified.

Mr. Kitchin, when introducing the first two books of the "Faery Queene" in a shape designed for practical use, to the world of teachers and learners, appears, so far from having any misgiving, to think that he is bringing a great moral teacher to the knowledge of English youth. He quotes with approval Milton's foolish saying, that Spenser was "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas," and paraphrases the words by calling the English poet "a better philosopher, a purer moralist(!) than either one or the other of the leaders of scholastic lore." "If the First Book," he says, "drew the portrait of the English Christian, [the Second] Book may be said to draw that of the English gentleman, as Spenser conceived it." "Spenser draws with a loving hand the picture of a true Englishman doing his duty to God and his queen." "To be simple, industrious, truthful, pure—this is the ideal set before the Englishman, this is the moral teaching of the Book."

What could be more delightful than a textbook animated by such a spirit? With high-raised expectations the teacher opens

the book. He is not long in observing that *asterisks* occur pretty frequently. On further examination he finds that the mind of this "simple" and "pure" writer* had such a propensity for licentious and sensual ideas, that, out of the twenty-four cantos composing the two books, only some five or six can be used in schools without expurgation. In the First Book twenty entire stanzas, equal to 180 lines, have to be omitted; in the Second Book, sixteen stanzas, besides seven lines occurring in different parts of the poem. In all, about three hundred and thirty lines, in a third part only of the model work of this model writer, are necessarily excluded on the score of indecency. Nor let it be supposed that Mr. Kitchin has been unduly or Puritanically severe. There are several passages where the stanza or stanzas omitted—several stanzas in which the line or lines omitted—are not much more objectionable than what is retained. The enervating, relaxing, yet unwholesomely exciting effect which such passages naturally produce on the senses and imagination, if not steeled in advance against them, is still produced in spite of the omissions. And as for the omissions, we cannot but think that they are most awkwardly managed. The Jesuits, when they determine to use Horace as a textbook in their schools, use no half-measures. They know that the temperament of the young is unstable and inflammable, and that exciting occasions and dangerous materials are better shunned altogether than applied with discrimination. An ode or a satire, from the texture of which irregular ideas and relations cannot be disentangled, they simply exclude, but without *giving notice of the exclusion*, as Mr. Kitchin does. The use of asterisks—the "Faery Queene" being so common a book—is simply calculated to direct readers of a certain class, whose imagination has been already stimulated by what Mr. Kitchin gives, to the exact page and canto in an unaltered Spenser, where they may be gratified by the perusal of what he withholds. Even the moderate standard of decorum which Mr. Kitchin has prescribed to himself is not always observed: note, for instance, stanzas 17 and 19 in canto x. of the Second Book.

It is easy to sneer at those who would "Bowdlerize" an author—easy to say that much that is graceful and striking in expression is sacrificed by permitting a free use of the shears;

* Southey—one of the cleverest of men, but the reverse of sagacious—wrote of Spenser:—

Yet not more sweet
Than pure was he, and not more pure than wise,
High priest of all the Muses' mysteries!

Upon this Hazlitt drily remarks, "On the contrary, no one was more apt to pry into mysteries which do not strictly belong to the Muses."

easy to allege that English schoolboys, as a rule, are too manly and too healthy-minded to be injuriously affected by such reading. If the last objection be true, or have the smallest resemblance to truth, English boys must be wonderfully changed from what they were thirty or forty years ago. This cannot be seriously maintained; but the truth is, that married clergymen, from some inertness of mind or failure of sympathy, cannot put themselves in the position of the young persons for whom they are editing loose poems. To the married editors, of course, the prurient passages in Spenser or Horace are quite unexciting, and they unconsciously transfer their own immunity from temptation to those who are differently circumstanced. The Catholic priest, who has bound himself for life to an abstention from thoughts and gratifications which it is of the highest moral consequence to the boy or youth to abstain from while *in statu pupillari*, understands what is the right course to be followed; and when the question is between what Newman has called "the inconceivable evil of sensuality" on one side, and a slight intellectual detriment on the other, he will not hesitate for a moment. He will seize the pruning-knife, and not rest till his author, as he stands in the textbook, is fit to be read to his own sister.

However, Protestant parents and teachers—or at any rate the majority of them—count these but as small matters. Mr. Kitchin's edition of Spenser has been out more than ten years, and we never heard that any one objected to it on the ground that considerable portions of it were likely to encourage, if not suggest, corrupting thoughts. In a country where the bulk of the educated classes are possessed by a confirmed heretical temper, which is unhappily the case with England, it is felt to be of more importance that the spirit and tone of a work used in teaching should be Protestant, or at least non-Catholic, than that it should be pure from moral taint. Mr. Kitchin has perceived this feeling, and adroitly catered for it. For ages no one had cared to decipher the meaning of Spenser's allegory. The critics knew that it could be easily done, but they felt that it was not worth doing. They saw that what in Spenser's poetry was truly admirable was, mainly—1. His epic power of involving and evolving a complex plot; 2. The gorgeous and sustained splendour of his descriptions; 3. His love of Nature. With regard to the allegory, so far as it was not self-interpreting (as when Mammon, Sloth, Care, &c., are introduced, and actions appropriate to their names assigned to them), they knew that it was full of temporary political meanings, and they did not suppose that the flatterer of Leicester, the humble servant of Walsingham and Burleigh, was likely to have any very profound

or noble teaching to communicate in this hidden guise to mankind. This was the attitude towards Spenser of Pope, Coleridge, Hallam, and Hazlitt. It was left to Mr. Kitchin to draw attention to, and place in a prominent light, the undeniable anti-Catholic bias by which the allegory is pervaded. He carefully explains to all who may use the textbook that by Una Spenser meant truth, and also the reformed Anglican Church (vol. i. p. 163), as possessing that unity which is the mark of divine truth; that by Duessa (twofoldness, duplicity) he meant the Church in communion with Rome and the Papacy, (vol. i. pp. xiv, xv), and also Mary Queen of Scots, as the chief female representative of Catholicism among sovereigns; that Gloriana, Belphœbe, Britomart, prototypes of all that is majestic, chaste, gracious, and virtuous in the female character, are so many names for Queen Elizabeth, the great supporter of the Protestant cause in Europe; finally, that by Archimago the "artifices of the Jesuits" and their "underhand plots and deceits" are signified (i. p. xiv). It is quite true; Spenser did mean all this; and many other illustrations of his sound Protestantism might be collected, if the discovery would repay the search. It is just as well, too, that Mr. Kitchin should have done us the service to bring the matter out so clearly; for if those responsible for the teaching in Catholic schools approve of the use of this textbook after receiving fair warning that it has a virulent anti-Catholic bias, they do so with their eyes open.

It having been shown in what direction lie the merits and demerits of "Spenser as a textbook," and his special relations to Catholicism having been pointed out, this article might here be closed. But since Mr. Kitchin claims for the poet the privilege of imparting to those that study him "lessons of religious and moral truth" (p. xxi), it may be not undesirable to look somewhat more closely into his character and career, so that we may learn, if possible, the secret of the animosity with which he is continually vilifying the religion of his fathers. Spenser was born a Catholic, like Southwell, than whom he was a few years older. Southwell lived in the faith, and died gloriously in its cause; Spenser, not content with giving a silent adherence to the religion set up by the Court, was active for many years in opposing and maligning those who scrupled to embrace it. Can any explanation be given of the extraordinary divergence which separated the lives of these contemporary English poets?

The truth is, the mind of Spenser was a chaos; and in his writings we see the evidence of a perpetual conflict between a traditional Catholicism and a not very disinterested Protes-

tantism. The Catholic half of his being consigns Sir Guyon to the direction of a pious palmer, and reforms the Red Cross Knight (Book I. canto x.), not by an enthusiastic imputation to himself of the merits of Christ, not by the "just as I am" doctrine, but by an austere course of penance and discipline. The Protestant half speaks slightingly of saints and popes and the "Ave-Mary" (I. i. 35), identifies the Scarlet Woman with the wearer of the papal crown, (I. ii. 13), and urges the execution of the hapless Mary (V. ix. and x.). Nothing is known about his parents, but since no tendency to Calvinistic or Lutheran doctrine is found in Spenser himself, it is reasonable to suppose that, till the accession of Elizabeth—*i.e.* till he was six years old—he was brought up in the old Catholic ways, to which, under Mary, the mass of the people had eagerly returned. Born in or about 1552, he must have been taught the Christian doctrine; perhaps he may have heard mass; processions and high solemnities he cannot, living in London, have been a stranger to. He was sent to Cambridge in his fifteenth or sixteenth year, and it was doubtless there that he learnt to reject the ancient religion, and

Hold after the newe world the trace.

He had much ambition, and a keen appreciation of what was for his own interest. How earnest a suitor he was for Court favour we know from the striking passage in "Mother Hubbard's Tale" beginning—

Full little knoweth he who hath not tried,
What hell it is in suing long to bide.

He succeeded at last, and was appointed secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton, on his proceeding to Ireland as Lord-Deputy in 1580. While in Ireland Spenser learnt with great perfectness the lesson which the state of England had already inculcated—*viz.*, that the sole avenue to wealth and advancement lay in adhering to the religion of the Court, and in supporting those with all his might who were engaged in forcing it upon the Irish. This was rendered the more easy to him, because the distracted state of the country lent plausibility to the view, that the enforcement everywhere of English law (of which the inevitable concomitant was English religion, according to the Turkish maxim then prevalent, *Cujus regio, ejus religio*) was the true way to cure the disorders and restore the civilization of the land. Spenser's plans for the "pacification" of Ireland were more thorough than those of his own chief, who yet was recalled on the score of the cruel severity of his government in 1588. All who did not submit within a given time—submission, be it remembered, involving very often the loss of their lands,

and religious apostasy—were to be *destroyed without mercy*. The method of doing this may be described in his own words. Eudoxus, one of the interlocutors in his "View of the State of Ireland," supposes the summer to be the fit time for service against the Irish, but his friend Irenæus says this is a mistake. "In Ireland the winter yieldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the aire is sharpe and bitter, to blowe thorough his naked sides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them will they yield him flesh, nor, if he keepe them, will they give him food: besides, being all with calfe (for the most part), they will, thorough much chasing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should releive him the next summer." Irenæus goes on to recommend that an English force of ten thousand men, well armed and equipped, should be brought into the country and quartered in garrisons in different districts, but chiefly in Ulster. A proclamation of pardon should then issue to all who came in within twenty days, except the principals and ringleaders. This, he thinks, would bring in many. Next, if their "rascall people"—that is, old men, women, children, and hinds—came in, they should be received on grounds of humanity, though driving them back on the rebels might be better policy, as more likely to distress and starve them out. Thirdly, if any of their able men or gentlemen came in, bringing their cattle with them, he would admit them to quarter, but send them away to a distance from the seat of war. "But afterward I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which will afterwards remaine without are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, . . . so as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needfull to be cut off." "Civill conversation" and "amendment" on the part of such persons involved, be it remembered, acquiescence in the establishment of heresy and heretical teachers among them, and the proscription of their own faithful clergy. All persons not included in the classes excepted above were to have no quarter, but to be put to the sword or left to starve. He instances what he had seen in Munster, where the method which he recommends had been followed—a whole population perishing of starvation; "they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions; . . . yea, and one another soone after." The end was, that "in short space there were

none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful countrey suddainely left voyde of man and beast; yet sure in all that warre there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine." The advantages of this system, as tending to extinguish the native proprietor, and bring in a population of decent English or Scotch heretics in his place, were too obvious to be further insisted on. Spenser knew what manner of readers he was writing for.

This zeal for the extirpation of the Irishry was rewarded by the grant to the poet, not only of a portion—upwards of three thousand acres—of the forfeited lands of the Desmonds in Munster, but also of "the lease of a house in Dublin belonging to Baltinglas for six years to come," and by the promise of "a custodiam of John Eustace's land of the Newland."*

Percepit mercedem suam; we have seen what he laboured for, and he had his reward. For the Jesuits, whose wicked slanders on the virtuous Elizabeth fill Mr. Kitchin's mind with horror (vol. i. p. 170), England had other rewards; it may be instructive to pause a moment to examine them. While Spenser was enjoying himself in his Irish castle, or straying pensively by the banks of Mulla, Robert Southwell, a young Jesuit father, came into England to join the mission. There was nothing political in his enterprise; his object was solely to maintain the faith and sacramental life among English Catholics, and to reclaim, so far as the violence of the persecution permitted, those who had fallen away. The English language hardly contains anything more pathetic, more moving, more rich in all the varied gifts and weapons of eloquence, than the letter which Southwell wrote in 1590 to his father, who had become a lukewarm Catholic. His remonstrances, we are told, had the desired effect.† In 1592 he was betrayed to the persecutors, and confined for a time in the house of Topcliffe the pursuivant. By the orders of this wretch he was cruelly and brutally tortured ten times in succession, in order to compel him to give up the names and addresses of his Catholic friends; but he would reveal nothing. After lingering in the Tower for three years, he requested to be tried; the request was granted; he was condemned simply as a priest and a Jesuit, and put to death with the usual refinements of barbarity which the law of those days required. He, too, *percepit mercedem suam*; he received the reward which he had laboured for—the crown of martyrdom.

With Spenser everything seemed to prosper for some years.

* Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1582.
Southwell's Works, edited by W. B. Turnbull, 1856.

After the publication of the first three books of the "Faery Queene" in 1590, he received a pension of fifty pounds a year from the Queen. He married an Irish girl of low degree; the well-known "Epithalamium," exquisite in language and music but immoderately voluptuous, describes the happiness which he felt or anticipated. In 1596, the year of Southwell's martyrdom, he gave to the world Books IV.-VI. of the "Faery Queene." Soon after the retribution came. The down-trodden Irish turned for a moment on their oppressors, and almost broke their chains. Rudely awakened from the dream of sensuous and æsthetic pleasure—dislodged, burnt out by the people whose extermination he had so scientifically planned—Spenser, fleeing in such panic haste that his infant child, it is said, was left to perish in the flames of his castle, escaped to London, where he died early in 1599.

When advised to turn to Spenser for "lessons of religious and moral truth," Catholics will consider his life, of which we have given this brief outline, and find in it alone sufficient reason for rejecting the advice. But it does not follow from this that Spenser should not hold a place of honour in that enlarged curriculum of the "humanities," embracing what is best and greatest in the productions of modern genius, which the circumstances of our times require. His allegory should be left to take care of itself, and neither the entire "Faery Queene," nor even any single book, should be taught as a whole, because of the difficulty of getting rid of the sensual taint by which it is pervaded. But—to say nothing at present of his other poems, which are full of beauty—long passages in the "Faery Queene," and even entire cantos, may easily be found, written in his best manner, which display all that wealth of language and imagery which he had at his command, and breathe the lofty idealism which English writers of that age drew from the Platonizing schools of Italy. As there is no fear of Spenser's losing the homage of the general cultured world, so there is no reason why, if circumspection be used, he should not be read largely in our schools; but, for the reasons assigned, we doubt the wisdom of employing any of his works as a separate textbook.

T. ARNOLD M.A.

ART. V.—THE TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD OF
M. RENAN'S LECTURES.

Lectures on the Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome, on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church. By E. RENAN. Translated by C. BEARD, B.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1880.

M. RENAN has produced a book which it is very easy to rate too high, or too low, and different readers will no doubt estimate its merits at very different values. On the one hand, we feel sure that those who have even a tolerable acquaintance with the destructive criticism which has been prevalent in Protestant Germany for the last forty years, will find that little or nothing can be learnt from M. Renan's pages. Not that his book is without a show of learning. The notes abound with references to the original documents from which our knowledge of early Church history is derived, and the author assumes with great skill and cleverness the air of an independent investigator. But almost any one, we think, who has made a serious study of New Testament criticism, and made himself familiar, for example, with the view propounded in Baur's History of the Church in the first three centuries, will see easily enough, how little of the matter in M. Renan's volume, is due to M. Renan himself. We are certain that such a person, when he has perused the Lectures from cover to cover, will find that he has not met with a single view which has not been stated over and over again. We doubt if he will come across a single fact which is new to him, or even one which is put at least in a new light. M. Renan has not even the merit of exercising his own judgment on the writings of the Tübingen school, for though he does protest against the extravagances and extremes into which this school has run, still he contents himself with this expression of his opinion, supports it by no reasons, and no arguments, and borrows his own views and facts from the Tübingen critics, with very scant and inadequate acknowledgment. On the other hand, we readily admit that it would be most false and one-sided to deny that these Lectures are likely to have a great and important influence on the minds of many among our countrymen, nor are we disposed by any means to make light of them. It is, in itself, a significant fact, that a man, whose want of Christian belief is so notorious, should have been asked to address an English audience of high

character, on the rise of Christianity. It is one of the many signs which indicate with a clearness which admits of no mistake, how rapidly the Protestant orthodoxy of our land is losing its hold on society, and giving way beneath the powerful solvents of foreign infidelity. Moreover, given an audience educated in the ordinary English acceptance of the word, and fairly intelligent, interested in religion, but without any pretensions to theological learning, not accustomed to trouble itself much with very close or accurate reasoning; given, we say, such an audience, and we can scarcely imagine a book more likely to persuade them than these Lectures of M. Renan. True, he advances nothing which German critics have not put forward long ago; but how few of his hearers or readers have anything beyond the vaguest knowledge of German criticism, and its results? And if most English laymen begin to study German criticism, they are soon repelled by the length of the books, the minuteness of detailed inquiry, the absence, for the most part, of any attempt at style or artistic form, of any effort to avoid technicalities, or appeal to a popular audience. M. Renan has changed all that. In a book of two hundred pages, octavo, he conducts his readers through three centuries, and these the most eventful in the world's history, and professes to explain the rise of Christian belief by plausible theories which can be understood and adopted without preliminary study, and with small expense of mental labour. Moreover, in one respect the book does possess superlative excellence. M. Renan may have borrowed his ideas and his learning, but the matchless beauty of his style is all his own. In a limpid clearness, in striking historical painting, in the interest with which he clothes his subject, in the plausible way in which he puts his theories, in the adroitness with which he diverts attention from objections and makes assertion pass muster for argument, he has no rivals across the Rhine, and very few, we suspect, in any part of the world. Something, no doubt, is due to the qualities of the French language, but even in the English translation (which by the way is admirably done), the fascination of style is by no means entirely lost.

What we have already written, is enough to acquaint the reader with our own opinion of the lectures, their merits and their defects. But there is another question on which we wish to say a word or two before we grapple with the subject on which M. Renan treats—the question, we mean, of the good or evil which this book is likely to do. It may seem strange at first sight, that we can suppose it possible for any considerable good to come from such a source. And in fact we do not for a moment doubt that its influence, as a rule, will be almost entirely for evil. Many, we may be certain, will be lured by

the charms of an author who assumes a tone of philosophical candour, makes everything easy and simple, and enables them to disbelieve with so little trouble. Still, it seems to us perfectly possible that a thoughtful Protestant who has common sense enough to sift M. Renan's facts and arguments, may rise from the perusal of the book much nearer to the Catholic Church than he was before he began it. M. Renan sets before us some of the most important conclusions to which Protestantism in its latest phase has come. Now we are convinced that it is a mistake to regard the effect produced by German critics of the Negative school as an unmixed evil. An evil of course it is in many respects; an evil so far as it has destroyed reverence for the sacred Scriptures; an evil so far as it has loosened the hold of Protestants upon those sacred truths which they have inherited, unawares, from the Catholic Church. But at the same time, it must be remembered that German criticism in carrying out Protestantism to its legitimate consequences, has largely helped to make men see that they must choose, if they would be consistent, between a belief in the Catholic religion, and the rejection of all Christian dogma together. It has brought home to men's minds the folly of accepting any evidence, however weak, in favour of a book of scripture, and rejecting any evidence, however strong, if it tells in favour of the Church. We are, however, justified in going farther than this. It is only fair to say, that in many respects the modern "critical" school are far less prejudiced, far readier to acknowledge plain facts, than Protestant writers who have retained a larger portion of Christian belief. Any one who turns to M. Renan after being accustomed to the older Protestant historians, will be struck at once by the admissions he makes on the Catholic side, with regard to such questions as the rise of the Papacy, or the influence of the episcopate. We might search in vain even in the works of High Anglicans for anything nearly so just and so accurate. Moreover, it must be remembered that these concessions are not due to M. Renan's personal views, to his own inquiry, or to that lingering affection which still attaches him to the religion of his youth. On the contrary, we consider it worth while to comment on his presentation of Early Church history, just because his Lectures are merely an epitome of the works of men who are far superior to himself in knowledge and ability, and who have never known the Catholic religion, except from the outside. This it is, which makes his witness to Catholic truth worthy of serious attention, but before we set it before our readers, we must pause for a moment to meet an objection which may be made at the very outset to our method of dealing with M. Renan.

It may be alleged, and not without apparent reason, that when we quote his testimony, where it helps our cause, we are really playing fast and loose with his evidence and reasoning in a most illogical way. What right, a Protestant opponent may ask, what right have you to make light of M. Renan whenever he is against you, and to quote him with an air of triumph whenever he happens to be on your side? None at all, we reply, but we have no intention of entering on such an inconsequent kind of pleading. M. Renan, as we shall try to prove, makes some most important admissions, and this, not out of carelessness or caprice, but because he, or rather because the scholars whom he repeats in a more popular form, do, to a certain extent, prefer history to prejudice. So far, he is an example and a rebuke to English Protestants less philosophical and less candid than himself. We take nothing, we wish others to take nothing, on his authority, and we hope to show that his views, so far as they are Catholic, are also historical. We do not for a moment forget that the main object of his book is to explain the growth of Christianity by natural causes. We shall give our reason for looking on this explanation as absolutely worthless, and having taken advantage of M. Renan to confute Protestants, we shall do what we can to confute M. Renan himself. We shall begin for the sake of clearness, with a short summary of M. Renan's hypotheses.

The founder of the Christian religion, we are told by M. Renan, occupied himself very little with doctrine, but he taught an exalted morality, and inculcated love and mercy. The religion which he taught was no other than Judaism, Judaism "with its fertile principles of almsgiving and charity, with its absolute faith in the future of humanity, with that joy of heart of which Judaism has always held the secret." But one important change had been made in the old religion. "It is more than doubtful whether pure Judaism, the Judaism which was developed in a Talmudic form and which still retains so much of its power, would ever have had so extraordinary a fortune" as that which fell to the lot of Christianity. But by means of Christ's teaching, Judaism lost its peculiar features and distinctive observances, and so received a new and purified form, which fitted it for its destinies as the religion of the civilized world.

The age, says M. Renan, was adapted as no other ever had been, for the Christian propaganda. Heathen Rome had paved the way for the mission of the Apostle. She had united the whole world in peace. She had swept the pirates from the Mediterranean, and now the emissaries of the Christian religion could pass in peace and safety from land to land till they

reached the farthest limits of the West. But Rome did Christianity another service, and that one more important still. Her universal empire had destroyed the spirit of patriotism; Syria, Cyprus, Asia Minor, had lost even the memory of freedom, the republics of Greece which would have crushed Christianity had vanished, even at Rome patriotism survived only in a few of the ancient families. Hence room was made for a religion "which was from the first the denial of any earthly country." More than this, the absence of political struggle, the fact that politics had ceased to create enthusiasm or even interest, threw men back on themselves, and made them lend willing ears to moral and religious teaching. Christianity was just the teaching which was wanted in such an age. The joyous mythology of Greece was out of tune with the sadness of the human heart, with the oppression and suffering, the hopelessness and weariness of life which prevailed throughout the Roman world. Men turned eagerly, especially did the poor and suffering turn eagerly, to a religion which bound its members together in a mysterious fellowship, proclaimed the blessedness of poverty and suffering, and held out the promise of "a new heaven and a new earth in which justice dwelleth."

But had this been all, Christianity would indeed have made many converts; still it would never have subdued the world. To do so it needed a fixed government and organization, else it would have degenerated into a mere fanaticism; above all it needed unity, else Christians would spend in internecine warfare the strength which they needed to overcome the forces of heathenism. At first the new religion seemed hopelessly destitute of both these requisites. It had little regular organization, for Christ had laid down little with regard to laws or constitution, indeed it is doubtful if he had even the idea of a Church "as it was developed later." And instead of possessing unity, Christians were divided by sharp and fundamental differences almost from the very beginning. There was the party of the older apostles, who clung tenaciously to the temple worship, to circumcision; who in fact made Christianity little more than a purified and slightly altered Judaism. Then there was the Pauline party, who were all on fire to cut the cords which bound the church to the synagogue, who proclaimed the sufficiency of faith, who looked on legal observances as an insult to their master. "You are not ignorant," says M. Renan, in language which we think even the extremest of the Germans whom he follows would smile at as exaggerated and fanciful—"you are not ignorant of the profound division which in this first age parted the disciples of Jesus, divisions so profound that none of the differences which now separate the orthodox from the heretical and schis-

matical of the whole world, are to be compared with the disagreement between Peter and Paul."(!!) Each party represented isolated principles which were necessary in combination, to ensure the success of Christianity. The Pauline Christians were full of the free and universal spirit without which Christianity could make no effectual appeal to mankind in general. The Petrine, or Judaising Christians, had the instinct of conservatism and of order, without which the individual liberty which the teaching of St. Paul had fostered, was sure to turn everything into anarchy and confusion. But how were the separate advantages of the Petrine and Pauline Christians to be united and harmonized with each other? How were discordant sects, opposed to each other as bitterly as Catholics and Lutherans, to be induced to forget their differences and make common cause against a world "seated in wickedness?" It was Rome, M. Renan answers, which enabled the Christians to do what they could not have done of themselves. Rome, as we have already seen, "made the way plain" before the first Christian teachers. Once more Rome came to the rescue, uniting the Christians among themselves, and this chiefly in two ways.

An ancient historian reports that when Titus destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem, he imagined he had dealt a death-blow to Christianity, as well as to Judaism. If the report is correct, no man ever made a more utter mistake. What Titus did destroy was the particular Christianity of the Judaisers, and in doing so he conferred an enormous benefit on the Christian faith; he freed it indeed from a danger which might have been fatal to it in its very infancy. The temple with its sacred associations had disappeared, and it was no longer in the power of Jewish Christians to unite attendance upon its services with the frequentation of the Christian assemblies. The Jewish polity was destroyed, so that a Jewish Christian was not obliged any more to reconcile his duties towards the Christian community with the subjection which he owed to the high-priest and the sanhedrim, as the authorities established in his nation. Nay, even the prominence of Jerusalem as the mother church presided over by James "the brother of the Lord," was abolished also. The Christians had retired from the city before it fell beneath the Roman arms, and in the Hauran on the other side of the Jordan, the Judaic Christians lingered on, an obscure community. They were powerless to control any longer the free Christian spirit. The old Jerusalem had passed away for ever, and given place to the Jerusalem in which St. Paul believed, "the Jerusalem which is above," and which was to be the common mother of Jews and Gentiles.

The second benefit which Rome, in M. Renan's opinion

bestowed on Christianity, was even more extraordinary. There was no further fear of Judaism dominating the Christian body and crippling its missionary efforts, but it was an imperative necessity that the good elements in the Petrine spirit should be preserved, the memory of the original "duality" which parted the early followers of Christ should be blotted out, and that the Jewish and Gentile converts should be bound together, under a common authority; that the Catholic Church in short should gather all into an all-embracing unity, and control divergent tendencies with the strong hand of rule and order. Wonderful to tell, Rome actually supplied the nascent church with a constitution, and with principles of government which enabled her at a future time to win the victory over the Roman Empire itself. The Imperial City had been connected very closely with each of the chief apostles; with Peter the champion of the old, with Paul the preacher of the new and freer doctrine. It was to the Roman church that Paul had addressed the longest and most important of his epistles; there, for years, in bonds himself, he had preached the "Word of God," which could not be bound. There, in the persecution which followed the famous conflagration under Nero, he had sealed his faith with his blood. But the Roman Church had relations scarcely less close with St. Peter. It had been founded at the first by Jewish Christians who would naturally cling to him; and at a later date St. Peter himself (M. Renan admits that there is no escape from the historical proof of this fact) had proceeded to Rome, and there after a short stay had suffered martyrdom. Gradually the Roman legend made men oblivious of the differences so fiercely agitated between the apostles, in the glory of their death for a common Lord. Some of the Roman Christians, particularly, M. Renan supposes, the great St. Clement, perceived the grand future which lay before Christianity if it could become really one, if extremes on either side could be discarded and a church founded on the apostles in common. Accordingly a whole literature arose, the object of which was to reconcile the apostles, and in constructing which a great part was played by Luke writing under Roman influence. The opposition between the apostles was softened down. Peter was alleged in the Acts of the Apostles to have received the first-fruits of the Gentiles; Paul to have paid great outward respect to the Jewish law. Peter and Paul were pictured as brothers who saw each other little face to face, because their zeal carried them to different regions, but who had been always one in heart, till at last they were brought together again and united in death. Nor was this all. The Roman Church, not content with uniting St. Peter and St. Paul, in the past, united their followers in the present. Jerusalem had

urged some sort of claim to be the Christian metropolis; now Rome boldly entered into the place which the elder city had left vacant. It was her legendary glory to have been founded by the two great apostles, and she made the most of that proud origin. Even towards the close of the first century, while one at least of the apostles was still living, "a certain primacy belonging to" the Roman Church "was beginning to make its way to the light. The right of warning other churches and composing their differences was conceded to it." Moreover, the Roman Church knew well how to use this primacy in the best interests of Christianity. To the universal Christianity of St. Paul, she added "the taste for tradition and hierarchy, the respect for authority" which had characterized the Christians of Jerusalem. She was the church "of order, of rule, of subordination, making it her" fundamental principle that humility and submission were of more account than the sublimest gifts. With a practical genius, derived not so much from the Christians of Jerusalem, as from the lawgivers of heathen Rome, she promoted the hierarchical spirit throughout the world; that threefold abdication by which the community yielded up its rights to the presbyter, that the presbyters might very shortly be placed in subordination to the bishop, while the episcopacy was in its turn and in the course of time to be set under the rule of the Pope. The work which was so necessary, and in truth because of its necessity, was rapidly effected. Under Marcus Aurelius, M. Renan informs us the "episcopate was completely ripe," and earlier than that under Antoninus (138-161), "the germ of the Papacy already existed in a very definite form." It is plain that the course of history, as M. Renan conceives it, produced radical changes, but then those changes were absolutely essential if Christianity was to live. Rome saved the religion of Christ from two extremes, each of them equally pernicious. "Men felt," so run the words of the text, "that the free church as Paul understood it to be, was an anarchic Utopia, holding no promise of the future." "With evangelical liberty disorder went hand in hand." The opponents of Pauline freedom would have done no less harm, though it would have been harm of an exactly opposite nature. "We are," M. Renan exclaims in his rhetorical manner, "to have the Pope of Rome: without Titus we should have had the Pope of Jerusalem. But there is this great difference between them, that while the Pope of Jerusalem would have smothered Christianity, the Pope of Rome has made it the religion of the world."

Our readers perhaps may complain that we have given in needless detail M. Renan's fanciful account of the rise and growth of the Christian Church. We must repeat, however, that the account is not his, but one which he has borrowed from

Germany, and which has obtained acceptance among many Protestant scholars. Besides, we are persuaded that, in spite of its absurdities, it contains important truths, well worthy of attentive consideration, and often neglected by those who are still subject to old-fashioned Protestant prejudice. The errors of M. Renan are more fundamental than those of most English Protestants, but none the less is it the case that he is right on various points where they are wrong, that he has history on his side when it is dead against them; and we shall try to separate the true from the false parts of his narrative, and to show how much may be made of his testimony to the Church. Later on we shall have some remarks to offer on his attempt to explain the origin of the Church as the effect of natural causes.

We start with a matter which will, we conceive, not fail to strike the ordinary Protestant reader of M. Renan's Lectures, we mean the antiquity which he attributes to Papal power. There are still probably many Protestants who regard the Papacy as a growth of the dark ages, and assuredly most English Protestants would refuse to admit that there were any traces of its existence in the Ante-Nicene age. It is in fact a favourite contention, even of the more moderate Anglicans, that the civil supremacy of Rome caused an ecclesiastical primacy to be assigned to it, after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. As we have already seen, M. Renan holds very different language. "By the time of Antoninus Pius," he says (*i.e.* between 138 and 161), "almost everybody had come to believe that Peter and Paul had founded Christianity at Rome and had sealed the work with their blood" (p. 148). "Under the next reign, that of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the Papacy exists in germ" (p. 169). Irenæus, Tertullian Cyprian, testify to the fact that "the Roman Church claimed a precedence over others, which was generally recognized." "All the doubtful questions which agitated the Christian conscience came to Rome to ask for arbitration, if not for decision. Men argued . . . that as Christ had made Cephias the corner stone of his Church, the privilege ought to be inherited by his successors . . ." The Bishop of Rome became the Bishop of bishops. Rome proclaims her right, a dangerous right, of excommunicating all others who do not walk with her. "The Church of Rome put herself above history (by excommunicating the Artemonite heretics, who denied the divinity of Christ), (pp. 172 *seq.*) The primacy of Rome is a brilliant fact in the second and third century" (p. 198). The last passage which we shall quote is the strongest of all, and it will be observed that M. Renan gives his reasons: "*At the end of the second century we can already recognize, by signs which it is impossible to*

mistake, the spirit which in 1870 will proclaim the infallibility of the Pope. The writing, of which the fragment known as the Canon of Muratori formed a part, and which was produced at Rome about the year 180 A.D., shows us Rome already defining the canon of scripture, alleging the martyrdom of Peter as the foundation of Catholicity, repudiating Montanism and Gnosticism alike. Irenæus refutes all heresies by reference to the belief of this Church, the greatest, the oldest, the most illustrious, which possesses in virtue of an unbroken succession the true tradition of the apostles Peter and Paul, and to which, because of its primacy, all the rest of the Church ought to have recourse" (p. 174).

We are bound in candour to draw attention to a characteristic inaccuracy which mars the picture M. Renan has drawn of the Church in the first three centuries. His imagination is so strong, and his care for accuracy so slight, that he seems to be incapable of writing a few pages without falling into some gross blunder, and the statement which he makes about the so-called Muratorian canon is a pure invention. Most likely the precious fragment was written at Rome, and M. Renan cannot be far wrong when he places its date approximately at 180. But it nowhere alleges the martyrdom of St. Peter as the foundation of Christianity. It does state the fact of St. Peter's "passion," but without a word to indicate that this passion was the foundation of Christianity or the foundation of anything whatsoever.* However, if we put out of count this unfortunate reference to the Muratorian Fragment, no one, so far as we see, can justly quarrel with the position which M. Renan assigns to Rome in the first ages. We readily drop one of the proofs which he adduces, but we have enough and to spare, which we can put in its place, and Catholic historians long ago have stated the case for the Papacy much better than M. Renan has done. We rejoice to see the facts stated in his pages, not because his statement has any special merit, but because he may induce some, who turn in distrust from Catholic allegations, to look hard facts in the face. For let the reader only consider; the Catholic historian does not, or at least need not, profess to show that the Roman Church in the early ages exercised that fulness of power which belongs to it at the present day. There are many grounds which make it vain to expect anything of the sort. The

* The words are:—Lucas optime Theophile comprehendit, quia sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur; sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis. Many attempts have been made to amend this corrupt Latin. No emendation will help M. Renan.

knowledge which we have of Ante-Nicene history is fragmentary and incomplete, and we are quite justified in taking the testimony of the early Fathers to the authority of Rome which still remain, as samples of many others which have perished. Again, just as it was impossible for an Œcumenical Council to meet before the days of Constantine, so to a certain extent it was impossible in those days for the Bishop of Rome to exhibit the prerogative which belonged to his See of right. Nor do we for a moment deny that it was only by degrees, and through the slow action of time and controversy, that the authority of the Roman Church as the indefectible and infallible centre of unity and faith was perfectly apprehended throughout the Christian world. But what we do maintain is this: we hold, and as Catholics must hold, that Christ appointed St. Peter, and the Bishops of Rome after him, to be the head of the Christian Church which He came upon earth to establish, and we hold further, all history, while it confirms this point of our belief, contradicts the notion that a Church without the Pope, can be the Church which Christ founded. That Christ set some head over his Church is clear from his words to St. Peter in Mat. xvi. 18. Authorities, which cannot be set aside except on sceptical methods which would overturn all belief in Christianity as a supernatural religion, attest the fact that St. Peter, with his brother apostle St. Paul, founded the Roman Church. From the very first we find that this Church claimed a peculiar prominence, and that its claim was on the whole allowed. Look at the remarkable circumstances to which M. Renan draws attention—viz., that the Corinthians, while St. John was actually living at Ephesus, turn not to Ephesus but to Rome for the decision of their disputes. Nor is this an isolated fact; others of a similar nature have come down to us even in the scanty and fragmentary literature of the first two centuries. Such, for instance, are the salutations of St. Ignatius to the Roman Church, as *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης*, presiding over charity—i.e., over the whole body of the faithful bound together in charity—words which should be taken in connection with the marked tone of deference which runs through his letter to the Roman Christians, with his statement that they have “taught others,” and that he cannot lay down laws for them “as if he were Peter or Paul.” Such, again, is the interference of Pope Victor in the Paschal controversy, his attempt to sever the Asiatic dioceses from the “unity of the Church,” and his proclamation that they were “excommunicate.” (Euseb. v. 24.) But we are not driven to rest our case on these facts by themselves. We have to look at them in the light of Christ's words which precede, promising that his Church is to have a supreme head,

and in that of the first theological writers who succeed the Apostolic Fathers, and who explain the principle on which the Roman primacy was based. The very first writer who furnishes us with any detailed information on Christian doctrine is St. Irenæus, who wrote about 180. He gives the splendid testimony to the authority of Rome, which we have already cited from M. Renan. He says that with it every Church must agree; he makes the preservation of the faith depend upon union with it; he attributes its supremacy, not to any accidental reason, but to that "more powerful principality," which he traces, as is perfectly clear from the context, to its foundation by St. Peter and St. Paul. In a like spirit, Tertullian speaks of our Lord's giving the keys to Peter, and through him to the Church (Scorp. 10), of the Church as built on him (Monog. 8), of the Roman Church as that into which the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul poured the whole of this doctrine with their blood (Praescr. 36). The heresy of the age unites its witness to that of Catholic Fathers. The Clementine homilies, which were written by Ebionite or Judaising heretics, do not dream of denying that the Church of Christ must have an earthly head, but they set the primacy of St. James, whom they call "Bishop of bishops" (Ep. Clem. ad Jacob.), against the primacy of the Pope, while they cannot help allowing (inconsistent as this admission is) that St. Peter, not St. James, was "the foundation of the Church" (Hom. xvii. 19). Every one is aware how Tertullian, after he had left the Church for Montanism, supplies us with evidence for the pretensions of the contemporary Roman Church; how he calls the Pope contemptuously "Pontifex maximus," *i.e.*, "episcopusepiscoporum;" taunts him with his "peremptory edicts," and argues (just as a Protestant might do now-a-days) against the power he may claim on the strength of the text, "Thou art Peter" (Pudicit. 1 and 21). All this, we repeat, is just what we should expect, supposing the divine origin of Papal supremacy to be true. The Catholic hypothesis stands the one sufficient test to which an hypothesis can be put—*viz.*, the test of verification. We have our Lord instituting the primacy in St. Matthew's gospel; we have faint and obscure traces of this primacy in its exercise, at a period when the whole history of the Church is faint and obscure; we have full statements of this primacy as of divine institution, and of the principles on which it rests, just at the epoch when Christian writers begin to express themselves with fulness on any of the articles of Christian belief. There is nothing left for us to desire, nothing left out, the absence of which ought seriously to perplex an honest Protestant who is inquiring into the claims of the Pope and the Church. On the other hand,

the facts which we have adduced are inconsistent with any other form of Christian belief. There is no other Christian body which even pretends to have an earthly head appointed by Christ, so that either the Roman Church is the one Church of Christ, or else the Church of Christ has disappeared, and Christ's promises have failed. There is another reason which should make a Protestant cautious, to say the least of it, in rejecting the early evidence for the Papacy. He may plead that he wants more witnesses, that there is too long an interval between the Fathers who attribute the origin of the Papacy to Christ and Christ himself. We will not stop to discuss the reasonableness of these objections. We only remark that they sap the foundation of Christian belief, as even Protestants hold it. Irenæus is too late to convince them of Papal authority. Good and well—only let them not forget that Irenæus is the first author who names the four gospels, and the Gospel of St. John is cited by name for the first time by Theophilus, of Antioch, an author of about the same date. We prove the authority of the New Testament, mainly by taking the fuller and clearer utterances of writers at the close of the second century to interpret and complete the obscure notices and allusions found in the Fathers who came immediately after the apostles. So do orthodox Protestants, and the proof is beyond exception. But, on precisely the same method, argument may be adduced for the Papacy, and if the method is good in the one case it is good also in the other.

The space at our command will not permit us to enlarge farther on the connection of Rome with Christianity, and we pass on to another subject on which the ordinary English Protestant may learn much from M. Renan. Protestantism has always exhibited itself as a national religion; or to put it more accurately, the different religions which have been known under the common name of Protestant, have always been national. The German Protestants cling to Luther, just because he was so conspicuously a German, and at this day many Germans are proud to call themselves Lutherans. So, too, Anglicanism is the religion of the English; in its spirit of compromise, in its mingling of conservatism with innovation, it reflects faithfully enough the character of the English mind, and it has never had any great success except among the English. But we need not multiply instances, it is plain on the very face of the matter that each Protestant nation has produced its own peculiar sects, separate altogether in government and constitution from Protestant communions which have grown up among nations with different manners and languages. In fact, Protestantism owes much of its strength to this very

thing. It escapes the jealousy of statesmen and that perpetual conflict with the world in which the Catholic church is entangled, because its sects are certainly national and are therefore supposed to be on the whole safe and patriotic. It is a natural instinct of the human mind to wish for a national religion, because man feels that a national religion is his own, and subject to his own control. Even the Greek Church, when it was severed from Catholic unity, became very soon subject to the national spirit, and proved that it was neither more or less than a human institution, by adapting itself to the political changes which have from time to time severed one land from another. Originally, the Greek schismatics were all subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But Russia, as she became powerful and civilized, completely emancipated her clergy from obedience to the Patriarch. No sooner did Greece become an independent nation, than it set up an independent church, owning no head but Jesus Christ; even the Bulgarians have secured autonomy, and the Patriarch of Constantinople has been forced to yield to their demands, and allow the national churches to establish themselves without any continued protest on his part. All this is very natural, and would be very right if the Church were nothing better than a device of man. But there is one Church which arrogates to herself the authority of Him who "received the nations for his inheritance." There is one Church which declares solemnly that she has received the commission to teach all nations, and that she must act upon it, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. There is one Church which appeals to her unbroken unity as the very sign that she comes from God; and M. Renan's lectures, will serve one good purpose if they remind any one how incontrovertible it is, that here also the Catholic Roman Church is the true heir of primitive Christianity. M. Renan is full of sympathy with national churches, but he is not ignorant enough to suppose that they can be justified by an appeal to antiquity. "Christianity," he says, "must be in its essence the enemy of nationalities. How many ages, how many schisms have been necessary, before national churches could be founded in connection with a religion which was from the very first the denial of any earthly country, which was born at a time when cities and citizens had alike ceased to exist, and which the old, strong, rigid republics of Greece and Rome would have cast out as a poison which would slay the state!" (p. 29). These words need neither commentary nor confirmation from us. They speak for themselves, and no competent judge will dispute the main propositions which they assert. We will only add that the Roman emperors did try to cast out the Church "as a

poison which would slay the State," and that at this moment statesmen in France and Germany are dealing with the Church after the fashion of the Roman magistrates, and on precisely the same grounds. They will fail as previous persecutors have failed, but their efforts and the motives which prompt them, are fresh proof of the identity between the Church of Peter and the Church of Leo XIII.

Another feature in the early Church, which M. Renan brings into bold relief, is its hierarchical spirit. Unfortunately, now as elsewhere, we have to correct his exaggeration and distortion of sober history, and when he informs us, thinking apparently of the Ignatian epistles, that according to the early Church "a man could be saved by simple submission to his superiors" (p. 172), we decline to accept a charge which is brought without a shadow of proof. But the exaggeration of tone need not blind us to the fact that the earliest Christian writers count submission to the clergy as among the first duties of religion. The epistle of Clement, the Roman bishop, is one of the very earliest Christian documents which have come down to us, and we may feel safe in following Dr. Lightfoot (as M. Renan himself does), and fixing the date of its composition about the year 95. As the writer was Bishop of Rome at the time, he must have lived among men who had known the apostles, and, indeed, we have the authority of Irenæus (iii. 3, 3), for affirming that he had "himself seen the apostles, and conferred with them, having the preaching of the apostles still sounding in his ears, and not being alone in this, for at that time there were still many left who had been taught by the apostles." In his Epistle, then, we may well look for Christianity in its original purity and simplicity. But the Protestant who searches in Clement for a Christianity after his own heart will be disappointed, and perhaps startled to encounter, that very assertion of ecclesiastical authority over the conscience of individuals, which offends him so much in the modern Catholic Church.

Some years ago (M. Renan writes, p. 128) a great outcry was raised against a French Archbishop, then a senator, who said from the tribune, "my clergy is my regiment." Clement had said the same thing long before. Order and obedience, this is the supreme law of the family and of the Church. "Let us consider the soldiers who serve under our sovereigns, with what order, what punctuality, what submission they execute the commands given to them. All are not prefects, or tribunes, or centurions, but each in his own rank obeys the orders of the emperor and his leaders." "The author loudly proclaims," M. Renan continues (p. 130), "that the presbyters, the clergy, are anterior to the people. The apostles in founding churches, have chosen, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, "the bishops and

deacons of the believers that are to be." The powers proceeding from the apostles have been transmitted by a regular succession. No Church therefore has a right of depriving its elders (Clem. Ep. 44). Those who have been favoured with mysterious gifts, far from thinking themselves above the hierarchy, ought to be most submissive. The episcopate was held to be the heir of apostolic powers. (Clem. Ep. 42, 44). The apostles ruled and governed after their death. The idea that the president of the Church derives his authority from the members of the Church who have elected him, never once appears in the literature of this age. Thus, in virtue of the supernatural origin of its power, the Church avoids whatever is frail and transitory in all delegated authority. Legislative and executive authority may spring from the multitude; but sacraments, the dispensation of heavenly grace, have nothing in common with universal suffrage. Such privileges descend from heaven, or, to adopt the Christian formula, from Jesus Christ, the fountain of all grace and all good (p. 160).

This is really an excellent summary of the subordination of the laity to the clergy in the early Church, and it deserves to be pondered by Protestants who imagine that clerical power was an excrescence which arose in the corruption of the Christian Church. We will not waste time by making quotations from the epistles of St. Ignatius, because the power which he assigns to the episcopate, is notorious, and admitted on all hands. It is worth noticing however, first, that M. Renan recognizes the same tendency to exalt the episcopate in the pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, the authenticity of which he of course denies, and next that he rejects the common Protestant error that the primitive bishops were elected by the people. On the contrary, Clement (44) declares that the bishops were chosen originally by the apostles, then by the disciples of the apostles, the *ἐλλόγμοι ἄνδρες*, as he styles them, with the assent of the whole Church. Certainly, the people were allowed in early, though not, so far as we know, in the earliest time, a part and a very significant part in the election of the bishops. The bishops were chosen, St. Cyprian say (Ep. 68), "by the vote of all the brethren," and "by the judgment of the bishops" of the province. The brethren were asked to vote because, as Cyprian says, "they knew the lives of all most fully," but the word "judgment" implies that the ultimate decision rested with the bishops. Van Espen* (P. I. tit. 13, 9.), explains the words of Cyprian very fairly, as follows: The fraternitas—i.e., the clergy and people of the diocese—had a right of proposing a candidate, but the decision lay with the bishops of the province, and they

* We take the quotation from Hefele, "Beiträge zur Kirchen Geschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik" (p. 141).

had the chief part in the matter; nay, cases might occur in which they consecrated a man bishop, without previous election by the people, cases, namely, when the people were bad and so unfit to elect.

A few words and we shall have finished all we want to say about M. Renan and Protestantism. The triumph of Christianity is constantly adduced in evidence that it is divine. Pascal, in one of the grandest passages which occur in his "Pensées," contrasts the triumph of the gospel with the success of human religions, such as that of Mahomet, the triumph of the gospel of peace with the conquest made by the religion of the sword. Many will recall a similar argument in Cardinal Newman's "Grammar of Assent." "What is so grandly original in Christianity," he says, "is, that on its broad field of conflict its preachers were to be simply unarmed, and to suffer, but to prevail." No one who has real belief in Christianity will make light of this argument. It appeals to persons of little education, and without fitness for critical inquiry, and the most learned man that ever lived cannot destroy its force. No argument is better adapted to make us hold fast to the Christian revelation, and we venture to add no argument is better calculated to make the Protestant doubt that form of Christianity which he professes. For what does the Protestant mean when he says that Christianity triumphed over the brute force and cultivated intellects of the heathen world? What kind of Christianity won the victory? Most undoubtedly the Christianity which was already disfigured by the domination of the clergy, by acknowledgment of the Roman bishop as the successor of St. Peter, and as the head of the Church, by a superstitious belief in the power of working miracles as an abiding gift within the Church. It was a Christianity which, instead of proclaiming that truth was to be found in the Bible; and in the Bible only, vaunted the authority of apostolic tradition, insisted on adhesion to the unity of the Church as a condition of salvation, substituted for the one sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, the perpetual sacrifice of the Eucharist on the Christian altar; a sacrifice in which Christ's true body was really present and really offered up. Each one of these points are stated by Irenæus within a century after the apostolic age as the universal belief of the Church in his day. Long before the persecutor had stayed his hand, "vital Christianity," as Protestants usually understand the term, had died out of the Church, and left not a trace behind. There was nobody left to teach justification by faith without works, or the right of private judgment, or the merely symbolical nature of the sacraments. The Protestant may, if he likes, fall foul of Ignatius

and Irenæus and Cyprian, but then he should not blow hot and cold with the same breath; he should not declaim on the early date at which corruptions poisoned the Church, and argue at the same time that the religion of Christ must be true because the Church which had perverted his religion obtained a marvellous triumph. It is, of course, open to him to say, that even with all its corruptions the Church preserved a mass of Christian truth which made it in any case vastly superior to heathenism, and that it triumphed in spite, not because, of its corruption. But is this defence consistent with history? Is it conceivable that Christianity overcame the powers of darkness in spite of the Catholic character which it had assumed? There can be little difficulty in answering such a question.

This transformation (says M. Renan, p. 158) was the essential condition of the energy of Christianity. . . . It is indisputable that, without the Episcopate, churches brought into union for a moment, by the recollection of Jesus, would have been scattered. Divergences of doctrine, differences in turn of mind, above all, rivalries, unsatisfied self-appreciation, would have produced their characteristic result of disunion and disintegration without end.

To much the same effect, a greater than M. Renan, one infinitely greater in sagacity as well as accuracy and extent of knowledge, enumerates the organization and discipline of the Church as one of the five causes which enabled her to make a conquest of the Roman Empire. Apart from the authority either of Renan or Gibbon, common sense may convince us of this. Let us suppose that Christians had been left free from the first to settle each by his individual light what books were to form the New Testament, and then how these books were to be interpreted, Christianity would soon have split, as we see Protestantism split, into a multitude of sects, or rather of religions, at deadly war with each other, and impotent to convince any one else. There were heretical sects who answered to this description more or less. They displayed much enthusiasm, multiplied their divisions; they, however, had their day and ceased to be. One body there was, only one, and that the Catholic Church, which bore her divine origin stamped on her brow. She united men of all nations and grades in one faith and under one rule. She claimed the certain possession of the truth and right to universal dominion. She offered to the heathen the sublime spectacle of strong discipline, wielded in humanity and love. She spoke as He spoke who did not dispute and argue like the Scribes, but who spoke as "one having authority." And in her, and through her, the meek Son of Man took to himself His great power and reigned.

So far, we have endeavoured to select what is really true and valuable in the Lectures, and to show the service to which it may be put in our controversy with Protestants. But it would scarcely be satisfactory to stop here. Our criticism hitherto has only come to this, that either Catholic Christianity is divine, or else that no form of Christianity is entitled to the character of a supernatural religion. Perhaps M. Renan himself would be willing to accept this dilemma, and we cannot leave the matter between us in this position. We have been criticizing Protestantism with the help of M. Renan, and we now wish to see how far M. Renan exposes himself to criticism. We confess it is rather hard to know how to deal with him. It would be absurd in the face of it to undertake a defence of Christianity, within the compass of a few pages, and besides, M. Renan's method increases the difficulty of attack. He does not commit himself to any formal argument against Christianity. He assumes all along that it grew up from natural causes, and generally his offences consist in insinuation, and in glossing over facts of moment, rather than in definite misstatements. But while we do not pretend to demonstrate the supernatural origin of Christianity, it is easy, we think, to assign grave reasons for attaching little weight to M. Renan and his advocacy of the counter theory. To this last part of our task we now address ourselves.

Our complaint of the way he goes to work begins at the very outset, at the preliminary sketch in which he portrays the relation of Christianity to Judaism. He warns his hearers, and so far we are in perfect agreement with him, that they can never understand the history of the Christian religion unless they remember its close and necessary connection with Judaism. In the "fertile principles of almsgiving and charity," in "the absolute faith in the future of humanity" there is an indisputable resemblance between the two religions. We also agree with him, though we should of course speak more strongly and confidently, when he tells us, "it is more than doubtful whether the Judaism which was developed in a Talmudic form, and which still preserves so much of its power, would ever have had so extraordinary a fortune" as Christianity had. But when M. Renan calls the Judaism of the Talmud and the Rabbins "pure Judaism" (p. 17), we are forced in the interests of truth to protest. We maintain that the "pure" and genuine religion of Moses and the prophets was meant to prepare the way for Christ, and ceased to be when the Catholic Church was set up. Nor let any one dream that this is a matter of names, and that it matters little whether the name of "true Jews" is given to those who accepted or rejected Christ. M. Renan

seems to look on it as a mere accident that Christianity retained the Jewish faith and morality, while it lost the distinctive observances and features, invented to give a character of its own to the peculiar religion of the children of Israel. But the truth is, that the relations of Christianity to Judaism are enough in themselves to prove that the former came from God. It is not of course surprising that one religion should spring from another; but it is more than surprising that the sacred books of the Jews should have foretold the rise of Christianity, the triumph, and the special features of the new religion, and that their predictions should have been fulfilled at a time when the fulfilment seemed most hopeless, and in spite of deadly opposition from the great mass of those who had preserved with religious reverence the books in which the prediction was contained. It would require a treatise to develop this argument and to make it good, point by point, but even here we may mention a few facts which are beyond controversy, patent to every one who cares to read the Hebrew prophets, whatever his creed may be. The oldest prophets then,* Amos and Osee, lay the greatest stress on the truth, that a remnant only will remain after the day of God's anger has fallen on Israel, but that this remnant will be the nucleus of a new and better people. Isaias, about the middle of the eighth century develops this great idea more fully and clearly. "A remnant will be converted" was the name he gave his son (Is. viii. 18) as "a sign and a portent." Further he links the hope with the expectation of a personal Messiah, sprung from the royal house. "A shoot will grow from the trunk of Jesse, and a branch will sprout from his roots, and the spirit of the Lord will rest upon him" (xi. 1). We need not remind the reader of the superhuman qualities ascribed to this Messiah, but it is important to observe the distinct promises that "the heathen will seek after this root of Jesse," (*ib.* 10). Nay, in one of the sublimest passages of the Old Testament, Egypt and Assyria, the bitter and hereditary foes of Israel, are described as sharing with Israel in the Messianic "blessings wherewith the Lord of Hosts hath blessed him, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance" (xix. 25). The contemporary Micheas prophesies in the same strain of the Messiah from David's house and of the day when the nations will receive "the law from Sion." In Jeremiah, amidst the falling kingdom, the Messianic idea undergoes further and striking development, for in him we meet for the first time with

* The passages of Scripture are given from the original texts, not from the Vulgate.

the notion of a "new covenant" which God is to make with his people. If there was one thing to which the pious Jew clung, it was to the covenant made through Moses. But "behold the days come," saith the Lord, "and I will make with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, a new covenant, not as the covenant which I made with your fathers on the day I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt" (Jer. xxxi. 31). Zacharias paints the gentleness with which the new King is to rule, Malachias the universality of the worship which is to be offered to the true God among the Gentiles. This sketch of prophecy is of course ludicrously imperfect; but it has this merit, that it is studiously moderate and cautious. It does not involve the assumption of one doubtful interpretation; it is independent of all questions respecting date or authenticity, and it is sufficient to convince a candid inquirer of two facts. First it shows that the Pharisees who rejected our Lord, and the modern Jews who still do so, are false to the principles of their own religion. They have rejected the very development for which their own prophets had been preparing the minds of the people. Secondly, even a superficial study of prophecy may teach us that we ought not to approach the history of Christianity as if it were on a level with other religious systems. It is commonly assumed that it is the part of a rational historian to take for granted that the rise of Christianity must be treated like any other great event in the history of the world, and that he falls from his rank as an historian when he invokes divine agency to account for the phenomenon. For our part, we believe it is the duty of an historian to take facts as they are. Centuries before Christ the prophets had foretold that he was to come; that under him the old national religion of the Jews was to grow into a new and universal covenant, embracing Gentile nations, and spreading the knowledge of God throughout the world. The prophecies were wholly misunderstood. Jewish nationalism had become more narrow and intense than ever, and Jewish horror of the slightest change even in the traditions by which their doctors had set a hedge round the law, had reached its highest pitch. Then in the fulness of time Christ came; proclaimed the change in the old law, and before he paid the penalty of innovation by an ignominious death, sent forth twelve poor men to invite the great heathen world to enter into the new covenant. The heathen did, as the prophets had foreseen, accept the invitation, and the kingdom of Christ thus predicted and thus established lasts to this day. Will M. Renan tell us of anything like this, of anything remotely resembling this, in other religions? Till he does, we must count the endeavour to put Christianity on

the same footing with them, as neither more or less than the sacrifice of history to prejudice.

The bonds which unite Christianity to Judaism, mark it out as supernatural, and our conviction of its divinity cannot fail to be strengthened if we examine the kind of converts whom it made at its birth. About these first converts, M. Renan uses language which is simply amazing. "The really Greek countries," he writes, (p. 28), "then as now very jealous, very much absorbed in the recollection of the past, lent themselves but little to the new preaching and were never enthusiastically Christian." Where then did Christianity enlist its recruits? If we are to believe M. Renan, in "those soft, gay, voluptuous lands of Asia, and Syria; lands of pleasure, of carelessness, of easy morals." We venture to say, that if even there was a religion which was naturally repulsive to such "voluptuous" natures, that religion was Christianity. It was a religion, as all, we suppose, will allow, of austere morals, but beyond that it notoriously exposed those who embraced it to a life of contempt and of danger. Its proselytes were expected to bear "gladly the spoiling of their goods." But thirty years after Christ had left the earth, Rome saw multitudes of Christians expire in the most horrible torture. What induced those men to turn Christians? We are often asked to believe that they were won by the high and pure morality of our Lord. That attraction, we may be certain, was very strong, and the confession of our adversaries that the morality of Christ is the highest which the world has ever reached, affords another objection to treating Christianity as the natural growth of the human mind. But we must not forget that the first converts in becoming Christians did not simply adopt a system of morals. They believed in a person who had been crucified and buried, and who had risen again, and a sensible man will naturally ask how they came to believe in such astounding facts. It was not that they were told a story of something which had happened long ago. The Apostles themselves went about founding churches, and the new proselytes were brought into immediate intercourse with the very men who professed to have seen the risen Lord. They were sure to make inquiries before they resolved to face persecution and part with all they held most dear. The Apostles, too, were constantly drawing their attention to the fact of Christ's resurrection; and St. Paul, in an epistle which neither M. Renan nor any one else denies to be his, declares that unless Christ had risen again his whole preaching was vain. Moreover, the first converts were not made in Asia, they were gained in Judæa itself. M. Renan indeed talks of the Jewish converts (p. 28) as men who "had no affection for

Judæa," as "completely detached" from national feeling. But his hearers must have been very ignorant, or very thoughtless to be deceived by this fanciful assertion. We know what a burning love St. Paul retained for his countrymen, although M. Renan is never weary of portraying him as the least Jewish of all the Apostolic college. The other Apostles, when first they knew our Lord, must, from the very fact that they were rude, unlettered men, have shared the belief and the prejudices of their nation and their time. We know, further (for no one, we imagine, will deny this amount of truth to the narrative of the first three Gospels), that our Lord was perpetually shocking their prejudices, and that in particular when they were ready to hail him as the Messianic King, by whose glory they were to be benefited, they were distressed and shocked to find that he was preparing to suffer and die. Our Lord then did not correspond to the Messianic expectations which the Apostles in common with other Jews had formed, but, on the contrary, gave them the most terrible contradiction. He did not become an earthly king, he did not make them earthly rulers under him, he did not gratify their generous, though mistaken, hopes that he would "at that time restore the kingdom to Israel." We are forced, therefore, to search for a reason why they did acknowledge him as the Messiah. We, who are Christians, have a complete solution of the difficulty. The Apostles believed in him as the Messiah, because, though he did not exhibit the signs for which they looked, he did exhibit others, and those unmistakable signs of Messianic power. Before their eyes he made the lame walk, the blind see; he cleansed the lepers. Thus he fulfilled the predictions of the prophets; having thus gained the confidence of the twelve, he explained that his kingdom, which was shortly to be set up, was not of this world, and that as for his outward glory before men, it was reserved for the world to come. Having seen so much, the Apostles were willing, reasonably willing, to take the rest on trust. But if our Lord in no way answered to their idea of Messianic power; if he neither restored Israel on the one hand, nor worked miracles on the other, it is impossible to conceive why the twelve admitted his claims. On this difficulty the naturalistic theories of Christ's life are shivered to pieces. The old, coarse infidelity which made the Apostles impostors has vanished from the minds of educated men. We need not wonder at this, for it commits its adherents to belief in a series of psychological impossibilities: but, so far at least as this particular difficulty is concerned, we deliberately think it harder to look on the Apostles as deceived than as conscious deceivers.

But we have been silent as yet about the central point of

M. Renan's position; his assumption that Christianity at the first was divided into hostile camps, in antagonism to each other on matters of supreme interest; and that the Catholic Church was formed to meet the necessities of the age by softening down or ignoring differences, and so uniting sects, previously discordant, in one universal body. The idea of heresy sprang into being, according to this interpretation of Church history, at the same time as the idea of Catholicism; those who stuck to the old party-principles, and would have nothing to do with compromise or modification, were excluded from Catholic communion and branded as heretics. In the second century we meet with the old opposition between the principles of Peter and Paul; we find the Ebionites clinging to Jewish observances, the Marcionites rejecting the old law as evil, and as in no sense the work of the Supreme God. Of course the Catholics regarded both Ebionites and Marcionites as heretics, and consequently as innovators; but history, as M. Renan reads it, pronounces Ebionitism and Marcionism the ancient forms of Christianity, while it was the Church herself which had innovated.

Let us look closer "into this capital discovery," as M. Renan calls it (p. 62), "of Baur and the critical Tübingen school." We have the Clementine homilies, a forgery dating from the latter part of the second century, indulging in the most bitter polemic against St. Paul, and denouncing him as a vain dreamer who had no right to call himself an Apostle, much less to speak of Peter, the rock of the Church as "condemned" (Hom. 17, 19).* Again, we find Marcion, about the same time, breaking out in similar invective against the older Apostles. These facts, however, give a slender support to M. Renan's theory. To begin with, these testimonies prove nothing, because they prove too much, for nobody pretends that Peter's opposition to Paul was as decided as that of the Clementine Homilies, or that Paul regarded the Jewish law in the same light as Marcion. It is well worth notice, that neither Ebionites nor Marcionites make an honest appeal to antiquity. The writers of the Clementines are mere romancers, and they have not the courage to attack St. Paul openly; they calumniate him covertly under the name of Simon Magus. This does not look as if their case can have been a strong one. Marcion pursued tactics just as discreditable. He published a Gospel of Luke, mutilated to suit his own views, and for a long time it was usual with the "critical" school to represent this as the original document, and our third Gospel as interpolated. However, facts are too

* Alluding to the *κατεγγωσμενος* of Galat. ii. 11.

stubborn even for "critical" manipulation. Fortunately we can, to a great extent, restore the text of Marcion's Luke, and it is now confessed by all who have studied the controversy, it is in truth a matter of demonstration, that Marcion got his Luke out of ours by the free use of the knife. This again is an unintelligible proceeding if there were ancient documents which would have served his ends. On turning from forgeries to early and undisputed records, everything agrees with the belief in the original harmony of the Apostles. If we take the Epistle to the Galatians as it is, instead of following Baur, who puts his ideas into it, we can easily satisfy our ourselves that in spite of this misunderstanding at Antioch, Peter and Paul were one in principle. St. Paul went up to see Peter at Jerusalem three years after his conversion, then again at an interval of fourteen years, and on this second occasion difficulties had arisen about circumcision. But St. Paul distinguishes between the false brethren (the *παρείσακτοι*), and the Apostles. The former wished to spy out Christian liberty that they might "enslave" converts; the latter gave St. Paul the "right hand of fellowship," recognized the "grace given to him," and his dignity as the Apostle of the Gentiles. Even at Antioch, St. Paul withstood his brother Apostle to the face, precisely because his practice was inconsistent with his belief, and inconsistent with itself, and it was this which made him *κατεγνωσμένος*. The whole object of St. Peter, as St. Paul lets us know, was to avoid shocking prejudice and raising opposition. We cannot go on to elucidate the matter more completely, with the light which is thrown upon it by the Acts of the Apostles,* for M. Renan would contend that this book is a studious perversion of history with the design of glossing over the difference between the Apostles. But how did the Acts of the Apostles pass current, and pass current so soon, as true history? If there is one thing more than another which strikes us in the early Christians, it is the tenacity with which they held to tradition. We have seen above, the immense authority which men who had been appointed to teach by the Apostles themselves enjoyed in the Church; we know how sedulous Papias was in collecting the traditions of the elders, in noting down "what Andrew, or Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said" (Euseb. Hist. iii. cap. ult.); how Irenæus later on gathered up the traditional fragment of Apostolic teaching (Iren. iv. 27). How was it then that if, as

* The first epistle of Peter offers even greater difficulties to the Tübingen critics. They acknowledge that it contains Pauline doctrine. Yet at early as the time of Papias, it was accepted as the work of Peter (Euseb. Hist. iii. 39, 17).

the first century was at its close, so astounding a change passed over the face of Christianity, all recollection of it was lost? The Epistle of Clement was written to a distant Church by a man of high position, and endowed with greatness of character, within a generation of the Apostle's death. Yet in his Epistle, all trace of opposition between the Apostles is absent; the author has evidently no idea that the Apostles taught two kinds of Christianity. Clement, of all people, must have had the best reason to recall these early controversies, for Rome, M. Renan informs us, "had two churches, the one descending from Peter, the other from Paul" (p. 132). It is all very well to reassure us by a fanciful picture (p. 133) of the manner in which "the lives of the Apostles began to fade away from men's minds. All who had known them were gone, and for the most part without leaving any record behind. Upon this virgin canvas, men were free to paint what picture they liked." One misstatement here, we have already corrected by anticipation. Let the reader bear the correction in mind, and then think if this account of things is credible. Is it credible that Clement, who lived among the friends of the Apostles, was so ignorant of Apostolic history? Is it credible that he was able to present facts in the presence of men who were unable to contradict him? Free-thinkers profess to construct the history of Christianity on natural principles, and then tax our credulity to a degree which would not be tolerated in common history. We are a thousand times more manly, more respectful both to history and reason, if we accept the divinity of our religion, instead of forcing upon natural causes a weight which they will not bear.

A little attention to the dates at which the books of the New Testament were written may save us from another error. A great teacher, who was a mere man, might in the lapse of time be deified by his followers. His real history, if there were no contemporary records, might be gradually forgotten, and after those who had known him had passed away, fable and devout imagination might depict him as a worker of wonders, or even as a god. But to bring this about time is needed, and myth cannot displace historical truth while personal recollection is still clear and vigorous. We suppose this is true of any age, but it is obviously true of an age which has the advantage of literature and civilization. Yet, if we believe the adversaries of the Christian faith, we are obliged to suppose that this did take place with regard to our Lord. St. Paul, who knew the very men who walked on the earth with Christ, speaks of him not only as risen from the dead, but also as the Lord who had ransomed men with his blood (Rom. iii. 24), as the source

of every grace, as of Him before whose judgment-seat we are all to stand (Rom. xiv. 10).* In another Epistle, that to the Hebrews, we find an elaborate theology based on the person and work of Christ. We have nothing to do for the present with the authorship of this Epistle. Whoever may have written it, it belongs in any case to a very early period. Hilgenfeld even, is obliged to place it about the year 70 after Christ, and no one can place it much later, for it is largely quoted by St. Clement of Rome. Yet it assumes that through Christ the worlds were made; that he is the God whose throne is for ever and ever. It represents the eternal Father as introducing Him, the first begotten, into the world, and bidding all the angels adore him. It is idle to talk, in the face of facts like these, about the natural development of religion. It is anything but natural that a human teacher should be so glorified in the lifetime of those who knew him. There is no parallel which can be brought from other history to justify belief in the growth of so strange a delusion. It is easier to believe that Christ was God than that he was a mere man, with merely human powers, whom his disciples mistook for God.

In conclusion, we will bar the way against a possible misconception of our own meaning. We are very far from wishing to ignore the fact that natural causes, or as we should prefer to put it, the ordinary course of God's providence, did materially assist the cause of Christianity and the Church. All we have been striving to prove is, that there are in the history of the Christian religion direct proofs of miraculous interposition, and that Christianity could not have succeeded as it did, unless Christ was God, and unless His Church had been a divine work. If this be granted, we are thankful for any light which can be thrown on the natural causes which helped the victory of the true religion. He most assuredly would be a timid and a half-hearted Christian who shrank from acknowledging that the Roman empire and the Greek language had been powerful agents in the service of Christ. The ancient Apologists loved to dilate on such topics, as fresh proofs that Christ was the sent of God. So in truth they are, and so we will see them to be, if we do but consider them in their proper connection. The God whom Christians adore is the God both of Nature and of grace, and He ordered the forces of the one and of the other, in favour of the cause which was his own.

W. E. ADDIS.

* In the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul separates Christ utterly from mere men, and places Him in juxtaposition with God the Father. He was an Apostle, he says, not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father.

ART. VI.—HISTORY OF THE PRUSSIAN
“KULTURKAMPF.”

PART III.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE REGULATIONS.

ACCORDING to all appearances, the Chancellor of the German Empire had good reason to congratulate himself upon the Parliamentary measures of 1874. A series of laws had been enacted against the Catholic Church, and, humanly speaking, provided only these laws were rigorously enforced, the Government must be victorious. Moreover, Bismarck was not idle in seeking from abroad the means of resistance to Rome. To his influence was probably owing the departure of Austria from the Catholic traditions of the ancient House of Hapsburg in her “Confessional Laws.” The enemies of the Church in Baden and in Hesse were attentive to every sign on the part of the Imperial Chancellor; whilst, to the effect of the “cold shoulder” given to France by Germany may be ascribed the announcement by the Duc de Decazes to the National Assembly, that France was prepared to maintain friendly relations with the Italian Government as circumstances had established it. Further, the recall of the *Orénoque*, the only remaining French vessel at Civita-Vecchia, was felt to be in compliance with the wishes of Bismarck. Italy herself, in her revolutionary enactments touching all things hitherto held sacred by the laws of God and the Church, openly boasted of her identity of interests and her alliance with the Prussian monarchy. The cruel persecution of Catholics in Switzerland, and especially in the Canton of Berne, was at least countenanced, if not actually aroused, by the German Chancellor. Even the absurd attempt on the part of Turkey to support Old Catholicism in her empire, may be traced to the same influence; for example, the forcible introduction of sectaries into the Armenian Patriarchal Church was nothing less than the humiliation of France. It seemed, therefore, as if in every Government hostile to the Church the hand of the mighty Chancellor was visible. And yet was all this labour and trouble to be *pro nihilo*? In the midst of the alarming storm which threatened the Church in every direction, her venerable Head maintained his calm dependence upon God, and his unshaken confidence in the Almighty protection. Abandoned by every earthly power, a prisoner in his own city, outwardly a very sign and symbol of impotence and helplessness, Pius IX. prepared to enter the lists with the strongest Government in the world,

and this with a resolution and courage as determined as if the Papacy were in the hour of her greatest ascendancy. In Prussia, he it added, clergy and people were prepared to carry out, as one man, every admonition which should fall from the lips of the Supreme Pastor.

The opening of the year 1875 saw nearly all the bishops, and a large number of priests, in prison; the Bishops of Posen-Gnesen and Paderborn had been declared "deposed" by the Court for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Matters, and a similar fate apparently awaited all the Catholic clergy of the land. The Government and the various Protestant parties began openly to speculate upon the submission to the laws of an adequate number of priests, and the readiness of the parishes to accept Old Catholic pastors. With a view to create discord between the clergy and their flocks, the Government had just prepared a fresh law, by which the administration of ecclesiastical property was to be placed in the hands of the laity.

The danger threatening the Church in Prussia was indeed great: the tempter was powerful, and his voice enticing. Here and there, also, some timid and fainthearted Catholic would suggest that submission to a Government so mighty as that of Prussia could not be withheld; and who could say what would happen when all the bishops should be either banished or dead? Thereupon Pius IX. came forward to dispel all doubts. Taking occasion of the deposition by the State of the Bishops of Posen and Paderborn to complain bitterly of the persecution directed against the Church in Prussia, the Holy Father declared in his Encyclical of February 5, 1875, that "Whilst the Bishops might truly be pronounced happy, inasmuch as they were suffering for God's honour, yet the contempt of their episcopal prerogatives, the grievous violation of the rights and liberties of the Church, and the miseries inflicted upon whole dioceses, called for the authoritative interposition of the Chief Pastor." In the following words, the Pope there declared the laws enacted against the Church in Prussia to be non-obligatory: "*Ad has partes Nostri muneris implendas intendimus per hasce litteras aperta testatione denunciantes omnibus ad quos ea res pertinet, et universo Catholico orbi leges illas irritas esse, utpote quæ divinæ ecclesiæ constitutioni prorsus adversantur.*" The laws themselves were aptly characterized by the Pope in the following terms: "One can scarcely imagine these laws to have been framed for the purpose of dealing with free citizens, and to expect obedience from them; rather would they seem to have as their object the extortion of an unwilling obedience from a set of slaves." The attitude of anger and irritation now assumed by the Government and the various factions in league with it, made all dispassionate

reflection on their part impossible. In the remonstrance of the Holy Father they saw nothing but "an attack on the part of a foreign potentate on the independence of the Prussian Crown and legislation." The Catholics of the land, however, gladly welcomed words which left them no doubt as to the mind of the Holy See, and the manner in which they could prove their fidelity to the Church. Fear of the impending danger they had none.

Scarcely four weeks after the issue of the Pope's Encyclical, the reply of the Government was given, as follows: On the 3rd of March, a Bill was introduced by Falk into the Chamber of Deputies, empowering the Government to deny all support from the State to the Roman Catholic Bishops and Clergy. State salaries were henceforth to be granted to those clergy alone who should promise submission to the laws; thus an attempt was made to starve out their fidelity to the Church. "This is simply a law of revenge," exclaimed Reichensperger to his fellow-deputies, "a law which will assuredly work nothing but evil." The justice of this assertion is evident; for, every single penny received by the Catholic Church from the Prussian Government was given by no generous condescension on the part of that Government, but was legally and constitutionally due. The present determination was to make the fulfilment of this obligation dependent upon a declaration directly against the conscience of the recipient. "None but slaves," exclaimed Schorlemer, "can bind themselves blindly to accept any terms which may be imposed; and to connect this demand upon the consciences of our clergy with the question of pecuniary remuneration, is simply asking them to act the part of Judas." That any important result would attend this law had been scarcely expected by either Bismarck or Falk. As to the Catholic deputies, they felt confident that their priests would not be prevailed upon, by hope of a traitor's reward, to sell their honour, their consciences, or their faith. "The temptation," said Schorlemer, "will be met by the answer which once before was given to it. Nearly two thousand years ago the prince of darkness ventured to approach the Divine Founder of the Church, showed Him the kingdoms of the world, and said: 'All these will I give thee, if, falling down, thou wilt adore me.' The answer he received was: 'Begone, Satan!' and this, I feel certain, will be the reply of the Catholic clergy to every temptation to betray the Church." The bishops expressed themselves in similar terms. Under date of the 2nd of April, they addressed to the king a formal protest against the new Bill: "We no longer turn to the Houses of the Diet," said they, "inasmuch as there all comprehension of the principles of Christianity seems to diminish more and more;" then, with the courage which seems to have been inherited by

the Bishops of the Church from the Apostles, they proceeded: "We feel that we should be doing an injustice to your Majesty were we for an instant to entertain the supposition that it could be according to your intentions to demand of the Church's overseers so grievous a violation of their duty as would be entailed by their compliance with this law." The Bill was, however, hurried through both Houses, and, on the 26th of April, received the king's assent.

Simultaneously with this "law of revenge," another, no less unjust, was brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies by Petri, who proposed that the so-called "Old Catholics" should be admitted to a share in the revenues of the Catholic Church. In this motion, Petri was supported by a large number of his fellow deputies. By the terms of the recent legislation, it rested exclusively with the Chief President to decide whether the number of Old Catholics in a parish was sufficiently considerable to entitle them to share in the parochial revenues. The result of this discretionary prerogative may be imagined; we have seen, for instance, two hundred Old Catholics put into possession of a parish church to which 20,000 Catholics belonged. Moreover, since, by decision of the Holy See the use in common of the churches by Catholics and Old Catholics was forbidden, the forcible introduction of the latter deprived the former of their churches. This was an occasion of considerable distress; happily, however, it affected but a few parishes; and there was always the consoling reflection that the days of the new sect were, probably, numbered. To this conviction was owing the comparative equanimity with which the measure was received by the Catholic deputies. "My opinion is," said Schorlemer, "that we need not concern ourselves greatly about this law; its existence will, probably, be short, like that of Old Catholicism itself. Once let its great supporter, Prince Bismarck, withdraw his protecting hand, and the whole fabric will speedily fall to pieces." The Government, however, thought otherwise. By Falk the new law was heartily welcomed, because, in his ignorance with regard to the Catholic Church, he believed the boastful assertions of the leaders of the schism when they declared that "thousands and thousands were ready to join them, but that they had been hitherto held back by lack of courage to express their convictions." Could any more unmistakable testimony have been borne to the mean-spiritedness of the sect! Falk could not have compromised himself more gravely than by taking it under his protection, and seeking to form from its adherents a "National Catholic Church of Germany."

Meanwhile, every opportunity was taken by the Pope of showing the lively sympathy felt by himself and by the whole

Church with the sufferings of the faithful in Prussia. In the Allocution addressed to the Cardinals on the 15th of March, 1875, Pius IX. praised anew the courage and prudence of the Prussian Bishops. "May the Divine wisdom and goodness," continued he, "bring to nought the counsels of the enemy, and show that 'there is neither knowledge, nor device, nor counsel against the Lord.'" A special mark of his approbation was, at the same time, given by the Pope in the elevation of Wenceslas Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, to the dignity of Cardinal: a proof to the Cabinet of Berlin that no thought of surrender was entertained by the Church. That a bishop, "deposed," and condemned to two years' imprisonment by the Prussian Government should be called to take his seat in the illustrious Senate of the Holy Roman Church, was a contrast indeed! The relations between the two powers were thus so clearly defined, that as matters then stood, no idea of conciliation would henceforth be entertained, even by the most sanguine mind.

The friends of Bismarck's ecclesiastical policy again found themselves face to face with the question: What further means could be devised for the more rigid enforcement of the laws? The Government would have done well, at the outset of the struggle, to have decided this question, and fixed the limits to which it would extend its persecution of Catholic constancy. The most extravagant measures were now proposed for bringing not only the clergy, but the laity also, into complete subjection to the State. It was gravely proposed that clergymen should be deprived of revenues from every source, from their churches and parishes, as well as from the State, unless they would make a declaration *beforehand* of unconditional obedience to the laws of Prussia. The Liberal newspapers plainly stated, that should the continuance of the struggle call for yet sharper measures, it would be a question whether a similar declaration should not be required of all Catholic *officials*. This would have been to introduce an Oath of Supremacy such as in England, three hundred years ago, had made apostacy from the Church a fundamental condition of recognition by the State. Supposing the Prussian Government to be bent upon following in the steps of the royal chiefs of the Reformation in England, it seemed likely that Cardinal Ledochowski would share the fate of the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, raised to the Cardinalate by Pope Paul III. At all events, the succeeding measures on the part of Bismarck showed that the Government was determined to persist in the course upon which it had entered.

The Articles concerning the Liberty of the Churches, incorporated in the Constitution of January 31, 1850, had already at

the beginning of the "Kulturkampf," in April, 1873, been so modified as to make the recent legislation against the Catholic Church to a certain extent reconcilable with them. Of real independence the Church had none; but there remained a shadow at least, of guarantee for her liberty. Moreover, the Catholic deputies never failed to appeal against each piece of injustice to the Church as a violation of the Constitution, even under its present altered form. These remonstrances were a reproach to the Ministers, as well as to the various parties of Liberals, who prided themselves upon the reputation of defenders of the Constitution. Perhaps the idea suggested itself that the easiest way of getting rid of the charge of violating the law would be the abrogation of the law itself. In effect, on the 10th of April, 1875, a Bill was brought in by Falk, with the single clause: "Articles 15, 16, and 18 of the Constitution of the 31st of January 1850, shall be abrogated." The reasons for the Bill were given as follows:—

Let no one be alarmed at the proposal to make some alteration in the Constitution; the measure is necessary in order to give to the Legislature freer scope to protect the State from the priesthood, in its entire subserviency to Rome. The Papal Encyclical of the 5th of February has given further proof that the undue amount of freedom of action hitherto allowed to the Catholic Church is incompatible with the welfare of the State.

During the debate upon this Bill in the Landtag, the Minister-president, Prince Bismarck, allowed himself to give utterance to charges against the Church so immoderate, that it seems hard to decide whether his ignorance or his arrogance was most to be blamed. He asserted, as he had already done previously, that—

The Episcopal Church of earlier days had, through the revolution effected by the Vatican Council, been changed into an absolute Papal monarchy; at the head of this Church, which in Prussia constituted a State within a State, stood the Pope with autocratic dominion, having absorbed within himself all episcopal authority. The programme of this mighty Italian monarchy was directly opposed to the programme of the State.

Bismarck proceeded as follows:—

Supposing the Pope to obtain absolute dominion in this country, he would consider himself in duty bound to extirpate the majority of our fellow-countrymen, that is to say, all who belong to the Evangelical Church, inasmuch as their existence finds no recognition in the scheme of the Papacy; we should be compelled either to profess ourselves Catholics, or to leave our country, or to see our goods confiscated. The Pope would find himself in the dogmatic necessity of proceeding gradually, if not immediately, to extirpate heresy by fire and sword.

Three days before, on the 14th of April, in the Upper House, Bismarck had expressed himself in terms yet more violent and unreasonable.

Since the Vatican Council (said he), the Pope has assumed to represent the whole Catholic Church; the bishops are now nothing more than his chief officers. The Pope can take the place of any bishop, or can at pleasure depose any bishop. We have already seen the bishops, at his desire and command, give up their firmest conviction; henceforth, they will be obliged to *think every thought* in union with the Pope.

Herr von Kleist, who, by reason of his longer residence in a Catholic neighbourhood knew more of the matter in hand than did the Chancellor, ventured to say a word in behalf of the violently assailed Catholic Church; and he thereby drew down upon himself so sharp a rebuke from the Minister President, that Bismarck himself thought it well to add that he had spoken, rather in his capacity as a Member of the Upper House, than as a Minister of State. He continued, however:

I have before now asked myself the question whether it would be easier to save one's soul by becoming a Catholic, and I have replied to myself in the negative. If, however, Herr von Kleist feels himself called upon in this Assembly to defend the Catholic Church in this hour of conflict, he must bear in mind that he thereby renounces his former well-tryed fidelity to *his king and country*; he renounces at the same time, our Evangelical creed. If, indeed, we be bound to obey the Pope, there is no chance of salvation for me. In an infallible Pope I can see no successor of Peter; the Apostle Peter was not infallible, for he sinned, and afterwards repented; now-a-days it seems that the Pope has nothing to do with repentance.

The powerful Chancellor certainly forgot the consideration he owed to the eight millions of Catholics in the Empire, when he went so far as to add:

It is an indisputable fact, that the Pope is an enemy of the Gospel, and necessarily also of the Prussian State. The power and means are not forthcoming at present, but, if they were, there is no doubt that we heretics should be utterly exterminated. The Church has, however, other means at hand; she confiscates the property of heretics; she makes it no crime for the heretic to be assassinated, when opportunity offers. When, therefore, I describe as an enemy of the Gospel and of Prussia a representative of Christendom, such as is the Pope, giving himself out, moreover, as the representative of the law of love, I am convinced that I speak truly, in spite of anything which may be said to the contrary.

That Prince Bismarck should have ventured, under circumstances, moreover, in which he was answerable for every word to his king and country, to bring charges such as these against a

Church which had received the solemn pledge of Government for its liberty and maintenance, can be accounted for solely by the arrogance into which he had been led by the success of his policy. There was no mistaking, however, the final aim of the Chancellor, sufficiently evident through this torrent of angry words: it was none other than the *annihilation of the Catholic Church in Prussia*. By the official press, at this time, great stress was laid upon the circumstance that, just 350 years ago, Albert of Hohenzollern, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, had, by advice of Luther, converted the Order into a Temporal Principality. "The Royal House of Prussia," said the official organs, "recognized the fact that the growth of its own power depended upon the repression of that of the Papacy; to this line of conduct the House of Hohenzollern will constantly adhere."

After the recent assertions of Bismarck, it was, certainly, matter of surprise to hear from his lips the assurance that he was most anxious for peace with the Catholic Church, and that he hoped, at some future day, with an amicably disposed Pope, to see his desire accomplished. This profession, coming at such a time, was received with bitter scorn by all Catholics. Windthorst gave expression to this sentiment as follows: "It is exactly as if Bismarck had said: 'I will first of all stifle and fetter the Catholic Church by every means in my power; then, when I have made it almost impossible for her to breathe, I will see whether the Pope will not come forward with concessions, and proposals of peace.'"

The Articles of the Constitution which had guaranteed to the Church the last remnants of freedom of action were now annulled. All the non-Catholic voices without exception—275 against 90 in the Chamber of Deputies, 69 against 24 in the Upper House—sided with the Government against the Centre and the Poles. Every shade of political difference vanished before the one supreme distinction of Protestant or Catholic. With a like overwhelming majority the law was passed for the suppression of all existing Religious Orders and Congregations, and the interdiction of all future foundations of these Orders. The Government seemed determined to set at nought all consideration for the feelings of the Catholic population; otherwise, it would surely have felt some remorse at driving out to misery and destitution 9,000 religious, 7,763 of whom were women. The law, which had received the royal sanction on the 31st of May, 1875, had made a distinct exception in favour of the Congregations whose special mission was the care of the sick. The Emperor had, in all probability, made a point of this reservation on account of the great services rendered to his soldiers in the late war by the Sisters of Charity. Now, however, these Orders also were to die out. New

members were to be admitted only by consent of the Minister; the removal of the Sisters from one house to another was also strictly forbidden, except by permission of the Government. Moreover, the King was to have the right of dissolving any single foundation of these Orders at his individual discretion and command. The Protestant parties did not hesitate to own that they dreaded the influence on behalf of Catholicism which could not fail to be awakened by the charity and virtue of these good religious. In fact, the entire debate upon the Bill manifested the bitter hatred of the Catholic Church which filled the hearts of the majority in both Houses of the Landtag. The obligations of gratitude, and the duty of regard and consideration for helpless women, were alike forgotten. "To thrust out to an uncertain future so large a number of women, who had found peace and happiness in the life to which they had devoted themselves, was far from being chivalrous; it was simply barbarous!" These were the words of Windthorst, and they were echoed by all the Catholics of the land. Baron Schorlemer did not exaggerate when he said: "This law will plunge a sword of sorrow into the hearts of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, who have relatives in these religious houses; the wound will be deep and incurable; it will everywhere, and in all parts, be answered by the cry—*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*"

A glance at the long list of laws drawn up against the Catholic Church in Prussia is sufficient to prove that a systematic aim pervades them all. Every indication of vitality on the part of the Church, if not completely suppressed, was to be controlled by the State. The enemies of the Church sought, as it were, to drain her life-blood, and infuse into her veins a deadly poison. The law, for instance, with respect to the administration of ecclesiastical property was one of animosity and ill-will. Since the year 1850, this administration had been in the hands of the Church, subject to no interference on the part of the State. The members of a parish had their share of interest in the matter, inasmuch as two or three from amongst them were elected to the office of churchwarden. The consent of the parishioners was necessary to the imposition of a tax for general parish expenses. Thus the rights of the Church were maintained equally with those of the parishioners. By the new law of the 20th of June, 1875, however, the churchwardens were to be entitled to greater freedom of action, but only to increase their dependence on the State. The parish priest was no longer to preside over them; he might not even be *chosen* as president; indeed, permission for the priest to be churchwarden, in the capacity of a *simple parishioner* only, was wrung with some difficulty from the Chamber of Deputies. In all matters of importance the decisions of the

churchwardens were to be submitted to the approval of the Government magistrates, who, moreover, were authorized to prohibit all parish expenditure contrary to the Laws of the State. On the other hand, the churchwardens were to have the right of appeal to the State against the decisions of the bishop.

The Minister of Public Worship, Falk, could not bring forward a single proof of the ill effects of the former system. On the contrary, the Government administrators of ecclesiastical property afterwards appointed were obliged to acknowledge that the episcopal officers, their predecessors, had done their duty with the most praiseworthy regularity and scrupulous conscientiousness. The motive of the Government, therefore, in making this new regulation could have been none other than the hope of creating dissension between the bishops and their flocks. Mallinkratt had observed on a former occasion that "to revolutionize the Church from top to bottom was the thing aimed at." By getting the administration of ecclesiastical property into its own hands, the Government hoped also to be able to deprive at pleasure the "recusant" clergy of their revenues. "This is a confiscation of Church property *sub modo*," said Windthorst; "a subtle manner of giving its administration into the hands of the State."

By the bishops, this law was, of course, felt to be a violation of the divinely-appointed independence of the Church, and an infringement of the rights distinctly guaranteed to her by the State. Permission was, however, given by the Holy See for compliance with the law, under certain fixed conditions, inasmuch as it contained no *direct* injury to the *inner* life of the Church. By some, this compliance on the part of the bishops was viewed with suspicion and mistrust; the result, however, of the elections to the office of churchwarden was so entirely in accordance with the mind of the Church, that all disapproving tongues were silenced. In the administration of ecclesiastical property, also, the desire of the bishops was strictly complied with, whilst communication with the officers appointed by the Government to act for the deposed bishops was kept religiously within the limits prescribed by the Holy See. The devotion of the people to the Church was, perhaps, in no case more clearly manifested than in this, where the question was one of the external interests of the Church. The thousands of laymen acting as churchwardens were guided entirely by the directions of the banished bishops, without betraying by one sign whence their directions proceeded.

That the law introducing civil marriage would have no ill-effects on the Catholic population was felt from the first. Protestants, on the contrary, proved themselves so devoid of religious feeling in this matter that the numbers of civil marriages, and the proportion of unbaptized children, filled the Conservative

parties with alarm. So early as the year 1879 petitions were addressed to the Diet by seriously-minded Protestants begging for the repeal of this law.

The Government was doomed to one disappointment after another with regard to the submission of Catholics to its decrees. Up to the beginning of the year 1880, *not one* theological student had availed himself of the course of study prescribed by the State. Many sought ordination to the priesthood in other lands for fear of being compelled, *even as priests*, to take *active* military service; exemption from military service being granted to those priests alone who had complied with the demands of the State. Thus, in many places, it was no unusual thing for the priest, after his mass in the early morning, to be obliged to spend the whole day in military exercises, and in the uniform of a soldier. On this account, it may be noticed, Bavaria and Wurtemberg were the districts where the lack of clergy most prevailed; those priests, however, who had sought ordination abroad, and now found themselves houseless and homeless in the land of their birth, were of great use in ministering to the spiritual needs of the people. The recognition by the bishops of clergymen appointed by the State, occurred in no *no single case whatever*; consequently the police were active in tracking out priests who continued to exercise their spiritual functions without the consent of the Government. In the diocese of Gnesen and Posen a number of young priests formed themselves into an association for the secret discharge of pastoral duties in parishes deprived of their clergy. It puts one in mind of the hunting down of Catholic priests in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to read of the way in which these devoted young priests exercised the sacred duties of their office, guarded by an escort of faithful Poles. It repeatedly happened that a dozen gendarmes would at night force their way into the houses of Polish gentlemen, because they knew a priest to be concealed there; very rarely, however, did they succeed in capturing the object of their search. They were repeatedly frustrated, also, in their efforts to possess themselves of the person of the priest who, in the name of the Apostolic-delegate of Posen, read openly from the pulpit the excommunication of the clergymen intruded by the Government upon the parishes. At Treves the police met with no better success. In one instance, however, they forced their way into the church at the moment when the priest whom they sought was offering the Holy Sacrifice. Without so much as waiting for its completion, with heads covered, they went up to the altar then and there to lay hands on their victim. A fearful scene of confusion and excitement followed. Cries of terror and exclamations of anger were heard on all sides; soon a hand-to-hand conflict began, and the holy place was desecrated by bloodshed

at the very time of the celebration of the highest mystery of the Catholic faith. Catholics burned with indignation to see the mysteries of their religion thus profaned, and their priests assaulted, as in the days of heathen persecution, in the sanctuary itself. Events such as these made an indelible impression on the hearts of Catholics in the Rhenish provinces.

A sense of indignation, still more profound, was aroused by another and yet more sacrilegious act on the part of the police. At Ohlau the Blessed Sacrament had been removed from the church by the dean because a priest, nominated by the State, intended taking possession of the sacred edifice. For the purpose of producing evidence of the fact before the law court, the ciborium, containing the Blessed Sacrament, was forcibly taken away by a Protestant gendarme, and, with an audacity which is simply appalling, carried through the streets to the police office. A cry of horror burst from the hearts of all the faithful; everywhere, and in all the churches, acts of reparation were made to turn away the vengeance of Almighty God for this awful sacrilege. The Government, however, manifested an utter want of regard for the feelings of its Catholic subjects. The Minister of the Interior expressed his regret, it is true, at the manner in which the act was done, but pronounced it substantially legal, and declined to make any promise for the prevention of similar proceedings in future. Probably the ill-success which had hitherto attended the efforts of the police was a sore subject with the Government, and prevented a dispassionate consideration of the question. Otherwise the Ministers would surely have perceived that the steps which they were taking to coerce the minds of Catholics were tending to alienate them irrevocably, not only from the Government, but from the dynasty itself.

Meanwhile the prosecution of the bishops was continued. In 1875 the Prince-bishop of Breslau was deposed from the exercise of his office in Prussia, whilst an unsuccessful attempt was made to deprive him also of the administration of the Austrian portion of his diocese. In 1876, the Suffragan-bishop of Posen and the Bishops of Münster and Cologne were, under similar prettexts and in similar terms, arbitrarily deposed by the State. The Sees of Fulda and Treves had already been deprived, by death, of their spiritual overseers; consequently, after the removal, by order of the Government, of the Bishop of Limburg in 1877, the Sees of Kulm, Ermland, Osnabrück, and Hildesheim were the only ones in possession of their lawful bishops. The venerable Bishop of Kulm, Herr von der Marwitz, had served in the wars against Napoleon I.; to this circumstance, perhaps, he was indebted for the intercession of the king in his behalf. To fines he was sentenced on several occasions, but deposition he escaped, although

he had acted precisely as did his brethren in the episcopate. The Bishop of Ermland, Dr. Kremenz, found a protector in the Empress, who had made acquaintance with this excellent prelate when he was parish-priest at Coblenz, and valued him highly. The Bishops of Hildesheim and Osnabrück were treated with some degree of consideration, because of the critical position of affairs in the Hanoverian districts. Fines were, however, imposed unsparingly: the Bishop of Hildesheim, in 1877 alone, had incurred fines to the amount of 27,600 marks, not one penny of which he had the means of paying! The decrees of confiscation to the State of episcopal property had no result whatever, for the bishops had lost nearly all they possessed, and had been deprived even of their dwelling-houses. For instance, the property of the Bishop of Kulm was, on the 25th of April, 1878, to be seized on account of the fine of 17,500 marks to which he had been sentenced; a carpet, which was his only forthcoming possession, was sold, and fetched, after the deduction of costs, something like fourpence! On the 30th of July, 1878, occurred the death of the Bishop of Osnabrück, so that the number of bishops in office was now limited to three.

The Cathedral Chapters, however, everywhere refused to comply with the injunction of the State to choose a vicar-capitular. In those dioceses where ecclesiastical rule had been suspended by the Government, the episcopal power was exercised by secret delegates. No one knew them by person or by name; but their decrees were, in all cases, met by prompt and willing obedience. Every facility was afforded by the Government to the police and to the law-courts for the discovery of these delegates; hundreds of witnesses were called; refusal to give testimony was threatened with the severest penalties; but all in vain. In fact, friend and foe alike viewed these exertions on the part of the Government with unmitigated scorn. The Bishop of Paderborn *personally* directed the administration of his diocese from Belgium. The law for the withdrawal of the stipends of the clergy completely missed its aim. In the whole kingdom the number of clergymen who had secured their stipends by compliance with the laws scarcely amounted to twenty. Nearly the whole, therefore, of the funds due by Government to the bishops, episcopal institutions, and clergy, was unclaimed. From the 1st of April, 1875, to the 1st of April, 1876, and similarly in each succeeding year, the very considerable sum of 2,710,986 marks remained in the hands of the Government. Catholics joyfully undertook to provide for their destitute priests. In every parish, offerings for this intention were systematically made, and placed on the altar at Mass, and it was considered by the faithful a privilege to give this testimony to the sincerity of their belief.

On the other hand, the ministrations of the few priests who still received the pay of the State were shunned; the mere acceptance of State support being looked upon as a proof of infidelity to the Church. Up to the beginning of the year 1880, *no single parish* throughout the empire had shown itself wanting in obedience to the Church. Attempts were made, now and then, to induce a parish to choose its own pastor, but *in every case* without success.

In the debates upon the various laws, their aim had been repeatedly defined by the Ministers as an endeavour to withdraw the people from the influence of Rome, and make "good Prussians" of them. The result was exactly the reverse; Catholics rallied the more closely in defence of the Pope. Again, the idea of Falk had been to make the clergy, internally and externally, independent of their bishops and of the Supreme Head of the Church; he saw them persecuted and despoiled, indeed; but so resolute and unflinching in devotion to their spiritual superiors, that never was the unity of the Church more perfectly manifested. Could, then, the Government venture to congratulate itself on the success of its measures?

The admirers of State omnipotence might, perhaps, ask in return: What, then, have been the gains of Ultramontanism? Its expansion has been cramped and paralyzed; its measures of propagandism checked; its influence by means of the schools, the ecclesiastical seminaries, the Religious Orders and Congregations, annulled; the episcopal chiefs of the conflict deposed. Are not these things so many results of State legislation? Strange grounds, surely, for consolation! It might have been added that, in the parishes deprived of their lawful pastors, there was a visible decline in morality, and especially in the preservation of chastity; that crime, together with strong Liberal tendencies, was developing itself in the places where no longer any warning voice was raised in the name of the Redeemer; where no hand remained to check, by Divine commission, the growing disorder. At the beginning of the year 1880, more than 800 benefices in the kingdom were vacant, and it needed no special amount of penetration to foresee that, in another fifteen years, the country would be almost entirely deprived of lawful pastoral supervision. According to the views of the Liberal promoters of the laws, the victory of the State would then be complete; but next would follow the question: What form of religion should take the place of the Catholic Church, now apparently annihilated? The Government could not be ignorant of the fact that Protestantism had lost all power of attraction for Catholics, whilst of "Old Catholicism," it was by this time too much ashamed to expect that Catholics would seek the salvation of their souls in that

direction : or did Bismarck seriously think of leaving them without church or religion of any kind ? The respect of the Catholic population for the Government was growing less and less as they saw their priests persecuted, deprived, and imprisoned for saying Mass, for administering the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, or for carrying the consolations of religion to the sick and the dying. In another direction the Government was pursuing a system of political economy which was raising the value of capital higher and higher, promoting unsound principles, and letting usury go unpunished. Socialism and democracy were spreading rapidly amongst Protestants, and it was to the influence of the Church alone, that the Catholic provinces were indebted for their preservation from the social infection. It was all very well to confer additional authority upon the police, and, at the same time, to control civic liberty in the matter of regulating taxation ; these are questions, however, which do not substantially affect the welfare of a people. There seems to have been a latent assurance in the minds of the legislators, that the Church would not let matters come to extremity ; that she would make any concession, rather than give up entirely her status in Germany ; if such were the case, it was a further proof of the inability of Protestant statesmen to grasp the fact that the Church could not possibly make any concessions which should involve a denial of her Divine prerogatives.

Every opportunity was taken by Pope Pius of openly defining the principles of the Church. He unhesitatingly pronounced the conduct of the bishops to be in strict conformity with the requirements of obedience to God and the Church. He praised the clergy and people of Prussia for their inviolable fidelity to the faith, and their admirable constancy in defence of the Church's rights. On the other hand he unsparingly denounced the promoters of the conflict as persecutors of Christ Himself. At the same time, he expressed his conviction that the struggle would end in the triumph of the Church and the welfare of the German people. On the 17th of May, 1877, the Pope gave audience to a large number of German pilgrims, who, with the Archbishop of Cologne at their head, came to congratulate the Holy Father on the attainment of his episcopal Jubilee. With grief of heart they spoke of the dangers threatening the Church in Prussia, and the small likelihood of her restoration to peace in that country. Pius IX. consoled his "well-beloved children," and bid them trust in the Providence of God.

Many years ago (said he) some pious Catholics expressed to me a desire that trials might come to inflame their faith ; they even ventured to wish that a new Attila might rise up against the Church. Here, then, if you will, is this new Attila. He hoped to lay waste and destroy

the Catholic religion; but his hopes have failed; the Church has arisen victorious from the conflict, faith has been strengthened, and zeal re-kindled in the hearts of Christians. When the designs of God have been accomplished, He will make His voice to be heard, and restore peace and tranquillity to the land.

Meanwhile, in Prussia, Falk was continuing the work of destruction. At the outset of the "Kulturkampf," Prince Bismarck had said that it was *in the schools* that he hoped to see his policy most effectual. In pursuance of this aim, Falk had taken the instruction of Catholic children almost entirely out of the hands of the clergy. Instruction in the Catechism even was forbidden, unless they would pledge themselves to comply with the designs of Bismarck; religious instruction, therefore, was to be made to serve the ends of the State, and to be imparted by commission of the State. To expect from the Church compliance with these terms was beyond measure unreasonable. On the other hand, it was evident that the attempt to accomplish this design by force would be attended with considerable risk.

In their audience of the 17th of May, 1877, the Catholics of Germany had complained to the Pope.

Ad cetera mala novum illud accedit, quod in scholarum eversione et corruptione consistit, a quibus sacerdotes nostri excluduntur, et in quibus miseræ juventuti summa pericula parantur. Nimirum hæc tandem ratione ecclesiæ hostes sperant se triumphaturos et nefaria illa consilia perfecturos, quæ apostolica et nullis laudibus satis celebranda episcoporum fortitudo et vigilantia, sacerdotum admirabilis et inviolata constantia, denique populi christiani intemerata fides huc usque irrita fecerunt.

There was, indeed, every reason to fear that the faith would be uprooted from the schools, and devotion to the Church annihilated. But here, again, was to be manifested the truth of the words: "Wherein we have sinned, in those things are we punished;" before very long the arrogance of the teachers and the immorality of their pupils had brought the nation to the edge of a precipice of danger, which neither the King nor his Prime-Minister could ignore. Whether with the recognition of mistakes made, would come the determination to correct them, was another question. Such a step generally involves a series of humiliations from which men in power are wont to shrink. Circumstances there are, however, to which the proudest natures are compelled to bend and yield.

The political aspect of Europe, both during, and at the close of, the Russo-Turkish war, was not particularly reassuring. It was to the connivance of Germany that Russia in reality owed her success in humbling the Porte. [What, then, were the

motives which had induced the Chancellor to maintain friendly relations with Russia? There seems little doubt that he had been influenced by the consideration that an opposite line of conduct would lead to an alliance between Russia and France. None knew better than Bismarck, however, that the moment *must* arrive when Russia would become dangerous to the empire; and, at such a time, it would be by no means a matter of indifference were the nation to be torn asunder by religious animosity.

With regard to the internal affairs of the empire, they were completely under the influence of the *Kulturkampf*, which now threatened to become a lasting institution of the Prussian monarchy. All the projects of Bismarck, whether they had to do with the constitution, or with taxation, or any other matter of political economy, depended for their realization upon the ascendancy of the Liberals. Reasons there were, however, in abundance—and in them personal sympathies and antipathies had no inconsiderable share—for desiring an opportunity of getting rid of National Liberalism. Every chance of renewing old ties with the Conservatives had, for some time, been eagerly welcomed by the Chancellor. If, by this means, moreover, the union of the Conservatives with the Catholics of the land should be effected, Bismarck would be the more disposed to rely for the support of his policy on the majority thus formed, because he would then be enabled to reduce the Liberals to a subordinate position, after long efforts to do so. The friction which he had had to encounter in his official career was principally owing to the annoyance of the Emperor and Empress at the parliamentary majority. By both these illustrious persons the religious and social evils of the day were laid unreservedly to the charge of Liberalism, upon which the policy of the Government had been hitherto founded. The Empress in particular, together with those who had a special share in her confidence, was strong upon this point. By them the *Kulturkampf* was deplored as a national calamity, the end of which could not be too speedily effected. In the highest circles of the land, also, considerable pleasure was taken in the relation of amusing incidents and details, in support of the conviction that, at Court, Bismarck was held solely responsible for the continuance of the *Kulturkampf*. The inability of the Chancellor to shut his eyes to these facts, increased his anxiety to be the special instrument in bringing about a reconciliation between Prussia and the Holy See. If, at the same time, the subjection of the Papacy to the supremacy of Prussian legislation were still to be the goal of all his efforts, he was soon to have a fresh opportunity of declaring his intentions.

On the 7th of February, 1878, Pope Pius IX. was taken to his rest. Deep sorrow filled the hearts of the faithful in Germany

at the news of his death; never before, perhaps, had a similar occasion made so deep an impression, or awakened more heartfelt sorrow in Catholic Germany than did the death of Pius IX. Everywhere, even in the most unpretending villages, the lamentation was heard that Christendom would not easily find his equal as Head of the Church; indeed, the love of the Catholics of Germany for Pius IX. followed him beyond the tomb. On the other hand, the Liberal organs, as well as those of the Government, could not conceal their joy at the death of this great and holy successor of St. Peter. They had, also, so little understanding and knowledge of the Papacy, as to entertain the delusion that, with a change of persons, a change of principle might follow. When, scarcely a fortnight after the death of Pius IX., after an unusually short conclave, Leo XIII. ascended the Papal throne, the organs of the Government were pleased to impute to the new Pope a spirit of Ecclesiastical Liberalism, which, they considered, might possibly win for him the favour of Falk himself! Their object was plain. They praised the mild and conciliating disposition of the new Pope, in order that afterwards, should the expected concessions be withheld, they might lay the blame upon the "Extremists." It is needless to say that Catholics greeted the accession of Leo XIII. with the fullest confidence.

The new Pope announced his election as Supreme Head of the Church to the Emperor of Germany, in common with the other reigning sovereigns. In his letter of the 19th of February, he expressed his earnest desire for the termination of the *Kulturkampf*, adding: "It is with sincere regret that we find an interruption of the friendly relations which, in times past, so happily existed between your Majesty and the Holy See. We address ourselves, therefore, to the generosity of your heart, and beg that peace and quietness of conscience may be granted to the Catholic subjects of your Majesty." The Pope, on his part, promised to be answerable for the "conscientious and true loyalty" of Catholics to the Emperor. Thus the way was at least opened for putting an end to the differences between Church and State in Prussia; and it is much to be regretted that the Cabinet of Berlin did not avail itself of this opportunity of coming to a friendly understanding with the Pope. As it was, however, the opportunity was neglected. The reply of the Emperor, dated the 24th of March, 1878, contained a covert, but at the same time unmistakable, accusation against Pope Pius IX. The pen of Bismarck was clearly discernible in the terms made use of by the Emperor: "Gladly do I accept from your Holiness the assurance that you are disposed to use the mighty influence which, by the constitution of your Church, is exercised by you over all its members, for the purpose of inducing those who have

hitherto proved refractory, to follow the example set them by their flocks, and conform to the laws of the land in which they dwell." This commendation of the obedience of the Catholic laity to the ecclesiastical laws was, in reality, a perversion of notorious facts, for they had acted in strict conformity with the bishops and clergy, and all, both clergy and laity, had been supported by the authority of the late Pope. That was as well known at Berlin as in Rome. What, then, was meant by holding up the people as an example to their pastors? It was as much as to imply that the Government of the Emperor William believed that, without pressure from the Pope and the clergy, the Catholic laity would prove good subjects enough; the question of peace rested entirely with the Pope and the clergy. Viewed in this light, the reply of the Emperor was anything but friendly. The Catholics of Prussia saw clearly enough what the Chancellor was aiming at; but they held their peace, because the document bore the signature of the Emperor.

The reply of Pope Leo, given on the 17th of April, was dictated by his wonted magnanimity. The entire text of the letter has not been published, but its substance is to be found in a letter of the Crown Prince, dated the 10th of June, 1878. The Pope had written to congratulate the Emperor on his escape from the murderous attempt upon his life. The Emperor being unable to reply in person, the commission of thanking the Pope for his expressions of sympathy devolved upon the Crown Prince, who made use of the occasion to allude, at the same time, to the Pope's second letter. It seems that the Holy Father had therein declined to exert his influence upon the clergy in the sense demanded by the Emperor. In refutation of the charge of disobedience made against the clergy, he had pointed to the laws which were a direct violation of the rights of the Church, and had shown that the repeal of these laws was absolutely necessary to the restoration of peace. Bismarck must have been prepared for a reply of this nature, and, had he been strictly honourable, he would have explained to his Imperial master that the Catholic Church refused obedience to those laws *alone* which the Pope had pronounced to be subversive of her Divine rights. From the reply of the Crown Prince on the 10th of June, however, it is evident that the supreme counsellor of the Crown had not scrupled to accuse the Church of universal disobedience to the authority of the State. The Crown Prince writes: "I am sorry to find that your Holiness does not conceive it possible to comply with the hope expressed by my father, in his letter of the 24th of March, that your Holiness would enjoin upon the ministers of your Church submission to the laws and government of their country." This entire misconception of his words and intentions must have been

painful in the extreme to the Holy Father. He, however, saw through the designs of Bismarck; with him it rested to pronounce the claims of the Church irreconcilable with those of the State, and in this he succeeded so effectually that the Crown Prince rejected the Pope's request for a change in the legislation as an interference on the part of a foreign potentate in the affairs of Prussia. At the suggestion of the Chancellor, the Crown Prince replied: "The demand of your Holiness, in your letter of the 17th of April, for a change in the constitution and laws of Prussia, in order to meet the requirements of the Roman Catholic Church, is one with which no Prussian sovereign can comply, inasmuch as the independence of the monarchy would be impaired were the free action of its legislation to be made subordinate to any external power." The Pope might have made answer that it is the duty of every State so to frame its legislation that the religious convictions of its subjects may be respected; otherwise, it exposes itself to the risk of seeing its laws disobeyed, for conscience sake, by a portion of the population. The sovereigns of Prussia, when they annexed Catholic provinces to the Crown, were perfectly aware that their new subjects looked to the Pope as Supreme Head and Teacher in all matters of faith and morals. If, then, it was compatible with the independence of the monarchy to accept Catholic subjects, simple justice demanded that the said subjects should be permitted to continue their allegiance to the Head of the Church, *in all matters affecting their condition as Catholics*. Such had been the case originally; within the last ten years, however, the legislation of Prussia had been gradually altered in character, until the present crisis had been reached.

After the late declarations on the part of the Emperor and the Crown Prince, no one could have blamed Leo XIII. had he relinquished all further attempts at reconciliation. Consideration, however, for the daily increasing spiritual destitution of Prussia moved him to overlook what was offensive in Bismarck's letter. The concluding expressions of the Crown Prince's letter were charitably accepted by the Pope as a ground for clinging to the hope that a peaceful arrangement of affairs might yet be accomplished. The words of the Crown Prince were these: "I do not yet give up all hope that, even if a complete understanding on both sides be impossible, a spirit of mutual conciliation may open the way for the restoration to Prussia of that peace and goodwill which have been unreservedly accorded to it by other States." No specially eager desire for peace with the Church seems to breathe in these words; and yet a lurid light had just been thrown upon the precipice opened by the Kulturkampf by a second attempt upon the sacred person of the monarch.

On the 11th of May, 1878, as the Emperor, who had been

driving with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, was returning to the palace, several shots were discharged at him from a revolver. Happily, they missed their aim, and the perpetrator of the act was immediately arrested. He proved to be a mechanic of the name of Hödel, and to be acting under the influence of Socialistic principles. Against this terrible evil of Social democracy the Government now felt it necessary to take prompt and immediate measures. Some twenty years before, Bismarck had kept up a sort of intimacy with the leader of the party, the clever Jew, Lasalle; partly, perhaps, with the object of frightening the Liberal middle-class; partly to increase his experience in matters affecting the police. Since then the numbers of the party had increased beyond all expectation; its members were now to be counted by hundreds of thousands. Its principles were diffused by a constantly increasing number of small pamphlets, the influence of which, especially amongst the working classes, was enormous. In the Reichstag, Socialism was publicly represented by twelve members. Moreover, the Bill for its suppression, which the Chancellor had hoped to see passed by the Reichstag, was, on the 24th of May, rejected by a large majority, probably because the terms of the Bill were so vague and indefinite that it was most uncertain to whom the charge of Socialism might be considered by the magistrates to apply.

On the 2nd of June, a fresh attempt was made on the life of the Emperor, two shots being successively fired upon him. This time the venerable monarch was somewhat dangerously wounded in the neck and head. The act was again traced to the influence of Socialism, the principles of which were openly avowed by the would-be assassin Nobiling. The newly-elected Reichstag at once proposed a law of some severity for the suppression of this terrible evil, which was threatening to subvert all order. The Catholic members, however, withheld their votes, from the conviction that the root of the evil was to be reached, not by a series of Draco-like enactments and penalties, but by a strict adherence to Christian principles in the matter of education. The open profession of revolutionary ideas might, indeed, be repressed by force, but the danger would not then be at an end. A proof of this was to be seen in Russia, where the sole effect of severe measures on the part of the Government was to induce the Nihilists to carry on their designs with greater caution.

The Emperor himself expressed his conviction that *one only* effectual way existed of checking these revolutionary excesses: "We must preserve the Christian religion to our people," said he, as he, took a reproachful survey of the sins of omission of which, within the last ten years, the Government had been guilty in this respect. The words of the Emperor were heartily

responded to throughout the land. Catholics, however, could not help wondering how religion was to be preserved if their clergy were not only to be hindered in their spiritual mission, but actually condemned to die out of the country. Catholics felt the treatment to which they were subjected the more keenly, because the religious section of the Protestant party was already rejoicing in the protection of the sovereign. In fact, the favour shown to the so-called "orthodox" party, as well as to the "United Positivists," was so extreme, that on the 10th of May Falk thought it time to send in his resignation. Whether it would be accepted by the Emperor was another question; on this point, however, the country was agreed—namely, that the dismissal of *this* Minister was absolutely essential to the possibility of a happier future for the Catholic Church.

In the debate upon the Bill against Socialism, the Government in no way rejected the co-operation of Catholics. On the contrary, the Minister Hoffmann, speaking in the name of the allied Governments, declared before the Reichstag on the 23rd of May, that "it was the special province of the Catholic Church to check the danger threatening the land from the spirit of Socialism." He then, however, proceeded to the unreasonable accusation that "the conflict which the Catholic Church was waging against the State was more prejudicial to its authority than Socialism itself." The Government were agreed with Herr von Bennigsen, leader of the National Liberals, in wishing for the alliance of the Church against the party of disorder, "but only on condition of the Church's submission to State regulations." Perhaps the Chancellor thought by this means personally to bring about the subjection of the Church to the authority of the Prussian Government.

In the middle of July, 1878, Bismarck started for Kissingen in the best of humours. By means of the Treaty of Berlin, just concluded, he had succeeded "in settling the Eastern question so as best to ensure the peace of Europe." He seemed to have reached the pinnacle of earthly greatness and renown; all had gone as he had wished it; was the Catholic Church alone to prove refractory to his will? On a former occasion he had expressed a wish to enter into communication with a representative of the Holy See; but at Berlin this would have been scarcely practicable. At Kissingen, however, his desire was to be accomplished, and on the 29th of July a meeting took place between himself and Monsignore Masella, Papal Nuncio at the Court of Munich. The interview was very lively, and seems to have been of a most amicable nature; but no understanding had been arrived at by the time of Bismarck's departure from Kissingen on the 18th of August. Whether the indispensable conditions

on both sides had been defined seems uncertain, but it was surmised that the Chancellor still persisted in his opinion that the Church must at last give in, and that then, but not till then, a revision of the legislation might follow. He subsequently remarked, in the easy tone which he was fond of adopting at his parliamentary soirées, that: "Had Cardinal Franchi been alive, the Roman Curia would have given in by this time; consequently, Franchi's death was much to be regretted." This, of course, would not have been the case; any one possessing but a limited acquaintance with the institutions of the Catholic Church knows well that even with the strongest disposition to compliance, she can abandon neither her constitution nor her doctrines. The mind of the Pope was manifested in his letter of the 27th of August to the new Cardinal Secretary of State, when he announced that "negotiations of a friendly nature, and from which he hoped for a happy result, had been opened with Prussia." "It is not our aim," continued the Pope, "to arrange merely a spiritual truce which should leave open the way to future conflicts, but so to remove obstacles as to lead to the conclusion of a real and lasting peace."

The confidence of the Catholics of Prussia in the Holy Father was unbounded; they much questioned, however, whether the heads of the Prussian administration would be prepared to restore to the Church a portion even of her former liberty. To clear up this point, at the opening of the new session of the Landtag, Windthorst brought forward a motion for the restoration of Articles 15, 16, and 18 of the Constitution. Before, however, the motion could be discussed, a very decided announcement was made by Falk on the 11th of December, 1878, that a change in the legislation of the State was not to be thought of. He declared that

Neither now, nor at any future time, could this concession on the part of the Government be acceded. Once for all, let it be understood that the retention of these laws was an absolute necessity to the peace and welfare of the State. The Government will, therefore, maintain this position, until sufficient guarantees be forthcoming from the other side that peace will be conceded as well as demanded.

To this rough speech, Windthorst replied:

After what we have just heard from the lips of the Minister, it seems to me that the announcement of amicable intentions on the part of the Government, is an empty phrase. With the May Laws as they stand at present, peace is impossible. The Minister has just pronounced it to be his irrevocable decision to abide by these laws; I must, therefore, affirm, to my great regret, that the peace which we so ardently desire, is a long way off.

The proceedings of the Government confirmed the mistrust here expressed. The few nuns suffered to remain in Prussia were now ordered to quit the country. In vain did Windthorst, with the majority in the Landtag, conjure the Government in these words: "Prove to us that you wish for peace; prove it, by granting to these poor women the protection of the law; by allowing them to earn their daily bread in their own country; to live and die in their own country;" neither Bismarek, nor Falk, nor the parties in league with the Government were capable of any sentiment of mercy when dealing with women who had devoted their lives to the service of the Catholic Church. At the same time, legal proceedings were conducted against a large number of the clergy for transgression of the May Laws; whilst, in the official "*Reichsanzeiger*," there appeared a warrant for the apprehension of Cardinal Count Ledochowski, formerly Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen," who, for contempt of the Ecclesiastical Court, had been condemned to a fine of 15,000 marks, or to two years' imprisonment. The Catholic population complained loudly that opportunities of frequenting the means of grace, and hearing the Word of God, were being more and more circumscribed from day to day; but their remonstrances fell upon deaf ears. Moreover, the clergy were still excluded from the schools; could their flocks be blamed for refusing to give any heed to the professions of friendly intentions on the part of the Government? Nothing further was heard of Falk's retirement from office; it seemed, indeed, as if the defeat of the Catholic parties in Belgium and France had given to the Cabinet at Berlin fresh courage to resist the claims of the Church. On the other hand, the Emperor personally continued to lay particular stress upon the necessity of religious education. In 1850, as Prince of Prussia, he had openly declared that: "He considered the ultimate cause of the corruption which prevailed both in public and private life throughout the Grand Duchy of Baden, to be the alienation of the schools from the Church." Now, after thirty years' experience—an experience by no means without its tinge of bitterness—he continued to insist upon his former conclusion. By religiously-minded and Conservative Protestants, this conviction of the Emperor was used as a means of getting rid of the half-believing element in their Church government. They were careful, also, to lose no opportunity of pointing out the difference of opinion on this matter between the Emperor and the Minister of Public Instruction.

At the same time, the influence of Conservatism made itself felt in the regions of political economy and finance. It was considered a favourable omen that, together with the Conservative party, the Centre seemed determined to support the financial

policy of the Imperial Chancellor against the Liberals, who were almost without exception in favour of free-trade. If Liberalism could be thrust from its position of supremacy in *one* point only, an entire and universal change of policy might be witnessed.

Meanwhile, every available means were employed by the Pope, in order, as he himself expressed it, "to obtain for the noble people of Germany the benefits of a lasting peace, together with the preservation of the rights of the Church." The sorrow and anxiety of his paternal heart were manifested in his Letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, on Christmas Eve, 1878: "Nunquam poterit cor nostrum quiescere, donec ingenti cum animarum jacturâ pastores ecclesiæ damnatos vel exules conspiciamus, sacerdotale ministerium nexibus omnis generis implicitum, religiosas sodalitates piæque congregationes disjectas, et juventutis institutionem, ne clericis quidem exceptis, ab episcopali auctoritate et vigilantia subductam." That the one aim and object of the Holy Father was the salvation of souls could not have been more explicitly demonstrated than by the above words. The origin of the evils here so bitterly deplored, was to be found entirely in those laws, the revision or repeal of which was the manifest object of the Pope's Christmas Letter.

The year 1879 brought to the Catholics of Prussia no alleviation of their *via dolorosa*. The words addressed by Leo XIII. on the 6th of May to Count Thau-Hohenstein were sorrowful ones, and seemed almost like a complaint:—"It was our duty," said the Pope, "to do everything in our power, compatible with the rights of the Church, to put an end to the unhappy position of affairs in Germany. We will not rest until this object be attained, or, until we have proved to all that, if reconciliation be impossible, the fault rests not with the Apostolic See." This declaration on the part of the Holy Father met with a grateful response from every Catholic heart.

By the Chancellor, however, negotiations were carried on in a dilatory spirit. The salvation of souls was nothing to him; his all-engrossing object was the aggrandizement of Prussia, according to his ideas of greatness. At the close of the first six months of the year, however, he was obliged to deprive himself of the co-operation of Falk, the reaction which had taken place amongst the "Orthodox" Protestants making it impossible for that Minister to remain longer in office. Accordingly, on the 30th of June, he again sent in his resignation. Devoted to the interests of Bismarck, and led by the infidel spirit of Liberalism, he had ruthlessly carried on the work of destruction with regard to all that Catholics hold dear and sacred. His successor found the pathway of office strewn with ruins, which were a terrible witness to the subversive activity of Falk. Herr von Puttkamer, however,

accepted the portfolio of the Minister of Public Worship and Instruction with, apparently, a light heart. Perhaps he rested his assurance of success upon the probability that the day was at hand when the Chancellor would take a final leave of Liberalism.

Herr von Bennigsen's announcement, in the session of the Diet of the 9th of July, that the Liberals were not prepared to support Prince Bismarck's proposed financial policy, was the signal for an immediate rupture between the Chancellor and his former friends. With respect to the Kulturkampf, Bismarck declared that he had entered upon that conflict in the interest of the Fatherland, but that "he never intended it to be a lasting institution of the German Empire; if he could now find ways and means of reconciling conflicting principles, he should deem it his duty to do so." A glance at the past history of the Chancellor was sufficient to warrant the conclusion that he was just the man to hold out his hand again to the Liberals with whom he had that moment quarrelled, should the allies whom he desired hold themselves aloof. There are, however, matters affecting the interests of Prussia, as well as those of Germany, with regard to which the Centre feels itself bound in conscience to deny its assistance to the Imperial Chancellor. The Catholic deputies consider themselves bound, for instance, to resist any further restriction of civil liberty; they cannot consent to the augmentation of the military budget, nor to the yet further extension of military duty. Bismarck's dilatoriness in conducting negotiations with Monsignore Jacobini, Nuncio at the Court of Vienna, may, perhaps, be traced to his anxiety to know the intended attitude of the Centre in the Reichstag with reference to fresh projects of taxation, and the renewal of the grant for the septennial military budget. The leaders of the Catholic party were well aware that their perseverance in maintaining an attitude of opposition might frustrate negotiations of an amicable nature. They feel bound, however, to stand by the principles for which they have contended for upwards of ten years, at the cost of repeated self-renunciation and constant sacrifice. At the moment when they shall receive from the Pope the intimation that his efforts have been crowned with success, the Catholics of Prussia will accept his decision with the readiness and respect with which, always and under all circumstances, they have submitted to the decrees of the Holy See. On the other hand, they will be ready, with unabated courage, to return to the combat, should the Pope be compelled to announce the failure of his earnest wishes and endeavours to bring about a good understanding with the Emperor.

Meanwhile, strong in their union with each other, Catholics quietly and confidently await the future, neither coming to the front with unbecoming impetuosity, nor allowing themselves to

be lulled to a false repose. The alleviations offered by the Minister, Puttkamer, in carrying out the legislation, Catholics thankfully accept, remembering at the same time that the supreme aim of their efforts and endeavours is, not simply the mild enforcement of the laws of the Kulturkampf, but their entire abrogation. They pray that God will enlighten both the Pope and the Emperor, and make them of one mind in arriving at decisions which shall tend to the glory of God, and the restoration of peace to the Church. They turn with joy to the memory of Catholic Ireland, and recall the fidelity and incomparable self-sacrifice with which she fought for her faith and her freedom. Filled with the noble enthusiasm with which the Church inspires her faithful children, the Catholics of Germany call to mind the words spoken by O'Connell to his own people in an hour of heaviness and sorrow: "So surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning, so surely will Ireland win her rights again! She would not touch one golden circlet of the crown, for it is not the crown that weighs heavily upon her. All that Ireland asks is, that the party opposed to her be no longer upheld and encouraged, and that Government will act in behalf of, and not against, the people of Ireland." The faithful in Germany look forward, as did O'Connell, to the hour of victory; they await the day when *their* leaders also shall proclaim that the Church has recovered her rights and her liberty. Already they seem to hear in their behalf the words of the great Liberator to his countrymen: "You have triumphed, because the voice which has pleaded for your country was first lifted up in prayer to God for her. Now shall the songs of liberty and peace resound through our fields, and be wafted over our green hills and valleys; now shall our mountains re-echo the glad voices of their rushing torrents, proclaiming that the Church, our true native land, is free."



ART. VII.—MIRACLES AND MEDICAL SCIENCE.

1. *Annales de Notre Dame de Lourdes.* Tomes I., II., III. Lourdes: B. Pujo.
2. *Notre Dame de Lourdes.* HENRI LASSERE. 5^{me} Edition. 1873.

IT is not surprising that medical science is sceptical as to miracles, especially as to miracles of healing. So many extravagant cures are ascribed to so many extravagant remedies; marvels apparently so great issue often, on research, in such natural explanation; so powerful do we find the effects of imagina-

tion, and so exaggerated many statements of fact, that distrust of the unusual and the extraordinary becomes almost an instinct.

Again, it is not surprising that scientific men, *ex professo* should have a special difficulty in accepting a miracle. The logical sequence of cause and effect, the absolute clearness of mathematical demonstration, the invariable reactions of chemistry, the exact adaptations of mechanical force, combine to fix a mental habit which scarcely tolerates a narration involving any contradiction of physical laws. "The enlarged critical and inductive study of the natural world cannot but tend powerfully to evince the inconceivableness of imagined interruptions of natural order."*

And once more, since the evidence of a continued harmony is higher than that of an interruption, there are those who find in a miracle something unpleasant and rather repulsive to, than confirmatory of, the idea of Providence. Hence it has been said that miracles, so efficacious in establishing the early Church, have in later times become rather obstacles to belief. "There is so much beauty, majesty, and harmony in the order of Nature, so much to fill, satisfy, and tranquillize the mind, that, by those who are accustomed to the contemplation, the notion of an infringement of it will at length be viewed as a sort of profanation and as even shocking—as the mere dream of ignorance, the wild and atrocious absurdity of superstition and enthusiasm."†

This last tone of thought may need the admonition suggested by Cardinal Newman—viz., to look to it, whether the idea be not from a "false zeal for our Master's honour, as shown in the exclamation, 'Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.'"

With regard to the mental habit indicated in the first two paragraphs it surely requires limitation under pain of overlooking truth. It is unnecessary to recount here the possibilities of mistake, or the authoritative decisions of scientific bodies against what have proved truths; but granted that there be a moral order higher than the physical, and such a world as the supernatural, how possible is it that a very subtle scientist "seeing may not see, and hearing may not understand." Is it not a proverb in spiritual ethics, illustrated well indeed in the "Annals of Lourdes," that "to little ones have been revealed things hidden from the wise and prudent?" and is it not a fact in Christian history that the doctors of the law could not recognize the Messiah?

* Rev. Baden Powell, "Essays and Reviews," p. 110.

† Two Essays on "Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles." Third edition. 1873. P. 159.

It is neither my place nor my purpose to appeal to an uninquiring faith, or a passive obedience; one postulate only is demanded—belief in the Christian God Omnipotent, the physical probability of Whose direct interference we measure only by His liberty, and its moral probability by His love for His creatures.

Ample reply has been given to the arguments “that no amount of evidence can avail against a universal experience,” and “that good witnesses are more likely to be mistaken than the course of Nature to be altered,” but it is not always remembered that Hume himself forestalled some of his opponents by the supposition of an “Almighty Being to whom the miracle was ascribed without it becoming on that account a whit more probable; since,” he argues, “it is impossible for us to know the actions or attributes of such a Being otherwise than from the experience which we have of his productions in the usual course of Nature.”* Such limiting by our own standard, such forbidding to the “Supreme Being” to do at any time what He has not done before, is unknown in the Christian idea of omnipotence and liberty.

Professor Huxley has objected to defining a miracle as a “violation of the laws of Nature,” because “Nature” (by which he seems to mean matter) “means neither more nor less than that which is the sum of phenomena presented to our experience: the totality of events past, present, and to come. Every event must be taken to be part of Nature until proof to the contrary is supplied, and such proof is, from the nature of the case, impossible.”† The begging of the question and the curious involvements of this extract have been amply exposed by the Rev. John Gerard (*Month*, April, 1879).

He does not refer to an earlier utterance of the Professor “that denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism” (*Spectator*, Feb. 10, 1866), perhaps because it might be held deleted by the book before him. My object, however, in the quotation is not controversy, but to express an equal objection to the definition of miracles as “violations of law,” and my reason would be very similar to Mr. Huxley’s, if in the idea of Nature he included God.

Briefly it is this:—Regarding the highest law as the will of the Creator, and recognizing that before Him there is no past, present, or future, the actual wonder worked on a given occasion must be taken as clearly in His design as any event more usual in human eyes. It is unusual, indeed, but as much “in the course of Nature” as any birth or death. The same idea is developed in

* “Essay on Miracles.”

† “Hume,” by Professor Huxley,” p. 131.

a work, entitled "Nature and the Supernatural as *together* Constituting the one System of God" (H. Bushnell, D.D.), and also in the early part of the Duke of Argyll's "Reign of Law." The latter points out that the "difficulty in credibility lies in the idea of will exercised without the use of means—not in the exercise of will through means that are beyond our knowledge" (*op. cit.*, p. 14); hence he hopes to reconcile differences and avoid "violations" by finding *means* used in every miraculous event. Cardinal Newman views the point in another light, allowing "a deviation," but a deviation from the subordinate for the sake the superior system :—

While writers expatiate so largely on the laws of Nature, they altogether forget the existence of a moral system : a system which, though but partially understood, and but general in its appointments as acting upon free agents, is as intelligible in its laws and provisions as the material world. . . . These two systems, the physical and the moral, sometimes act in union, and sometimes in opposition to each other. . . . Nor can it be fairly said to argue an imperfection in the Divine plans, that this interference should be necessary. For we must view the system of Providence as a whole; which is not more imperfect because of the mutual action of its parts than a machine, the separate wheels of which effect (for "affect"?) each other's movements (*op. cit.* pp. 17, 18).*

So old and so extensive a question is that of the "antecedent credibility" of miracles that at least so much seemed necessary to say by way of introduction to the special subject of this Paper. And having stated the conviction that, to a Christian, miracles need present no difficulty (*quâ* belief in possibility), and can scarcely be called "violations," it is necessary to state with equal emphasis that no light admission of a given fact as miraculous is hereby involved, no relaxation of the law of evidence is demanded; on the contrary, science of every kind—in the present instance medical science—is called upon to express an impartial opinion upon certain facts submitted. Pleading only, as Laplace pleaded, for the mental attitude, "également éloigné de la crédulité qui fait tout admettre, et de la prévention qui porte à rejeter

* It is interesting to collate the following from St. Thomas :—"Causa superior non continetur sub ordine causæ inferioris sed è converso, cujus exemplum apparet in rebus humanis; nam ex paterfamilias dependet ordo domus, qui continetur sub ordine civitatis, qui procedit a civitatis rectore, cum et hic contineatur sub ordine regis, a quo totum regnum ordinatur. Si ergo ordo rerum consideretur prout dependet a primâ causâ, sic contra rerum ordinem Deus facere non potest; si enim sic faceret, faceret contra suam præscientiam, aut voluntatem, aut bonitatem. Si vero consideretur rerum ordo prout dependet a qualibet secundarum causarum, sic Deus potest facere præter ordinem rerum; quia ordini secundarum causarum ipse non est subjectus; sed talis ordo ei subicitur, quasi ab eo procedens, non per necessitatem naturæ, sed per arbitrium voluntatis" (Summa Quæst. CV., Art. vi.).

tout ce qui s'écarte des idées reçues," it is desired to examine certain narratives in the work of M. Lasserre, and in the "Annales de Notre Dame de Lourdes."

I am not a personal witness to the facts in question: I may state further that my own experience, personal and professional, has never furnished me with a single fact that I could call miraculous—*i. e.*, out of the ordinary course of God's Providence. I am rather in the position of an expert examining written evidence for the purposes of diagnosis. The evidence of fact is, however, I submit, as conclusive as any evidence can be. M. Lasserre, a man of known honour and position, personally interviewed the cases that he quotes, and in the "Annales" the narratives are by eye-witnesses, with names and dates and places not of long ago, nor at a far distance, confirmed by local scientific testimony, and sufficiently before the world to have met with contradiction had there been ground for it.

Taking the narratives as they stand, and giving credit for sincerity to narrators and witnesses, still I do not conclude all as miraculous—since a certain number may be paralleled in medical practice without question of the supernatural, and it would seem desirable in the interests of truth to note some recent observations on diseases of the nervous system, since they throw a natural light on occurrences caused, doubtless, by a religious faith, but attributed, perhaps unduly, to direct supernatural interference.

The observations specially alluded to are those of M. Charcot at the Salpêtrière (in Paris), and they bear not only upon the ordinary emotional phenomena of hysteria (which when present would, for all inquirers, lessen credence for any case), but upon paralysis, loss of sensation, and other objective phenomena remaining when other signs of hysteria are in abeyance—remaining for many years, and then getting well in a few hours. Thus—

Case 1.—*Etch.*, a woman, aged forty, June, 1870. Illness began six years before, with an epileptiform seizure after a moral shock; and attacks of "hystero-epilepsy" have occurred occasionally since. Sometimes she would remain unconscious for days, and sometimes paralysis of one side would occur. At times she vomited blood, had severe abdominal pain, tympanitic distension, and ischuria. Suddenly, after an attack some months before date, a rigid contraction and flexion of the left arm and hand set in, whilst the left leg passed into a state of equally rigid extension, "forming as it were an inflexible bar." This "permanent contracture is no wise modified day or night, or during the profoundest sleep," and was only resolved by complete narcosis under chloroform. Besides the paralysis, there was absolute loss of common sensibility and of sensitiveness to pain over the left half of the body, limited by the median line, and affecting not only the skin, but the

muscles, "and perhaps the bones." The limbs were not much wasted; the electrical reactions were nearly normal. In July, 1873, the condition remained the same. On the 21st May, 1877, there were, in addition, contracture of the right leg, contracture of the jaws (necessitating the use of the stomach-pump for the last year), and aphonia of ten months' duration. On the 22nd of May a fit occurred, with oppression and contraction of neck muscles; she did not lose consciousness, but shrieked, expecting to die, and the jaw-contracture disappeared. She tossed about, striking with her right arm, trying to get to the window for air. Being restrained, her passion increased, and then the contracture of the right leg passed away, afterwards that of the left, and of the arm. She was allowed to rise; she walked; in eighteen hours recovery was complete, "or nearly so," and at the date of last note, "the only traces of former accidents are some slight cracking sounds in the joints."—*Lectures on Diseases of Nervous System*, by Professor Charcot, translated by Dr. Sigerson for New Sydenham Society, p. 284. London, 1877.

Case 2.—Contracture of right lower extremity of four years' duration. Convulsive hysteria existed only as a by-gone fact in the history. The contracture was the only present hysterical symptom. "On account of misconduct I was obliged to give the girl a stern admonition, and threaten to turn her out of the hospital. *Next day the contracture had entirely disappeared*" (*op. cit.* p. 291).

Case 3.—A woman affected with contracture of one limb of two years' duration. The hysterical crises proper had long disappeared. She was charged with theft, and the malady suddenly vanished under influence of the moral shock.

Case 4 resembled hemiplegia, the right arm and leg being affected for eighteen months. Recovery took place "almost suddenly" after a disappointment.

Case 5.—A girl of eighteen, subject to hæmorrhage from nose, and to headache; at fifteen had convulsive seizure; in 1872 complete loss of sensation on one side of her body; in October got contracture of right lower extremity, with almost constant tremor; three weeks after, during a fit, the leg suddenly recovered its powers; nine months after, one side was as strong as the other.

It must not be supposed that such cases are common—they are rare; also, they do not *all* recover, "the contraction *may* persist as an incurable deformity," still there is clearly possibility of recovery under mental influences not supernatural.

Another illustrative case may be given :

Case 6.—A girl, aged eighteen, had for several years shown hysterical symptoms. In 1879 she got pain simulating hip-joint disease; later, spasmodic jerking of the left limbs, and, after a partial recovery, paralysis of the same, with loss of sensation and loss of hearing, taste, and smell on the left side. A modern method of treating such condition is by discs of various metals locally applied, and four plates of zinc were fastened round the wrist; at first the arm was "more powerless," but

in a few hours power improved and sensation returned. Next day the girl could walk, and in a week she was quite well and has so continued: the cure was not attributed to the metals (Dr. R. Atkins, *British Medical Journal*, February, 1879).

Dr. Laycock remarks that a woman may have been bedridden for months, quite unable to use her lower extremities, and the case seem hopeless to the physician, when suddenly, from some potent moral cause, she will rise up and walk, "no longer the victim of nerves, but the vanquisher." ("Nervous Diseases of Women," p. 289, London, 1840.)

The want, not really of power to move, but of belief in the possession of that power, is the characteristic of a peculiar form of paralysis commonly designated as 'hysterical,' and the most efficacious treatment of this remarkable disorder is to work the patient up to a conviction that the ability has been, or will be, restored. Such was the manner in which, about twenty years ago, a young lady who had been for some time confined to her couch was enabled to rise and walk at the bidding of a clerical friend, who had successfully inspired her with religious faith in her capability to execute his command (reference to *Christian Observer* of date). And such is the manner in which similar marvels have been brought about by any *modus operandi* which begets a confidence that things hitherto deemed impossible can be accomplished, and concentrates all the mental and physical powers in the effort to perform it.—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xciii. p. 513, 1853. (Dr. Carpenter).

Dr. Russell Reynolds has well shown "that some of the most serious disorders of the nervous system, such as paralysis, spasm, pain and otherwise altered sensations, may depend upon a morbid condition of emotion, of idea and emotion, or of idea alone and that they occur independently of anything that could be called either insanity of mind, hysteria, hypochondriasis, or malingering" (*British Medical Journal*, 1869, 2); they resist many kinds of treatment, but are amenable to mental influences. He gives instances of severe and chronic paralysis recovering in one or two weeks, but details need not here be quoted, since no cures were so absolutely sudden as to compare with cases at Lourdes. He distinguishes them from hysterical paralysis under the term "Paralysis dependent on Idea."

The peculiar symptom of loss of sensation on one side of the body was found by M. Briquet in 93 cases out of 400 of hysteria.* Sometimes it was found affecting the skin only, sometimes the deeper tissues, muscles, bones, and joints; the surface was often pallid and cold, and in intense cases superficial wounds on the affected side did not bleed. Taste might be lost in one-half of

* "Traité de l'Hystérie." Paris, 1859.

the tongue, and the senses of smell and of sight weakened or altered in a remarkable manner.

The alterations of sight deserve special notice, because they are not infrequent subjects of apparent (or real) miracles.* Dr. Schenkl has written especially on "Hysterical Disorder of the Eyes," and asserts that, by reflex action from the uterine system, increased irritability of certain ophthalmic nerves may be caused, with consequent severe pain on using them. This differs from true neuralgia in having no typical course and also in being relieved or prevented by rest. Both eyes are generally affected—the right most so. Intolerance of light is sometimes present, but distant vision is not affected. The disorder may attack apparently healthy women, rarely, anæmic nervous men. Its course is tedious, and in reference to our present point we must note that no evidence of its sudden cure is given (*Prager Med. Wochenschrift*, No. 18, 1877). We find it, however, in such cases as the following:—

Rose O. C., aged twenty, admitted into St. Thomas's Hospital the 15th of June, 1880. For six months had had severe pain in face, latterly in the legs; she was well-nourished and cheerful, not evidently hysterical; said she could scarcely see with her left eye, and all colours seemed white; the right eye was normal; later, she lost all perception of light in the left eye; on some days she had loss of power in the left limbs. On the 29th of June, "after severe pain in both eyes, sight suddenly returned to the left. July 11: colour vision normal. July 22: discharged cured."—Dr. Stone, *Medical Times*, Aug. 28, 1880, p. 241.

These examples are as many as space allows to quote, and it is submitted that cases even approaching to such types should not be termed miraculous. Hence we would concede to M. Littré certain cures effected at the shrine of St. Louis—those, viz., of three women with contracture and loss of sensation affecting one leg or one-half of the body (*Revue de Philosophie Positive*, Avril, 1869); and we recognize that amongst those healed at the tomb of the Jansenist Deacon Pâris (1727) were several suffering from marked "permanent" contracture of hysterical character ("De la Contracture Hystérique Permanente," pp. 7-17, Paris, 1872. Bourneville et Voulet).†

To compare now briefly some of the results reported from Lourdes:—

* Shakespeare makes the impostor Simpcox feign *palsy* and *blindness* (*Second Part of Henry VI*, act ii.).

† "La vérité des Miracles opérés par l'Intercession de M. de Paris et autres Appellans," par M. Carré de Montgéron, 1737-45, is a curious and instructive work well illustrating the simulation of truth by error.

1. Madame S., widow, aged thirty-six, of nervous temperament, always delicate, had anæmia, dyspepsia, vomiting, &c.; *had kept her bed for four years*, and was expected to die, when, on the last day of a novena, she recovered suddenly. Whilst the evening before she could scarcely sit while the bed was made, on Easter Sunday morning she rose, lit her fire, and cooked her own and others' breakfasts.—*Annales*, Avril 30, 1878.

2. A. D., suffering from a "nervous inflammatory affection of the larynx, bronchi and stomach," attributed to chill and to work in a tobacco factory; had aphonia and constant spasmodic cough, and kept her bed; seemed exceedingly ill; could not speak or swallow; covered with a cold sweat she lay whilst the prayers for the dying were recited round her bed; yet on the third day of drinking the water she rose, eat solid food, and felt perfectly cured.—*Annales*, Jan. 30, 1878.

3. Mademoiselle V. C. was for five years confined to bed with a general neurosis, affecting especially the stomach and intestines, so that the upright position and almost every movement caused vomiting; *the left leg was flexed at the knee* and was useless. Very pious, charitable, and rich, this lady had founded an orphanage, and although not hoping or expecting much, she was at length persuaded to ask for her own cure, and to send some of her orphans in her place to Lourdes. Soon after, on a feast of Our Lady, suddenly she asked to rise to dress; she did not walk, she ran, threw herself on her knees, and from that time continued well.—*Annales*, Av. 30, 1878.

4. M. P. æt. fifteen, after typhoid fever, got *contraction of the lower extremities*, which had lasted seven years when she was carried to Lourdes; her legs were bent so that the knees pressed against the chest, the heels against the ischia. She was placed quickly three times in the water; shortly afterwards the legs extended themselves; the heels touched the ground; she felt a sharp pain in the knees, the skin gave way, she rose and walked, all within a few minutes; yet for some time afterwards the tendons were rigid, the muscles somewhat atrophied, and the gait uncertain (Nov. 30, 1876).

5. Mdlle. M. D., æt. fifteen, had fever, &c., and afterwards, amongst other symptoms, her fingers *were drawn into the palms of her hands, and certain eye muscles were so contracted that she could not see*; later the legs became paralyzed. On a first pilgrimage she recovered sight and power suddenly, but relapsed, and also the mouth became

Amongst the cases recorded are the following:—M. Couronneau was paralyzed on the left side. Sergent, after rheumatism, lost the use of the right arm, and later of the legs; had tremors and loss of sensation. M. Coirin one night got palsy of left arm, then of all left side, with loss of sensibility and later contracture. Hardouin "en revenant de la Messe se trouvait arrêté par les jambes;" afterwards had convulsive attacks. Angier, "fut attaquée d'une paralysie subite et violente et une espèce d'épilepsie." All these are said to have been suddenly cured at the tomb of M. Paris or M. Rousse, besides many eye-disorders, dropsies, and even a deaf and dumb person. Later occurred the Epidemic of Convulsionnaires de St. Médard, described in the third volume. Montgéron was sent to the Bastille for his work, and it was officially condemned at Rome.

drawn. "Ses idées s'affaiblirent de plus en plus et furent remplacées par une idée fixe ainsi formulée 'Je veux aller a Lourdes.'" There she bathed her hands and mouth which recovered their proper form directly, and after one bath she could walk quite well (Sept. 30, 1872).

6. Mademoiselle de T., æt. twenty-eight, had typhoid at twenty-one, and afterwards got pain in the back and difficulty in walking. There is no medical certificate in this case, but the spine is said to be injured, and softening to have set in: four years afterwards she was "une ruine desespérée; un buste courbé, un estomac à peu près sans fonctions, des bras presque inertes, des jambes mortes, insensibles même à la piqure." Her mind, however, and her courage had not failed. "Elle espérait guérir contre tout espérance, une pensée était pour elle toute la vie; elle rêvait le Carmel, devenir carmélite." Arrived at Lourdes after much difficulty, but "sure d'une entière guérison," whilst waiting seated for her turn to bathe, she felt suddenly two powerful contrary emotions, one of immense confidence pressing her to walk, one of fear restraining her: as the parents stoop to raise her chair, suddenly she rises, walks, and prostrates herself. Then she stands upright, "I am cured; Magnificat!" She remained well and became a religious.—*Annales*, Juillet 30, 1874.

7. Mademoiselle C. E., in 1864, after exposure, got violent pain in back, altered sensation, *paralysis of lower extremities*, and afterwards general paralysis; admitted to hospital in 1869 as "chronic myelitis;" she was passed to the Incurables in 1870; Barèges was fairly tried, but, in 1873, the malady having progressed, she yet began to entertain fervent hope and confidence in our Lady of Lourdes; carried there "presque mourante, ou plutôt déjà cadavre;" no sooner did her feet touch the water than she felt life return and pass to all the limbs; she felt no pain, and threw herself on her knees in the bath. She says:—"I felt the presence of the Virgin; I felt her touch me; I felt her round me." *The legs, previously wasted, were found well developed and strong; the patient returned home well, and has remained so for five years.*—*Annales*, Fev. 28, 1879).

In the next case, a stronger likeness may be traced to Professor Charcot's—

8. M. C. P., æt. fourteen, "vive et impressionable . . . très peureuse à la suite d'une grande frayeur." After a fall downstairs, she then remained some time in bed, and could not stand. M. Labbé certified her as paraplegic. This was complicated with *frequent attacks of epilepsy: the limbs were like dead, and could not feel needles inserted.* For treatment she had bromides, electricity, and, at St. Louis, baths, phosphate of lime, and externally the actual cautery. *After one violent attack the right arm became paralysed, but this got well at the close of a novena.* Carried to the grotto; as she lay before it she was taken with three shivers; "the second made her rise; the third obliged her to run towards the shrine; at first she staggered, then walked firmly, and took to tending the sick."—*Annales*, Jan. 30, 1879.

Dr. Vidart describes the case of M. l'Abbé de M. as rheumatic affection of the spinal cord with incomplete paralysis.

9. In 1851 he lost his voice, in 1853 lost power in his knees, but both voice and power returned suddenly in 1855 whilst praying. The weakness of legs returned later, and then came impairment of sight so that his studies were interrupted. In 1867 he became unable to say Mass, he could not walk or stand—his voice could scarcely be heard and he could not see to read. He was rich, and all forms of balmo-therapeutic treatment were essayed under eminent men. At Lourdes, in 1873, M. l'Abbé Peyramale communicated to him his ardent confidence; a cure of paralysis occurred before his eyes; and one morning, whilst hearing Mass, pressed by an inward powerful feeling, he rose up, knelt, then walked, and preached *à haute voix* to the multitude (*Annales*, Mars 30, 1874). He has remained in good health since.

These instances—which might be indefinitely increased in number—when read by the light of extended experience, may be said not to go wholly beyond the possibilities of Nature—*i.e.*, the ordinary working of Providence by strong mental influences. It will be observed that all but one are in girls and women.

I cannot say with Père Bonriot:—"Nous devons reconnaître l'intervention d'une cause supérieure à la nature, si la guérison est *instantanée*" ("Le Miracle," &c., p. 89): more than I can agree that "les cures opérées par l'imagination sont *infiniment* rares et que son pouvoir est *excessivement* borné." Mere suddenness of cure is not decisive, as may be gathered from some of the cases previously cited, and the power of imagination is very great, especially in some nations—as the French. At the same time, we must recognize the quoted illustrations from Lourdes as remarkable in several respects—they are very sudden and very complete. It is possible that more exact observation might distinguish them clearly from such cases as those of M. Charcot, but the medical details furnished are not minute enough to fix their precise relation to them. Yet it must be remembered that the hope and faith displayed, if natural, are also supernatural virtues, and it is at least a question whether the exciting of such powerful sentiments may not be the medium of miraculous agency in the same sense as material water, or wood, or clay. Granting, however, that such a point cannot be reduced to proof, and seeing that sudden cures have occurred from passion, no decisive assertion should be made when the nervous system has been gravely compromised, even if recovery be immediate, and seem too rapid and too permanent for any natural explanation.

There are, however, many cases more remarkable, of which let these suffice:—

1. Bourriette, injured in a quarry accident, had for twenty years so little use of his left eye "that he could not tell a man from a tree." Hearing of the miraculous spring soon after its origin—"Fetch me some of the water," said he; "the Blessed Virgin, if it be she, need wish it only, to cure me." As he bathes, the sight improves—before he has finished he can distinguish objects. Meeting his surgeon with "I am cured," the latter writes a few test lines in his pocket-book, "Bourriette a une amaurose incurable, et il ne guérira jamais." The patient reads it readily, and the surgeon can only exclaim, "C'est un vrai miracle.—Lasserre, *op. cit.*

2. M. Caral, æt. seventy-four, had for seventeen years a sore upon the face, which latterly had become a large, deep, bleeding "canceroid ulcer:" caustics did not cure, and excision was decided upon; but on bathing with Lourdes water, it healed in eight days.—*Annales*, Juin 30, 1872.

3. Dr. Martel certifies that Sœur Jeanne had multiple abscesses in left cervical region, enlargement of mesenteric glands, and a tumour in the right breast, which had ulcerated and discharged for eight months: cancer was thought probable. During a novena, a compress of Lourdes-water was applied. That night the tumour disappeared, the wound healed, and a red recent cicatrix only was apparent. The pains were all gone, and the patient remained well.—*Annales*, Avril 30, 1877).

For the remaining three cases, which are crucial, special consideration is desired:—

Sudden Union of Old Fracture.—P. Rudder, on Feb. 16, 1867, had his leg broken below the knee by a falling tree. The bone did not join under the usual treatment, and a large wound formed on the foot. He kept his bed twelve months, and then began to drag about on crutches. Eight years afterwards the lower part of the limb hung loose, the foot twisting in any direction, the heel bending up to the knee. The two ends of the broken bone (tibia?) were nearly an inch apart, and showed through the flesh, and from a large deep wound matter constantly discharged. In April, 1875, Peter with much difficulty reached "Lourdes-Oostacker," a model of the shrine, near Ghent. Praying with all his heart for health enough to do his work, "suddenly he feels his whole being penetrated with a strange emotion. Out of himself, he rises without his crutches, and throws himself on his knees. The leg is found to be quite cured, the bones united, the wounds healed, only a slight blue mark shows the place." ("Annales," Nov. 30, 1875.) The writer of this report verified the details from the patient himself at a later date when visiting in thanksgiving the real Lourdes ("Annales," May 30, 1878). He adds that twenty-two medical men and many hundred priests have examined Peter; also that certain enemies have beaten him; also that the whole moral tone of his village has changed now for the better.

Reduction of Dislocation, &c.—J. D., æt. twenty-nine, at seventeen had cholera, then typhus, followed by gastric derangements and

debility. In 1868, after a fall, extensive ulceration of right leg occurred, then retraction at the knee-joint, then convulsive attacks, in one of which the hip was dislocated. For five years she remained in bed with little change—always she expressed the greatest confidence in the Blessed Virgin. On September 6, 1878, Dr. Froidbise certifies to the above-mentioned conditions. The profuse discharge from the wound then and throughout the journey to Lourdes was most offensive. Bathing for the second time she finds her leg free from pain, and on taking off the bandages the wound is found quite healed. On Saturday, “the day she ought to be cured,” she bathes for the ninth time. Violent pain makes her scream, the bones crack, the foot seems wrenched off, but really returns to its position; the bent leg resumes its shape, and the hip-joint becomes natural in appearance and use. The patient falls fainting in the water, but the cure is complete. She rises straight and agile, and walks in procession with equal steps. On September 19 the same Dr. Froidbise certifies that all the lesions have disappeared. In October the woman is reported well.—*Annales*, Dec. 1878.

Sudden cure of Varix.—Macary, carpenter, æt. sixty, for thirty years had varix of left leg, “avec nodosités énormes;” also, frequently varicose ulcers. Such a condition is practically incurable without an operation involving risk. The man himself had lost hope and patience, and given up the practice of his religion. Having asked for and received some Lourdes water, he dragged himself to his room, prayed, removed his bandages, poured some water into his hands, and so applied it to the leg; drank some; went to bed and to sleep. About midnight, he woke free from pain; the varicose lumps had disappeared. Dr. Bernet certifies that the ulceration is healed; no bandage is worn, yet there is no engorgement; instead of the varices small hard cords empty of blood are found; the saphena vein is normal.—*Annales*, Sept. 1871.

Such cases as the three last mentioned cannot cure themselves, and no amount of faith and hope that the mind of man can imagine, will unite a broken bone, reduce a dislocation, or obliterate a varicose vein. Such cases cannot be paralleled by any medical experience, or imitated by any therapeutic resource, and are as far removed from its future as from its present possibilities. To the sceptic we may give, without argument, the whole range of nerve disorders, but what explanation is there of the sudden and permanent cure of an organic lesion? What but the working of the uncovered finger of God?

E. MACKEY, M.D.

ART. VIII.—BELGIUM AND THE HOLY SEE.

THE Consistorial Allocution addressed by the Holy Father to the Sacred College on the twentieth of August last, which we print in our present number, is the last word and the summary of a very painful and discreditable transaction. Belgium is a Catholic country; but her present Ministry is anti-Catholic, and ruled by the Masonic conspiracy. The men now in power, though their tenure of office depends on the slenderest of majorities, are using their power with a recklessness which would be outrageous if mere politics were concerned, but which becomes treachery to their country when the questions involved touch the dearest interests of the people's religion. It is necessary that every cultured Catholic in Europe should understand the merits of the struggle between the Belgian Government, headed by M. Frère-Orban, on the one side, and the Holy See and the Belgian bishops on the other. The materials for forming a judgment are ample and easy of access. The Holy Father, himself, has ordered to be printed, in the form of a Blue-book, every document bearing upon the matter. This compilation was admirably translated and published as an appendix to the *Tablet* of July 24th, and the important Allocution to which we have already referred sums up in language of admirable force and clearness, and in terms of magisterial emphasis, the whole of the situation which is bounded on the one hand by the Education law of 1879, and on the other by the withdrawal of the Belgian Envoy from Rome in the course of the July of the present year. In giving, as we feel it our duty to give, a brief history of all that has taken place, we shall take for our text the Allocution, and for our authority we can have nothing better than the official documents of which we have spoken.

In a former number of the DUBLIN REVIEW (July, 1879), Professor Lamy has described the nature of the new legislation which the Belgian Liberal Government has devised with the view of destroying the religious peace of the land and of striking a blow at the Church, in the only way in which, in a free country, her interests can be imperilled. We shall not, therefore, repeat what was then so exhaustively treated, but it may be well to make one or two remarks on the results of this fatal Education Bill since it became law. It will be remembered that the new Government, yielding to the pressure of its more advanced supporters, had introduced a measure that abolished the denominational system of primary education

which had been in force since 1842, and established, in the name of the Constitution, a neutral or godless system of instruction.* Recognizing the unpopularity of this scheme, the Ministers sought to conceal its principles by introducing a clause by which they hoped to deceive the peasantry and to make the new law appear to be what it distinctly was not. Thus, the fourth clause of the Bill decreed that a room in the school should be put at the disposition of the clergy for giving religious instruction either before or after school hours.† The false principles upon which the Bill was based, the illusory nature of the concession ostensibly made in Clause 4, as well as the erroneous interpretation of the Constitution, which served the Government as a reason for altering the old law, have been so ably discussed by Professor Lamy that we shall refer such of our readers as are not acquainted with this phase of the religious question in Belgium to the above-mentioned Article.

Despite the strenuous opposition of the Catholics, conducted by means of public speeches, pamphlets, and petitions—a petition with 300,000 signatures, that is to say, signed by 86 per cent. of the heads of families and electors in the kingdom, was presented to the Chambers—the obnoxious law was voted by 67 to 60 in the Lower House and by a majority of two in the Senate. In the latter Assembly a memorable scene occurred, and one Liberal was found who preferred the voice of conscience to his political allegiance. The late Prince de Ligne, a moderate Liberal in the English sense of the term, for thirty years President of the Senate, considered himself compelled by his Catholic principles and by his upright and honourable character to oppose the Government. In an eloquent and energetic speech, he denounced the proposed law as a *loi de malheur*, a name which it has ever since retained; after recording his adverse vote, he resigned both his office of President and his seat in the Senate, and withdrew from a party which he had well served, but to which he could no longer honourably belong. Notwithstanding the very narrow majority by which the Bill had passed, it received the Royal assent, and became law upon the 1st of July. Nothing remained for the Catholics but to organize a legal resistance to its execution. Driven from the official schools,

* In the framing of this Law there is the clear and evident purpose of withdrawing the people in their earliest years from the authority of the Christian religion, and of placing the education of youth under the absolute control of the State. By that Law the Church and her pastors were to have no entrance into elementary schools. It entirely separates instruction from religion, and prescribes that religious teaching shall be banished from the whole internal direction and discipline of the public schools.—*Allocution* of August 20.

† See DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1879, p. 172.

it was necessary for them to erect free schools at their own cost. The morrow of the vote in the Senate brought forth a collective Pastoral from the Bishops, dated the 12th June, stigmatizing in strong terms the new godless schools and forbidding Catholics to aid them in any way, whether as members of the School Boards, as inspectors, or as subscribers. The faithful were to refrain from sending their children to them, and were exhorted to assist by every means in the establishment of free religious schools. The text of this Pastoral will be found in our number for last July (page 184). This utterance was sharply commented upon in official circles and aroused great indignation in the Liberal Press, which declared that the Episcopate had exceeded the counsels of moderation given by the Pope, and was inciting the people to sedition. The principles inculcated, however, were clearly those of the Church, and, as we shall show later, the pastoral was approved by the Holy See.

If the clergy were thus active, the Catholic laity were not behindhand in the good cause. They declared that, as the Bishops had enjoined, every village should have its Catholic school, and that, as far as in them lay, the Government schools should be left without a pupil. The priests subscribed largely from their small stipends; the aristocracy, not wealthy in Belgium, undertook to raise schools upon their estates; in a word, all sincere Catholics did what they could in the arduous attempt to fight with private charity against the funds of the State.

A hard struggle it evidently was. The new law had deprived the Communal authorities of their ancient right to decide whether a Government school was or was not required in their respective districts, and to grant or refuse subsidies accordingly. Every Commune was now forced to erect a school and provide certificated teachers. In vain did many a Flemish Commune declare that it was impossible to tax the people to supply a want which did not exist; to no purpose did they urge that it was an injustice to waste the contributions of the people in building schools which would be tenantless and in paying teachers who would outnumber their pupils. The law insisted, and the schools must be forthcoming. The populations were doubly taxed; as citizens, by the impositions levied for founding Government schools to which they were opposed, and from which they could reap no advantage; as Catholics, by the necessity of subscribing independently for the religious education of their children. Ministers hoped that the double strain would finally force the Catholics to abandon the voluntary imposition, and consequently institutions out of all proportion to the needs of the case were imposed upon them.

On their side the Liberals were not idle. The fourth Clause was now seen to be of the value which the Ministers had calculated. It furnished them a pretext for declaring that *rien n'est changé*; if the schools had been secularized it was only to render justice to a few dissenters who desired to protect the consciences of their children; they had merely reconciled the old law with the terms of the Constitution; religion would be taught in the schools just as before. Ministerial speeches were pervaded by a spirit of reverence and respect for religious things which out-rivalled the discourses of the Catholics themselves. The most courteous invitations to the clergy were published, asking at what hours it would be most convenient to give the catechism lesson. M. Van Humbeek, Minister of Public Instruction, the would be gravedigger of the Catholic religion, showed a special solicitude that the crucifix and images of the Blessed Virgin should be retained in the schools wherever the parents desired it. One Communal Council (Liberal, of course) went so far in its pious zeal as to erect Stations of the Cross along the path leading to the public school. Explicit instructions were issued by the Government to all the teachers, enjoining them to abstain from any remarks that might be offensive to the consciences of those under their charge—a too clear indication that the normal doctrine of the official schoolmasters and mistresses was not likely to be very friendly to the religious dogmas which it would now be their mission to explain. All these advances were met on the part of the Catholics by the firm rejoinder that, if the Government merely wished to revive the old law, it was unnecessary to have agitated the whole country for the sake of the new scheme; and the work of the Catholic School Committees was not interrupted. It was patent to all that this manœuvre was employed by Government only to prevent the official schools from being deserted in mass and its secularist propaganda checked at the very outset.

If, however, official assurances were so far conciliatory, other means were not neglected for filling the schools. As Professor Lamy anticipated, all the forms of pressure at the command of the Liberals—and there are many such in a country where the railways and other public works are in the hands of the State, and where so many of the manufacturers and large employers of labour are ardent Radicals—were brought to bear to induce workmen to send their children to the State instruction. In districts where Liberals held sway in the local councils, the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* were closed to the parents of children who attended the Catholic schools. Still the Radicals clamoured for further measures of intimidation; they urged that the clergy, who only exercised the undoubted right of

every Belgian citizen in instituting private educational establishments, should be punished for so doing by crippling their resources and reducing their salaries. Bitter denunciations of the priests appeared in all the Liberal publications, whilst here and there a voice was raised advocating that, since there seemed to be no other means of filling the schools, education should be made obligatory.

Despite all the obstacles thrown in their way, the Catholic schools prospered and grew up apace; the movement fully answered to the expectations of the Conservative party. In November last, M. Malou was able to give in the Chamber of Representatives statistics which showed clearly the progress of the Catholic undertaking in seven out of the nine provinces of Belgium. The Province of Antwerp sent 77 per cent. of the school population to the houses conducted by the clergy; the two Flanders and Limburg an even larger percentage; whilst Namur, Brabant, and Luxembourg gave a promise of at least one-half. For Hainault and Liège, the two centres of advanced Liberalism, returns were incomplete, but it was evident that their results would be much less satisfactory. In the Flemish-speaking Provinces it was proved that in many cases the official schools were completely empty, and in others the attendance consisted of one, two, or three pupils. Upon M. Malou's statistics being contested by the Left, he proposed a Parliamentary Commission to make inquiries. The proposition was received with acclamation on both sides of the House, and it was hoped that a just census would be obtained. But, with customary Radical bad faith, M. Malou's request was made the pretext for proposing an inquiry of a very different nature. A Commission, consisting largely of members of the majority, has been named, not to take a mere school census, but also to inquire into the manner in which the Catholic schools had been raised, the nature and legality of the means employed for filling them, the alleged cases of religious intimidation and of pressure employed with this end by the landed proprietors and the local authorities. It was charged to examine the nature of the religious instruction given, the systems employed by the teachers, the capacity and character of the latter, and the efficiency of the school buildings. To these inquisitorial powers were added the right of domiciliary visits and of search, even amongst private correspondence, for any information which might facilitate its mission. Thus, instead of ordering an impartial inquiry, the Liberals had forged for themselves a powerful arm against the freedom of instruction, and, in fact, against the most sacred liberties of the citizen. Unanimous regarding the Commission as unheard of and wholly unconstitutional, the Right voted against its appointment.

ment, and, when named, such of its members as were elected, resigned and declined all responsibility in its proceedings. It remains to be seen how far this fresh measure of intimidation will result to the prejudice of the Catholic schools: the menace proffered by a member of the Left at the time is ominous: "The inquiry will be your condemnation and your punishment."

Further reports tend to show that, as far as the census was concerned, M. Malou's statistics were below rather than above the mark, and that the number of children enjoying the benefits of a religious education was in excess of the figures quoted. For this pitiable result the Government had not hesitated to unchain the angry passions that now divide the country, and to disorganize the whole system of primary instruction. It had caused rival and antagonistic schools to spring up in every commune, without mitigating the evil by at least encouraging the advantages that might accrue from a loyal and healthy emulation. The Government and the provincial authorities were constantly at war; the communal councils fighting for their ancient rights, of which the Liberals sought to deprive them. The bitterness of feeling extended to the parents, and even to the children of the opposing parties, who were brought up in mistrust of each other. Unhappily, this was not the whole measure of the evils which grew out of the *loi de malheur*. The seeds of hatred and discord had been sown broadcast over the land; a spirit of religious strife had been fostered; the very source of political principles had been poisoned. The new law has had for one of its results to give religious passion such a hold upon the two parties, that not a village election now takes place but turns upon the one burning question. Politicians have taken their stand so decidedly upon the religious ground that no question can be discussed upon its own merits. Conservatives and Liberals have become Clericals and anti-Clericals. No attempt can be made on the part of public men to return to strictly political paths, for the bulk of the Liberals have centred their whole policy in this campaign against the Church, and by their reckless conduct intensify the struggle each day. They confound every measure they propose with the clerical question; and, departing from the national motto, *l'union fait la force*, they seek to divide the nation by handing it over a prey to the worst of civil discords, those in which war is made upon beliefs, and citizen is divided against citizen for conscience' sake.

The clergy have naturally been for a long time the chief object of attack in the Liberal press. No effort has been spared to alienate from them the sympathies of the people,

and to separate their cause from that of the Catholics as a body. It is not then surprising in a country like Belgium, where the priests are so intensely zealous, and where most of the lower clergy are recruited from the poorest class of the community, that in individual cases they should have fallen into the excess of language of which the Liberals had set them the example. Forced to act upon the defensive, and to uphold the interests confided to their charge, their opposition to the law of July has in certain cases assumed a tone of vehemence deeply to be regretted—above all for the sake of the interests of the Church—and of which the leaders of the Catholic party have gravely disapproved. The Liberals, however, should be the last to express their indignation. It must be remembered that they have been from the first the aggressors, and that their language has far exceeded in violence any expressions uttered by the clergy. In a long-continued series of letters and newspaper articles they have systematically wounded the feelings of the Catholic portion of the nation. It is impossible to take up one of their organs without meeting with some fresh sneer upon religion and the “Clericals.” Ignorance, superstition, bad faith, are but a few of the attributes daily put to the charge of the “priestly party.” The worst Radical prints of France hardly exceed the Belgian Liberal papers in heaping outrages and calumnies upon all that Catholics hold most dear. Yet after these open manifestations of hatred and ill-will towards the Church, the slightest imprudence in a pastoral or a sermon calls forth a flood of invective from the *Indépendance Belge* and journals of a similar stamp.

The exact position of the Holy See towards the clergy and Catholics of Belgium was shown—to those, at least, who wished to know it—in the long discussion which took place in the Chamber respecting the maintenance of the Belgian Legation to the Vatican. Contrary to their votes when in opposition, the Ministers had suddenly expressed their intention of retaining the mission. Indeed, on assuming office, M. Frère-Orban, the Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, had written on the 21st of June, 1878, to Baron d’Anethan, the Envoy accredited to the Holy See, to the effect that his party had already voted on three occasions for the suppression of the Legation. “The Ministry, hardly formed,” he added, “has not yet deliberated upon the epoch when this measure shall be realized. I reserve to myself, therefore, to address to you at an opportune moment a communication upon this subject.” The object of the change of policy involved in this recent determination, therefore, was not at the time clear to the Right. It was conjectured, however, that the principal motive of the Government was alarm at the

consequences an abrupt rupture with the Holy See might have upon their position in the country, a position already weakened by the unpopularity of the Education Law. To this argument could be added a half-formed hope that the well-known moderation of the present Pope might be of use in conjuring the storm they had raised against themselves by that measure. The Holy Father had on more than one occasion assured the Government of the special affection he bore towards Belgium, and of his strong desire to maintain good relations with the country which he had learned to admire when Nuncio at the Court of Leopold I., and had stated that it would give him especial pain if the Government withdrew its representation on the morrow of his accession. Such a declaration was a proof that Leo XIII. would leave nothing undone which could, consistently with his duties, be done to preserve good relations between the Holy See and the Government.

Accordingly, M. Frère-Orban laid before the Parliament the whole of the correspondence which had been exchanged from that time up to the actual date (November, 1879), and, stating that it furnished him unmistakable proofs of a disagreement between the Bishops and the Holy See upon the Education Law, asked the House, notwithstanding the protests of many of his followers, to renew the vote for the expenses of the Legation. Throughout the debate which ensued, the Liberals endeavoured, by a clever manipulation of certain passages in the correspondence, to establish the reality of this pretended difference of opinion. If they had been unsuccessful in their attempt to detach the cause of the clergy from that of the Catholic people, they hoped at least to separate the interests of the Church from those of the Belgian Episcopate; we shall see with how little success. The Pope deprecated all violence and excess of language, which, even in the best cause, was likely to injure rather than advance the interests of those who employed such means; but so did all Catholics who spoke with any authority. They were at one with the Holy See in deploring the reckless expressions made use of by certain irresponsible persons in the Catholic press. The whole force of the Parliamentary Right had been exerted to keep within bounds the excessive zeal of well-meaning but dangerous writers who had sought to confound the cause of religion with their own private views upon certain constitutional questions. The Bishops had formally denied having indulged in attacks upon the laws and constitution of the country, as the Liberals asserted. The Catholic deputies and senators had publicly denounced such onslaughts on their institutions as revolutionary. The language of Leo XIII. on this head was also most explicit. He could not approve,

and had already discountenanced, any resistance to the laws of the country, as well as all attacks directed in the name of religion against its institutions. The Constitution was, he declared to Baron d'Anethan, a contract loyally accepted by all: all were therefore obliged to maintain and defend it. The Holy See and the Catholics had important rights and liberties under it which were not accorded to them in many other countries. Catholics were nevertheless fully entitled to endeavour by legal means, on their own authority, to introduce such reforms into it as they might consider expedient for the common good. Such was their indubitable right as citizens, and it was for them to judge of what was fitting for the country. In all this there was a complete accord between the Pope and the Bishops, the latter characterizing the accusations preferred against them by the Liberals as "inept and mendacious." In the case of a certain Pastoral which was quoted as unconstitutional by the Government, His Holiness expressed his opinion that the charge was unfounded.

The Pope further declined all responsibility in the language of the press. The Vatican had no official newspaper. If certain Catholic journals made use of seditious language he heartily disapproved of it; but it was the affair of the Belgian Government to punish the offenders if legally guilty. He himself could not interfere in the affairs of a press which, though defending his cause, was not under his orders. On the other hand, he trusted that the Government would exercise some control over the journals which were under its influence and which indulged in remarks so insulting to Catholics. Upon this latter piece of good advice very little stress was laid by the Ministers, and the Liberal press maintained the undignified and violent tone which characterized it. Indeed, the very papers which were so eager to tax the Bishops with disrespect for the Constitution, were not ashamed to speak themselves of that Constitution as the great fraud (*duperie*) of 1830.

The above correspondence had been exchanged before the Education Bill had become law, and was an earnest on the side of the Church of its desire to maintain good relations with the State. When that measure came on for discussion the Pope showed the same desire to keep the contest within the limits of moderation and to avert a conflict between the two Powers, urging the Belgian Government on its side to make concessions. Although necessarily disapproving the Bill as opposed to the fundamental principles of the Church,* he hoped still to remain

* We could not in duty allow to pass without condemnation a Law which our venerable brethren, the Bishops of Belgium, had justly condemned.—*Allocution* of August 20.

on good terms with the Government. How little good faith was, on the other hand, to be looked for on the part of the Liberals was shown by the haste with which they pressed on the Bill without introducing any modification whatever.

The Measure was passed so rapidly and unexpectedly through the Senate, that the collective Pastoral of the 12th of June had anticipated the instructions dispatched from Rome to the Episcopacy. M. Frère-Orban dispatched an indignant note upon this Pastoral to his Minister, hoping to receive a distinct condemnation of it. Cardinal Nina, when informed of its appearance, expressed surprise and ignorance of its publication, his orders having been that no mandate should be issued until the Holy See should have had the opportunity of giving the Bishops the benefit of its counsels. When its terms were known at Rome, however, the Pope refused to condemn it in any way, and considered the Premier's judgment to be hasty and severe. The following are the words of Cardinal Nina, in a despatch addressed to Mgr. Vannutelli, the Nuncio at Brussels, on the 1st of July:—

I shall merely confine myself to saying that, after having taken cognizance of the Pastoral letter of the Bishops, I find that I cannot depart from the order of ideas I have already indicated, and that I am, in consequence, obliged to remark that M. Frère-Orban, under the influence of the impression of the moment, has passed too severe a judgment upon this Act. In fact the doctrinal portion of this letter can give cause for no censure, inasmuch as it is conformable to the principles and maxims of the Church applied in recent times by the Holy See to other countries. As to the dispositive portion, as it does not contain an absolute prohibition to frequent the official schools, but one limited by wise and prudent reservations, it may be considered as sufficiently moderate, leaving an opening for practical arrangements on each occasion that the moral and religious education of the children is not imperilled. Moreover, if the language of the Pastoral letter seems in some respects a little violent, allowance must be made for the religious sentiments of the Bishops which the new law has deeply wounded, as well as for their zeal to maintain the integrity of the faith, according to their imprescriptible duty, and which in the end results to the advantage of civil society itself.

The Pope determined to give still further proofs of his conciliatory policy, assured the Government that he would use his influence with the Bishops in order to calm the irritation that had been caused by the law, and to induce them to modify, wherever it was possible, the severity of some of the provisions of this Pastoral.

A later Pastoral had been issued in September containing the instructions given to the clergy respecting the parents who sent

their children to the official schools, and the inspectors and teachers who took part in their management. The penalties laid down appeared to many Catholics to be too severe, unless numerous exceptions were made in executing them, and without wavering in their adhesion to the principles of the religious school movement, they trusted that these exceptions would be considered. This was also the view of the Holy See, for Baron d'Anethan, writing to report a conversation with Cardinal Nina upon the subject, quotes his words :—

On the ground of doctrine the letter of the Belgian Prelates is perfectly correct; but conclusions drawn from just principles may be deduced in an inopportune manner, and at times, also, pushed too far; it seems to me that this is the case here.

It is upon this Despatch, dated the 5th of October, that the Government has mainly depended in declaring afterwards that the Holy See disapproved the action of the Bishops. But it has since been shown that the despatch was a very summary rendering of a long conversation in which the September instructions were not the only topic of discussion, but in which certain definite cases of harsh treatment, especially in the diocese of Tournai, were also treated of. Besides, the Government, in availing itself of these declarations, took no notice of the fact that they were made on the understanding that the law would be executed in a manner which would render it more acceptable to Catholics, in which case the Bishops would certainly be able to alter their instructions. They were on the spot, however, to testify that no modification was introduced, and that in many districts the schools from being neuter became openly anti-Catholic. We quote a further passage from the same despatch to illustrate what we have said :—

His Holiness can neither blame or disavow the principles upon which they (the instructions) are based. He can only engage the Belgian Episcopate to apply with an extreme reserve only the instructions contained in the Collective Letter of the 1st of September. The King's Government, on its side, His Eminence said, in preventing the schools from assuming an anti-Catholic attitude and in watching lest the instruction given in them should wound the consciences of the faithful, will contribute to better the situation.

This, then, was all that the Liberals had obtained from the exchange of views paraded with so much ostentation by the Government. They had not obtained a word on the part of the Holy See which could be construed into an acquiescence in the principles of the July law. The Pope, in common with all Catholics, disapproved and deplored the new system, recognizing the orthodoxy of the condemnation passed upon it by the

Episcopate, and only in the event of its being made acceptable to Catholics could penalties laid down by the Bishops be moderated. He might differ from them in the choice of means for arriving at the common end, and on this account, in the interests of both Church and State, he enjoined moderation upon the faithful.*

The Right, whilst taking exception to the interpretations put upon the Pope's declarations by the Government, gave M. Frère-Orban credit for his good intentions, and the maintenance of the Legation was decided upon in principle after this debate by all parties, with the exception of a few ultra-Radicals, although the formal vote of the Budget of the Department of Foreign Affairs did not take place till the following March. The question was thus closed; unhappily only for a time, as the sequel will show.

It is to be regretted that in many cases the wise counsels of the Holy See should have been departed from by the clergy. The Leaders of the Conservative and Catholic party are unanimous in ascribing their failure at the late elections in great part to the violence of a portion of the Catholic press and to the inconsiderate action of many of the country *curés*. The July law was an irreligious measure which had profoundly irritated the feelings of the nation, and it was confidently hoped that the elections of last June, by which one-half of the Chamber was renewed, would have resulted in the defeat of the Liberals. The Catholic position was unfortunately injured by the policy of a portion of the clergy. Taking the very strictest interpretation of the September instructions as their base of action, many of the *curés* proceeded to carry out these penal dispositions without compromise or concession. The refusals of absolution were terribly numerous, and the Catholic proprietors and electors attested that in many of the Walloon districts there were villages where half of the population had been kept away from their Easter duties by reason of matters connected with the school question. Cases were cited, and these not on Liberal authority, of innkeepers who had been refused the sacraments for giving shelter to the Government schoolmaster. Such injudicious acts, so contrary to the milder counsels of the Holy

* Nevertheless, in Christian mildness, and unwilling as We were to add to the irritation of the conflict, We hastened to advise our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops, placed as they were in the midst of the strife, to be moderate and gentle in carrying out all that concerned this affair; to act with clemency in the application of penalties; so that justly-aroused zeal for Christian interests might be tempered by that paternal kindness which embraces in its charity all who are gone astray.—*Allocution of August 20.*

See, and exceeding the injunctions of the Bishops, have undoubtedly had a bad effect upon the votes of the peasants and resulted to the prejudice rather than to the advance of the Catholic cause. A striking instance in proof of this is to be found in the fact that in the last elections the rural vote was less emphatically Catholic than on any previous occasion. This is no doubt a delicate ground to tread upon, and it must always be with the greatest diffidence that the laity can express an opinion upon the spiritual action of the clergy; but the testimony of so many of the leading Catholics and even of the higher clergy themselves, added to the fact that the Bishops, seeing the clergy had pushed things too far, have lately published more lenient instructions to replace those issued in September, may serve as a warrant for bringing forward a question upon which in other circumstances it would be wiser to avoid expressing an opinion. The position of the clergy was certainly a difficult one, and the conduct of their enemies was little suggested to aid in calming their very justifiable indignation. Where the Catholic schools were insufficiently organized and the manner in which the Government establishments were conducted was open to grave suspicion, it required very considerable tact and prudence to act up to the necessities of the case. It was the first duty of the priests to point out the dangers incurred by parents who sent their children to the official schools, and if, as was often proved to be the fact, the school was absolutely bad, an absolute prohibition was called for. It required, therefore, a much calmer state of things for the priest to be able to inquire into the merits of each exceptional case, and we can hardly wonder that he was often content to adhere simply to the general prohibition, and make no allowance for a particular difficulty. That the clergy then, in the actual state of feeling, should have been carried away by their zeal and often lost the sense of discrimination was only what might have been expected. It is more a matter of regret than of reproach that their imprudence should have stood in the way of the return of a Catholic Government to power. These obstacles, however, were not all that the Catholic party had to contend against in the elections. The great majority of the outgoing deputies were Catholics, and there were but seven seats to be won—seats which, if gained, would have reduced the supporters of the Government in the Chamber from a majority of ten to a minority of four. This the Right hoped to effect notwithstanding the difficulty of the attempt. The Liberals, alive to the strength of the Catholic party, had by two sweeping measures of disfranchisement struck off in *arrondissement* a large number of Catholic electors from the lists. On the ground that numerous fraudulent voters were

registered, they brought in two Bills eliminating the *cures* and other Catholic electors, but retaining all the manufactured Liberal voters. These measures were, in fact, an all but avowed decimation of the Catholic electoral corps in view of the elections. In the Flemish provinces this scheme failed. Antwerp, the great Catholic stronghold, returned its Catholic representatives with an increased majority and ousted the only Liberal deputy; and this in spite of the removal of 1000 Catholic electors from the register and an unexampled system of fraud and pressure exercised by the Government party. Other Flemish towns as Louvain, Malines, Ypres, &c., re-elected their Catholic members with larger majorities than before. In the Walloon provinces, however, the Government was more successful. The Catholics lost two seats in Luxemburg and one at Namur, whilst at Nivelles and Philippeville, where they hoped to win six seats, the representation remained Liberal. In these instances the defeat of the Catholics was attributed at the time as much to the irritation caused by the action of the clergy as to the frauds of their adversaries. The Government thus found itself, as the final result of the elections, in command of a slightly increased majority. The Conservatives, therefore, cannot return to power before the next elections in 1882.

The electoral "period" marked another stage of the "anti-clerical" campaign, the question of the Legation at Rome being again reopened. Whatever credit may have been given to M. Frère-Orban for sound statesmanship on the occasion of the first debate must be refused to him now. At that time a certain number of Catholics possibly did him the honour to suppose that his Government was actuated by a disinterested desire of maintaining religious peace, a desire in which the interests of party were subordinated to the welfare of the community at large. The change of policy which has been described was conceivable at the time, for the reason that, as often happens, a party under the responsibility of office will recoil before the execution of what it had advocated when in opposition. For this reason the Right had joined with the Government in voting for the continuance of the Roman mission. Now, however, another interpretation will have to be put upon M. Frère-Orban's action. He had received credit for a higher appreciation of the responsibilities of his position than he ever possessed, and too little account had been taken of the Machiavellian astuteness which has revealed itself in his later diplomatic achievements. The Liberal Ministers are now proved to have been throughout true to themselves—revolutionary sectarians, headlong, violent, and unscrupulous. The negotiations with Rome were a mere blind—an excuse for putting off the conflict.

to a later date and more favourable circumstances. It is abundantly proved that they had from the beginning resolved to bring about a rupture with the Holy See, and that if it did not take place at once, it was simply because the position of the Liberals required to be consolidated before they ventured to take the last step. The Minister of Foreign Affairs had only separated from his more advanced followers in the choice of the means and the manner of breaking off relations with the Vatican; in desiring to arrive ultimately at this result he was at one with them. His experience of the difficulties of government had made him aware of the danger of too precipitate action. He had learned the necessity on certain occasions of veiling hostile intentions under the forms of friendship and concession. He recognized the principle that it is often not amiss before making a man one's enemy to get whatever may be gained from his goodwill. There are certain insidious friends who, with a refinement of perfidy, prefer to obtain a last token of friendship from their victim before running away with his wife or injuring him in his profession or career; there are others who prelude their severance from a deluded acquaintance by borrowing a bank note. There have been instances quoted of dexterous thieves who, when in danger of detection, have slipped their ill-gotten goods into the pocket of an innocent bystander and made away, leaving him to bear the brunt of the suspicions of the public. The policy of the Belgian Ministers towards the Pope was very analogous. Determined to break with him by recalling their Legation from Rome, they hoped first to extort from his goodwill some declaration which might have the effect of causing a breach between himself and the Belgian Church. Carrying the art of duplicity to its highest perfection, they resolved to make what profit they could of his indulgent dispositions towards them, and then foist upon him the burden of their own fraud and cunning. They were willing to be his friend as long as it was inconvenient that he should be their enemy, or until they could find some kind of pretext for making him responsible for the quarrel which they sought to bring about. It would be ample time to take the final step when they had wrested from him the last possible concession.

Such is the second and final judgment passed upon the policy of M. Frère-Orban's Cabinet. The most lenient critics now scarcely venture to suppose that such astute Liberals could ever have sincerely persuaded themselves that it was in their power to induce the Pope to walk hand in hand with the Belgian Freemasons in the path of revolutionary propaganda. It was for the objects above described that the negotiations which terminated in the publication of the first exchange of views were

set on foot. As their result, the Minister of Foreign Affairs trusted that one of two things must happen; either the Pope's attitude upon the question of the Constitution and the general relations of Church and State in Belgium would be wholly unsatisfactory; or his policy would be conciliatory, and he would counsel the Bishops to make the best of a bad affair and submit to whatever legislation the Liberal majority might think fit to impose, thus becoming a docile instrument in the hands of the Government.

On the former hypothesis the Ministers would have a ground for suppressing the Legation at once, declaring the doctrines of the Roman See to be as incompatible as ever with the principles of a modern, enlightened, and representative Government. Grave offence would be undoubtedly caused to the Catholics, but the Ministers would be at least justified in the eyes of their own party. Moreover, the suppression of the Legation would then mainly rest upon the old Liberal argument, that with the destruction of the Temporal Power the need for temporal relations with the Papacy had ceased to exist. As this abrupt conclusion might, however, be injurious to his party in the actual state of affairs, M. Frère-Orban preferred another solution. If, on the second hypothesis, the Pope could be made to appear a consenting party to the schemes of the Liberals, that is to say if he became their dupe, a great advantage would be gained, as the perilous step could be deferred. The Liberals would in this case willingly vote for the retention of the Legation—provisionally at least. The press would be instructed to extol the liberal character of the new Pope; it would draw a flattering picture of an enlightened Pontiff, who, departing from the narrow and reactionary lines laid down by his predecessor, had finally reconciled the Papacy with the principles of modern progress and civilization: the repudiation of the Syllabus being brought in to crown the final triumph of Liberal formulas. When the utmost limit of concession had been reached and Leo XIII. would go no farther, it would be easy to show that he was acting inconsistently with his previous assurances, and to find the desired excuse for having no farther relations with him, especially as by that time the resistance of the clergy would have been crushed. This was the solution most desired for political and electoral reasons.

The course adopted by the Holy See, however, steered clear of both these rocks, and answered to neither of the expectations entertained by M. Frère-Orban. We have seen that the opinion given by the Pope upon the question of the Constitution was decisive. The concession was too complete. To the delight of all prudent Catholics, the Church proved to be more constitu-

tional than the Liberal party itself. The Belgian Liberals, who have carefully watched the course of events in France, now begin to envy the elasticity of the Constitution of their neighbours, which can find existing laws to enable them to break into the dwellings of the religious orders and expel their inmates without having recourse to special legislation for the purpose. Their own Constitution, which guaranteed the liberty of religious association, precluded such Liberal amenities; and now the Catholics, at the instance of M. Frère-Orban, stood pledged to defend it. The first attempt to pick a quarrel with the Vatican had therefore resulted in a signal victory for the Catholics at the expense of the Liberals, who could not now consistently ask to revise a system which they had compelled their adversaries to accept. The "Clerical" position was strengthened, whilst they had deprived themselves of a valuable weapon of offence.

The next matter which called for negotiation was the question of primary instruction. Here again M. Frère-Orban was at fault in his calculations. We shall ask pardon of our readers if we again refer, at the risk of being charged with repetition, to the first debate upon the exchange of views with the Vatican. All the subsequent arguments employed by the Government turn upon the declarations then made on either side. We have seen that Leo XIII., with a generosity that startled the Catholics themselves, taking M. Frère-Orban at his word, and assuming him to be sincere in the desire he had expressed of preserving, the Education Bill notwithstanding, the good relations which had existed between the Belgian Government and the Vatican, had refrained from farther embittering the struggle between Liberals and Catholics by entering in person into the lists. He confined himself, in his official communications with the Government, to a simple but emphatic disapproval of the principles of the proposed law. He refused to condemn the collective Pastoral of the 12th of June, and expressed himself unable to find any ground for censure in it. On the other hand he promised, as an impartial arbiter, removed from the heat of the conflict, to assist in restricting it within the limits of moderation, and engaged to recall the clergy to more prudent counsels in the event of those limits being overpassed. He was ready to admit that the instructions issued by the Bishops in September had perhaps pushed just principles to inopportune conclusions, and that there might be reason to temper them in their execution. This admission, as we have stated, read in context with the other declarations of the Holy See, could in no sense be taken to convey any censure upon the doctrines laid down by the Episcopacy, nor could it possibly be construed into a condemnation of the *general prohibition* of the official schools pronounced

in the former Pastoral; far less, therefore, into a discouragement of the movement set on foot for instituting free Catholic schools. In fact, as this assurance had been made on the understanding that the Government would do all in its power to render the new law acceptable to Catholics, the importance of the supposed concession was considerably modified as soon as it became evident that the vaunted allowances made to religious susceptibilities were confined to setting up crucifixes in the godless schools as a bait to tempt children away from those of the clergy. The language of the Pope was in itself so perfectly clear that the categorical declarations of the Right in corroboration of this interpretation of it seemed almost superfluous. No one doubted but that M. Frère-Orban intended to base his demand for a renewal of the necessary vote upon higher considerations, and would rest satisfied with the satisfactory answer of the Holy See upon the respect due to the Constitution and with the expressions of good-will made to his Government. The Vatican, however, having reason to suspect that the Ministry would also enlarge upon a pretended disagreement between itself and the Episcopate, resolved to dispel, once for all, any illusions which might still exist in M. Frère-Orban's mind. Cardinal Nina consequently addressed a despatch to the Nuncio, dated the 11th of November, a week before the day fixed for the discussion in the Chamber, instructing him to leave a copy with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The true attitude of the Holy See is here admirably precised.

It has always been admitted that the Bishops in publishing their Pastoral and their instructions only obeyed a rigorous duty; they were forced to enlighten the faithful, and especially to preserve youth from the fatal consequences which cannot fail to ensue from the execution of this law.

It is therefore perfectly absurd merely to imagine that the intervention of the Holy Father in this question could have for its object to close the mouth of the Bishops, or to force them to speak in another sense than that which their strict duty imposed upon them.

It is evident that there never has existed and never will exist on this point any disaccord, any misunderstanding, between the Bishops and the Pope; on the contrary there exists on this point a complete conformity of views.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs refused positively to receive this communication. If it was not at once withdrawn, for the moment at least, he threatened to propose in the Chamber the immediate suppression of the Legation. The Holy See could find but one interpretation for this extraordinary proceeding—which was that the Minister, fearing the opposition of his more violent followers, and anxious to avoid the storm which they

would raise, and which might render impossible the peaceful termination he desired, wished to be relieved of the embarrassment of publishing this despatch at so critical a moment. The Vatican certainly acted under this impression, as it would be ridiculous to suppose that M. Frère-Orban was not now fully aware of the real opinions of the Pope, or could look upon this despatch as other than explanatory of what was less clear in the former correspondence. It accordingly consented to M. Frère-Orban's exorbitant demand, and allowed the letter to be provisionally withdrawn, trusting to its indirect effect to clear up any personal doubts, if such had hitherto existed in the Minister's mind. Great, then, as was the surprise of the Pope when M. Frère-Orban, notwithstanding all that had passed, made the unwarrantable statement to the Parliament that the Holy See disapproved the conduct of the Bishops, no official contradiction was opposed to his assertions; the Representatives of the Right, though ignorant of the existence of the despatch of the 11th of November, making an emphatic protest against the conclusions drawn by the Government from the exchange of views. They were themselves at the time grossly deceived as to the true object of the Ministry, but they were destined at a later day to be completely disabused of the illusion that it was capable of setting the counsels of patriotism above the ideas of party. For a while the matter dropped, but the calm was only momentary. The Liberals had no idea of allowing the silence of the Holy See to produce its peaceful effect; on the contrary, they abused the Pope's magnanimity for their own ends. Whilst the more advanced section were loud in declaring that the Pope had duped the Government, the latter continued to oppose the Catholic free schools by persistently repeating that the clergy who organized them were disobeying the orders of the Holy Father. The assurances of the latter, both official and unofficial, were completely disregarded. Desiring to put an end to this equivocal position, which had certainly not been of his creation, the Holy Father had on three different occasions written personally to the King, to point out the evils which had been caused by the July law. He assured His Majesty that its disastrous effects had deeply troubled the minds of Catholics, and warned him that the only way of restoring peace to the land was by the removal of the first cause from which all these ills had sprung. Although he sought to calm the agitation as far as was compatible with his duties as the Head of the Church, he could not but acknowledge that those who had introduced the fatal law were those responsible for its deplorable results. He hoped that they would at last recognize this, and, in the interests of the State

and of common justice, withdraw a law which no real necessity had ever called for, and by which so many of His Majesty's subjects were grievously offended.

The letters had no effect ; the illusion was maintained as before, and the despatch of October 5th misinterpreted more deliberately than ever. The Holy See now began to be aware of the real drift of M. Frère-Orban's policy. It was evident that the Government had secret reasons for maintaining this false position, and longer silence was likely to have the opposite result from that which had been intended. The moment had arrived when, in the interest of all parties, light should be thrown upon what the Government seemed determined to keep dark. There was a danger of the people being really deceived if the Holy See did not publicly explain its views. To hesitate now might be construed into an act of bad faith, and might lay it open to the same charges as those which weighed upon the Government. In consequence of these considerations, the Pope addressed a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines on the 22nd of April of this year, on the occasion of an offering of Peter's Pence, in which he warmly praised the zeal of the Belgian Episcopate in combating the pernicious results of the July Law. This letter was published with the authorization of the Holy See a few days later (April 10) in the newspapers.

All illusion was now at an end. The Ministerial schemes were hopelessly frustrated. The pretended disagreement between the Holy See and the Bishops was shown to be a mere Liberal fiction. The "clerical" interpretation of the famous correspondence was after all the right one. The anger in official circles knew no bounds. From this moment the Government seems to have determined upon the rupture of diplomatic relations—this pretext would serve as well as any other. Not only were its most cherished illusions now dispelled—that was painful enough ; it was a cruel blow to be deprived of the glory of having effected what no State had yet been able to effect. It was hard for Ministers to confess that they had failed in achieving the greatest of diplomatic victories, one which should bend the stubborn will of Rome, reconcile the Papacy with the principles of the Revolution, and enable Liberalism, under the guidance of MM. Frère-Orban, Bara, and their friends, to initiate Leo XIII. into the mysteries of modern civilization. That the Pope should have rejected such an opportunity was alone sufficient to render him unworthy of the future favours of the enlightened. But this was nothing to the second effect of the publication of the letter. The Catholics had now the insolence to accuse their loyal and straightforward Government of vulgar imposture and misrepresentation of facts. Not only

did the clerical press twit M. Frère-Orban with having overreached himself in his anxiety to hoodwink the Pope, but its accusations went so far as to insinuate that he had deliberately sought to deceive the country by ascribing to the Pope opinions the very opposite of what he had expressed. To be exposed to such insults was intolerable, and proved too much for the self-control of the Ministers. If the Pope had rejected this golden opportunity, and dared to abuse the confidence they had placed in him, so much the worse for the Papacy. In plain words as the negotiations had resulted in the defeat of their designs, and proved the loyalty and moderation of the Holy See at the expense of their own veracity, they judged the proper moment had come for redeeming their former pledges to the Lodges.

Nevertheless, at this epoch it was more than ever necessary to dissemble for a time their indignation and to act with circumspection. The elections were too near for it to be safe to proclaim their resolutions at once; they, therefore, resolved to protract the negotiations until after the polling. To go to the country with such a business on their hands might cost them more votes than those they had with such trouble struck out from the Catholic lists. The final correspondence could be drawn out to cover the critical date, and then, as the new Liberal contingent was likely, in the event of a victory for the Government, to be of a more Radical type, the sacrifice of the Legation would be a welcome peace offering on the altar of the new majority, which might otherwise prove refractory.

At this juncture a valuable and unexpected ally came forward to the assistance of the Government in the person of Monseigneur Dumont, the mad ex-Bishop of Tournai. To explain the nature and causes of this interposition it will be necessary to suspend for a moment the course of our narrative, and briefly refer to the past history of this unfortunate prelate. A man of great personal sanctity, but of nervous and excitable temperament, he had broken down under the strain of the events of the last two years. For some time prior to the vote upon the Education Bill there had been grave cause to doubt whether he was in full possession of his faculties. His political acts, and his conduct in the administration of his diocese, had been marked by the most extraordinary eccentricities. He gave way at times to sudden outbursts of wild violence which were the terror of his clergy and a scandal to the faithful. His malady was especially aggravated by any allusion to political questions, his hatred of Liberalism assuming the form of a monomania. He seemed to imagine that he was the object of a deep-laid conspiracy against religion, in which his own clergy were implicated, and his conduct towards them was in consequence harsh and capricious.

The affairs of the diocese were in a hopeless state of confusion; the Bishop, a prey to his illusions, having neglected the most ordinary duties of his charge. As long as no formal steps had been taken by the ecclesiastical authorities to pronounce upon the case, the faithful endeavoured to refrain from comment upon the eccentricities of their Bishop, and to defend his conduct as far as it was possible to do so. The Liberal press, as may easily be imagined, did not consider itself bound by any such considerations of delicacy. The Government journals, whilst declaring their conviction of Monseigneur Dumont's insanity, took a malicious pleasure in publishing accounts of his vagaries, in the hope of bringing ridicule upon the Church. At last, to put a stop to the grave scandal which was being caused in the diocese, the Holy See, at the instance of the other prelates, appointed an Administrator of the See in the person of Monseigneur du Rousseaux, a prelate of infinite tact and moderation, who has since shown himself willing to carry the spirit of concession to the temporal authorities as far as his conscience will allow. His appointment was hailed with a sigh of relief by all parties, the Government being more prodigal than all in its assurances of good will towards the new Administrator. Monseigneur Dumont, disappeared for some months from public attention, and it was trusted that here the incident had closed. Not long before the elections, the mischievous wanderings of his mind revealed themselves in another form. His hallucination had taken a new turn, which is not unfrequent in such cases of insanity; he still had a settled conviction that he was the object of a special persecution, but this time the conspiracy was conducted, not through Liberal agency, but by his former friends. This illusion manifested itself suddenly in two long communications made by him to the principal Liberal organs. In these elucubrations every conceivable outrage was heaped upon the Pope, upon Monseigneur du Rousseaux, and upon all the chiefs of the Catholic Parliamentary party. He declared that not only was he unjustly deprived of his position as Bishop of Tournai, but that even his life and property were threatened by his persecutors. He appealed to the justice of Government to protect him and his from their sinister intrigues, and ended by expressing a hope that for the good of the Church, the Catholic party would never again return to power. As may be supposed, these extraordinary productions caused a most painful impression in the country. They bore, however, so unmistakably the mark of a diseased mind, that the Catholics, never thinking for an instant that any attention would be paid to them, confined their criticisms to a regret that the Liberal press should have had the

bad taste to publish them at all. Their style, coming from a man in Monseigneur Dumont's condition, betrayed clearly the symptoms of a lunatic, not indeed of a raving madman who required to be kept in a strait-waistcoat and confined in a padded room, but of a hopeless monomaniac. The Liberals, however, were unable to forego the occasion of turning these letters to account for the good of the party, and, with a bad faith and unscrupulosity which will be their own condemnation in the eyes of all honourable men, now showed a sudden change of front. The very journals which had so ungenerously ridiculed the mental aberrations of Mgr. Dumont when he was still Bishop, now professed to find evidence in his letters of a remarkable lucidity and good sense. He became their champion, and choice extracts from his writings were selected and posted up in different towns as electioneering cries. Belying all their past assertions, the Liberals declared it a clerical calumny to throw doubts upon the sanity of the poor Bishop. The next plan was to take advantage of his weak point and make him more effectually their tool. Agents were accordingly employed, who, cunningly representing themselves as friends pledged to protect him from the malice of his persecutors, induced him, in spite of the protests of his family, to confide to their care his private correspondence, which was of course immediately published. Amongst the papers thus obtained were a series of letters relative to the various pastoral instructions issued by the Episcopate with regard to the Education Law. In the fragmentary documents thus dishonestly dragged into publicity, was a letter addressed by the Archbishop of Malines to his colleague of Tournai inviting his signature to the collective mandate of June 12th. Mgr. Dechamps begged Mgr. Dumont to join the other prelates in signing this Pastoral, which, he said, "The Holy Father had highly praised and approved, although he wished it to remain for the present absolutely secret." This was the same Pastoral which Cardinal Nina stated the day after its appearance had been published without the knowledge and in anticipation of the instructions of the Vatican. There was thus at first sight an apparent contradiction between the statements of the Belgian Primate and the Cardinal Secretary of State. The publication of this letter consequently provoked a fresh volley of invective on the part of the Liberals. Without awaiting the explanations which would reconcile these seemingly conflicting statements, and without making the investigations required before formulating upon such very doubtful authority so grave an accusation against the Holy See, they taxed the Pope with wilful duplicity in his dealings with the Government, and declared point blank that either Cardinal Nina or Cardinal

Dechamps had lied. As the Pope, when he afterwards learned the terms of the Pastoral, had approved its teaching, it was only necessary to clear up the discrepancy in the statements of the two prelates; it was evident that Cardinal Dechamps must have been led into some error in holding the language he had held to the Bishop of Tournai. The explanation—a very simple one—was soon forthcoming. The Archbishop of Malines in a recent letter addressed to M. Malou explains that some time before the publication of the Pastoral he had received information through a high dignitary at Rome that the Pastoral was approved by the Holy Father, his informant enjoining upon him the silence which he had consequently inculcated in his turn upon the Bishop of Tournai. He had received no direct communication from the Pope upon the subject. As a matter of fact, a mere draft of the Pastoral only had been sent to Rome, the general principles of which were undoubtedly approved; but on the very day of the vote taken in the Senate, the Vatican, believing with every one else that the debate would last for some days longer, and acting upon its promise to add “no fuel to the fire” which M. Frère-Orban wished to extinguish, telegraphed to Brussels to stop the publication of any Pastoral letter pending the receipt of the instructions which were on their way from Rome. The order was simultaneous with the passing of the Bill that afternoon by the Senate, and, when Cardinal Dechamps received communication of the message, the Pastoral was already in print. Cardinal Nina was therefore perfectly accurate in assuring Baron d’Anethan at the time that he was not aware of its publication and was ignorant of its contents. This established, and bearing in mind that the Pope afterwards refused to pass any censure whatsoever upon the mandate, it is quite immaterial to the question that a simple “project” of its main features should have been approved at Rome prior to the order to suspend its publication. The matter is so trivial that there would have been no necessity to dwell upon it at all if the Liberals had not laid such particular stress upon it, and afterwards, utterly ignoring the explanation furnished by Mgr. Dechamps, continued to draw calumnious deductions from the letter.

If, however, they had shown so little delicacy in obtaining the correspondence, it was hardly to be expected that they should be more honourable in the use they made of it. The value of the documents as far as concerned the negotiations with the Holy See was absolutely nil. If we could imagine a secret agent to have purloined a private letter addressed to one of the members of the late Conservative Cabinet in England to a colleague prior to the Berlin Conference, and the Russian

Government to have quoted this letter as a reason for disregarding the subsequent Treaty, we might form an idea of the value of the Dumont correspondence to M. Frère-Orban, and judge what sentence to pass upon the statesman who should make use of it. The cue, however, was given to the officious press to prepare the ground by means of these papers for the result which the Cabinet was leading up to in another manner. By misleading the public with false and injurious insinuations against the good faith of the Roman Curia, and demanding, on the faith of this purloined correspondence, the instant suppression of the Legation, the injustice and baselessness of the act which the Government was about to perpetrate would be less noticed.

Whilst the press was inveighing against the Pope and seeking by extra-diplomatic means to shield the action of the Ministry, M. Frère-Orban was preparing the concluding despatches which were to prove diplomatically to the world the necessity of the course he had resolved upon. He had already written twice to Rome—on the 7th and 12th of April—and the tone of his despatches had been menacing. In the first, he complained that the opposition of the clergy to the new law was in no way diminished, but had on the contrary rather increased. The Bishops still maintained that their conduct was in accordance with the doctrines of the Holy See, it was time that they were recalled to the truth of the case. He states, with a disregard for facts that is simply amazing, that the Pope knew perfectly well that he had categorically blamed the Episcopate, it was time therefore now to make them obey his orders or else he would be supposed to encourage their opposition. That he could force them to obey was perfectly clear: Liberals knew that Leo XIII. had too perfect a knowledge of the necessities of our century not to be able to make his ideas prevail in the government of the Church. He was summoned therefore to act up to his assurances, or the consequences would be disastrous. The second despatch calls attention very briefly to the letter of the Pope to the Archbishop of Malines referred to above, the Minister evidently reserving the matter for a more convenient occasion. The reply of Cardinal Nina, dated the 3rd of May, disposes very summarily of the marvellous accusations preferred in M. Frère-Orban's despatch. The whole question involved in the negotiations is treated at great length and most effectively, and the action of the Holy See from first to last is vindicated with force and dignity. The Cardinal recognizes that there is a misunderstanding in the public mind as to his position towards the Bishops, a misunderstanding for which, however, it was not the Vatican that was responsible, and which

had not been removed long before only out of consideration for the difficulties of the King's Government. He pointed out the futility of attempting to show that there was or could be any doubt as to the uniform judgment passed by the Holy See upon the acts of the Episcopate. The principles of the Church were at stake in this question, and the Papacy could not do otherwise than extol the zealous manner in which its interests had been defended by the Pastors of the Belgian Church. That it should have undertaken the task of seeking to moderate the fierceness of the struggle was another matter, and it was totally misinterpreting the motives of the Holy Father to construe his pacific intentions into a disapproval of the main principles upon which the policy of the Prelates was based. With regard to the September instructions, the Bishops had been reminded that it was possible to make distinctions between school and school, and to dispense with the penalties they had threatened in particular cases; but events had shown that this distinction, possible in theory, was very rarely able to be enforced in practice. There was, rather, on the part of the Vatican good reason to complain of the insulting language of a certain organ of the press (the officious *Echo du Parlement* is no doubt alluded to) which was endeavouring to impose upon public opinion a different appreciation of the reserved and prudent attitude held by the Holy See.

The next despatch of M. Frère-Orban, in which he seriously deals with the letter of Leo XIII. to Mgr. Dechamps is only dated the 18th of May. Upon what grounds are we to account for the long interval between the two events, the Minister's other notes following much more closely one upon the other? Are we to suppose that the elections for the provincial councils which were now taking place entered into his calculations? As a fact, since the rupture of diplomatic relations was now evidently decided upon, it should have been announced upon the receipt of Cardinal Nina's communication of the 3rd May. If M. Frère-Orban's previous despatch was an ultimatum, this latter was a clear and categorical reply, in which the demands of the Belgian Government were refused and the views of the Holy See enunciated too emphatically to leave room for retractation. As all the subsequent correspondence is in consequence a mere repetition of what went before, we must conclude that the different elections were the cause of the negotiations being thus protracted. The despatch of the 18th of May insinuates that the Pope had changed his attitude towards the Government and had yielded to the pressure of the Bishops. The Minister endeavoured to show that the schools under the law of 1879 were just the same as what they had been under the system of

1842—a worn-out argument that had not convinced even the peasantry—and repeated the old story about the disagreement between the Holy See and the Episcopate. He then enters into the wholly irrelevant question of the theological inconsistency of the decisions of the Bishops and the different doctrines held by the clergy in other countries, a matter completely out of his province, and to which we shall not allude here. In conclusion, he expresses his regret and astonishment at the changed policy of the Vatican:—

Up to the present [he says], another spirit has presided over our relations with the Vatican, and was their justification. . . . It does not rest with me to discuss the motives of such a change of tack; I confine myself to attesting it, foreseeing that the hour for tardy regrets is probably not far distant.

Without waiting for the reply of the Vatican, he wrote again, on the 5th of June, to the effect that, as no answer had been received by him, and no sign had been shown by the Holy See of a desire to modify its recent declarations, the exchange of views must be considered as at an end, and the Belgian Legation must be recalled. He therefore instructed Baron d'Anethan to notify this to Cardinal Nina and leave Rome without delay. As this conclusion would only reach Rome on the 8th, the critical date would be safely passed without the electors having any suspicion of what was taking place.

The Holy See, naturally taken aback by this brusque and extraordinary *dénouement*, telegraphed to ask that the order might be at least suspended until time had been allowed for its reply to the last note to come to hand. Although it was evident that M. Frère-Orban did not wish to hear any more, he consented to continue official intercourse with the Nuncio and to refrain for a while from making public his resolution without, however, authorizing M. d'Anethan to return to his post. There were a few legislative seats for which the results of the 8th of June had been indecisive, and where second ballots would therefore be required, whilst in a supplementary election for a senator at Tournai, that Liberal stronghold seemed rather menaced. He was willing, in consequence, to put the patience of his followers to a final trial for such very praiseworthy objects. The Nuncio availed himself of the respite to impress upon M. Frère-Orban, in repeated interviews, the injustice of the step he had taken and the erroneous assumptions upon which it was based. Cardinal Nina replied in two notes, dated respectively the 8th and 13th of June, to the accusations of the Belgian Government. He followed up M. Frère-Orban's requisition, refuting in detail each of his assertions, and concluding

with an energetic protest against this last crowning act of injustice. It is useless to add that this produced no effect upon the Cabinet. The last election being over, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was at liberty to close the question once for all. The "opportune moment" of which he had spoken two years before to Baron d'Anethan had arrived. A note addressed to the Nuncio, ostensibly a reply to the last communications of Cardinal Nina, but in reality an embittered harangue against the conduct of the Holy See, devoid of any serious attempt at argument, informed Mgr. Vannutelli that the Legation was definitely recalled, and that all diplomatic relations between them had ceased.

From this date we look in vain in the utterances of the Government for any form of diplomatic courtesy or respect. The official Liberals seemed to have lost all command of language; it would seem as if the very slight restraint which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had ever put upon the expression of his feelings could no longer be maintained. The Nuncio could not leave Brussels without making a last protest against the unjustifiable reasons assigned by M. Frère-Orban for recalling the Legation, and which, in his last communication were repeated with extraordinary vehemence. It almost looks as if the Government by force of persistent assertion had come to "credit its own lie;" having cherished the fond illusion that the Supreme Pontiff might be induced to admit certain modern errors, it accused him of self-contradiction when he remained unshaken in defending the most sacred rights of the Church. Mgr. Vannutelli, therefore, in writing to demand his passports, once again called attention to the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had in the Chamber of Representatives attributed consequences to the declarations of the Holy Father, which he well knew could not be drawn from them, and had now broken off relations because they were not agreeable to the party who supported his Cabinet; and because the correspondence upon a certain subject had not terminated in the manner he desired. We are not sufficiently versed in the etiquette of diplomacy to know whether the Liberals are right in maintaining that this letter, coming from a person who had no longer a diplomatic standing in the country, was irregular. The ordinary public would suppose that Mgr. Vannutelli could not with dignity pass over such an insult upon his sovereign without making a solemn protest of this nature. But formal or informal as the letter may be, nothing can justify the discourteous rejoinder of M. Frère-Orban. We select the concluding passage of this document, unique perhaps in the annals of diplomacy:

I could never have conceded to your Excellency, even in the diplomatic quality which you held yesterday, the right of judging of what was becoming to the policy of the country; I shall leave it now to public opinion to decide whether to-day, and particularly after the revelations contained in recent publications which touch very closely upon your Excellency and throw a strange light on the negotiations conducted with the Vatican, you are authorized to transform into a concession made to a party an act rendered inevitable by the deeds of the Holy See, and which is recommended by the most legitimate susceptibilities of the honour and dignity of the Government.

It is inconceivable that the Chief Minister of any State could have dismissed a Foreign Representative in such terms. Never before had an Envoy quitted the country to which he was accredited and in which he had earned universal and well merited esteem under such circumstances. Some word of regret, of recognition for the manner in which he had carried on his arduous duties might have been expected; some parting act of courtesy might at least have been unofficially shown. On the contrary, every form of politeness was carefully eschewed and excluded. The Nuncio left Belgium as an expelled Communist or Nihilist would scarcely have done, insulted officially and vulgarly abused by the inspired press. In a similar manner Baron d'Anethan was recalled from Rome without being authorized to take a farewell visit of the Pope even in a private capacity. M. Frère-Orban evidently saw in what a false position he had placed himself, and as the only resource left, so thoroughly lost his temper as to forget the simplest rules of propriety.

The Holy See would have disappointed the indignant Catholics of Europe if it had not given a formal reply to the accusations brought against it by the Liberal Government, and exposed to the world the true nature and cause of the outrage. They had not, however, to wait long, for a fortnight had not elapsed before the Roman Curia published a concise and dignified Memorandum, which gave a clear, succinct summary of the whole history of its negotiations with the Belgian Government, pointed out the real objects of the latter, and conclusively vindicated the honour of the Holy See by establishing beyond contest upon what side were to be found loyalty and good faith. After giving in the concluding chapter a brief statement of the claims of the Belgian Government and the answer of the Vatican, the Memorandum concludes :

Under such circumstances the withdrawal of the Belgian Legation to the Holy See assumes the character of an unjustifiable outrage, all the more manifest because having announced it as a political necessity from the day on which the present Ministry began to exercise power,

its authors now wish to make it pass as the consequence of a supposed contradiction of the Holy See.

But "Europe," according to the noble conclusion of the Apostolic Nuncio, "will render justice to the high condescension of the Holy See, to the striking proofs it has given of its unchanging desire of conciliation and peace. It was its duty, and it will be its honour before history, not to have lowered its divine mission to transactions whose price would have been the faith of the young generation and perhaps of a whole people."

As the Catholic Press has already given the text of this Memorandum to the world, we shall not quote any more. Together with this defence the Holy See produced the suppressed despatch of the 11th of November, and portions of the letters addressed to King Leopold, of which the public had not yet been aware. These documents threw a new light upon the whole affair; their evidence was crushing. The Government was deprived even of the frivolous excuse that it had been misled by the declarations of the Holy See; it was proved clearly now that it had been fully enlightened as to the Pope's opinion before the debate of the previous autumn. If the difference of opinion between the Holy See and itself was in its eyes a sufficient reason for the rupture of diplomatic relations, it should have acted upon it in November when that difference was as manifest as now. By putting off the execution of its policy till now, the injustice was doubly aggravated, and the suppression of the Legation became a gratuitous insult to Catholicism, the vote of the Budget of Foreign Affairs being a proof that it recognized at the time the insufficiency of the pretext. For when has it been demonstrated that a difference of opinion between two states, which are otherwise actuated by good feelings towards one another, is a reason for breaking off all relations between them? As one of the leading Belgian Catholic journals declared at the time, it would have been as rational to dismiss the German Ambassador at Brussels because the protectionist views of his nation ran counter to Belgian notions of free trade. The new German tariff was a conclusive evidence of the difference of opinion upon this head, but precisely at such a juncture was diplomatic intercourse most necessary in order to prevent the mutual good feeling of the two peoples on other points from being impaired. But because Leo XIII. declined to repudiate, at the instance of M. Frère-Orban, opinions which the Papacy had held for nineteen centuries, the Belgian Government thinks that it has a reason for suspending all intercourse with him! We should have thought that it had chosen for breaking off negotiations the very moment when it was most necessary that those negotia-

tions should have begun. For if the Holy Father had refused to abandon his principles because the Belgian Liberals demanded it, he had taken the occasion to reiterate his expressions of goodwill towards the nation, and had, to quote his own words, done for Belgium what he had done for no other country by refusing to personally intervene in the struggle until the Government had compelled him to do so. A notable result of his good offices had taken place at this very time, a sensible modification having been just introduced into the instructions issued by the Bishops in September. The public, in its ignorance, had hitherto supposed that the object of diplomacy was to intervene in cases where two countries held opposite views; after M. Frère-Orban's experiments we must look for its *raison d'être* elsewhere.

If the Papal Memorandum was moderate and dignified, the reply of the Belgian Government, contained in a Circular to its agents abroad, was the very reverse. The latter is as violent as the former was calm, as marked by vehemence of assertion and unjust insinuations as the first was full of argument and plain statement of facts. M. Frère-Orban commences his Circular by leaving to the public opinion of Europe, which, he very gratuitously asserts, had pronounced in his favour with remarkably unanimity, to judge of the value of the documents published by the Vatican. Referring to the letters addressed by Leo XIII. to the King, he declares his inability to follow Cardinal Nina upon this ground: the most simple respect for the royal person would forbid it, although such scruples may be unknown to the Vatican, which deliberately ignores the most elementary principles of the Parliamentary régime. He can only demand on what title the Catholic Church pretends to hold diplomatic intercourse with any States, considering that it protests against the very principles upon which they are constituted. As to the despatch of the 11th November, since it was withdrawn and considered *non-avenue*, it must be also reckoned as null, and his Government, as well as every well constituted Government, was bound to ignore its existence. In reproducing it now, the Vatican had given evidence of a style of negotiation which was marvellously characteristic of its diplomacy. The policy of the Roman Curia, however, was marked throughout by an utter absence of good faith. The Dumont correspondence, taken in connection with other matters, conclusively proved that Monseigneur Vannutelli, contrary to the most elementary duties of his position, and against all maxims of International Law, had collaborated with the Bishops in their manifestoes against the laws and government of their country; and this at the very moment that the Holy See was professing to condemn their policy.

It is painful to follow M. Frère-Orban through this tissue of sophism and calumny. It is difficult to find a passage in which there is not some insinuation against the Holy See resting upon a deliberate perversion of facts. It is utterly useless for him to urge that the famous suppressed despatch was null in his eyes. Having once seen it he could not but be aware of the opinions of the Holy See. It is to no purpose that he urges that, because it was withdrawn, the opinion which it expressed ceased to exist. It does not seem necessary to be versed in the arcana of chanceries to see that the withdrawal of a despatch is a mere diplomatic fiction which might relieve the Belgian Minister of the embarrassment of putting the obnoxious document in his Blue Book, but could not destroy its moral effect in throwing light upon the points as to which he pretended to be in the dark. All the diplomatic casuistry in the world will be powerless to persuade any one of common sense that when M. Frère-Orban, after having that despatch before him for twenty-four hours, went to the Chamber of Representatives and assured the Parliament that the Pope condemned the action of the Episcopate, he was not wilfully seeking to mystify both Liberals and Catholics for his own ends. Whatever subsequent misunderstanding may have arisen, was caused by himself, and the whole discredit of it, which he now seeks to throw upon the Vatican, must recoil upon his head. We can understand a despatch containing a menace of war, or a hostile demand, or proposing some contract or treaty being withdrawn, and then the proposal would certainly become null, together with the written form in which it was conveyed; but here the case is different. If the document in question is merely the expression of a certain opinion of the writer, we fail to see how its suppression can authorize the recipient to suppose that the opinion itself is consequently altered.

The Belgian Minister had asked the Pope for his views upon a given subject, he expressly disclaimed any other importance for the correspondence than that of being an "exchange of views" honestly and frankly conducted. He asks the Vatican for its opinion upon the school question, and receives a categorical enunciation of it. His reply amounts to this: "Take your paper back again, I never wished to hear you say this; in asking for your opinion I thought regard for your own interests would have induced you to agree with me. If your letter is not withdrawn, I shall have no more to say to you." The other, at his request, provisionally withdraws the offending note, and then, making abstraction of all the evidence which tells against him, and distorting the sense of all that remains, he declares with complacency that the two correspondents are

perfectly at one in their way of thinking. After such a style of controversy it was the manifest duty of the Holy See to restore the documents which were necessary to expose the fraud.

The charge brought against the Nuncio of abuse of diplomatic privilege, and of abetting the Bishops in their conspiracy against the institutions of the country, is flagrantly unjust. In the first place, the Bishops had conspired against no institutions, because, in founding Catholic schools in opposition to those of the Government, they were only doing what the Constitution expressly allowed them. They had the right of establishing free schools, and to allow this, and, at the same time, forbid them to oppose the State system of teaching, would be to render the gifts of the Constitution absolutely illusory. In the second place, the Pope, as the Head and Director of the Bishops, was bound to give them the benefit of his counsels, and the Papal Nuncio in Catholic countries is the officially recognized intermediary between the Vatican and the Episcopate. He holds a double rôle, which no one has yet contested; he is the representative of the Vatican at the Court to which he is accredited, and at the same time, the agent of the Pope in his dealings with the clergy. This second duty was recognized by M. Frère-Orban himself, when he requested the Holy See to give certain instructions to the Bishops through the agency of Mgr. Vannutelli, and the latter was merely fulfilling the duty of a simple agent in carrying out a part of the mission entrusted to him by his sovereign. No one should know this better than the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and it is incomprehensible that he should venture to put forward such calumnious accusations against the representative of the Holy See.

His remarks upon the letters written by the Holy Father to the King are equally unjustifiable and show an ignorance of the position of a constitutional monarch only equalled by their disrespect towards the sovereign. No one before M. Frère-Orban has ever dared to question the right of one monarch to correspond privately with another upon political subjects. Cases of such personal intervention, in the interests of peace, or to avert fatal events, are too numerous to allow quotation. The right of the Pope, who is the spiritual Head of all Catholic princes, to give the advice so much needed in difficult times, is still clearer. The Papacy has, indeed, throughout its history, largely availed itself of this mode of advancing the spiritual welfare of nations. Constitutional monarchs have followed the same practice, and perhaps no one had a larger political correspondence with neighbouring rulers than a model of modern constitutional princes, Leopold I. of Belgium. It is M. Frère-Orban who shows a signal ignorance of the most elementary

principles of the Parliamentary régime when he presumes to blame a usage which no other statesman has dreamed of interfering with. The King of the Belgians shares the Legislative power with his Parliament; he has a right of veto and of dissolution, and there is nothing to prevent him from engaging his Ministers to modify a law, or of even calling other statesmen to his councils. The theories of M. Frère-Orban must have recently received a rude blow in what has passed in this country. Our own Queen is stated to have addressed an autograph letter to the Sultan of Turkey, advising him, for the good of his country, to submit to the decisions of the Powers. We have not heard that the Porte has forwarded Mr. Goschen his passports in consequence of this. The Belgian Government must, however, we imagine, find some consolation in thinking that it is still in its power to uphold the integrity of Constitutional principles at a moment when, even in England, hitherto a pattern of good government, the Sovereign shows herself so painfully disregarding of the "most elementary principles of the Parliamentary régime."

If the official language of the Belgian Government was of the nature that we have shown, we may form some idea of what were its extra-official utterances. The officious and inspired organs vied with one another in outraging and insulting the Holy See and the Catholic Church. The *Echo du Parlement*, the organ of the Premier, writes in this strain :

La réfutation des audacieux mensonges et des scandaleuses défaites du St. Siège est complète. Pas une de ses arguties ne reste debout; pas une de ses roueries qui ne soit impitoyablement dévoilée. La conscience publique sera satisfaite en voyant avec quelle virilité sont flagellés les procédés écœurants de la Curie Romaine, ses tartuferies et ses misérables impostures. . . . Celui-ci (le St. Siège) déclarait au Gouvernement qu'il n'avait tenu partout et toujours qu'un seul et même langage; c'était un mensonge; le St. Siège est en aveu; mais il a tellement perdu le sens moral qu'il affiche son ignominie avec un cynisme révoltant. . . . C'est la diplomatie de la perfidie, du mensonge et de la fourberie.

We are almost ashamed to reproduce this scurrilous abuse; we should pass it over if it were only the ordinary production of irresponsible Liberalism. But this article is from the inspired organ of M. Frère-Orban, for aught we know it may be from his own pen; we therefore give it to our readers, who will judge from it what is the weakness of a case which has to be defended by such means.

M. Frère-Orban speaks, forsooth, of the remarkable unanimity with which public opinion has approved his action! We are curious to learn upon what authority he makes this statement,

as we are inclined to think that he is again deceiving himself. If the applause of French Radicals and of the Masonic Lodges is what he demands, he is welcome to it; but fortunately their ideas are not yet those of all Europe. In Protestant countries, where the matter excites too little interest to invite an examination into details, we allow again that the rupture may be looked upon with indifference. But even here impartial writers have passed a very different verdict; and the Belgian Liberals may be well referred to papers so little suspected of Clericalism as the *Saturday Review*, the *Times*, the *Paris Journal de Débats* and *Constitutionnel*, and even to the Italian papers, to hear what is said of them. Even at home, in their own camp, certain disagreeable criticisms have been made. But before formally approving the new system of diplomacy inaugurated by M. Frère-Orban, Europe must be made acquainted with all the details of his negotiations and with the manner in which they were conducted, or else the affair cannot be judged upon its own merits. When these are studied there will be many old prejudices to be removed before his policy evokes an unanimous expression of applause. It has been up to the present the ordinarily received impression that the international transactions carried out by diplomatists were distinguished by a formality and courtesy that were their chief advantage. It was supposed that the disputes and differences between nations were entrusted to accredited representatives in order that they might assume a character which would elevate them above the petty squabbles of ordinary individuals. To appreciate the late conduct of the Belgian Government we must abandon these old-fashioned notions. M. Frère-Orban's ideal of an international controversy rather resembles the wordy warfare which precedes the encounter of two market women. His despatches seem to be drawn from the lower strata of journalism; they much resemble certain articles of the Liberal press, whilst the tirades of the *Indépendance Belge*, &c., might easily be mistaken for the emanations of the Belgian Foreign Office.

Before quitting the subject, we shall lay a final consideration before the reader, and ask what, after all, right or wrong, the Government can have hoped to gain by offering this insult to the Catholic Church. If great advantages were to accrue in consequence of the suppression of the Legation to the Belgian Government, the bad character of the means employed for obtaining this result, though not excused, might still be lost sight of in the magnitude of the objects gained. But no one has yet been found who could tell what the object in view was in perpetrating this act. It stands forward as a purely

gratuitous insult. The Liberals, we know, are engaged upon a campaign against the Catholic Church, but the rupture of relations with Rome does not advance them one jot. On the contrary, they have deprived themselves of the only means of bringing pressure to bear upon the clergy; they have cut off the only means of retreat in the case of their being worsted in the struggle; and last, but not least, they have alienated countless supporters. The Catholics, on the other hand, have lost no material advantage. Their independence is guaranteed by the law; they can correspond with the Holy See as before an unofficial agent serving just as well for that purpose as an accredited envoy. There is no Concordat, no Government investiture of Bishops, no permission required for publishing Papal briefs; the clergy is in all religious matters beyond the control of the temporal authorities. The suppression of the Legation can therefore only be looked upon as an impotent manifestation of irreligious rage, which may grieve the Holy Father and irritate the Catholic feeling of the nation without in any way promoting the interests of the Government. It is truly a case for the Catholics to say, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*.

Under these auspices the Liberal Government proclaimed the national fêtes of 1880, and invited the country to join in the celebration of rejoicings consecrated to peace and concord. But it was not enough to have chosen this occasion for wounding the dearest sentiments of the Catholics, they must further menace them with the prospect of further reprisals. After the senatorial election at Tournai, M. Bara, the Minister of Justice, harangued the citizens, who were his constituents also, from a balcony, and assured them that the suppression of the Legation was only the beginning of the new campaign. As the clergy did not seem inclined to submit tamely to the decrees of Liberalism, the Government was, he said, resolved to carry on the struggle to the very end. Those who had presumed to abuse the loyalty and magnanimity of the Liberals would pay dearly for it. This threat, read by the light of the programme published by the Radical prints, implies at no distant date a reduction of the salaries of the clergy, and an abolition of the exemption of seminarists from military service, together with such other petty annoyances as inventive Liberalism may discover. This was not the whole of M. Bara's discourse: he was resolved not to be outdone by his Premier in strong language, so he determined to avail himself of the opportunity of attacking the Administrator of the diocese in his own Cathedral City. The citizens of Tournai, he declared, were not yet ready to stoop beneath the yoke of clerical intriguers, though to the

brutal frankness of Mgr. Dumont had succeeded the Jesuitical hypocrisy of Mgr. Du Rousseaux. A Minister of Justice thus publicly defaming a Catholic Bishop, and one, too, whom the Government had but a short time before loaded with praises for his prudence and moderation! Catholics may thank M. Bara for revealing the inmost thoughts of the Liberals, who only asked that counsels of moderation should be given to the Bishops in order to vary their accusations of sedition by charges of hypocrisy. The Conservative party may well ask what is to happen to their country if the present *régime* lasts. Will a Belgian Kulturkampf be organized now, or will the Liberals wait till 1882 before seeking to revise the Constitution? In either case the immediate future is dark and fraught with peril.

Before concluding, we shall devote a few lines to the prospects of the Catholic party in Belgium. As we have said, their hopes are fixed upon the legislative elections which will take place two years hence; but the struggle will be close. The recent electoral laws and the frauds practised on the Government side make it sufficiently evident that the Liberals will recoil before nothing that may be likely to prolong their tenure of power. On the other hand, the Catholics hope in two years to recruit new voters who will replace those who have been erased from their lists. The hatred of religion which has become the moving spring of Belgian Liberalism, and which manifests itself more openly after each fresh success, together with the advanced Radical tendencies of the young Liberal party, will, it is hoped, open the eyes of many electors who have hitherto voted for Liberal candidates from personal or political motives, without holding any sympathy with their anti-religious doctrines. The result must, however, rest in part with the Catholics themselves; good organization, and, above all, prudence and moderation, may carry the day, but upon these will infallibly depend their hopes of success.

On the hypothesis of a Catholic victory in 1882, after the reconciliation of the country with the Holy See, a new law revising—or rather reorganizing, since the actual legislation has been purely destructive—the system of primary instruction will be of paramount necessity. The law of 1842 was very satisfactory, but it has been easier for the Liberals to abolish than it would be for the Catholics to restore it. The system of official instruction must consequently fall to the ground; no illusions can be entertained upon this head. The Catholics at one time acquiesced readily in it, but the recent law of 1879 has rendered it impracticable for them. The whole Education Question will have to be worked out again from the commence-

ment. It is probable that the first measure of the Catholics will be to restore to the local authorities and the municipalities their ancient discretionary power over the educational funds, and permit again the adoption of schools. For the rest, the attention of the Right is turned towards the system in force in this country as regards voluntary schools, and, as far as can be judged at present, the plan of granting Government subsidies to all properly certificated denominational schools will be adopted. Such at least appears to be the present programme of the Catholic leaders.

If, however, after the next election the Liberals remain in power, the prospects of Catholics are very gloomy. The present arduous struggle will have to be maintained, and private charity must fight as best it can against the superior resources of the State. In such a combat the strength of the latter must in the end, according to all human calculations, crush all resistance. Even if, as is unhappily not the case, the Government abstained from undue pressure, and loyally observed the spirit of the constitutional law which guarantees liberty of instruction, the obstacles in the way of maintaining and increasing the free schools will be very great. The Catholic proprietors are neither very rich nor very numerous, yet upon them must fall the great burden of the enterprise. To be successful in the long run the Catholic schools must be self-supporting, or partially so at least, as the large sums subscribed for their foundation cannot be indefinitely renewed. The salaries of the teachers, as well as the funds necessary for the preservation and repair of the buildings, must be supplied by the payments made by parents for the education of their children. Perceiving this, the Liberal authorities have in many places introduced gratuitous instruction into the official schools, thus placing the Catholics at a further disadvantage; this gratuity being in reality no more than a further call upon the taxpayer, and a means of throwing upon the whole community the just expenses of fathers who have children in the Government schools. It must also be borne in mind that the Belgian peasantry, though sincerely Catholic at heart, is not disposed to very great self-sacrifice, and the temptation to send children to the official schools, by doing which the parents will not only be better looked upon by the authorities, but at the same time put to less expense, is very great. In the Flemish provinces, where the population is more fervent and the country richer, this is less likely to be the case, and all may go well—the ardent faith of the people being strong enough to reconcile them to the necessary sacrifices. It will be very different in the Walloon districts where the peasants, though generally good, are less

zealous and far more amenable to the seductions of Government. There, although rich Catholics are few, the people will none the less look to the clergy and the proprietors to do everything for them, and when they see that the present strain upon the upper classes can no longer be borne, they will find excuses for sending their children to the Communal schools. These considerations have made it evident to the more far-seeing of the Catholic party, that if the present state of things continues, in spite of all their efforts, the free schools in many parts of the country will fall to the ground from want of funds to carry them on, or else eke out a precarious existence dependent upon the occasional gifts of pious benefactors. It is hard to see how the most heroic exertions of the Catholics can prevent this from being the final result. As their hopes are, however, based upon higher considerations than those of mere finance, it is to be trusted that for a time the religious schools may hold their own ; but at best they are only a provisional expedient, and the longer the actual situation lasts, the greater will be the difficulties to be met. All their founders pray for is that they may suffice until the day when the nation becomes thoroughly awake to the real designs of Liberalism, and when a people, really free and loving its liberty, and deeply attached to the faith of its fathers, shall condemn at the polls the system of misgovernment to which in an unguarded hour it had handed itself over. For, happily for the Catholics of the country, they still possess the means of legal resistance and a Parliament which can freely express the will of the nation. For a time fraud and administrative pressure may stifle the voice of the country ; an unscrupulous faction which hesitates at nothing that may advance its interest, which can catch up the words that fall from the lips of a madman, and use them as its political watchwords, which employs calumny and insult in preference to reason, and wrings from the workman his children and his vote as the price of his bread, may for a brief period hold its own ; but all these artificial barriers which it has raised up for its protection will be swept away, as by a torrent, when once the feelings of the nation are aroused, and a free people has determined to rid itself of its unworthy guardians. It would else have profited little to have thrown off the yoke of Joseph II. and of William of Orange ; it would have been of small profit to those, who liberated the country, to have shed their blood for the freedom of Belgium if these revolutions had left them equally defenceless against future oppressors. Yet, as it is, and with the guarantees which they possess, a cloud of sorrow has thrown a shadow over the rejoicings of the Catholics who have recently celebrated the half-centenary of their independence. Many have assisted with a

heavy heart at these fêtes. They cannot forget, that, whilst they are celebrating a victory gained fifty years ago for national and religious liberty, their country is again in the hands of ill-disguised despots who are seeking to re-establish, under another name, the very tyranny which they rose so gloriously to overthrow.



POPE LEO XIII. ON THE AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPÆ XIII.

*Allo cutio habita Die XX. Augusti., MDCCLXXX., ad
S. R. E. Cardinales in Ædibus Vaticanis.*

VENERABILES FRATRES,

SUMMI Pontificatus sacrosancta majestas, quam sicut habemus ipsa vita cariorem, sic conservare ac tueri omni contentione volumus et debemus, postulat a Nobis, ut de injuria longe maxima supremæ auctoritati Nostræ et huic Apostolicæ Sedi haud ita pridem imposita, ad Vos, Venerabiles Fratres, hodierno die referamus. De injuria intelligimus illata ab administratoribus rei Belgicarum publicæ, quod Legatum Nostrum nulla justa causa repente dimiserunt.

Nos quidem non tam privato dolore permoti, quam de Apostolicæ Sedis honore solliciti, totam rei gestæ seriem una cum instrumentis atque auctoritatibus, quibus jure credatur, pervulgari jussimus, ut omnia proferrentur in lucem veritatis, et æqui viri facile statuerent, quam parum habeant firmamenti et virium conjectæ ab inimicis in Apostolicam Sedem indignissimæ criminaciones.—Nunc vero ejus facti rationes altius considerantes, cum in hoc tum in aliis non absimili genere, quæ fere ubique geruntur, certa vestigia agnoscimus quæ significant recruidisse vehementer bellum, longo jam tempore adversus Christi Ecclesiam nefarie susceptum. Imo etiam magis apertam nudatamque conspicimus factiosorum hominum de abalienandis ab Apostolica Sede animis veterem conjurationem, eo consilio initam, ut in christianas gentes, quas semel Romani Pontificis auctoritati præsidioque forte subdlexerint, omnem ipsi natu atque arbitrato suo potestatem exercean.—Atque idem plane propositum inimicis fuit, cum per vim et dolos eripere Romanis Pontificibus civilem principatum voluerunt, manifesto divinæ Providentiæ consilio et consentiente ætatum suffragio constitum, uti salva iis perpetuo ea securitas ac libertas esset, qua nihil est magis in gerenda christiana republica necessarium. Neque alio machinationes spectant summis artificis excogitata, adhibitæque calliditate pari, per quas multi jamdum contendunt invisam et suspectam facere populis Ecclesiam, invidiamque institutis catholicis conflare, præcipue autem Pontificatui romano, ad communem humani generis salutem divinitus instituto.

Hæc eadem consilia etiam in Belgio exequi catholici nominis hostes destinaverant, ut vincula abrumperentur aut relaxarentur quæ Belgarum gentem Apostolicæ Sedi conjungunt. Quamobrem, data opportunitate, in ipsis legumlatorum publicis cætibus pluries est eorum exaudita vox, Legationem belgicam apud Romanum Pontificem esse tollendam: idque se statutum in animo ac deliberatum habere. Revera duobus ante annis, vix dum ad gubernacula reipublicæ homines illarum partium accesserant, mora nulla fuit, quin aperte edicerent, revocationem oratoris belgici a legatione esse decretam;

eandem reapse perfectum iri ubi primum per tempora licuisset. Cum hæc consilia atque hic habitus animorum in iis esset, perlata lex de primordiis studiorum publice tradendis, propositi perficiendi causam attulit.—Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, indolem hujusce legis atque rationem.

Profecto in ea condenda hoc maxime consilium atque hanc sententiam fuisse apparet ab auctoritate catholicæ religionis, vel a pueritia, abducere animos, institutionemque juventutis, remota qualibet Ecclesiæ providentia, civilis potestatis imperio voluntatique reservare. Etenim ea lege decernitur, in educatione puerili nullas debere esse sacrorum Pastorum partes, nullam Ecclesiæ vigilantiam; dissociatisque penitus a religione litteris, ab eruditione puerorum, si ipsa publicarum scholarum ratio et disciplina spectetur, omnem de religione doctrinam abesse præcipitur: quod perfacile cernitur quam sit fidei et moribus ineuntis ætatis periculosum. Eoque gravius esse periculum intelligitur, quod eadem lege omnis religiosa institutio plane excluditur ab iis ipsis litterarum palæstris, quas scholas “normales” vocant, ubi exercitatione præceptisque conformantur, qui quæve deinceps velint ad erudiendos pueros sese conferre.

Lex hujusmodi, per quam plurimum de doctrina juribusque Ecclesiæ detrahitur, maximoque discrimini sempiterna adolescentium salus obicitur, non poterat, salvo officio, Episcopis probari, quibus a Deo id est muneris onerisque impositum, ut in salute animorum fideique sanctitate defendenda vigilanter elaborent. Revera cum probe sentirent, quid a se tempus officiumque postulet, sedulam operam dederunt arcendæ ab ejusmodi publicis scholis juventuti, aliasque aperiendas curarunt, potestati suæ obnoxias, in quibus tenere adolescentulorum mentes cum litterarum, tum religionis elementis optime formarentur. Et hanc ad rem, laus est egregia Belgarum, peropportuno huic operi sese alacritate summa adjutores præbuisse. Cum enim animadverterent, quantum religioni periculum ab ea lege impenderet, avitam fidem, quoquomodo possent, tuendam susceperunt; idque tam inflammato studio, ut laborum ac sumptuum magnitudo admirationem fecerit apud omnes, ad quos hujus rei fama pervenit.

Nos vero, qui propter excelsum supremi Pastoris et Magistri munus, intemeratam ubique fidem conservare, sacra Ecclesiæ jura asserere, et salutis discrimina a capite gentium christianarum propulsare debemus, ipsa officii ratione sinere prohibebamur, indemnatum per Nos abire legem, quam Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Episcopi belgici jure condemnassent. Quapropter in litteris Nostri ad dilectissimum filium Nostri Leopoldum II regem Belgarum aperte declaravimus, legem die I Julio mense factam magnopere catholicæ doctrinæ præceptis repugnare; eandemque perniciosam saluti adolescentium, neque parum ipsi civitati calamitosam futuram. Igitur qua talem improbavimus damnavimusque non semel, sicut nunc in conspectu omnium Vestrum, iisdem de causis, iterum improbamus atque damnamus. Quam rem more agimus institutisque Apostolicæ Sedis, quæ semper judicii atque auctoritatis suæ pondere scholas percudit cujuslibet religionis expertes, quas medias seu “neutras” appellant, quæque suapte natura illuc tandem evadunt, ut Deum prorsus non agnoscant; neque usquam passa

est, ejusmodi scholas a juventute catholica celebrari, nisi certis casibus, cum eam tempus et necessitas cogeret, cautoque prius ne præsens esset pravæ contagionis periculum.

Nihilominus christiana caritate animati et quod nolebamus ullam dari causam quamobrem acerbius bellum fieret, valde auctores fuimus Venerabilibus Fratribus nostris episcopis, in medio certamine consistentibus, ut, quod ad decreta exequenda moderationem et suavitatem in re præsentī ne relinquerent, et in pœnis exigendis agerent lenius; quoniam rei christianæ studium, tam justa causa incensum, paterna illa benevolentia temperari oporteret, quæ devios quosque benigne complectitur.

Multum ad ea quæ volebamus cohortationes nostræ profecerant, multoque magis futurum videbatur, ut in reliquum tempus proficerent; non satis tamen ex sententia curatorum rerum belgicarum, qui episcopos ipsos muneri suo firmissime intentos nihilominus coargui a nobis, et in quo essent probabiles, in eo reprehendi voluissent. Quod cum nos libere constanterque negavissemus facturos, idcirco officiose amiceque nobiscum agi desitum est, et insigni, vixque alias audito illiberalitatis exemplo, legatus noster excedere finibus jussus est.—Plura deinde per ambages et calumnias caussati, indigne factum tegere falsis nominibus conati sunt, omnemque causam et culpam in Apostolicam Sedem conferre. Crescente autem audacia, nec a conviciis, nec a contumeliis temperatum est: imo ne in urbe quidem Roma hostilis animi defuit insolens ostentatio.

Quapropter muneris nostri apostolici memores, casum gravem et repentinum in conspectu omnium Vestrum, Venerabiles Fratres, deplorantes, Nobiscum et cum sancta Petri Sede inique actum esse testamur et conquerimur. Cumque jus potestatemque habeat Pontifex maximus Nuntios aut Legatos ad externas gentes, nominatim catholici nominis, earumque principes mittendi, de violato hujusmodi jure cum iis quos penes est culpa, expostulamus; eoque magis, quod ejus juris multo augustius est in Romano Pontifice principium, cum ab amplissima auctoritate primatus, quem ille divinitus obtinet in universam Ecclesiam proficiscatur; quemadmodum et Pius VI. gloriôsæ recordationis Pontifex declaravit iis verbis: “Jus est Romano Pontifici habendi aliquos, in dissistis præsertim locis, qui sui absentis personam repræsentent, qui jurisdictionem suam atque auctoritatem stabili delegatione collatam exercent, qui denique suas vices obeant; idque ex intima vi ac natura primatus, ex juribus dotibusque cum primatu conjunctis, ex constanti Ecclesiæ disciplina a primis usque sæculis deducta . . .”*

Querimur super hoc etiam, quod dimittendi Nostri per Belgium Legati causa injuriosa et de industria quæsita allata sit; cum contra dimissum idcirco esse constet, quod Nos deserere officium recusavimus, factaque significatione Nostræ cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis belgicis consentientis voluntatis, discedere, ab iis nulla ratione volumus.—Demum cohibere querelas non possumus propter multa et varia, quæ de Nobis et hac Sede Apostolica sunt contumeliose atque atrociter dicta. Equidem quod privatim ad Nos, prompti ad perferendas patienter injurias sumus, ignoscendumque obtreccatoribus atque inimicis,

* Resp. super Nuntiaturis Apost. cap. 8, sect. 2, n. 24.

gaudentes, Apostolorum exemplo, quod digni habiti sumus pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.* Nihilominus tamen Deum hominesque testamur, numquam esse passuros, ut quicquam de Apostolicæ Sedis existimatione et dignitate impune minuatur; quam Nobis certum est, omni vi et omnium rerum vitæque ipsius, si res postularet, jactura defendere, ut tantæ hujus dignitatis amplitudo servetur, Nostrisque Successoribus integra atque inviolata tradatur.

Has autem voces, quas justus animi dolor et conscientia officii in hoc amplissimo consessu Vestro, Venerabiles Fratres, Nobis expresse- runt, late per orbem terrarum propagari volumus, ut viri principes universæque gentes, querelarum Nostrarum æquitate perspecta, intelligant quibus profecta initiis, quem habuerit exitum res de qua loquimur; simul fraudes caveant, quibus homines non probi in aures animosque influunt multitudinis; alacriterque studeant in fide Romani Pontificis, nihil mutata aut labefactata voluntate, permanere.

Quod ad catholicam Belgarum gentem attinet, in summa est eorum laude ponendum, quod magna affecti sollicitudine ob Nostri discessum Legati, quem tot annos perhonorifice exceptum modis omnibus observarant, in hoc tempore propensioris voluntatis huic Apostolicæ Sedi documenta deproperent: volunt enim, qua ratione possunt, curam et molestiam compensare injuriarum, quas in persona humilitatis Nostræ Jesu Christi Vicarius accepit.—Atque hic pergratum Nobis est recordari grave quoddam laudum præconium quod a Gregorio XVI, Pontifice maximo, Nobis præsentibus atque audientibus, Belgis tributum est.

Is enim cum Nos pontificæ apud eos legationi benigne destinaret, de gente illa in universum plura effatus est verbis amplissimis, appellavitque genus hominum fortissimum, pientissimum, quorum fides et amor erga Apostolicam Sedem et erga Principes suos multis rebus ac per diu constitisset.—Revera has ipsorum virtutes cum superiorum ætatum monumenta testantur, tum Nos usu et consuetudine Ipsi cognovimus, quam diu illa legatione functi sumus; illorumque hominum et temporum et rerum jucundissima hærens in animo recordatio, peculiarem Nostram in eos fovit atque aluit benevolentiam. Igitur de Belgis confidimus futurum ut ab Ecclesiæ amore et obsequio numquam discedant, constantesque in fidei catholicæ professione et de christiana juventutis institutione anxii atque solliciti, sese patribus et majoribus dignos in omne tempus impertiant.

Hæc de rebus belgicis habuimus, quæ Vobiscum, Venerabiles Fratres, communicaremus, ut illatam Apostolicæ Sedi injuriam propulsaremus, violatamque dignitatem tueremur.—Attamen per Vos ipsi videtis, præsentis Ecclesiæ labores non esse Belgarum finibus circumscriptos. Longius serpit bellum, et latius manant rei catholicæ detrimenta: quorum tamen sermonem præsens in tempus ommittimus.

Interim vero meliore spe erectos confirmatosque animos gerere oportet, e concordibus obsecrationibus, suppliciter contendere a Patre misericordiarum et Deo totius consolationis, ut Ecclesiam sponsam suam, tot fessam malis ac tantis curis exercitam, benigne consoletur; sedatisque undis ac fluctibus, optatam diu tranquillitatem restituat.

* Act. v. 41.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

(By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.)

1. *Katholik.*

TO the July issue I contributed an account of the recently published second volume of the "Storia del ecumenico concilio Vaticano," by Mgr. Eugenio Cecconi, Archbishop of Florence. This volume is supplemented by two others, containing the most important documents referring to that period. Although it is a pity that we receive the second volume only after a delay of all but seven years, we are yet repaid by the excellent manner in which Archbishop Cecconi has accomplished the grave and delicate task confided to him by the Pope. In 1877 Professor Friedrich published the first part of a history, or rather romance, of the Vatican Council. The mental excitement of this author displayed in every page quite disables him from exhibiting events in their true light and connection; whereas Cecconi, by the dignity and modesty of his treatment, irresistibly wins the attention and esteem of every reader. It is a great prerogative of this work that the author, except in some places where it was absolutely indispensable, does not allow himself personal reflections; greater prominence is thus given to historical facts, which, far better than any pleading, win our trust in the claims of the Holy See. As official historiographer of the council, Archbishop Cecconi is enabled to give us many documents hitherto not published or only incompletely so; they have been taken from the archives of the Pontifical Secretary of State and the Roman congregations. The second volume sets forth "the religious and political movement to which the Council gave rise," and treats of it in the following chapters—1. First reception of the bull of convocation; 2. Reception of the bull by the schismatic Eastern bishops; 3. Reception of it by Protestants and other non-Catholics; 4. On several facts preceding the war waged against the council; 5. Occasion and pretext of the war against the council; 6. Attitude of governments, freemasons, rationalists, German theologians and liberal Catholics: attitude of the bishops. Specially worth reading is the second chapter bearing on the answers sent by the schismatic patriarchs to the papal letters of invitation. Willingly acknowledging, as does Mgr. Cecconi, that a breach of courtesy was committed at Rome, inasmuch as the letters directed to the patriarchs appeared September 22, 1868, in the official *Giornale di Roma*, long before they could have reached those prelates, he cannot but disapprove of the conduct of the patriarchs. They eagerly seized the above-

mentioned fact as a pretext for refusing obedience to the Pope : solid reasons they had none. The papal delegate in Jerusalem openly told the patriarch that he would not have accepted the invitation even if this breach of etiquette had not been committed. The volume of documents supplies the answers of the patriarchs in Greek and Armenian. Strictly speaking, they form only notices forwarded to the papers by the patriarchs about their conferences with the papal delegates. The one-sidedness of these reports is most striking, but also very painful. When the papal delegate at Alexandria, Mgr. Ciurcia, asked the patriarch to insert in the papers a note correcting the mistakes of his former report, he received in answer a simple negative. An honourable exception to the Greek bishops was the venerable Bishop of Trebizond, who first accepted the papal invitation, promising a favourable answer in due time ; and afterwards forwarded a refusal, stating that without the patriarch's consent he could not act in a matter of such importance. We learn also that the patriarch of Constantinople, immediately after the receipt of the Pope's letter, telegraphed a message to his colleagues ordering them to act in concert with himself and refuse. Amongst the Armenians a movement favourable to Catholic unity made itself felt in those days, but owing to the intrigues and influence of Russia it subsided. One Armenian bishop, Mgr. Nerses, who from his vast learning enjoyed a high reputation, published a very important pamphlet advising his brethren not to let pass this occasion of union with Rome, insisting only on the preservation of the Armenian rites as a condition. English Catholics will be interested in the extracts given from the pamphlets of Mr. Cobb, Cambridge, as chief representative of that Anglican party which looked for union with the Holy See. At page 340 we have the decision of the Sant' Uffizio forbidding P. de Buck, the learned Bollandist, further transactions with that Anglican party. P. de Buck promptly submitted to this pontifical decree, and afterwards spontaneously declared that he had gone too far in negotiations with the Anglicans, but only from an excess of love for that nation which had given to the Society of Jesus so many glorious martyrs. In the interesting chapter "Some facts preceding the war waged against the Council" the author leads us to France, where Mgr. Maret, the last able supporter of the Gallican system, brought out his work "Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse," and where the question whether or not the auxiliary (titular) bishops were to be admitted to the council was eagerly discussed. The Holy See, without peremptorily deciding the question, allowed them to take part in the deliberations. The French Liberal Catholics approved of this proceeding, otherwise they would have insulted their chief champion. It was only afterwards, when the auxiliary bishops strongly defended the Holy See and opposed the Liberal Catholics, that they were, principally in Germany, ill-treated and held up to scorn as "boarders of the Pope." From the fifth chapter we learn the origin of that famous "French correspondence" in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, February 6, 1869, which, unnaturally enough, gave rise to so widespread

an agitation against the Holy See in England, France, and still more in Germany. It was in December, 1868, that the then Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, forwarded a series of questions to the Papal Nuncios asking them to select several ecclesiastics who to the best of their ability might comment on them. These questions are described by Mgr. Cecconi as referring to the attitude of governments, feelings of the Catholic populations, movements amongst Protestants, acts of the bishops, and opinions of the journals and the periodical press. Mgr. Chigi, Nuncio in Paris, appointed four learned priests, each of whom treated the questions from a different view, one expatiating on canon law, another commenting on dogmatic theology. Only one of them expressed a desire that the propositions of the syllabus might be shaped into affirmative ones in order to render their meaning clearer to the general public. But he was of opinion that the declaration of papal infallibility would be eagerly accepted by most French Catholics. Cardinal Antonelli delivered this correspondence to the editors of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, who published it as French correspondence. Let it be borne in mind that in doing so the Cardinal had, as we learn from his despatch to the Nuncio, a twofold object: the information of the numerous preparatory congregations assembled in Rome; and, secondly, the information of a larger public, by presenting to the world accurate reports of whatever was "thought, spoken, and acted in the different countries about this great event." No sooner had this French correspondence appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica* than a violent storm was raised against the Holy See, which was taunted with being misled by the Jesuits. It was a well-organized party in England, France, and Germany which was thus sorely touched by a correspondence of a most unoffending nature. This party did not shrink from adopting the meanest measures in order to draw the German bishops on its side. From Cecconi's history we learn that, on the very eve of the Fulda deliberations, September 1, 1869, every bishop received by post a small pamphlet bearing the title "Some Remarks on the Question: Is it opportune to define the Infallibility of the Pope? Dedicated to the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany." Who were the authors can only be guessed; but it is more than probable that the pamphlet was the performance of a clique consisting of a German professor, an English nobleman, and a French prelate. The authors do not content themselves with describing the definition as inopportune, they oppose the very doctrine of infallibility as "quite a new dogma unheard of." The papal nuncio in Munich, Mgr. Meglia, asked Cardinal Antonelli, about the same time of the episcopal meeting in Fulda, whether it would be opportune to urge the publication of a pastoral letter by the German bishops on the council, in order to destroy all doubts and refute the manifold mistakes and calumnies then current. But the Holy See declined to exercise that much influence on the German bishops: indeed no influence was brought to bear on the prelates in favour of Infallibility. For the declaration of Infallibility we are for the most part under obligations to those men who so boldly and loudly and persistently denied it. Mgr. Cecconi,

in the second volume, brings us to the day of the solemn opening of the council. Let us hope that the third volume, on a topic of such rare interest, will be published as speedily as possible.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.—The July issue contains a long review of a work having a special interest for English Benedictines. Rev. F. Lindner, a priest of Brixen diocese, has just published a learned book on "The Literary Work done from 1750 to 1880 in Bavaria by the Benedictine Order." The Bavarian Benedictines were called to the newly erected Salzburg University, and, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, they continued the faculty of theology in Ingolstadt. Out of thirty-three great abbeys the Order sent more than two hundred fathers who gave lessons in the lyceums or gymnasiums. Two convents (both of them dedicated to St. James) at Wurzburg and Regensburg belonged to Scotland. Two abbots won a high reputation—Bernard Stuart (1733–1741), Professor of Mathematics at Salzburg, and Benedict Arbuthnot, member of the Royal Academy of Munich. King Lewis I. of Bavaria has deserved well of the Benedictines, by erecting several abbeys and confiding many gymnasiums to their care. A series of Articles on "Christendom in Egypt" appears in the July and August issues. Dr. Kayser traces the history of the Christian religion in Egypt, and very ably comments on the actual condition of the Catholic as well as non-Catholic Kopts. In the August issue I gave an account of the great work published several months ago by Professor Constantin von Hoefler, of Prague University, on Pope Adrian VI. (1522–1523). It is the result of forty years' labour; the books consulted and employed by the author fill about twelve columns. We are peculiarly indebted to Professor von Hoefler for light upon one point. Charles V. was generally supposed to have done everything in the rewarding of his tutor, Cardinal Adrian, with the tiara. But we now know that the person for whom the Emperor did not spare either influence or money to procure the papal dignity was the English Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. The so-called Catholic counter Reformation originates from the pontificate of Pope Adrian VI., the last German who was raised to the See of S. Peter. Unfortunately, Adrian's reign lasted scarcely more than a year. His friend, William, Cardinal Enkenvort, erected a splendid monument to the Pope in S. Maria dell' Anima at Rome, but it was reserved for Professor von Hoefler to raise a spiritual and more fitting monument, on the pages of which are inscribed the noble character, the piety and learning, of a great Pope, whose memory had been all but forgotten. As Professor von Hoefler makes use of German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish literature, which, in reference to the Reformation period, has immensely grown during the last thirty years, it is to be expected that his monumental work will be studied by scholars in all those countries, with which, too, this great Pope had more or less intimate relations.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica. 17 Luglio, 21 Agosto, 1880.

Satanism and the Revolution.

TWO interesting articles have appeared in *La Civiltà Cattolica* of the 17th of July and the 21st of August respectively:—"Del Satanismo ai nostri tempi," and "Della Rivoluzione e della Contro-rivoluzione." We can but briefly allude to their scope.

All who consider history with an eye enlightened by faith must confess that never perhaps since the establishment of Christianity was the operation of Satan in the world more palpable than in the present century. It is sufficient to take a glance around to perceive persecution against the Church of Christ rife in all places, here in a more occult and hypocritical form, there more openly and boldly avowed. All that belongs to what is styled "modern civilization," and that is invested with the pompous name of "progress," in every department is animated with the spirit of revolt against her. Rulers, whether consciously or unconsciously, lend themselves to the Antichristian work, and are practically leagued with the great Masonic sect, the Church of Satan, in an endeavour to extirpate the kingdom of God the Creator and Redeemer, from the face of the earth. This object, together with that of rehabilitating Satan, is openly proclaimed by authors enjoying much credit in modern society. It is sufficient to mention Renan, the blasphemer of Jesus, who has taken Satan under his special patronage; Schelling, who exalts him into a divinity; Michelet, who predicts his triumph over Christ; Quinet, who lauds him as a prince who ought to unite all hearts; and Proudhon, who has expressly declared his wish to substitute Satan, "the delight of his soul, to the Reformer, Christ, who had himself crucified." The writer quotes also a passage from a Belgian paper, the *Bulletin of Free Thought*, reporting the words used four years ago at a conference, by one of the party now dominant in that country, in glorification of Satan, whom the orator called "the defender and counsellor of men, their sole support and refuge against the absorbing and suffocating pressure of the divine (or authoritative) principle;" God, he said, has always taken the side of the oppressors and the strong, Satan has drawn nigh to humanity in its disgrace, and has become its apostle and sustainer. He is "the genius and symbol of liberty, the angel of pride and of exile, the eternal protester against antiquity and tyranny, and the inspirer of all human vindications, from the revolt of Adam in Paradise to the great and terrible insurrection of the Commune." The orator concluded his speech with the exclamation, "God is dead! Viva the Devil!"

Satan was a double homicide from the beginning. He desired that humanity should never exist, so that he might not have to adore a nature inferior to his own, divinized in the Hypostasis of the Word; for it is very generally believed that the revelation of the future Incarnation formed the matter of the Angelic probation. In an excess of pride Lucifer refused to adore the God-Man; he thus, as St. John

says (xiii. 24), "abode not in the truth," and his whole action in the world, since he could not hinder the Incarnation itself, has been to destroy its fruits as far as possible. Although Christ vanquished him on the Cross, he has been permitted, by the inscrutable wisdom of God and in furtherance of His designs, to have a certain partial success, and even to enjoy some temporary triumphs. Through one of these periods we are now passing, when Satanism seems to threaten to prevail over Catholicism. All tends to prove that the universal conspiracy of our days against Christianity is suggested, promoted, and aided by a force superior to what is human. This preternatural intervention of Satan in the modern disorder, religious and civil, which takes the name of the Revolution, is manifested also in the homage which he causes to be paid to him, and in the infamous doctrines advocated by his sectaries, worse than any which disgraced Gentilism. How extensively the superstition of Spiritism is practised even by those who boast of their disbelief in God and in the whole supernatural order, is notorious. It has become a kind of *cultus*, with its rites, symbols, priesthood, and faithful, throughout Europe and America. Whatever disguise it may assume, Spiritism is plainly the black art, in a modern form, adapted to the day, and it is certain that at no previous epoch was magic, and consequently adhesion to Satan, so extensively and openly practised among Christians. As for the revolting mysteries secretly performed in the dens of the Masonic sect, the sacrifices there formally offered to the Evil One, accompanied by the most horrible acts of sacrilege, they are things better known to the uninitiated than is commonly supposed, but which a Christian pen recoils from describing. Suffice it to say that they surpass in outrage to God, the Creator and Redeemer of man, all that human depravity could have devised.

The doctrines of the Revolution are comprised in the system known as Liberalism, the great principle of which is the negation, more or less patent, of the Divine order, and hence is a rebellion against all authority emanating from or centering in God, to put in its place the disorder of human passions, the tyranny of human will, and the license of vice. The application of this principle in every department forms the philosophy of the Revolution, though all who forward its action are by no means alive to its logical and ultimate consequences. Liberals are not all free-thinkers or socialists; many do not see, or are averse from seeing, whither their theories tend; nevertheless, the principle of Liberalism is that of the arch-rebel, and is the parent of Socialism and of the denial of God's rights. This is freely acknowledged by the leaders. "What is the Revolution?" asked one of the orators most applauded at the famous congress at Liège, adding, in reply to his own query, "It is the triumph of labour over capital, of the workman over the parasite, of man over God."

From hatred of God flows hatred of man under the cloak of "*cultus* of humanity," and this is the cruel lie on which all the satellites of Satan, the father of lies and liars, are fed. The indefinite progress of the human race in good, that is material good, is the idea with which

our modern generations are being imbued, and by means of this Satanic falsehood they are in process of descent to a state of misery and degradation worse than that of ancient Paganism. The Gentile world was unfaithful to God, and served devils, but it was rather from blindness than from wilful choice. Never was hatred to God and hatred to man, by deliberate rejection of his supernatural end, raised by the heathen to a theoretical and practical system of civilization and well-being, and adopted as such. Modern Paganism is something far worse than the ancient. It is an apostasy. God is not forgotten, He is denied; the devil is not ignorantly served, he is acknowledged and enthroned, and the project of unchristianizing society and destroying even natural religion is distinctly confessed. This activity of Satan's agents gives a probable indication of some approaching terrible and sanguinary crisis, and a very general fear is felt of the predominance, temporary, no doubt, but most ruinous, of Socialism, renewing on a large scale, the horrors of the Parisian Commune. But whatever may be in store, we Catholics are certain that an extraordinary intervention of Satan in the world to the detriment of God's Church will be followed by some extraordinary divine intervention in her behalf.

In the article entitled "Revolution and Counter-revolution," the writer exposes the character of both, taking for his text a brief analysis of P. de Chanday's able work, recently published, "The Three Frances;"—that is, Satanic France, or the Revolution; Chimerical France, or Liberalism; and Catholic France, or Tradition. Although the Father is writing with a direct view to France alone, nevertheless all he says is fully applicable to other countries, for France is the original nest and the permanent focus of the Revolution. All the European revolutions have been but copies of the French arch-type. He first defines the Revolution in its essence. It is neither a date, nor a fact, nor a person, nor a form of government; neither is the Revolution the abolition of the *ancien régime*, with its privileges, immunities, and abuses. Hence it is not the conquest of personal freedom, civil and political, of equality before the law, or the removal of class disabilities. The Revolution was not a political, social, economical, and administrative reform, brought about at the close of last century, and bearing the name and date of the year '89. The author proves from history and authentic documents that the best of the reforms, which were desired by Louis XVI. himself, and by all classes very generally, were all accomplished on the 4th of August of that year. The Revolution lies, therefore, in taking to itself the credit of these changes, which were the work of the united goodwill of the clergy, the nobility, the bourgeoisie, and the king. This fact, we may observe, is often somewhat lost sight of by historians, who will speak of the Revolution as an almost necessary outbreak and reaction against oppression and servitude. It should be noted that there were two principles then at work; a legitimate desire for reforms and for a reasonable freedom, in accordance with the laws of religion and respect for authority, and a spirit of rebellion against both the one and the other, propagated by the Revolution. Its

programme was embodied in the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man," wherewith it sought to establish man's independence of all power, divine or human. This was the generating principle of the Revolution, which, as its ultimate consequence, aims at the destruction of all superiorities, whether divine or human, the annihilation of all social hierarchy—in fine, at universal anarchy. The Revolution, therefore, can never give true liberty, but must operate for the dissolution of all liberties, including the most sacred and inviolable.

It is easy to deduce what must be the character of its antidote, the counter-revolution, which cannot take an intermediate stand, one of the illusions of so-called moderate and conservative Liberalism, which would retain the principles and facts without proceeding to their logical issue. Yet the counter-revolution implies no return to the past, no restoration of the *ancien régime*, or of antiquated forms. It does not consist in regal absolutism, or in the personal unlimited sovereignty of one head. It frankly accepts all good reforms, all true progress, and entertains no chimerical notion of making a stream flow back towards its source, but, to use the words of the brave Count Albert de Mun, it desires to replace the crumbling social edifice on its legitimate basis, opposing to the declaration of the rights of man the solemn promulgation of the rights of God.

Want of space forbids our indicating in more detail the line of argument pursued in this striking article. We must also refrain from doing more than drawing attention to two articles in the *Scuola Cattolica* of the 30th of June and 31st of July, which bear on the same subject, considered from a somewhat different point of view, and entitled "Il Parlamentarismo ed il buon Regime degli Stati." The object is to show that good government does not consist in the adoption of any precise form, but in the practical adoption of right and good principles. Good principles produce good laws, and render the condition of a people flourishing, whatever may be the external form of government. The writer next points out where these good principles are to be sought—namely, in a return to reverence for legitimate authority. The modern principle of liberty, as propounded by Liberalism, he proves, both argumentatively and by its patent results, to be a principle of decadence, and the present epoch he accordingly shows to be one of decadence and degeneration. Both articles deserve a careful perusal, and will apparently be followed by at least a third on the same topic.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. July, 1880. Paris.
The Embassy of Crequi to Rome and the Treaty of Pisa,
 1662-1664.

THIS long and carefully written article by M. Ch. Gérin, filled as it is with long extracts from original correspondence, can here only be summarized very briefly. The year 1662, he says, which

saw the Duke of Crequi enter Rome as ambassador-extraordinary of Louis XIV., is a sorrowful date in the history of the relations between the French Monarchy and the Holy See. That chance incident of the Corsican guard, distorted as it was by the pride of the King and by the personal spite of the Minister into an outrage, became the occasion of lamentable doings, the trace of which was never effaced. The occupation of Avignon, the six Articles of the Sorbonne in 1663, and the Treaty of Pisa, decided a religious policy from which Louis XIV. never departed. It is important, therefore, to determine the responsibility of each Court in the conflict of 1662. The fear of a new war alone prevented the Catholic powers from defending Alexander VII., and secret sympathy with him was not wanting even in France; and this much justice is due to historians that they were sparing of praise for the young French King.

The common opinion among fair historians is that the "terrible" affair of the 20th August (1662) was an unforeseen disturbance, in which the Corsican soldiers, provoked by the men of the French Embassy, took reprisals beyond the rights of lawful defence; that the Pontifical Government was absolutely a stranger to these doings, but offered from the first an honourable satisfaction; and that Louis XIV., by forcing from Alexander VII. his signature to the Treaty of Pisa under menace of an armed descent on the patrimony of St. Peter, gave the first indications of that unmeasured pride which, later on, roused all Europe against France. But a laureat of the Institute has lately published a book* which confidently asserts the opposite. The Pope, it says, had commanded "an abominable violation of the right of nations;" all was concerted between the Governor of Rome, the brother and the nephew of the Pope; the Imperial Cardinal obeyed "written orders" of Cardinal Chigi; the Pontifical Court "premeditated and secretly brought about" these "new Sicilian vespers." M. Chantelauze traces the beginnings of his story to the elevation of Alexander VII. Mazarin had first opposed, then, later on, helped his candidature. The Pope more readily remembered injuries than benefits, and marked the beginning of his reign by causing the long ruptures between his Court and that of France up to 1662. Much more of this sort is quoted and stigmatized by M. Gérin as absolutely erroneous. But M. Chantelauze has had recourse to the "Archives of Foreign Affairs," and found all this! 'Permission to consult the documents there, which was refused to M. Gérin in 1871, has now been accorded him, and he proceeds to refute the laureat of the Institute from his own authorities.

The true spirit and intentions of Louis are shown from his very first envoy to Rome after Mazarin's death; this envoy, M. D'Aubeville, had all sorts of instructions more or less imperious and dishonouring to the Pope. Only one article of his instructions showed a desire to please the Pope; the offer to favour the enterprise he so much desired—the league of Catholic princes against the Turks. But secret orders strictly prescribed to D'Aubeville "to elude signing the

* "Le Cardinal de Retz et ses Missions Diplomatiques à Rome." Par M. Chantelauze. Paris: Didier, 1879. Chapt. I. and II.

treaty, and to make difficulties *qui amusent l'affaire.*" The various letters to and fro between the King, and Lionne, and D'Auberville, and Crequi, &c., are a strange revelation of royal pride and duplicity on the one hand, and servility and ready villany on the other. There is abundant proof of the goodwill of the Pope for France and its young King; it was patent to all eyes. The King had only to cultivate it. The Abbé de Bourlemont wrote, in February, 1662, to Lionne, urging that he would so instruct Crequi, the coming ambassador, as to bring about goodwill by a deferential and kind behaviour. D'Eblène, commander of Malta, also wrote to Lionne in much stronger terms: the Pope, he said, would readily do everything he could for the King, "if only it be asked with moderation, without passion, and with the respect due to the Vicar of Christ." But before leaving Rome D'Auberville wantonly provoked quarrel and annoyance, amongst other things, by claiming immunities not even accorded to ambassadors (he was not an ambassador): and the choice of Crequi—with his "hauteur révoltante" (Voltaire)—and the instructions given to him, presaged no happy result. Crequi made his *début* at the Court of Rome with a personal affront to the Pope. The secret instructions of the King to this man were faithfully followed. M. Gérin says he has carefully read all the correspondence between Rome and France during the reign of Louis XIV., and can affirm that the Popes had a real and strong desire to please France; to live in union with King and clergy, &c. Irony and harshness mark the French side of the correspondence. The Court of France would have fully pardoned the Chigis if they would only have sold themselves to it; as Crequi had secret orders to propose to them! Besides intensifying by his letters the animosity of Louis and of Lionne, Crequi gave all sorts of offence to the Romans. He claimed lucrative and odious exemptions for the large band of insolent and brutal men he had brought with him. He extended the immunity (*inviolabilité*) of his residence to a large space in which he protected—"à prix d'argent"—criminals, bankrupts, smugglers, and others who might be wanted by the police or in the courts of the Pontifical States. Just before his advent the magistrates, in view of the arrival of the Queen of Sweden and her following, had increased the city guard, and had brought to Rome 200 Corsicans—*de piu migliori*—from the various garrisons. Crequi complained that chained convicts passed *en vue* of his palace; there was no other way for them, &c. The Pope represented to the King the dangers from the conduct and exactions of Crequi. One evening, towards the end of July (1662), a ruffian (*un spadassin*), one of those brought by the ambassador from France, attacked a patrol and, chiefly through their forbearance with him, took away their arms to the Farnese Palace; the guards had strict general orders never to fire. The King insisted on sympathizing with "un Français tout seul," who had thus bravely kept up his reputation (he had killed his man on the way to Rome). On the 20th of August, at about seven in the evening, three Corsican soldiers were walking in the Trastevere towards the Porta Settimania, and were abused by three Frenchmen whom they met. Eventually the French

crossed the Ponte Sisto at the point of the sword, and meeting other Corsicans taking the evening air called them, "B . . . gres de Corses, espions du Pape," and struck one of them. Chased by his comrades, these three ran to the Farnese Palace and brought thence a large crowd of *valets d'ambassade* armed with swords, pitchforks, sticks, &c. These marched back to seek the same Corsicans, but not meeting them they attacked two others quite innocent of the affair, and severely wounded one. The Corsicans, in their *caserne*, hearing this, rushed to the rescue, in spite of their officers, who forbade them taking arms or going out. The excited men marched around the Farnese Palace, and fired shots that killed several passers-by and wounded others. Crequi himself, returning home, and standing on a terrace to see the disturbance, had several shots whistling about his ears, but the night had fallen rapidly and he was not recognized. The ambassadress returning in her carriage, but without torches, was met by the infuriated Corsicans, and one of her pages shot—she retreated to the house of Cardinal D'Este. The governor of the city, having now learned of the tumult, arrived with soldiers and police, and it quickly ceased. The ambassadress returned to her palace amidst demonstrations of greatest respect. The Pope was the first to deplore *tantum scelus*. The Article details at great length the various accounts of this incident, and replies with documents to M. Chantelauze's statement that all was premeditated or connived at by the Chigis. Crequi persistently evaded all concerted action with the Papal Court to bring about legitimate satisfaction, &c. Lionne made capital out of this incident to take vengeance for his disappointment of 1655, and *he* ruled the whole affair for the King from now to the Treaty of Pisa. The nuncio at Paris was banished before the Pope's account could reach him. The dispositions brought by the French to the negotiations at San Quirico, in Tuscany, between Crequi and the Pontifical agents, were hatred of the Chigis, determination to browbeat and humiliate the Pope. They spread calumnies against him in every European Court, menaced him, and outraged his Ministers. An armed invasion of his provinces was out of all proportion with the incidents of the 20th of August. Details of the armament are given, taken from papers in the War Office, and show that it was no vain demonstration. But all the States of the Peninsula dreaded a descent of the French on Italy. To save Italy the Pope submitted to conditions humiliating to himself and his relatives, and sadly indicative of Louis's abuse of power. Long after, under Clement IX., Lionne spoke of the "solemn treaty" (of Pisa) and the King's motive—*de choquer le Pape*. Bossuet stigmatized the policy of the King as one "d'humilier Rome." The Articles of 1682 were precluded by the six Articles imposed by the King on the Sorbonne at the height of the quarrel about the Corsican guard. Long quotations from original and hitherto hidden letters are the chief charm of this excellent article.

St. Francis Xavier a Frenchman.

THIS Article is from the pen of the Abbé Soubielle, and may be briefly noticed, as it goes to destroy the notion, often expressed, that the marvellous character of the Apostle of the Indies was peculiarly the result of his Spanish nature elevated by grace. The writer does not pretend to have discovered that St. Francis was not born, as everybody says, at Xavier, near Pampeluna, and consequently in Spain. But on the principle that a man is not a horse if born in a stable, the Saint is a Frenchman because his family is French, his father a Frenchman, the home of the family on the French side of the Pyrenees, and all the father's interests and affection with that home from which political duties held him, sorely against his will. In Spain children bear the names of both father and mother. St. Francis's father was Don Juan de Jasso, his mother Maria d'Azpilcueta y Xavier. They had six children, Miguel de Xavier, Juan d'Azpilcueta y Xavier, Madelena de Xavier, Violenta de Xavier, Anna de Xavier, and, last but greatest, Francisco de Xavier, born in April, 1506. Thus, strange to say, none of the six children bore the father's name, and of the mother's two titles only one ever bore the first, Azpilcueta. But of the three estates, Jasso, or Jaxu, "is in Basse-Navarre, and formed part of the diocese of Bayonne, and is in the present department of Basse-Pyrenées." This was the father's home and the home of his children, no matter where they chanced to be born, whether at his estate at Xavier, or Idocin, or Azpilcueta. "From this fact it results that the true and legal and real country (*patrie*) of Francis Xavier is on this side the mountains. The illustrious Apostle of the Indies is not of Spanish origin. It was French soil that had the honour of producing him." The enthusiastic writer has been to Jaxu, and to his astonishment and delight has found there a tradition still living, though weakened by the great Revolution, about the home of a great saint—a respect and even reverence for that home (*c'est un veritable culte religieux qu'on a eu de tout temps pour elle*).

It is a real difficulty, he acknowledges, that the Saint has always been considered of Spanish origin. But before dealing with it, note that the children are not called either Jasso or Azpilcueta, both of which are in the diocese of Bayonne. Why then Xavier, which is unmistakably transmontane and Spanish? The writer has found in the great *Anales de Navarra* (t. v. lib. xxxv.) that "our Saint was always named Don Francis de Jaxu et Xavier up to the time of his becoming a companion of S. Ignatius."

The key to all the difficulty is, that the Life of St. Francis Xavier was never written till fifty years after his death. The first to write it were Horace Turselin in 1596 and John de Lucena in 1598—one a Roman and the other a Portuguese, both removed by time and country from the scene of Xavier's youth. They accepted certain changes which had taken place since his birth without perhaps a knowledge that they had occurred, as one might write of the Duke of Wellington without naming once Arthur Wellesley. What change had taken

place? Juan de Jasso's high position, qualities, and loyalty fastened him to the Court at Pampeluna of Jean d'Albert and Catherine (French sovereigns), who were crowned in 1494. Navarre stretched on both sides the Pyrenees, but the duties of Court kept Juan and other Basse-Navarre noblemen away from their homes. Thus the children came to be born in Spain, but the lord of Jaxu went to his own French home at every opportunity, and generally took the youngest, Francis, with him. In 1512 Navarre was suddenly conquered by the Duke of Alba for Ferdinand. Jean d'Albert and Catherine, together with a long suite of their faithful followers—Jean de Jaxu among them—fled to this side of the mountains. Jean de Jaxu and all his family remained unflinchingly faithful to the royal cause. And when, in 1521, a French army entered and retook Navarre, at the siege of Pampeluna the brothers and relatives of Xavier were with the French, and Ignatius Loyola among the Spanish defenders! And again, when in the same year Navarre was again and finally taken by the Spaniards, the family of Jean de Jaxu were in danger of being treated as rebels. But they received from Charles V. a solemn pardon and reinstatement in their rights and possessions *in Spain* on two conditions—that they all returned within fifteen days to reoccupy those Spanish estates, and that they took the necessary oaths. This act of Charles V., dated Burgos, 1524, is still preserved. The conditions were accepted on the recommendation of the father, Jean de Jaxu, who soon after died in his own French Navarre, and, the writer hopes, at that château of Jaxu where he had been born. The family were now Spanishized, if we may say so: the title and the French paternal succession (*la souche principale de leur noblesse*) were abandoned at least until better days should come: and of their Spanish titles, that of Xavier was the noblest, so they assumed it. And when their youngest brother, François de Jaxu et Xavier, who was all this while studying at Paris, became a disciple of the already famous penitent of Loyola, they doubtless desired that the high honour and renown his ardent nature would be sure to win for himself should not be won to a name they had been obliged to relinquish. And Francis, then thirty years of age, and a Jaxu hitherto, became once for all Francis Xavier. When, only a few years before, Francis Xavier was about to receive his M.A. of the University of Paris, and as a nobleman wished to show his proof of nobility (*las pruebas de Hidalguia y Nobleza*) that document contained nothing about Azpilcueta or Xavier, but traced his Basse-Navarre genealogy and his descent as a scion of the house of Jaxu.

When the Jesuit novices make their pilgrimage to the *berceau* of St. Ignatius, they stop at Lascor (the Basque name of Jaxu) to make *une station pieuse*. Do they know that Xavier lived there and sanctified it? “*Désormais, ils en auront la certitude . . . la patrie de l'apôtre des Indes . . . est une terre Française!*”

Polybiblion. Revue Bibliographique Universelle. Partie Littéraire, Août, 1880. Partie Technique, Août, 1880. Paris: Aux Bureaux, 35, Rue de Grenelle.

IT is no more than a duty to make known, as widely as our pages may, this deserving bibliographical journal. Any such laudable Catholic effort claims recognition and all friendly aid. The execution of the task set itself by the Société Bibliographique is so excellent that no English Catholic reader who desires to be *au courant* with foreign literature ought to be without it. A brief description of the nature of its contents will, even if somewhat dry, best show what advantages it offers. The *Polybiblion* appears on the 10th and 15th of each month in two distinct parts, the literary and the technical.

The literary part contains, first, a long article, noticing in a connected form, and briefly criticizing, the chief books that have appeared since its last similar article, in some one branch of literature; one month we have theology, another light literature, again history or philosophy, Scripture, jurisprudence, even sylviculture.

Those on philosophy, by Léonce Couture, are very valuable to all engaged in teaching, or who care to follow the growth and struggles of Catholic philosophy. This article is followed by brief, but sufficient, *comptes rendus*—all signed, by the way—on the best recent books, classed under Theology, Science and Art, History, Belles Lettres, &c. These are followed by a *bulletin* which gives still shorter notices of works of less importance; then we have a chronicle containing a necrology devoted to literary characters, lay and clerical, notices and reports of literary societies, of every important book sale, &c. &c., while a space is devoted each month to notes and queries. The technical part is a list of the titles of recent books of all languages classed under subjects, and giving both their publishers and price, but without any criticism or comment, except that all non-Catholic books are distinguished by an asterisk. It is a technical Index, as its name imports. This Index is followed by three most useful *sommaires*: a summary of the contents of the current French and foreign magazines (English, German, Italian, American, &c.); next a summary of the *Memoires* of French learned societies; and lastly, a summary of the articles in the leading Paris journals; whilst, to complete its many-sidedness, there is a space devoted to *demandes et offres*, a medium for much useful exchange or purchase of needed but scarce books. The literary part can be separately subscribed for at fifteen francs per annum, and the technical part at ten francs, or the two together for twenty francs a year.

It would be entirely to the advantage of English publishers to send copies of their works to the *Polybiblion*; it is widely used in France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere. To literary men in general, to authors, professors, and students in these islands, the volumes of the *Polybiblion* will yield most valuable information, and often spare a vast consumption of time and labour in search for authors, or for a trustworthy appreciation of the value of their labours.

Notices of Books.

The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. By W. J. FITZ-PATRICK, LL.D., M.R.I.A., &c. New Edition, greatly enlarged and enriched. Two Vols. Dublin: Messrs. Duffy & Sons; M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.

MR. FITZ-PATRICK'S "Life of Dr. Doyle," published some eighteen years ago, has not only been long out of print, but eagerly sought for, and considered by booksellers as "very scarce." An American edition, by Donohoe, of Boston, was destroyed by fire in 1869. The author has therefore hurried this new edition, which he has been enabled to enrich with many valuable letters and details that were inaccessible to him at the time of his first writing. Every page of these two volumes gives evidence of Mr. Fitz-Patrick's zeal and industry. Among the letters which he has added to this edition are several from Dr. Doyle to Lord Monteaigle. These, he tells us, have come into his hands after a negotiation protracted for twenty years, and the book is an accumulation of letters and anecdotes and information from an endless variety of persons and places that must represent an almost incredible amount of patient labour.

James Warren Doyle, famous under his literary signature of J. K. L., was born at New Ross (co. Wexford) in 1786, entered the Augustinian novitiate in 1805, went to Carlow College in 1813, and, from his professor's chair there, was consecrated Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in November, 1819. He died in 1834, and during the fifteen years of his episcopate won for himself a name that must for ever be written in the history of the Church in this kingdom. Bishop Milner died eight years before him, but they may well be mentioned together as men whom Providence specially raised up, the one in the English the other in the Irish episcopate, as champions—sorely needed—of our holy religion, and pioneers of Catholic Emancipation. Our English bishop died three years before that happy event, but Dr. Doyle laboured so zealously and so successfully as to share with O'Connell the glory of winning it. How proud Ireland should be of him we may learn from Cardinal Wiseman, who, speaking at Carlow in 1857, said:—

There was one object there, a tomb, which reminded him how much the awakening of a powerful religious feeling in Ireland was due to that great and noble theologian, the pride of his country, J. K. L. He remembered, when young himself, reading the glowing letters which awakened anew an enthusiastic feeling in every one who perused them, which, while they confounded the enemies of the faith, encouraged its friends, and which might be said to be the first trumpet note of that outspoken Catholicity and bold avowal of faith which had since become the general law of the country. He remembered the enemies of their faith perplexed—struck

by wonder at the man whose courage, and ability, and address, and learning, and eloquence, enabled him to speak so powerfully in defence and vindication of his religion.

Any biography of such a man not persistently inefficient would secure attention, but the popularity of Mr. Fitz-Patrick's is undoubtedly due in a great measure to the peculiar character and attraction of his method and style. Dr. Doyle was not only a political athlete, the champion of Catholic rights, a bishop of rigid rule, a preacher of surpassing eloquence, but on ordinary occasions and in social intercourse and domestic concerns his manner was generally marked by dignity and solemnity and a certain *noli-me-tangere* air that inspired awe and checked hilarity. At meetings of his clergy, we are told, he would rise from table as soon as dinner was ended, remarking, "These gentlemen will not enjoy themselves whilst I remain." And these gentlemen were the Irish priests of sixty years ago—of readiest wit, and, in spite of persecution, of irrepressible spirits. Yet Mr. Fitz-Patrick has not chosen to represent this lofty figure in the pose of a hero unconscious of human weaknesses and needs, and superior to human foibles, nor has he constructed an artistic biography, in which only telling points and valuable lines are preserved and skilfully interwoven. Not to speak of noted secular biographies, there is here no attempt at that admirable grouping of materials and highly wrought style which distinguished "Grace Ramsay's" Life of Bishop Grant of Southwark. Mr. Fitz-Patrick has rather followed in the footsteps of Boswell. As far as possible he has gathered together everything he could gather, things notable and trifling, directly or indirectly concerning his hero—they are here in chronological order and left for the reader to digest. He has searched—with marvellous assiduity and success—everywhere for letters, anecdotes, speeches, remembrances; they are here strung on the slight thread of his own narrative. He quotes Rousseau on the value of *bagatelles* and Xenophon's "the sayings of great men in their familiar discourse and amidst their wine, have something in them which is worthy to be transmitted to posterity." The very abstemious Dr. Doyle could never be taken "amidst his wine," but we have plenty of his familiar discourse, and we have an abundance of that of his P.P.'s and curates—this often post-prandial—to enliven the story. Thus the life of a most holy and a most dignified bishop is not only a page of history that may not be neglected, but it has become an attractive and entertaining book that sparkles with wit. The author, indeed, seems to think wit a duty; for after a few rather stiff pages (dry, however, only by comparison), he will often abruptly intrude—"by way of contrast, a comic anecdote or two may now be told" (vol. i. 398). We do not wish, however, to quarrel with Mr. Fitz-Patrick's book for this good-natured excess of gossip and story; for, besides the amusement they afford, these form valuable *memoirs pour servir* for the historian of the period. Especially well do they depict the character of that past generation of the clergy in Ireland that intervened between the first relaxation of the penal code and final emancipation—an

unique character of strangely blended wit, child-like simplicity, and obstinate eccentricity.

Dr. Doyle's singularly innocent life, unrelenting zeal, constant labour, self-sacrificing devotedness to the Church and poor, justify Mr. Fitz-Patrick's treatment of him. Dr. Doyle would have been a hero to his valet if he had had one. His private and friendly letters are all dignified, and have a Johnsonian choice of sounding words. Even Goldsmith's remark to Johnson, "If you were to write a fable about fishes, Doctor, you would make the little fishes talk like whales," comes to mind when we read the following—we presume the ball was "sent" by accident—

When at last (his new cathedral) was completed, one of the pupils (of Carlow College) sent a ball through its handsome stained-glass window. Dr. Doyle was deeply pained, and extremely angry. The boys were at study when he entered the hall, and a round of plaudits was, as usual, beginning to greet him, when he sternly cried, "Stop! I came not here to court your empty applause. You have committed an act from which the tramps of the road would shrink. My fine window has been smashed, and I shall be obliged to expend £10 upon a wickerwork to shield it from a repetition of your barbarity" (vol. ii. 308).

After that we can appreciate the following :

He used to accost men and boys on visitation days to test their knowledge of the Christian doctrine. One fellow seemed impenetrably stupid. "You're an inert mass of matter!" exclaimed the Bishop, disdainfully. "Thank you, my lordship," acknowledged the man, who appeared to think that Dr. Doyle had said something complimentary (vol. i. 399).

The volumes, as we have said, abound in letters written by the venerable bishop. In spite of what the author and his critics have said, we adhere to our opinion that the political ones are incomparably the best. There are numerous letters, too, given in their entirety from the address to the signature, which swell the book beyond their worth; they ought to have been summarized. For the obvious reason that our notice must be short, we shall not quote any of those political letters. From the private correspondence we select a few passages from one letter, as interesting, and needing no introductory key to their meaning. It is dated from the Bog of Allen, May, 1823 :—

I am here placed in the centre of an immense bog, which takes its name from a small hill, under whose declivity the chapel and house are built where I now write. What perhaps interests me most in the wide and vast expanse of the Bog of Allen is that it afforded, for nearly two centuries, a place of refuge to the apostolic men who have gone before me preaching the faith and administering the sacraments to a people in every respect worthy of such pastors. The haunts and retreats frequented by the bishops of Kildare in the times of persecution are still pointed out by the aged inhabitants of these marshes with a sort of pride mingled with piety; and they say—"There he administered confirmation; here he held an assembly of the clergy; on that hill he ordained some young priests, whom he sent to France, to Spain, or to Italy; and we remember, or we heard, how he lived in yonder old walls in common with the young priests whom he prepared for the mission. He sometimes left us with a staff in his hand, and, being absent months, we feared he would

never return; but he always came back, until he closed his days amongst us. Oh! if you saw him; he was like St. Patrick himself." What think you, my dear friend, must be my reflections at hearing of the danger, and labours, and virtues of these good men? and what a reproach to my own sloth, and sensuality, and pride! . . . Their spirit seems to dwell here, and in these remote and uncultivated districts there are found a purity and simplicity of morals truly surprising.

After a long description of the anxiety of the people to approach the sacraments during his visitation, &c., he continues:—

When I had written the above, this good old man, my host (the late Rev. John Lawlor), summoned me to take a cup of coffee. I should have preferred conversing with you to the end of the sheet, but I have few occasions of practising obedience, so I availed myself of the opportunity offered, rendered more sweet by the mixture of coffee. Such gall is not always infused into the cup which our superiors mingle; and if it were, it would not be like the chalice of the Lord. This superior of mine is quite an antique character; he is past seventy, of a robust, active, and athletic frame, and rude and simple in his manners, like those we read of in olden times. He has spent nearly forty years in the ministry in this neighbourhood, and has retained his first fervour and piety unimpaired. His books of piety are literally worn out with use, while the rest of his library is eaten with the moths, or have been removed by some of his literary friends who supposed they did him no injury by depriving him of what he seldom used. He counts himself the last of his brethren, and discovers merit in every one except himself. He sometimes rails at his people who return him the compliment; but he never inflicts a wound which he does not run to bind up and heal. I saw him at mass to-day, the most humble and devout of all who surrounded him, kneeling amongst the children upon the ground (vol. i. 239).

On Dr. Doyle's public life we must touch very lightly, partly because it is so well known in its main outlines, partly because no outline possible here could represent Mr. Fitz-Patrick's spirited and exhaustive account. No adequate acquaintance with the history of Catholic Emancipation can exclude Dr. Doyle. It was his pen that pleaded with statesmen and the public with such learning, political foresight, and lawyerly ability. It was Dr. Doyle who put O'Connell into Clare (vol. ii. 76). It was his famous evidence before the Lords in 1825 that broke through the long accumulated and thick mists of the great English Protestant tradition against Catholics. Friends and foes had but one criticism of this marvellous evidence. "Are you examining Dr. Doyle?" asked a peer of the Duke of Wellington. "No, but Doyle is examining us," said the Duke. Lord Lurgan in his place in Parliament confessed that he was converted to the Catholic cause by Dr. Doyle's evidence; other members made a similar confession; and another peer said that, in his examination, "Dr. Doyle as far surpassed O'Connell as O'Connell surpassed other men."

Mr. Fitz-Patrick thinks himself called on to defend every view and statement of Dr. Doyle; this is not necessary—though the defence is always clever. He acknowledges in the Preface that J. K. L. did not escape the Gallican tone prevalent for twenty or thirty years after the French Revolution in the writings of Irish ecclesiastics, and that

Dr. Doyle, if now living, would most probably not hold some of the views to which he once gave expression. He would not, for example, propound afresh his scheme for the union of the Protestant and Catholic Churches—a scheme which Dr. Milner regarded as “wrong and productive of mischief,” and rendered still more dangerous from the “high character of the proposer.” Dr. Milner also opposed the Emancipation Bill of 1821 almost as strenuously as Dr. Doyle worked for it; but Mr. Fitz-Patrick’s admissions (vol. i. 172) alone show that Dr. Milner was in the right. In those troublous and dark days it was not easy even for such men as these to see clearly and ahead. After emancipation had been won, Dr. Doyle and O’Connell went different ways—the latter agitated for repeal. This disagreement occupies a large portion of the second volume, and is not less interesting than useful. We here specially admire and feel grateful to Mr. Fitz-Patrick for his industry in collecting and patience in carefully detailing so vast an accumulation of valuable and formerly private matter. The bishop was right and the Liberator was mistaken, but even in the heat of opposition O’Connell could not express his dissent from Dr. Doyle without a tribute to his greatness and his patriotism.

The effect of Dr. Doyle’s writings on the public, both Catholic and Protestant, is a tribute to his learning and eloquence better than any words. He won the ear and even persuaded in Protestant England—and that when pleading the wrongs of the Catholics of Ireland! His famous “Vindication,” in 1823, not only excited the utmost attention of enemies, but roused the despairing prostrate Catholics and electrified them into new life. Then followed—under the same signature of J. K. L.—his “Essay on Catholic Claims,” his “Twelve Letters on the State of Ireland,” and his numerous and magnificent replies to almost countless opponents. A man of vast and varied reading, of a memory almost preternaturally retentive and quick, of keen logical power, ready wit, utter unconsciousness of fear, and writing on the side of justice and truth—J. K. L. was irresistible. Sydney Smith, who entertained genuine admiration for him, wrote to him once urging him—“as the only man in Ireland able to do so”—to answer a bigoted charge of Archbishop Magee. “There he will find his match in J. K. L., and I will immolate the beast in the *Edinburgh Review*.” Mr. Fitz-Patrick very pertinently remarks—“To find an Irish Catholic bishop and an Anglican dignitary conspiring for the overthrow of a Protestant prelate was in those days a novel spectacle” (vol. ii. 15).

During all this long period of fierce polemic, of vast political correspondence—for every English peer or M.P. who wanted to know the truth, at last, about Roman Catholics wrote to Dr. Doyle—he was a model of a zealous and devoted bishop. Pastorals, rules for his clergy, letters of guidance, sermons—sermons that can never be forgotten by those who heard them—visitations, confirmations, retreats, and long hours at the altar-rails, not occasionally but regularly hearing the confessions of the poor people who flocked to him; comforting the

afflicted, for he had a tender heart, bleeding for the distressed poor—such was the more private side of the life of this noble prelate, “a glory to the Irish Church,” who literally worked himself to death. Against secret societies, whether Ribbonmen, or Whiteboys, or whatever else, Dr. Doyle raised always a voice of reprobation. They were to him “vile and wicked conspiracies,” and O’Connell said his pastoral against them in 1822 did more to quiet the rising insurrection than twenty Insurrection Acts in full operation (vol. i. 202). We may only quote one touching exclamation—“Shall Ireland, my dear but infatuated brethren, be always doomed to suffer, and to suffer through the blindness or malice of her own children?” There were many disputes in those days between regulars and bishops: Dr. Doyle sided with and defended the former (vol. i. 68). His zeal and efforts for piety and discipline shine in nearly every page of his Life. We can only refer to his vigorous writings and words on the vexed education question; his indignant denunciations of tithes (vol. i. 305), and as a specimen of his learning and skill as a lawyer his masterly letter on bankruptcy (vol. i. 136).

Mr. Fitz-Patrick’s *magnum opus* is a book of rare interest, in spite of some repetition and a want of smoothness resulting chiefly from so many new pieces having been merely patched on to the old. It is a work that, once read, will be constantly referred to for all sorts of valuable information relating to the period it covers. To condense much eulogy into a word: it is a biography worthy of its illustrious subject.

We are justified in adding a few words of minor criticism. A standard work like this should come as near to perfection as may be, and we trust the author will soon have the pleasure of preparing a third edition. There ought to be a preliminary Table of Contents; and, as the Life is told in chronological order, if the dates were always placed at the head of each page it would be a very welcome boon. The book has been carefully printed, and we have noticed few errors: the name of the Rev. Joseph Berington, however, is twice wrongly spelled with two r’s. The book would wear still another charm if a good portrait of the illustrious bishop graced its frontispiece, instead of the poor and badly executed cut that now disfigures it. And finally, we pass to a point of greater importance: a work of such magnitude should have a full and careful Index. The present Index we know, to our annoyance, is defective and very incorrect. It is puzzling to think how it escaped supervision. Under the heading Doyle, for example, “on the policy of O’Connell, 250,” should be 246. “Conflict on Poor Law Question, 364” begins at 362. Again: “Anecdotes, 456, 484—has an interview with the Viceroy on the same subject, 448.” Page 448 records no interview with the Viceroy on anecdotes or on any other subject. A charity sermon, indexed at p. 465, is really at p. 473. Dr. Doyle is said to “accept a coadjutor” at p. 498, whereas his election begins at 497. Out of six entries under RICE, T. SPRING, three are wrong: and some of the entries in other places we can’t find at all without reading the book through again.

In the January number of this REVIEW (page 260), Dr. Bellesheim notices that Professor Brück of Mayence is publishing, in the pages of the *Katholik*, "Studies on the Emancipation of Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland." We trust the Professor has possession of this "Life of Dr. Doyle"—a *sine quâ non* for such studies. We make the remark because of our English books which treat of that event, and the struggles which led to it, too many of them, both Catholic and Protestant, seem to ignore the supreme influence of J. K. L. And the story of Mr. Plunket's Bill of 1821 and the actual Emancipation Bill of 1829 are told in Canon Flanagan's "History" without even a mention of the name of Dr. Doyle—he might never have existed.

The Lay Folks Mass Book; or, The Manner of hearing Mass, with Rubrics and Devotions for the People, in Four Texts; with Appendix, Notes, and Glossary. By THOMAS FREDERICK SIMMONS, M.A., Canon of York, Rector of Dalton Holme. Early English Text Society. 1879.

THIS work deserves a fuller notice than we are at present able to give of it. Canon Simmons has had the good fortune to find a new subject to illustrate in mediæval life, and he has done his work heartily and well. How did the more educated laity assist at the holy sacrifice of the mass? What helps to devotion had they besides the rosary beads? These are the subjects to which Canon Simmons's book gives a new and very interesting answer. Several years ago he undertook to edit for the Early English Text Society a MS. to which Mr. Maskell had called attention. In doing so he became convinced that it was a translation, or rather a dialectic modification of another translation. His long researches for the originals have been unsuccessful, but not fruitless. He has found several other versions of his text, and has had time to accumulate a large mass of liturgical and philological illustration of his subject, so that, instead of a small volume of about 50 pages, which would have been enough to fulfil his original design, we have a thick volume of more than 500 pages, overflowing with details of Catholic life and devotion. As Canon Simmons has not diluted or neutralized all this by sneers or sarcasms, some alarm appears to have been felt in certain quarters that the Early English Text Society was becoming one for the propagation of Popery. Was it in anticipation of this fear, or merely for his own satisfaction, that the president of the Society, Mr. Furnivall, wrote, in the Report for 1879, regarding the reprint of Wyclif—"Not till 1880, 496 years after his death, will the 'nation of shopkeepers' have thought fit to complete the works, in his mother-tongue, of their great reforming countryman, who sowed the seed that Huss and Luther ripened, the harvest of which has so enriched the world, and given to England all that is worthiest in its life and faith?"

Mr. Furnivall complains of the scanty support received by the Early English Text Society. We should gladly see the number of its members doubled and trebled; but invitations in the above style are not

calculated to win Catholics. Not that we can object to the reprint of Wyclif by a society of which the greater number of the members are Protestant. But a mixed society at the present day has a right to complain of the tone assumed by its president in matters foreign to its immediate scope. Canon Simmons has been guided by a very different principle. We transcribe some words from his preface to "The Lay Folks Mass Book" as a contrast to those of Mr. Furnivall: "The circumstance that I am a clergyman of the Reformed Church . . . has not appeared to me to be a reason why I should accompany the notes with the running commentary of a controversialist. It is from no failure of loyalty in this matter, but it is due to the Early English Text Society—and the list will show that there are members who do not belong to the Church of England—that I have been careful to avoid the expression of my own opinion upon points which are the subject of religious controversy; and I have done this, not because I had not formed opinions in respect to them, but because I had long arrived at very definite conclusions, and I thought I had no right to obtrude them upon my fellow members, who had not joined the Society in the expectation of any such encounter" (Preface, p. 15). Canon Simmons has been faithful to these rules. Nothing can be more courteous to Catholics than his tone throughout, though he gives no reason to think—and we say it with regret—that he shares our faith, or is even tending towards it. We feel obliged to dissent from a few of his historical statements—*e.g.*, regarding the late development of the doctrine of Concomitance (pp. 380, 225), the "overruling and abrogation of our Lord's command" (p. 381) to receive both species in Holy Communion, the "gradual shifting of the central point" of the sacrifice (p. 231), the change of character of the sacrifice itself" (p. 260). Yet in such doctrinal statements, and they are very few, there is no controversy, still less a word offensive to those who hold other views. There is so much real erudition throughout this work, such general accuracy in matters of fact of the most minute character, and such familiarity with Catholic liturgical writers, that any objection made by Canon Simmons to Catholic doctrine or practice deserves careful attention, and should he publish the doctrinal work on the Holy Eucharist on which he is said to be engaged, the Catholic theologian could not desire a more candid or learned adversary or respondent.

We must now merely indicate the contents of this work with the purpose of leading our readers to procure and study it. The title given to these old English rhymes by Canon Simmons has been invented or composed by himself, and aptly expresses their nature. They form a manual of instructions on the various parts of the mass with appropriate prayers for the hearer or assistant, and are not intended for the celebrant or his minister. The treatise is written throughout in rhyme, generally in eight syllable iambic metre. The prayers much resemble in character those which the late Father Furniss composed for a children's mass, or those which have been sung in the vernacular throughout Germany ever since the days of Canisius, in accompaniment to the Latin liturgy used by the celebrant at the altar. The mediæval

English rhymes were not, however, intended for congregational use, but for private recitation. There were several reasons for writing the prayers in rhyme. They were thus soon learnt by heart, and easily retained in memory, which would have been no little advantage in an unlighted church at an early hour of the morning :—

How thou at tho messe thi tym shuld spende
 Have I told : now wil I ende.
 Tho robryk is gode um while to loke,
 Tho praiers to con withouten boke.

After a few recitations the prayers could have been learnt even by those unable to read. We are therefore not surprised that this method of praying became very popular. Canon Simmons gives his reasons for the opinion that the original was written in Norman-French in the twelfth century, and that our English translation appeared towards the end of the thirteenth in a northern dialect. He has found six versions in various dialects, midland, northern, and southern, of different ages, and one apparently intended for the use of lay monks. The devotion is thus proved to have extended from France throughout the whole of England, and to have lasted from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Mr. Simmons prints four texts in full, with occasional references to two others, one of which is only a fragment. Afterwards he gives five specimens of Bidding Prayers according to the York use, from the tenth century to the sixteenth; the York "Hours of the Cross" in Latin, and old English rhymed translation; the "York Order of the Mass" in Latin, with a modern translation; various authorized expositions of doctrine regarding the Eucharist both in Latin and English; a beautiful English treatise on "Preparation for Communion," written about A.D. 1400; a rhymed treatise on the manner and meed of hearing mass, and Lydgate's "Merita Missæ." Even this list of choice documents gives a very imperfect notion of the value of the book as a repertory of English devotional literature, for Canon Simmons has illustrated almost every line of the piece he is editing by parallel quotations from all the sources that have been brought to light of late years by English scholars, and from many rare old books and unpublished MSS. His Notes and Illustrations fill 250 pages. He has also a learned Introduction, a very full Glossary, and, to crown all, an Index that is almost perfect, and throws order into what would be otherwise a wilderness, or rather a pathless and interminable forest.

Independently of its antiquarian interest, this book suggests some practical questions. Are our modern missals for the laity perfect? Was it wise to abandon altogether the versified prayers of our forefathers? Is there not a large class to whom a rhymed prayer-book would still be very useful?

There is no doubt that verse much assists the memory, and that the rhymes serve like *pins* to fix what has once been learnt in the mind. The commandments of God and the precepts of the Church are still taught throughout France in old-fashioned rhymes that date many centuries back. But in the Middle Ages a more general use was made of this principle. Several versions of the Lord's Prayer and the

Angelic Salutation, in English rhyme, belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have come down to us.* A very interesting prayer-roll of the twelfth or thirteenth century, in Anglo-Norman French verse, was printed by Mr. Bently.† Many of the publications of the E. E. T. Society, but especially Myrc's "Instructions to Parish Priests," bear testimony to the popularity of conveying information and teaching devotion by means of verse. And the present treatise not only originated a widespread practice, but bears evidence that it took up and developed an existing devotion. The Apostles' Creed and the Confiteor are in a different metre from the rest, as if older pieces already in popular use had been incorporated by the author. And in giving a prayer to be said at the Elevation it is distinctly said that many forms of salutation of our Lord were already well-known :—

Swilk prayere then thou make
 Als lykes best the to take.
 Sondry men prayes sere
 Ilk mon on his best manere.
 If thou of ane be unpurwayde
 I set here ane that may be sayde,
 Thof I merk hit here in lettir
 Thou may change hit for a bettir (pp. 38-40).

There is abundant evidence from other sources that the people were taught forms of prayer and adoration to be used at the Elevation in Mass, or on meeting the Blessed Sacrament as it was being carried to the sick. We were lately informed by a priest in the Highlands that the Catholic people have rhymed forms of prayer in Gaelic verse that they use on similar occasions. These have been derived from no printed book, and have probably been handed down from long before the Reformation. It might be worthy of consideration whether an elementary form of Christian doctrine could be made in verse for the use of such children and grown-up people as cannot read, or a prayer-book composed for those who can read, but who would like to learn certain prayers by heart and merely use the book to help the memory ; or whether all would not be benefited by using silently at the Elevation or Benediction words so reverent and tender as were put on the lips of our ancestors :—

Loved be Thou, King,
 And blessed be Thou, King
 Of all Thy gifts good.
 And thanked be Thou, King
 Jesu, all my joying,
 That for me spilt Thy blood
 And died upon the Rood.
 Thou give me grace to sing
 The song of Thy loving.

We thank Canon Simmons for giving us these devout old prayers and for the labour he has bestowed on them. We shall await with

* See Wright and Halliwell's "Reliquiæ Antiquæ."
 † In the "Excerpta Historica."

impatience the publication of Archbishop Thoresby's "Catechism in Latin and English" which he has promised us through the same Society. T. E. B.

The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE and the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL. *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.* London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

THIS book represents a new idea in commentaries. It is meant entirely for preachers, and the whole treatment is homiletical. The design is to furnish a short explanation of the difficult passages in each chapter, and afterwards under the heading of "homiletics" to show how the different paragraphs may be turned to pulpit use. To this is added a selection of homilies, more or less condensed, by different authors. To execute this plan and to apply it to the whole Bible the work is portioned out to a number of contributors, mostly Church of England ministers. This is the only volume that has been completed. The work is somewhat pretentious. It professes to give "all that the student can desire" and "all that the preacher can require." This is supposed to be done in the exegetical and homiletical sections, and the homilies are thrown in over and above. The present volume can hardly be said to satisfy such large requirements. The exegesis is certainly the best part. This is the work of the Rev. G. Rawlinson, whose historical knowledge makes him a valuable expositor of *Ezra*; still the space at his command seems too limited—many questions are omitted and others but slightly touched. The result is that, though a commentary intended for the clergy, it is decidedly inferior to the "Speaker's," which is meant for the laity. The homiletical treatment is somewhat dry and commonplace, with endless divisions. The writers seem to possess neither imagination enough for mystical teaching, nor memory enough for patristic moralizing. We pity the curates, and still more the flocks, whose Sunday pastures lie amid such a valley of dry bones. There is more unction in one page of *Cornelius à Lapide* than in the whole of this volume. Yet it must be confessed that, though the homiletics are dry, the homilies themselves are often profoundly sensational. Take, for instance, the following rhapsody on sympathy:—"This word, standing for a sweeter thing, has not two faces. Its face is one, and is aye (*sic*) turned to the light, to love, to the good. 'Tis a damning fact indeed among the possibilities and crises of human nature, and of the 'deceitful and desperately wicked' human heart, when sympathy haunts it no more, has forsaken it as its *habitat*, hovers over it no longer, fans the air for it with its beneficent pinion for the last, last time! Oh for the Stygian murkiness, the sepulchral hollowness, the pestilent contagion, that is thenceforward the lot of that heart. . . . The wounds of sympathy are at any time of the deadly kind, and it only needs that there should be one too many, when at last she will breathe out her long-suffering, stricken spirit! For him who is so forsaken, it may well be that he 'sits down to drink.' For the knell is already heard, and 'to-morrow he dies'" (p. 82).

Corona Catholica ad Petri Successoris pedes oblata, de Summi Pontificis Leonis XIII. assumptione Epigramma, CAROLO KENT auctore, in quinquaginta Linguis. London : C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

THIS elegant volume is a veritable "curiosity of literature," and we are sure many Catholics of different nationalities will be glad to possess it. Mr. Kent has written an epigram on the accession of Leo. XIII., founded on the epithets applying to him and to his predecessor Pius IX. in the well-known "prophecy of St. Malachy." This styles Pope Pius IX. "Crux de Cruce" (Cross on Cross), and the present Holy Father, "Lumen in Cælo" (Light from Heaven). The epigram is—

Through the Cross on Cross of Pius,
As through Mary's dolours seven,
Lo! from death what life emerges,
Joy from anguish, light from Heaven.

To make this more worthy the acceptance of the learned Pontiff who now rules over a Church that speaks every modern, and has spoken almost every ancient tongue, Mr. Kent has had it rendered into fifty-two different languages. This is the "Corona Catholica" which he offers at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is not only an ingenious notion, but a graceful gift. Such of the renderings as we can read are of varied, but all of superior excellence: but on the greater number of the superbly-printed pages we look with wondering curiosity; on Mandshu by Professor Von der Gabelentz, on Maltese by G. B. Diacono, on Icelandic by Eiríkir Magnússon, and others. There are versions also (all by eminent names) in Finnish and Lappish, Provençal and Walloon, Syriac and Samaritan, Manx and Basque, Lusatian and Amharic. There is even a version in Zulu, by Otto Witt. So far as mere curiosity goes, one would be glad to possess the volume for the sake alone of the one in Egyptian hieroglyphics, by P. Le Page Renouf.

In days when luxuriously printed and bound books abound that are worthless both in motive and subject, we are glad to say so much in praise of one that is honourable in both.

The Catechism of Perseverance. By Monsignore GAUME. Translated from the 10th French Edition. Vol. II. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1880.

THIS second volume of the English translation embraces the most useful portion of the Catechism. The first seventeen chapters explain the public life, the Passion, and the office of Our Lord as the World's Redeemer; the next ten chapters, under the heading "Our Union with the New Adam by Faith," give an exposition of the Apostles' Creed; then seventeen chapters, under the heading of "Hope," treat of prayer and the sacraments; finally, twelve more chapters treat of "Charity" and contain instructions on the Commandments, on sanctity, and on sin. Thus in one thick volume of over eight hundred pages the reader has an explanatory treatise on the most important

points of Christian doctrine. The original French work is now too well known even in England to need our eulogy. It is enough to say here, that the translation is, considering the difficulty of the task, very well done. It runs smoothly, and is for the most part idiomatic—and if it is often very French in manner and form, we easily forgive the translator; to make it otherwise would have been to recast the book. Perhaps, also, it is asking too much to express the desire that some of the illustrative stories had been omitted or made to give place to others. Some of them take their colouring so completely from peculiarities of French society and manners, that they will scarcely point a moral to an English reader ignorant of French life. This, however, is a very minor point, as the instructions and explanations are in themselves clear and full. Those on the sacraments appear to us especially good, although those on the public life of Christ are admirable reading; and a chapter on indulgences, to which we turned as a test chapter, is very happily done. To commit the definition of an indulgence to memory is one thing; to have a clear understanding of what it is, how it has its place in the economy of Christianity, what the Church's treasury of merits is, and the like—this is quite another thing, as catechists know well, not only in the case of children but also of many adults. Here is a chapter on the subject which elucidates all the difficulties, and enforces the explanation with such natural and pleasing illustrations that the whole of the Church's teaching on this very important point is seen distinctly and can readily be remembered. It is a chapter, too, that may safely be put into the hands of an inquiring non-Catholic; if not convinced by it, he can scarcely fail to be both informed and pleased.

To Catholic young men and women, who often wish for a good and instructive book to read, we can readily recommend this second volume; it is complete in itself, and its perusal will help them to habits of useful thought and increase their appreciation of the beauties of their religion.

Ancient Rome and its Connection with the Christian Religion. By the Rev. HENRY FORMBY. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.

IN this magnificent quarto of five hundred pages the author traces the history of Rome, from the foundation by Romulus to the erection of St. Peter's Chair in the Ostrian Cemetery (A.D. 42-47), but from a point of view that is not thought of in our class-books and large Roman histories. Ancient pagan Rome is here regarded as the preparation for Christian Rome. That preparation is not understood merely in a general or remote sense, inasmuch as nations are ruled by a divine Providence which shapes their ends through the roughest hewing of wars and revolutions, and Providence foreknew that St. Peter's see would be fixed at Rome; but an especial and direct preparation. "The divine intervention in the history of Rome," he writes, "has, with a fixed and predetermined purpose in view, conducted the city through all the various stages of its career." Thus the author

sketches a parallel between the foundation of pagan and the foundation of Christian Rome, as being like the growth of the mustard seed in the one case and the other. Further: "Like the Church, military Rome has made herself the city of refuge for the outcast and the ignoble, whom she has always shown herself ready to receive, while she proved herself also to be endowed with the power to recover them from their state of abjection and to raise them to the rank of her citizens. Military Rome, lastly, has always been distinguished for her entire independence of nationality, showing herself the friend and patroness of all nationalities alike, but never consenting to subject herself to any one in particular" (page 15).

Rome of the kings, the civil wars, the conquest of Carthage, the careers of Cæsar and of Augustus, are in turn treated of, not chiefly as details of history, but as indicating the deep designs of the counsels of God preparing the Eternal City to be the seat of government of His Church. Thus the author traces at some length how Sulla prepares Rome for Cæsar, and how Cæsar prepares her for the sovereignty of the Christian kingdom that should succeed and supplant military Rome. Thus, through the slow steps in which the designs of God are revealed, we see in the power of Sulla and the Emperors a foreshadowing and preparation for the marvel of Christian Rome which gives to the nations "the sacred person of one man taken from the midst of his brethren, in whose single person the restored unity of all the scattered kindreds and tribes of the earth obtains a living and visible representative." How much importance the author attaches to this view of old pagan Rome may be inferred from this caution, which he believes to be especially necessary in the present days of unbelief and pride: "If God has been pleased to send the ancient military Rome as a conquering and civilizing power on a preparatory mission to bring the nations of the world into a political unity and state of peace, so that His Church might enter into this condition of the world, and finally supplant the former military Rome in the possession of its city and in the unity of the nations which it has formed round itself, we must be careful how we are betrayed by the unbelief of our time to have any share in the sin of 'disjoining what God has joined together'" (page 50).

Even if the reader be not prepared to believe in the sinfulness of a wrong historical view in this respect, he will find this exposition of the author's view very agreeably written and with much appliance of erudition. It would form a most valuable prize or gift book for both boys and girls who had read their Roman history at school and college, and so would be in a state of preparation to appreciate the author's arguments and generalizations.

A notice of this volume would be unjust to it if no mention were made of its sumptuous get-up. It abounds with excellent engravings of Rome, and of busts and *bas-reliefs* of the chief characters in her history. Some of the large drawings representing the Forum and various temples as restored, are especially deserving of note and admiration. Printing, paper, and binding—all of utmost elegance—complete the external charms of this enterprising *édition de luxe*, to which we wish every success.

The Life of the Ven. F. M. P. Libermann, Founder of the Congregation of "The Holy Heart of Mary," and First Superior-General of the Society of "The Holy Ghost and the Holy Heart of Mary." By the Rev. P. GÖPFERT, of the same Society, with a Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. CROKE. 8vo, pp. 558. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1880.

THE Venerable Libermann, the "Apostle of the Blacks," was the son of a Jewish Rabbín of Saverne, in Alsace. He was born in 1804, and brought up to the profession of his father. His conversion took place about the same time as that of Theodore Ratisbonne, Drach, Hermann, and others, and was a result of the same remarkable movement among the Jews. He was baptized at Paris, 1826, taking the names of Francis Mary Paul. He immediately began at S. Sulpice his preparation for the priestly state, but on the very eve of the subdiaconate, 1829, he was struck with epilepsy, which afflicted him during ten years. His conduct, however, had given such edification, that the community determined at their own expense to keep him at Issy. He was already a saint. His self-denial and union with God were perfect, and he had passed through all the degrees of prayer. M. Garnier, the director, was accustomed to say: "I do not believe that M. Libermann is impeccable, but I believe he commits no sin" (p. 527). The spirit of apostolate and direction early showed itself, for though he could say (p. 68), "during five years I neither judged nor examined anything," yet he was the model of the seminarists, and all his humility could not entirely conceal the light which God had given him. At last he was compelled formally to impart it both to his fellow-students and even to some pious souls in the world. He perfectly renovated the spirit of the seminary, which, owing to the troubles of the time, had much relaxed in attention to the interior life. As a proof of the effect produced by his example and teaching, we may mention that in one year nearly fifty seminarists of S. Sulpice went into religion or on the foreign missions (p. 151). In such esteem was he held, that he was sent in 1837, though still a simple acolyte, to direct the novitiate of the Eudists, then just revived. But God called him to a wider sphere, and in 1839 he went to Rome to begin the great work of his life, to organize a religious congregation for the conversion of the black races. As with all great works, the foundations were laid in suffering and humiliation, but at last his virtues and perseverance triumphed over all obstacles. He was ordained priest in 1841, and in the same year the novitiate of the "Holy Heart of Mary" was opened at Neuville. The Rev. Dr. Collier, O.S.B., Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, who had been the first to patronize the new institute, was the first to profit by its missionaries, who soon, however, spread into Bourbon, Hayti, Western Africa, Cayenne. Western Australia was also under its care for a short time. The new Society having a great affinity with that of "the Holy Ghost," which had been founded early in the eighteenth century, the two were united in 1848, Libermann being elected the first Superior-General. He died the death of the saints on the Feast of the Purification, 1852. His Society is now spread over the whole

known world, and numbers some 100 monasteries, missions, colleges, and seminaries.

As we may well suppose, the process by which the poverty-stricken, epileptic, convert Jew effected this marvellous result is full of interest, but we could wish that M. Goepfert had confined himself more to giving an exact history of the principles and acts of M. Libermann. We have rather too much about other people, and too much general disquisition. We can never have too much told us of the inner and outer life of saints, but in these days of "infinity of books," writers should save readers' time as much as possible. We incline also to question one or two of the author's opinions, and specially his statements concerning Father Eudes and the devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is clear that Father Eudes preceded the blessed Margaret Mary in spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart, but that Paray was the cradle of the devotion *as now established* is equally clear, both from the revelations of Our Lord and the belief of the Christian world. We must also express our regret that Father Goepfert, who, as a rule, shows remarkable power in the use of the English language, should have allowed some inaccuracies of grammar and language to remain which might easily have been removed. For instance, he confuses the auxiliaries very frequently, puts "gave" for "given" (p. 331), continually says "on yesterday," misuses the words "contention" (p. 476), "remounts" (p. 165), speaks of a "memoirist" (p. 243). But such faults can easily be removed from a second edition. It will be seen that they do not touch the substance of the book. All the great facts of a wondrous life are clearly and interestingly put; the digressions are always interesting in themselves, if a little too frequent or too long, and on the whole we can quite endorse the words with which Dr. Croke concludes his Preface:—"I venture to predict that no one possessing ordinary seriousness of character, and used, even in a moderate way, to look into books of this kind, can read *ten* consecutive pages of 'The Life of the Ven. F. M. P. Libermann,' by Father Goepfert, without being almost irresistibly led to read it through."

Vade Mecum Confessariorum, seu practica methodus Sacramenti Penitentiae administrandi. Per SALVATOREM DE PHILIPPIS. Editio altera emendatior. Taurini, Marietti. Londini: Burns et Oates. 1880.

THIS little work professes to furnish a ready answer to doubts or difficulties occurring in the Confessional, to give a first knowledge of moral theology sufficient for hearing confessions, and to afford those who have completed their studies in this branch a means of revising them without great labour. It is not ill adapted for the third purpose, as it gives a good deal of important information in a condensed form, but we must say we think it fails to fulfil the other two ends proposed.

While the matter may be there it is hard to find. There is no alphabetical index, and the table of contents gives only the most meagre title of the sections into which the matter is broken up. Some

of these sections are eight or ten pages long, without further title or guide of any kind, and the inquirer may have to look through the whole section before he finds what he wants. Some of the subjects are badly located—for instance, we find information on the sacramental form and the seal of confession partly under the title “*de Prudentiâ Confessarii*,” partly under the very general head “*de Pœnitentiâ*.”

But a far more serious objection is that, in controverted cases, the author is inaccurate in deciding on the sinfulness, or *degree* of sinfulness, in an action. We do not mean to say that his decisions are wrong in themselves, or unsupported by excellent authority; the error we wish to point out is that, while giving the more severe view, he omits in many cases to state the favourable view, even when this is fully probable. We need not go into the matter here, but will instance the following points: *De manifestatione complicitis* (p. 55), *de precibus quotidianis* (p. 90), *de promissione* (p. 109), *de ministrando sanctam Eucharistiam in mortali* (216), *de accipiendo sacramentum a ministro indigno* (216).

The faults we have pointed out might be corrected without great difficulty, and the work made practical and useful.

Forum Romanum et Magnum. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., &c. &c. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Oxford: James Parker and Co. London: John Murray. 1879.

NO one can find fault with Mr. Parker for lack of zeal and industry. He is indefatigable. And although his unpleasant habit of self-laudation and depreciation of almost all other archæologists provoke one, yet it is impossible not to acknowledge that he has done much to popularize a knowledge of Roman antiquities among English people. The volume before us is marked by the usual characteristics of the author. He blows his own trumpet loudly throughout, but especially in the reply to a German critic at the end of the work. If we could believe his own estimate of himself, Mr. Parker would seem to be the ablest antiquarian in England, France, and Rome. His superiority is supposed to lie in this—that he studies antiquities on the spot, while those whom he nicknames *closet-scholars* are accustomed to base their conclusions mainly on the records of ancient writers. Mr. Burn is put down as a mere “*closet-scholar* ;” so is Mr. F. M. Nichols and M. Ampère. “Even Mommsen, with all his great learning, is a *closet-scholar* only; he has never given any attention or heed to architectural history,” pronounces the infallible Mr. Parker. For our own part, we confess that we have learned much more of antiquities, both Christian and pagan, from reading the treatises of practised scholars than from our own crude observations of the antiquities themselves. And Mr. Parker would have saved himself many ludicrous blunders if he had not been so positive as to the inerrancy of his “*faithful eyes*.”

The present edition strikes us as a great improvement on the first

The plates are much clearer, as well as more numerous; there are forty-one of them. A comparison of Plate I., which is a reproduction of an old engraving representing the Forum in 1650, and Plate IV., which represents the Temple of Saturn (?) as it appeared in 1810, with Plates II. and VIII., which are from photographs taken in 1874, shows the immense addition to our knowledge that modern excavation has made. The *tabularium*, now the lower basement of the municipal offices on the Capitol, was walled up by Michael Angelo, and in 1810 was quite covered with a slope of earth, out of which emerged about one-third of the three well-known columns of the Temple of Saturn (?). Mr. Parker quarrels with many of Signor Rosa's restorations, and accuses him of cutting away the ancient marble pavement of the Basilica Julia to make room for his modern brick bases. It is well to have M. Rosa's doings sharply watched by a rival antiquarian.

We have before us a plan of ancient Rome by Mr. W. B. Clarke, published in 1830 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and, comparing this with Mr. Parker's Plate XXXII., we gladly recognize the progress that has been made during the last half-century in the identification of ancient remains. But when Mr. Parker attempts to appropriate most of the credit of these discoveries to the period during which he has been working in Rome, we cannot quite admit his claims. It was the Government of Pius IX., under the direction of Canina, that effected most of the discoveries that have been continued by the present authorities. Mr. Parker says that three-fourths of Canina's identifications are false; but when we compare his plan with that of Canina, as reproduced in Murray's "Handbook to Rome" for 1853, we find very few differences. The most important are that the Temples of Vespasian and of Saturn are transposed, the *Ærarium*, of course, follows the Temple of Saturn—the Temple of Castor and Pollux was thought by Canina to have been the Curia Julia, while that antiquary placed the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the site of what Mr. Parker considers the Palace of Caligula. Mr. Parker gives very little proof for his identifications, and we should like to see them carefully examined by *closet-scholars* before adopting them. The additional depth to which the excavations have extended have brought to light some very interesting remains, especially the marble screens which stood in the midst of the Comitium to protect the voters from the pressure of the crowd. These are given in Plates XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., and are now replaced *in situ*.

Mr. Parker's identification of the *Ærarium*, in the solid masonry under the *Tabularium*, bears strong marks of probability; and this of course carries with it the Temple of Saturn, behind which the *Ærarium* is known to have been. Still, Canina's site of this temple agrees better with the ancient notices of the *Milliarium aureum*, and with the site of the Basilica Julia, which Augustus, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, states to have been *inter ædem Castoris et ædem Saturni*, although Mr. Parker is able to reply that, as the Temple of Vespasian was not built in the time of Augustus, that prince could not have mentioned it. Commendatore di Rossi is bringing out accurate reproductions of all

the ancient plans of Rome, and we hope many difficulties may be thus cleared up. If Mr. Parker's identification be confirmed, he will deserve the credit of having discovered the *Ærarium*, as he has undoubtedly discovered several additional chambers of the Mammertine prison. His contributions to the archæology of Rome are sufficiently valuable to make us willing even to endure the unpleasantness of the remarks with which his writings abound.

W. R. B.

Dissonanzen und Akkorde. VON AMARA GEORGE KAUFMANN.
Mainz : Franz Kirchheim. 1879.

THE lady whose *nom de plume* is Amara George long ago established in her own country her claim to distinction. When she was only twenty-one, a volume of her poems, entitled "Blüthen der Nacht," was brought out under the auspices of Daumer, who wrote of her to her future husband, himself a poet, Dr. Alexander Kaufmann, "Amara George is a rising star of our literature, a genius of the most fascinating nature, who will be sure to win your sympathy on further acquaintance." Daumer's admiration was by no means misplaced, as we could prove by quotations from Amara's virgin "Blüten." But the following lines will give a specimen of her poetical capacity :—

Alle die Stunden.
Alle verwunden
Eine, die letzte,
Tödtet und heilt.*

Her novel "Dissonanzen und Akkorde" is a model in its way. It has been written for its personages, and does not belong to the class which would make them means, not an end. Zeal for Catholic interests pervades the book, whilst the poet's touch, full of richness and delicacy, enhances its details. Amara George Kaufmann is before all things a poetess, yet between romance and real life the distance is narrower than is dreamt of in some men's philosophy. The story opens in a wood on a hot day in midsummer. A traveller, overtaken by a sultry storm, asks for shelter in a lonely house, where he meets the heroine, the daughter of a morbid and mysterious stranger of the name of Gordon. The traveller is really a reigning Fürst, though he preserves his incognito and gives his name as Waldemar Fels. The interest of the story is created by the complications which arise from misunderstandings, and the ill-concealed secret of the inhabitants of the little house. English readers will most delight in the description of the princely Court, and in the doings of the charming Princess Asta. The *Prinzessin Tante* is also well painted, and Prinz Gregor will be generally pronounced to be a very lifelike character. The demi-monde is represented by a Baroness Wangenor, who threatens to make two lives a real discord. Dr. Walther is the ideal German priest, scholarly, true-hearted, and unworldly, and Frau Oberförsterin is a good specimen of the Hausfrau,

* "Blüten der Nacht," p. 103.

of great prudence, but of predominating and loud kindness of heart. We think that Asta, not Melena, should have been the heroine. The sympathies of ordinary readers will surely go with the bright and fascinating princess rather than with the maiden of the solitary house, who is, perhaps, too deep to be understood by the multitude. Melena would seem to have missed her vocation, but the authoress has not fallen into the common fault of allowing the dregs to be laid at God's feet.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By the Rev. J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A. Two Vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1880.

THOSE readers who do not make classical literature a professional study—and it may be said, with too great truth, many of those whose business it is, as teachers, to do so—have a most inadequate idea of the progressive nature of the subject. Twenty years—nay, ten years or fewer—are enough to throw a student behindhand who has neglected to acquaint himself with contemporary research; and you might as well pretend to be a lawyer if provided only with the law-books of a generation back, as a classical scholar with nothing but the books, great and important as they are, of the date of Müller, Thirlwall, or even much later authorities. Professor Mahaffy's "History of Greek Literature" is admirably adapted to supply this deficiency, as it gives a conspectus of the vast array of histories, monographs, and articles of all sorts by which, especially in Germany, much light has been thrown into every corner of these studies since the last great *resumés* of the subject came into the hand of English readers. This task has been rendered easy to Professor Mahaffy by his perfect familiarity with the German language, which, as he somewhere with great truth remarks, in general is essential to the correct appreciation of any polemical discussion.

The work is distributed into two volumes, containing respectively the poets and prose writers, which are limited pretty strictly to the works ordinarily styled *classical*, thus excluding most of the Alexandrian writers, and such as Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and even many of the works of Aristotle, highly interesting as all these are, but to be studied for different reasons than the writers belonging to the great creative period of Greece. In treating the subject, Professor Mahaffy generally gives a sketch of what is known about each author, with a critical view of his works, some account of the state of discovery and opinion about him, and a bibliographical article comprising references to the chief editions. A very simple, but novel and very useful part of the plan, consists of occasional specimens at the foot of the page, exhibiting the style of the great writers, particularly of those less familiar poets who only remain in fragments. These selections are made with that exquisite taste which gives a sort of originality even to quotation. I may mention, as instances, the charming "Lament of Danae" by Simonides; the contemplated suicide of Medea in Apollonius; the beautiful pæan on peace by Bacchylides; the striking

scrap on resignation from Archilochus; the curious bit of political spite against Themistocles by Timocreon; in short, quantities of this kind, for which room has been ingeniously found without the book being at all overloaded; thus making it, to a certain limited extent, a *chrestomathy* as well as a history of Greek classical literature.

The scanty space here available forbids a detailed analysis of the work. On the great Homeric question Professor Mahaffy is comparatively less sceptical than many authorities, since he seems willing to admit an individual Homer, though he sets forth a view of the *Iliad* much resembling that of Grote, but regarding it, not as made up of an *Achilleis* and an *Ilias*, but of an *Achilleis* and "separate lays, perhaps composed, perhaps adapted for their place." It is needless to say his conclusions are very remote from those of Mr. Paley, materials for the examination of which, in their linguistic aspect, are afforded in an important article by Professor Sayce, printed at the end of Professor Mahaffy's first volume.

There is much interesting criticism on the dramatists and generally, though Professor Mahaffy does not appear drawn to those deep and thoughtful investigations of the nature, for example, that is worked out in such a book as Keble's "Prælectiones," which it is surprising that he does not, as far as I have observed, even once quote. The sort of deficiency I allude to is noticeable in the pages on the *Prometheus vincetus*, however compact and clear as a statement of opinions. On the other hand, such a beautiful piece of criticism as Professor Mahaffy's remarks on Penelope's refusing at first to recognize the newly-found Ulysses, deserves to be noticed as very striking, just, and original.

It will not be expected that a Catholic student can coincide with the views thrown out by Professor Mahaffy on the judgment to be taken of ancient Greek social life. He shows a disposition which inclines him, I will not say to be charitable, to the old pagan world—we cannot have too much of charity—but to look on vice and virtue not as depending on eternal, universal, and unchangeable laws, but as varying with successive ages; so that what to one age is rightly and truly hateful, may, in reference to another, be condoned and tolerated—a doctrine assuredly foreign to the saints and martyrs, and which really strikes at the root of morals as of faith. Not to do any injustice to Professor Mahaffy, I will quote his own words:—

If I understand the aristocratic society of these times [speaking of ancient Greece] rightly, what we call purity and virtue, and what we call unchastity and vice, were as yet to a great extent fused in that larger and more human naturalism which embraces impulses of both kinds in their turn, and which refuses to consider momentary passion a permanent stain upon honour or even purity. The highest virtue of the Greek aristocrats did not exclude all manner of physical enjoyments (vol. i. p. 180).

Elsewhere, in reviewing Xenophon's "Symposium," he says:—

It is not to be wondered at that a respectable English Philistine like Mure should condemn Xenophon's Socrates and his company very

severely, and see nothing but grossness of the lowest kind in their mutual affection. We must not judge them so harshly, &c. (vol. ii. p. 277).

Again, on the subject of Plato's theory of the state-regulation of marriage :—

This question was then, and has ever since been, so surrounded with a cloud of sentiment, and entwined with the sacred ties of family affection, that the very discussion of it is almost intolerable, and only a few advanced thinkers are even yet to be found who will venture to urge this necessary condition for the physical and therefore intellectual improvement of mankind (vol. ii. p. 198).

Once more, and in a different direction, I cannot help remarking a note, where Professor Mahaffy, describing the modern parallels in Sicily to the old bucolic contests of improvisation, goes on to say :—

. . . . it is indeed surprising to learn that the religious side—of old the worship of Artemis, and the laments for Daphnis, her favourite—is still there, and trustworthy observers were present in churches during the Feasts of St. John Baptist, of *the Crucified* [italics are Prof. Mahaffy's] (May 3), and of other saints, when the day was spent in alternate improvising on the lives of saints and on the sufferings of our Lord (vol. i. p. 410).

“The feast of *the Crucified!*” What can this mean? the Catholic reader will ask. Let him turn to the Calendar, under May 3, and he will find it is the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, too well known, one would think, to need explanation. This might be excused in Professor Mahaffy's “trustworthy observers,” but such a scholar as he is ought not so to be caught tripping, to say nothing of the parallel, in itself shocking, though certainly not instituted with a thought of giving offence.

These reservations made, the work, in both its divisions, may be safely commended as a masterly one, and its compactness is not its least merit, when we consider the temptation which always exists to expand unnecessarily, when a writer possesses such extensive and thorough command of information as Professor Mahaffy everywhere shews.

I may, in conclusion, call attention to a minor but interesting feature, the notices here and there occurring to the portrait-busts extant of some of the great authors—for example, Herodotus and Thucydides. I should be tempted to add to Professor Mahaffy's remarks the striking resemblance in the form of the first to Sir Walter Scott; and in the other (at least in the specimen at the Louvre), the singular union of the expression of great curiosity with that of dignity. Its “sternness and strength” is in keeping with the grasping character which comes out in the conduct attributed to Thucydides towards his unhappy Æginetan debtors.

R. O.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: a New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices. By the Rev. T. K. CLEYNE, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford; and Member of the Old Testament Revision Company. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co.

MR. CLEYNE'S book is one of many signs that Semitic learning is making great progress in England. We are still, indeed, very far behind, for we cannot but think it a discreditable fact that, in spite of all the rich endowments which our Universities possess, we are still obliged to turn to the Germans for commentaries on the Hebrew text of most among the books of the Old Testament. We believe this to be a serious loss, not only to our own country, but to the cause of learning in general. The English and the German mind have, each of them, merits peculiar to itself, and we may be sure that, if the best English commentaries wanted some excellencies which mark the work of German scholars, they would at all events avoid some prominent German faults. However, this desideratum can only be supplied by degrees, and we cordially thank Mr. Cleyne for the contribution he has made. His new translation will, we think, be appreciated by any accurate student of Hebrew. It is singularly faithful, and gives evidence throughout of the most careful attention to the niceties of Hebrew grammar. We also admire the skill with which Mr. Cleyne's notes hit the happy mean between saying too little or too much. They offer a great contrast to such a work, for example, as that of Hupfeld on the Psalms, excellent although it is in many respects, where every variety of opinion is quoted till the memory and attention of the reader are apt to sink beneath the mass of matter. Mr. Cleyne has pursued a very different plan. He notes divergence of opinion on important points, but he does so with brevity, and never in such a way as to throw confusion or obscurity round his own interpretation. For ourselves, we can honestly say that we have read his book through with an interest which has never for one moment flagged. Mr. Cleyne, too, is fortunate in the time he has chosen for publication. He has been able to avail himself of the flood of light which the Assyrian inscriptions have poured on the prophecies of Isaiah. Things are changed since Gesenius wrote his commentary in 1821, and was able to tell his readers that of Sargon, the Assyrian king mentioned in *Isaiah* xx. 1, absolutely nothing was known, except the scanty notice which the prophet furnishes in that chapter. We have seen no commentary in which the Assyrian inscriptions are utilized as they are utilized by Mr. Cleyne. We may look in vain in *Delitzsch's Commentary*, though published as late as 1866, for full and exact information about the chronology of the Assyrian invasions described by *Isaiah* in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh chapters. It is supplied in a masterly style by Mr. Cleyne.

It is a critic's business to find faults, and we have some faults to note even in a book which has given us so much pleasure. In the first place, we object strongly to the arrangement. The philological notes are to appear in the second volume, but we consider it a most mischievous

thing to introduce a separation of this kind. The sense must be settled by grammar, history, and the connexion, together. And the grammar ought to come first, not last. It is very hard that the convenience of those who don't know Hebrew should be consulted to the positive and serious injury of those who do.

Next, we have a few words to say on Mr. Cleyne's treatment of text and masoretic punctuation. The Hebrew MSS. are of a date so remote from the original, and they have been adjusted so carefully to one common standard, that conjectural emendation of the text is often a necessary evil. Mr. Cleyne has used this liberty with great tact and moderation. But he should not change even the points without notice, as he has done in Isa. xxx. 8. There are a good many matters of detail with regard both to reading and rendering where we should differ from Mr. Cleyne, but we have not space enough to discuss them. We will only say that we cannot reconcile ourselves to Mr. Cleyne's rendering of xxxiv. 23, "their ropes have become loose; they cannot hold *upright* their mast," instead of "they cannot hold the *stand* of their mast." The word translated "upright" does indeed mean "upright" in a moral sense, but it is never used for physical straightness, and we see no gain in deserting a certain for a doubtful meaning.

To come to a larger question. Chapter xxi. foretells the destruction of Babylon. Assyrian discoveries have acquainted us with three sieges of the city by the Assyrians during the lifetime of Isaias, two of them under Merodach-Baladan, who sent an embassy to Ezechias. Mr. Cleyne supposes the prophet to refer to one of these sieges, and contends that Isaias announces the fate of Babel in a tone of depression, because it boded ill for Judæa, which had at that time no cause to dread Babylon, and much to fear Nineveh. For reasons which will be obvious to any one acquainted with the discussions on the unity of Isaias we are strongly attracted to this view. Still, we cannot think it tenable. "Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and all the images of its gods he hath broken to the ground," verse 9, does not sound like the utterance of one who regretted Babel's fall. The tone of the prophet here is quite different from that which he adopts to Æthiopia. There is not a word about enmity between Babel and Nineveh, or about friendship between the former and Judæa. The prominence given to its idols is, moreover, unintelligible if it had never as yet oppressed Judæa. As to the fear and anguish which possesses the prophet, it may fairly be said that the prophet places himself in the position of a Jew living in the city of Babylon as his home, and therefore quite naturally terrified at the first thought of its destruction by Cyrus. (See Ewald, "Propheten," iii. 7.)

There is one subject on which, as it seems to us, Mr. Cleyne is far too ready to believe without evidence. He repeatedly finds traces in Isaias of an old religion of nature-myths which preceded the Mosaic belief. This, we venture to think, is purely fanciful. After carefully weighing Mr. Cleyne's references, we can see no reason for the assertion, that in xiv. 9, the prophet's personification of Sheol "may be aided by a lingering consciousness of the original mythical demi-god

Sheol." Nor do we see any grounds for acknowledging even the existence of such a myth among the Hebrews. With just as little proof, but with greater strength of assertion, Mr. Cleyne tells us that "Lucifer, son of the dawn," in xiv. 12, is a "relic of the mythic stage." On the other hand, we admit that he has stronger reasons to give for attributing the word cherub to a similar origin.

In conclusion, we must make one serious protest. We do so with great unwillingness, because the words on which we are going to animadvert stand, we are glad to say, quite alone in the book we are reviewing. Mr. Cleyne "assumes" that the sublime vision of Isaias, chapter vi., "is generically different from the poetical fictions of Goethe and Burns, and even (!!) from the more naïve imagination of William Blake." We cannot conceive the use of giving such a piece of information, or imagine that anybody worth reasoning with stands in need of it. Still less do we understand why some nauseous and nonsensical stuff of this Blake should be quoted in a note. This man apparently represents Isaias as saying ". . . as I was then persuaded, I remain confirmed that the voice of honest indignation is the voice of God." We hope these sentences will disappear in the second edition from Mr. Cleyne's book, which they certainly disfigure. Ewald is a much less conservative critic than Mr. Cleyne, and much less given to expressions of piety; but his masculine sense, and his genuine reverence for the prophets, would have made him incapable of such an outrage on good taste.

We forgot to say in a previous part of this notice that we cannot understand why Mr. Cleyne places in the Chronological Table the embassy of Merodach Baladan (with a mark of interrogation, it is true) two years before the illness of Ezechias. This directly contradicts Isaias xxxix. 1, and without any motive, so far as we can follow Mr. Cleyne's notes and introductions. Here, however, we readily believe that we have failed to understand Mr. Cleyne, who is usually most clear, from dulness or carelessness of our own. In any case, we have found fault enough. We began with praise, and we conclude, thanking our author for the abundant pleasure and advantage we have derived from his commentary, and looking forward with keen and impatient interest to the appearance of the second volume.

W. E. ADDIS.

The Miraculous Medal: its Origin, History, &c. By M. ALADEL, C.M.
Translated from the French by P. S. Baltimore (U.S. America):
J. B. Piet. 1880.

THIS is a good translation of the well-known "La Médaille Miraculeuse" of the Lazarist Father Aladel. English readers who have not heard of Sister Catherine Labouré, or of the numerous wonders that have marked the history of the familiar medal, ought to read this little volume. To the many congregations of the "Enfants de Marie" it will be specially profitable; but it will prove interesting to all readers. The conversion of M. Ratisbonne, the cures and favours

resulting from the use of the medal by the Sisters of Charity during the Crimean and other wars are some of the marvellous effects recorded here.

The translation reads pleasantly and is correct; the volume is beautifully printed, but the engravings are very rough copies of the French originals. This inferiority—the only one we notice—detracts nothing from the real value of the book.

An Essay on Education and the State of Ireland. By an Irish Catholic. With Explanatory Remarks by W. J. FITZ-PATRICK, M.R.I.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1880.

THESE fifty pages contain an unpublished essay by Dr. Doyle, who here substitutes the signature "An Irish Catholic" for his famous initials J. K. L. In a Report of the Commission on Education in Ireland, issued by the King in 1825, a plan of general education is recommended for Ireland. Against this proposed system the Bishop raises an indignant protest. It was put forth as satisfying the claims of Irish Catholics; as supplying their special needs; as a wide step forward in the way of peace and kindness, of quite another temper and aim to the legislation of so many cruel years past. But the Bishop saw its drift at once: the voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hands were the rough hands of Esau. The old spirit of bitter hatred against his countrymen and his religion, he exclaims, still animates the British Legislature, and imbues their latest gift. He denounces it as speciously fair and unprejudiced in the letter, but perniciously a system of proselytizing in spirit and effect. The whole race of English "swaddlers" he here indignantly roasts to death. In opposition to the proposed plan, the Bishop shows that Catholic religious instruction must form an essential and integral part of a Catholic child's education; that their schoolmasters must be Catholics; that the Scriptures are not a fit school-book for children. "The spirit of the Report," he says, "as I will demonstrate, is the ascendancy of Protestantism and the undermining of Catholicity." But the essay abruptly ends before this is effected.

The pamphlet adds little if anything to what we already know of Dr. Doyle's views on education, and is not noteworthy as a specimen of either his style or his abilities. That it was not conceived in his happiest mood is apparent from the many indications of labour and indecision. A full account of it, together with extracts of the most racy and eloquent portions, are to be found in Mr. Fitz-Patrick's "Life of Dr. Doyle." We do not therefore see that much is gained by its separate publication.

The Foundations of Faith. The Bampton Lectures for 1879. By HENRY WACE, M.A. London: Pickering and Co. 1880.

A WORK by an Anglican divine, treating *ex professo* on Faith—the very dividing line between us—cannot fail to treat the subject wrongly. Having said thus much, it becomes difficult for us

to choose between the praise of certain parts of the book, where the writer holds to portions of sound doctrine and expresses himself with power and eloquence, and the censure of certain other parts, where he misrepresents the Catholic Church in a manner that betrays woful ignorance of that Church and its doctrines. Mr. Wace is one of those earnest and good Protestants who are strenuous in their efforts against that flood of scientific rationalism which is washing away bit after bit of positive belief and threatens the foundations. He rises to rebuke the waves with a glowing eye and manly voice—but does not see that, for all his goodness and honesty and yearning, the storm must rage in spite of any puny human testimony, and that only the voice of Christ speaking as heretofore, can command the obedience of this wind and sea. In other words, the author valiantly defends against scepticism and infidelity that portion of doctrine which he thinks he has accepted as a blessing from Luther, but defends it with the arms of common sense and Scripture interpreted by himself; and, turning round to another adversary, uses against the Catholic Church the very arguments which his own assailants find to be potent against himself and his co-believers—too potent, it would now seem, to be long or extensively kept in check. When, on the one hand, he claims so eloquently from agnostics and sceptics that painful subjection of intellectual pride into submissive belief in God the Creator and in Jesus His Son, but, on the other, indignantly rejects the pretensions of Christ's vicar to his obedience as an insult to his reason and his conscience, he does not—strange, it seems to us—see that his claim is stultified by his act.

But we shall do quite enough for our Catholic readers if we give an idea of what the book specially treats, and what is the author's special standpoint. The eight lectures are entitled, respectively, *The Office of Faith; The Faith of the Conscience; The Witness to Revelation; The Faith of the Old Covenant; Our Lord's Demand for Faith; The Faith of the Early Church; The Faith of the Reformation; The Faith of the Church of England.* Mr. Wace, we presume, should be described as a Low Churchman; he has a touching admiration for the Reformation and the Reformers; he appeals largely to sentiment, and can take comfort to his soul with such an expression as "laying hold of Christ," and believe that it epitomizes all faith and practice. We wish to say this without levity. These phrases and sentiments are admirable in their place, but are not arguments; we wonder they can keep men of such learning and ability from the necessity of replying to real difficulties. In this spirit Mr. Wace avoids any definition of faith, using only the description of St. Paul in Hebrews xi. 1, a description which manifestly supposes a prior definition, or at least knowledge that could embody a definition. He quotes with approval, however, Bishop Pearson's definition, "Faith is an assent unto that which is credible, as credible," which is a definition with a sting, as the restricting words throw the motive of faith on the intellectual approval. A still more serious fault is the absence from the book of any statement or seeming idea that saving

faith is a supernatural gift, and not merely the highest development of natural powers and instincts. Men who will not believe in God, in Mr. Wace's judgment, do violence to instinct, to their better feelings, to their judgment; men who will not believe in the Bible, or in Our Lord Jesus Christ, or in salvation by faith in Him, do the same, only to a less obvious extent. The Church grounds her teaching on faith on such passages as Acts xvi. 14, "that the Lord opened the heart of Lydia to attend to those things which were preached by Paul," and countless others. The treasures of the faith are still those which the Father has hid from the wise and prudent and revealed to little ones. It is needless to follow the author through all his mistakes; we start from different premises. But it is to be regretted that he shows no sign of having studied the treatise on faith in any manual of Catholic theology. He constantly speaks of "the Church," and is zealous to distinguish what she has taught from the private opinions of fathers and divines. But where is "the Church," and how does Mr. Wace discover any of its utterances? It is not the Catholic Church, for in Lect. vii. she is stated to have been guilty of "gross abuses and fatal perversions of the truth," such as to justify the Reformation. It may not be quite an easy matter offhand to define what conditions are necessary for an *ex cathedra* utterance of the Roman Pontiff; but it is surely beyond human deliberation and wit to say where the voice of the Church of England can be heard. Mr. Wace's estimate of the character of the Reformation as an exhibition of faith is only rivalled by his charge against the Catholic Church of cultivating Pelagianism. One extract from the happier portion of the book is all that space permits:—

No one, probably, would dispute that in that brief form of words (the Lord's Prayer) we possess the very substance of the mind of Christ. But in the mere conception of prayer it involves the whole principle of our personal relation to God; and its first two words imply the subsequent assurance, just referred to, that we can appeal to Him as children to a Father; and that we may look to Him for direct and special assistance in our needs. Its supplications then commence with the petition "hallowed be Thy name." If the order of the words be any guide to the meaning of a great utterance of this kind, we must assume that this petition is the most momentous that can be offered by man to God, that it is the first step in the spiritual life, that on this being granted depend all other blessings which the prayer solicits. Where that Name is known and recognized, a complete revolution in the moral position of man ensues; a new heart is formed within him, and he lives by faith and prayers. When God's true character is thus apprehended, men submit themselves cheerfully to His rule, and become loyal subjects of His kingdom, and in proportion as His kingdom comes, His will is done. But when we pray that His will may be done, we attribute to Him a nature analogous to our own in the most distinctly personal and human of our characteristics, and at the same time express the deepest trust in His goodness and power. We are next taught to appeal to God for our simplest physical necessities, for the forgiveness of our trespasses, and for protection from temptation; while again, in the petition "as we forgive them that trespass against us," the language of the prayer expressly sanctions that so-called anthropomorphism which it is now so much the fashion to denounce. In other words, the Lord's Prayer brings a living

God and His personal will into our life at every turn of it. Whether it be daily bread that we need, or deliverance from the profoundest forms of spiritual evil, it is to the good pleasure and the direct hand of God that we are instructed to look for it (p. 125).

Sixtus IV. und die Republick Florenz. Von ERICH FRANTZ, D.D.
Regensburg: J. Manz. 1880.

THIS volume is the result of three years' study in the great libraries of Italy, and principally in those of Rome and Florence. The author, favourably known to all Catholic literary men of Germany by his treatise on Bartolomeo della Porta, has won a fresh title to the gratitude of Catholics. The book consists of eight chapters: 1, the Constitution of Florence and the Problem of Liberty; 2, Sixtus IV. and the Republic of Florence; 3, the Conspiracy of the Pazzi and its Consequences; 4, Intervention of France in favour of the Republic; 5, War between Rome and Florence; 6, Alliance of the Pope with Venice against Naples; 7, Conflict of the Pope with Venice; 8, Last Events of the Pontificate of Sixtus IV., his Character as Established by Impartial Historical Investigation. Our greatest interest is claimed by chapters ii. iii. and viii. We become acquainted with Sixtus IV. as a most gifted man, who, in the Franciscan Order, excelled in piety and learning, and, from his singular talent for administration, won the confidence of his brethren, who elected him as Procurator-General. Cardinal Bessarion recommended him to Paul II., who raised him to the cardinalate. An event seldom recorded in the history of conclaves took place after the death of Paul II.: Cardinal Francesco della Rovere was unanimously elected Pope. Resting on indisputable documents and authorities, Dr. Frantz shows that Sixtus IV. had nothing at all to do with the conspiracy of the Pazzis against the Medicis in Florence. What he desired was merely a change in the government of Florence, where Lorenzo di Medici, forgetting the Pope's benevolence towards himself, exercised a tyrannical power, destroying the liberty of the people and threatening the independence of the Pope himself. Fresh dangers for the Pope were threatened by Naples. After the battle of Campomorto peace was established, and Sixtus IV. built Sta. Maria della Pace in Rome. In the last chapter the Pope's character is vindicated from the calumnies heaped on it in the course of time. As Sixtus IV. was second, perhaps, to no one in esteem for and culture of the fine arts and theology, Dr. Frantz intends bringing out a second volume describing the merits of the Pope from this point of view. We hope the present volume, which is completely grounded on contemporary documents, will enjoy a very wide circulation.

B.

Cantica Sion, or English Anthems set to Latin Words for the Service of the Catholic Church. By a Priest of the Society of Jesus.
 1. *Super Flumina Babylonis.* (By the Waters of Babylon.) Full Anthem for four voices. Composed by Dr. Boyce. 2. *Perfice gressus meos.* (Turn thee again.) Full Anthem for four voices. By Thomas Atwood. 3. *Laudabo Dominum in vitâ meâ.* (Rejoice in the Lord always.) Usually called "the Bell Anthem." By Henry Purcell. 4. *Exsurge, gloria mea.* (Awake up, my glory.) Anthem for three voices. By Michael Wise. London: Novello, Ewer & Co.

THE adapter of these Anglican anthems for Catholic use has undertaken a bold and a venturesome task. It is not so much that the Catholic public will take fright at the idea of using "Protestant" music. The feeling, no doubt, exists, and it is entirely praiseworthy, that all music, however good in the abstract, which has a heretical savour about it, should be kept out of our churches. To have nothing in common with heretics, not even names, is the Catholic rule of practice, much older than St. Augustine who formulates it. Without presuming to judge individuals, we are bound by loyalty to our Lord to separate ourselves in every possible way from everything which pretends to be a rival to His Church. And there is a great deal of admirable sacred music which has contracted associations which make it unpleasant to hear in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament. If, for instance, the eminent soprano or contralto of one of our choirs is minded to give, at benediction, "O rest in the Lord," or "I know that my Redeemer liveth," those present are justly annoyed. These lovely airs are not distinctively heretical; they are not liturgical at all, never being used in the ordinary Anglican cathedral service, or even in any places "where they sing." But the Protestant public has agreed to look on them as devotional music; they are a part of oratorios which our fellow-countrymen flock to cathedrals and festivals to hear, and, in hearing, consider themselves to be pre-eminently worshipping God; they are tolerated on "Sabbath" afternoons, and produced for the edification of serious-minded people; and, altogether, they are very Anglican, Protestant, and typical of the "religion," half emotion and half coma, by which English respectability compromises with the religion of Christ crucified. But the anthems which we here find "adapted" for Catholic use are not open to this objection. It is true they are, to some extent, Protestant liturgical music, for they are written to be used in the Anglican service. But cathedral music is so remote from ordinary experience, that individual anthems have hardly any Anglican associations. As the adapter well says in his very well written Preface—

These noble Anthems are most assuredly not Protestant, but Catholic both in origin and inspiration; Catholic in origin, inasmuch as they are historically a development of the Palestrina school; Catholic in inspiration because prompted partly by the majestic beauty of those old cathedrals for which they were written, partly by the honeyed sweetness of the inspired Word of God. With the Anglican Liturgy they have but the

slightest possible connection—that, namely, which is derived from their being sung towards the end of the service, in accordance with the vague rubric, “*In quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.*” Vague I call it, because it leaves the composer free to settle for himself what the anthem shall be; to choose the words as well as to write the music (Preface, p. 1).

For our own part, it seems to us that the only item of Anglican association about these Anthems is derived from their style itself. Our Church music, except the plain chant, is, in this country, so wedded to the forms of a style which was a distinct reaction against the school of Palestrina, and which may be best denoted by the great names of Mozart and Haydn, that the grave, sweet, and tranquil measures of the Anglican anthems seem alien from our spirit because they are strange to our ear. But this is being changed. Not only have the older Italian composers and the modern “*Cæcilian*” school been made familiar by our best choirs, such as that of the Cathedral of Birmingham, but the great figure of Palestrina himself has been placed before audiences who are growing daily better able to appreciate him. As to the four anthems already adapted, which are now before us, they are the purest and sweetest of Church music. To a taste really cultured in the liturgy they can never possess the direct power of the plain chant—a power which depends on many things besides music. But these anthems have tune which never transgresses sobriety, movement which never distracts, harmony which fills the sense like the successive waves of the sea. They are such strains as we may imagine might be sung by some choir of passionless angels over our Saviour’s stable in a painting of Giotto. The only dread is, that few of our choirs may be equal to them. Not that the adapter has chosen difficult or brilliant anthems. But where each part is a true *obligato* part, there must be solid study and real musical capacity. One of the chief reasons why so many of our small choirs cling to such very poor music is, that poor music is generally obvious music—with an obvious tune and obvious harmonies. Yet these four anthems are by no means difficult; and a choir which is fit to sing anything beyond unison ought to be able, with a little study, to master their admirable sequences. Unison, there is no doubt, ought to be more respected and cultivated than it is. It is not difficult to find the materials for a respectable unison; and our liturgical music, in the rendering of which there is really no medium between devotional solemnity and painful failure, need never be a failure when given in simple unison. Unfortunately, the first impulse of the semi-cultured musical mind is to “put in a part;” and our wise school inspectors are sedulously encouraging the children to add “thirds” to everything that is sung, with an effect as abhorrent as it is unartistic. The rule of “real harmony, or else pure unison,” would be an excellent one to adopt in every choir in the country; and when the ear was once trained to the effect of true harmony, these admirably adapted Anthems would not be found beyond the means of ordinary choirs.

Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis.

By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D., late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philosophy at the University of Munich. Second Edition. Edited by E. W. WEST, Ph.D. London: Trübner and Co.

THE name of Zoroaster is one of the greatest in the history of Oriental religions, and the system with which his name is associated, although now only professed by the not very numerous Parsi community of India and a mere handful of votaries in Persia, is peculiarly worthy of study. There can be no reasonable ground for doubt that he was a real man who, as Dr. Haug says, "acted a great and important part in the history of his country, and even of the whole human race in general." His home seems to have been in Bactria, and his date, in our author's judgment, "can under no circumstances be placed later than B.C. 1000," while "reasons may be found for placing it much earlier, and making him a contemporary of Moses." The leading idea of his theology was Monotheism, and the one God whose existence he taught, he held to be symbolized and manifested in the elements, and especially in fire—teaching which reminds one of the Mosaic "burning bush"—and Dr. Haug goes so far as to say that "his conception of Ahuramazda on the Supreme Being is *perfectly identical* with the notion of Elohim or Jehovah of the Old Testament;" which seems to us to be going too far. Zoroaster's speculative philosophy was Dualistic, being based on a doctrine of two primeval causes of the real world and of the ideal. His moral philosophy "moved in the triad of Word, Thought, and Deed." Enough remains to us of his teaching to justify Dr. Haug's judgment that "he was a great and deep thinker who stood far above his contemporaries," and, as our author adds, "that the great fame he enjoyed, even with the ancient Greeks and Romans, who were so proud of their own learning, is a sufficient proof of the high and pre-eminent position he must have occupied in the human mind."

It has, however, been reserved for recent generations to discover the true ground upon which that high position rests. How little the Greeks and Romans, nay, even the Persians and Arabians, know about him, may be seen from the learned Hyde's "*Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum*," published at Oxford in 1700. All the information then available on the subject was collected by that accomplished and indefatigable scholar, but it amounts to very little. No real insight into the Zoroastrian religion was possible save through an acquaintance with the two languages utterly unknown to the European scholarship of that day—Avesta, a younger sister of Vedic Sanscrit, which had been dead for more than two thousand years, and Pahlavi, a curious mixture of Aryan and Semitic, which also for long ages had ceased to be commonly spoken. Hyde's book, however, acted as an incitement to others to study the subject. We believe we are correct in saying that by it Anquetil Du Perron was first incited to the undertaking which has won for him such just renown. The history of literature contains few examples of such indefatigable ardour and indomitable perseverance as were displayed by this illustrious Frenchman. Being without the necessary funds to pay for his

passage to the East, he worked his way as a common sailor to Bombay, whither, after many hardships and perils, he arrived in 1754. He remained in Western India for six years, associating with the Parsi Dasturs (or Priests), learning the Avesta and Pahlavi languages, and purchasing copies of the sacred books written in them. In 1761 he returned to France with a hundred and eighty manuscripts, and a number of note-books filled with information received from the Dasturs. These treasures were deposited in the National Library at Paris, where they still remain. In 1771 he published a French translation of the whole Zend-Avesta, or sacred writings of the Parsis as they now exist, which, as Dr. Haug says, created an immense sensation, and was the groundwork for Avesta studies in Europe. "A new world of ideas seemed to be opened to European scholarship. The veil which covered the doctrines of the famous founder of the doctrines of the Magi seemed to be lifted."

At the present day the absolute value of Du Perron's work must be less highly estimated. For the last half-century scholars like Rask and Burnouf, Windischmann and Spiegel, Olshausen and Bopp, Brockhaus and Westergaard have been busy, and we know now in how many places Du Perron is incorrect and inaccurate. He possessed neither Grammar nor Dictionary of Avesta or Pahlavi, and "was utterly unable to distinguish cases, tenses, moods, personal terminations, &c." The wonder is that his mistakes were not more grave and fundamental than in fact they were. Still, his glory remains as "the founder of all subsequent researches made into the Zend-Avesta." The later scholars who have carried those researches forward, so that the secrets of this ancient literature are now open to us, have but built upon his foundation and entered into his labours.

Conspicuous among these scholars is—or alas! was—Dr. Martin Haug, whose essays are collected in the volume before us. His object in writing them was to present, in a readable form, all the materials for judging impartially of the scriptures and religion of the Parsis; and to his pages we must refer those of our readers who are desirous of investigating that subject. We should observe that the editor of the volume, Dr. West, has enriched this edition with many extracts from the author's posthumous papers, and with notes of his own drawn from a variety of sources. It is the chief authority, in English, upon the doctrine of one of the greatest of pre-Christian religious teachers, for there can be no question that the Gâthas—copious extracts from which are translated in it—really contain Zoroaster's teaching. Dr. Haug, indeed, does not hesitate to believe that the peculiar language used in them was the dialect of the Bactrian town or district in which the prophet lived.

The History of Indian Literature. By ALBRECHT WEBER. Translated from the Second German Edition by John Mann, M.A., and Theodor Zachariæ, Ph.D. London: Trübner and Co.

FOR the last quarter of a century Professor Weber's "History of Indian Literature" has been regarded as a standard work in

Germany, and Messrs. Trübner have conferred a great service upon English students by publishing the excellent translation of it now before us. Messrs. Mann and Zachariæ have executed their task most carefully and conscientiously, and they have had the advantage of a certain amount of assistance from the learned author, who, as we are told (Int. p. viii.), read the sheets as they came from the press, and favoured the translators with a number of suggestions, and with many supplementary notes written expressly for this volume.

It is impossible for us in the space at our command to give a detailed account of Professor Weber's work; and it is, indeed, the less necessary that we should do so, as its value has long been acknowledged by the chief Oriental scholars of Europe and America. It must suffice if we here express our full concurrence in the judgment expressed by Professor Cowell, that "this English translation will be of the greatest use to all who wish to take a competent survey of what the Hindoo mind has achieved," and in the dictum of Professor Whitney, that "wherever the language and institutions and history of India are studied, this book must be used and referred to as authority."

Passages from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold. London:
Smith, Elder and Co.

IN this volume Mr. Matthew Arnold has arranged a number of passages from his prose writings under the heads of—I. Literature; II. Politics and Society; III. Philosophy and Religion; so that the judicious public may now find within the reasonable compass of three hundred and fifty pages, a compendium of his opinions upon the chief matters of general interest which have engaged his pen during the last thirty years.

There can be no question that, from a merely literary point of view, Mr. Arnold is entitled to a high place among contemporary writers. In his verses we have refinement of thought, delicacy of touch, polish of style, as well as true poetic feeling, in a high degree; and his prose is little inferior to his poetry. We hardly know more admirable specimens of English, in their way, than some of the passages in this book. Our author somewhere enumerates the qualities of a good prose, "the qualities of regularity, uniformity, precision, and balance." It may be truly said these are qualities which especially distinguish his own compositions.

Such meed of praise we may ungrudgingly give to Mr. Arnold's manner. Of his matter we must speak with greater reserve. We cheerfully recognize the great service which he has done in combating the narrowness, the grossness, the vulgarity, which are the especial notes of the "dismal illiberal lives" of the lower middle class in this country. How admirable is the following passage: "Those who offer us the Puritan type of life, offer us a religion not true, the claims of intellect and knowledge not satisfied, the claims of beauty not satisfied, the claims of manner not satisfied. In its strong sense for conduct that

life touches truth; but its other imperfections prevent it from employing even this sense aright" (p. 96).

But unfortunately Mr Arnold is more successful in pulling down than in building up. Even Puritanism is better than anything which he has to offer to the world in its place. It is better to believe with the Pilgrim Fathers in "a God and Father of our Spirits" than in "a stream of tendency:" better to believe, with Bunyan and Baxter and Howe, that "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," than in the "morality touched by emotion," which the Apostle of Culture preaches. And here we are tempted to quote a passage at which, as it chances, Mr. Arnold's volume lies open before us :

But the mass of plain people hear such talk (as Professor Clifford's) with impatient indignation, and flock all the more eagerly to Messrs. Moody and Sankey. They feel that the brilliant freethinker and revolutionist talks about their religion, and yet is all abroad in it, does not know either that or the great facts of human life: and they go to those who know them better. And the plain people are not wrong. Compared with Professor Clifford, Messrs. Moody and Sankey are masters of the philosophy of history (p. 217).

True. Such is the judgment of "the mass of plain people" on Professor Clifford: and it is right. And such is their judgment on Mr. Matthew Arnold also. And it is right too.

Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Vol. VI. (Supplemental Volume.) *The Diary of the English College, Rome, from 1579 to 1773, with Biographical and Historical Notes. The Pilgrim-Book of the Ancient English Hospice attached to the College from 1580 to 1656, with Historical Notes.* Addenda to previous Volumes. By HENRY FOLEY, S.J. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

WE gladly take the earliest opportunity that has presented itself of calling attention to the sixth volume of the Records of the English Jesuits which Mr. Foley's laborious industry has given to the public. It is almost needless to say that, like all for which we are already indebted to him, this new addition to the literature of the post-Reformation period of English Catholic history is full of edification and interest, and fully up to the high standard of his previous works as regards the wealth and accuracy of the genealogical and other collateral information which his subject demands.

Though this volume is marked by that want of unity which necessarily characterizes anything of a professedly "supplemental" nature, it is of even wider interest than the former Records of the Society, as it is almost wholly taken up with the history of the great English Seminary at Rome, that "fruitful nursery of priests for the English mission and of martyrs in defence of the Catholic faith." That venerable college had its modest beginning in the early autumn of 1576, when William Holt, a newly-ordained priest, and Ralph Standish, an acolyte, arrived in the Eternal City. Dr. Allen, the greatest benefactor that

the Church in England had seen since Mary's time, was the author of this new foundation. Like all other works of God, the English College had its share of crosses and afflictions. First came the quarrels between the English and Welsh students which led to the college being placed (in April, 1579) under the direction of the Jesuits. Soon the spirit of discord was at work again, and, in 1585, Cardinal Saga was appointed to inquire into the causes of the "great trouble" which then threatened to ruin an institution capable of so much good. The same distinguished prelate was again called in, in 1596, and his lengthy report, extending to some sixty-six pages, is now first published from the Vatican Archives. Henceforward the College seems to have prospered, so that during the hundred and ninety-three years of its existence under the care of the Fathers of the Society, thirteen hundred and twenty-eight students had been therein received.

The editor boldly meets the charge which has often been made against those who conducted the English College, namely, that they unduly influenced the students under their care to join the Society of Jesus; and from the statistics which he furnishes it certainly seems as if this accusation must be relegated to the abyss to which so many other calumnies against the Society have already found their way.

Besides the miscellaneous documents which form, so to say, the third section of this volume, there is an interesting transcript of the Pilgrim-Book of the old English Hospice of St. Thomas the Martyr at Rome—an institution which is perpetuated in the English College with which it was incorporated in 1580.

Some farther addenda and State papers, illustrative of former volumes of the *Record* series, complete this valuable work, which has now fairly taken its place, and a high place too, in the esteem of the English world of letters.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow.
Glasgow: James Maclehose.

NEXT to Kant, Hegel has more largely influenced modern philosophical speculation than any other thinker, and it is very curious to observe how many writers who are strongly anti-Hegelian in purpose are penetrated by Hegelian ideas. It is a striking tribute to the many-sidedness of this great metaphysician, of whom it may be said that even his most devoted and attached disciples understand him but in part. The story is, we believe, mythical, which represents him as complaining, "I have met with only one man who understood me, and he indeed misunderstood me." But it is quite certain that thinkers of equal ability and honesty, formed in his school, have issued in the most opposite conclusions. Feuerbach asserts, with much satisfaction that Hegel's doctrine "necessarily leads to Naturalism and Materialism." Principal Caird, on the other hand, finds in his speculations an armoury of Theistic arguments.

Of Dr. Caird's book we cannot pretend here to give a detailed

account. All that we can do is to trace its outlines. His object is to combat Mr. Herbert Spencer's doctrine of the impossibility of any such science as theology or the philosophy of religion. His earlier chapters are occupied with the consideration of the objections to the scientific treatment of religion which are raised from the relative character of human knowledge, the immediate or intuitive nature of religious knowledge and the authoritative nature of religious knowledge. The necessity of religion, the proofs of the existence of God, the Religious Consciousness, the inadequacy of religious knowledge in the unscientific form, and the relation of morality to religion, are then considered; and lastly, the relation of the philosophy to the history of religion is discussed. Dr. Caird's point of view is not ours; and while we gladly acknowledge the religiousness of his mind, the clearness and ease of his style, and his vigour of logic, we hardly think his book will produce much impression upon the class for whose especial benefit it is designed. A not unfriendly critic, writing apparently from an Agnostic standpoint, observes:—

We follow Dr. Caird in his condemnatory criticism of the cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments for the existence of a Deity; but when, after stigmatizing them as inadequate—when, in particular, after refuting the Cartesian form of proof, he sets up his own theory of religious consciousness—when, further, he allows that the presence of a conception in the mind does not demonstrate the existence of a corresponding object out of the mind, and yet makes an exception in favour of the one idea which it is his interest as a theologian to uphold, and so affirms the existence of “a Universal Reason that thinks in us”—we see that he is but repeating the old error, that he is but converting logical abstractions into realities, and calling up in opposition to Mr. Spencer's Absolute an Absolute of his own, which Mr. Spencer would demolish with just as little ceremony as Dr. Caird demolishes Mr. Spencer's metaphysical idol (*Nineteenth Century*, Aug. 1880, p. 316).

For ourselves, we think the most valuable portion of Principal Caird's book is just that portion on the ontological argument to which the writer we are quoting refers, and therefore we will present it in its entirety:—

The ontological argument, as commonly stated, finds in the very idea of God the proof of His existence. The thought of God in the mind demonstrates His Being. This conclusion from Thought to Being constitutes the gist of the argument, though it is presented in different forms by different writers. Sometimes, as we find the argument stated by Anselm and others, the idea of an “absolutely perfect” Being or “most real” Being, which, it is said, we have in our minds, is held to prove his existence, on the curious, and, at first sight, not very conclusive ground, that if such a Being did not actually exist, we could conceive of another who does exist and would, therefore, be more perfect. Or again, with a slight variation of form it is maintained that, Existence being one of the attributes which must be ascribed to an absolutely perfect or infinite Being, the Being of whom we think as absolutely perfect, if He did not actually exist, would lack one of His essential attributes. Once more the argument, as in the representation given of it by Descartes, takes the form of an argument from effect to cause; and the idea of infinite perfection, inasmuch as nothing in the finite world could originate it, is held

to imply the existence of an infinitely perfect Being as its author or inspirer.

At first sight this mode of reasoning involves the most glaring paradoxes, and scarcely admits of serious criticism. To argue that, because a notion in my mind includes existence as one of its elements, therefore a Being corresponding to it must actually exist, seems to be only a foolish play upon words. If the mere fact of my thinking anything does not prove its actual being, the proof does not become any better when the thing I think of is what I call "existence." A notion or conception of existence is not a proof of actual or objective existence, any more than a notion of food or clothing can conjure a banquet on to an empty table, or persuade us that a naked body is warmly clad; or—as it is put in Kant's well-known illustration—any more than the notion of three hundred dollars in my mind proves that I have them in my purse. If existence is an element of perfection, no doubt the idea of a perfect Being must include the idea of His existence; but the presence in my mind of the idea of existence, or of anything else, says nothing as to its objective reality.

It is difficult, however, to conceive that an argument of which the refutation seems so easy and obvious could have imposed itself on thinkers such as those above-named, and on closer examination we shall find that, imperfect as may be the form in which it has often been presented, the principle of this argument is that on which our whole religious consciousness may be said to rest.

It is quite true that there are many things of which, from the mere idea or conception of them in our minds, we cannot infer the objective existence. If existence means, as in the case of Kant's dollars, the accidental existence of particular objects for sensuous perception, such an existence we cannot infer from thought. It is, indeed, of the very nature of such things that, regarded simply in themselves, they either may or may not be; and to infer their necessary existence from the idea of them would be in direct contradiction with that idea. But there are other ideas with respect to which this does not hold good, and there is especially one idea which, whether we are explicitly or only implicitly conscious of it, so proves its reality from thought, that thought itself becomes impossible without it. Its absolute objective reality is so fundamental to thought, that to doubt it implies the subversion of all thought and all existence alike. In a former chapter I attempted to point out the self-contradiction ultimately involved in materialistic theories of mind—viz., that in making thought a function of matter, they virtually made thought a function of itself. In other words, they make *that* the product of matter which is involved in the very existence of matter, or which is the *prius* of matter and of all other existences. Neither organization nor anything else can be conceived to have any existence which does not pre-suppose thought. To constitute the existence of the outward world or of the lowest terms of reality we ascribe to it—say in "atoms," or "molecules," or "centres of force"—you must think them or conceive them as existing for thought; you must needs pre-suppose a consciousness for which and in which all objective existence is. To go beyond, or attempt to conceive of an existence which is prior to and outside of thought, "a thing in itself," of which thought is only the mirror, is self-contradictory, inasmuch as that very thing in itself is only conceivable by, exists only for, thought. We must think it before we can ascribe to it even an existence outside of thought.

But whilst it is true that the priority of thought, or the ultimate unity of thought and being, is a principle to doubt which is impossible, seeing that, in doubting it, we are tacitly asserting the thing we doubt: yet it

must be considered, further, that the unity thus asserted, when we examine what it means, is not the dependence of objective reality on my thoughts or yours, or on the thought of any individual mind. The individual mind which thinks the necessary priority of thought can also think the non-necessity of *its own* thought. There was a time when we were not; and the world and all that is therein we can conceive to be as real, though we, and myriads such as we, no longer existed to perceive and know it. All that I think, all objective existence is relative to thought in this sense, that no object can be conceived as existing except in relation to a thinking subject. But it is not *my* thought in which I am shut up, or which makes or unmakes the world for me, for in thought I have the power of transcending my own individuality and the world of objects opposed to it, and of entering into an idea which unites or embraces both. Nay, the unity of subject and object, of self and the world which is opposed to it, is implied in every act of thought, and though I can distinguish the two, I can no more divide them or conceive of their separate and independent existence, than I can think a centre existing without or independently of a circumference. In thinking myself, my own individual consciousness and an outward world of objects, I at the same time tacitly think or pre-suppose a higher, wider, more comprehensive thought or consciousness which embraces and is the unity of both. The real pre-supposition of all knowledge, or the thought which is the *prius* of all things, is not the individual's consciousness of himself as individual, but a thought of self-consciousness which is beyond all individual selves, which is the unity of all individual selves, and their objects, of all thinkers, and all objects of thought. Or, to put it differently, when we are compelled to think of all existences as relative to thought, and of thought as prior to all, amongst the existences to which it is prior is our own individual self. We can make our individual self, just as much as other things, the object of thought. We can not only think, but we think the individual thinker. We might even say that, strictly speaking, it is not we that think, but the universal reason that thinks in us. In other words, in thinking, we rise to a universal point of view, from which our individuality is of no more account than the individuality of any other object. Hence, as thinking beings we dwell already in a region in which our individual feelings and opinions, as such, have no absolute worth, but that which alone has absolute worth is a thought which does not pertain to us individually, but is the universal life of all intelligences, or the life of universal absolute intelligence.

What, then, we have thus reached as the true meaning of the ontological proof is this, that as spiritual beings our whole conscious life is based on a universal self-consciousness, an absolute Spiritual life, which is not a mere subjective notion or conception, but which carries with it the proof of its necessary existence or reality.

And now, finally, if we consider what is involved in the idea of God, and of His relation to the world which we have reached as the true meaning of the ontological argument, we shall find that we have here the deepest basis of religion, and that in which lies its necessity for man as a spiritual self-conscious being. If we think of God as an infinite which is the negation of the finite, or which is related to a finite world only by the bond of arbitrary will, there is no room under such a conception for any religion which is spiritual, or which involves a conscious relation of the human spirit to the divine. But if we conceive of God as Infinite Mind, or as that universal infinite Self-consciousness on which the conscious life of all finite minds is based, and whose very nature it is to reveal Himself in and to them; then we have before us a conception of the nature of God and of

the nature of man which makes religion necessary by making it, in one sense, the highest realization of both (p. 159).

Dr. Caird's point of view, as we have said, is not ours. We cannot follow him when he speaks of an "Absolute Intelligence," meaning an intelligence which is shared by all human beings. What he exactly understands indeed, by such an intelligence is not quite clear. He considers it, apparently, to be distinct from God; and in that case, although his theory would not be Pantheistic, still it would tend to destroy individuality and free-will. The only sense in which an Absolute Intelligence can be admitted is this—that there are certain ideas which human nature always, everywhere, and *almost* intuitively arrives at. And we freely admit that, viewed in this light, most of Dr. Caird's reasoning, in the passage we have quoted, remains true and cogent.

A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant, with an Historical Introduction. By EDWARD CAIRD, M.A. Glasgow: J. Maclehose.

PROFESSOR CAIRD, like his relative the Principal, is a disciple of Hegel, and it is from the Hegelian standpoint that he discourses in this volume upon the Critique of Pure Reason. His method is to take each considerable section of the Critique, to state its meaning, as he understands it, and then to add his own comments and criticism. And this task he has admirably executed. He is always accurate, clear, and vigorous, and whether we agree with him or not, it is impossible to doubt his desire to be fair and unbiassed. To which let us add, that occasionally his observations are not devoid of a certain pungency, as in the following passage:—

We see thus that Kant is "in a strait betwixt two." His limitation of knowledge to phenomena implicitly involves the doctrine that the ultimate reality is perception or even sensation. Yet, at the same time he maintains that sensation as such is nothing for knowledge, and that experience involves reference of the transitory sensation to a permanent object and subject, each of which is conceived as a real existence independent of the perception through which it is known. This, however, would be an existence not experienced, and Kant, therefore, holds it to be no existence at all, except as a remembered or anticipated experience. But "if water chokes us, what shall we drink?" the very process of knowledge is a process of illusion. It is a process of the organization of sensations by reference to an object and a subject which (at least as they are determined in this process) have no reality. Being is thus absolutely separated from knowing; for the very process of knowledge is a reference of being to that which is not, or, at least, is not as it is known. The shade of Berkeley is surely avenged on the philosopher who declares that knowledge, inasmuch as it necessarily transcends sensation, necessarily refers to the unreal (p. 392).

Saint Francis of Assisi. By the Rev. F. LÉOPOLD DE CHÉRANCÉ, O.S.F.C. Translated from the French, with the Author's special permission, by R. F. O'CONNOR. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

IN spite of the numerous previous lives of St. Francis, this newest one is a welcome addition; and its reproduction in an English

dress deserves to take a very high place among our modern Catholic books. St. Francis of Assisi is one of those old Saints who have of late years found Protestant biographers. The present volume compares favourably even with the brilliant and finished style of Mrs. Oliphant's *Life*; whilst it is incomparably its superior in matter, as being from the pen of a learned and loving son of the Saint. Here there is no attempt to combine in a solution of high criticism both an acceptance and a denial of the miraculous *stigmata*, nor to reduce workings of divine grace to abnormal developments of goodness and nervous sensibility. We have here the Seraph of Assisi drawn with an able and a loving hand, and with such faith and devotion that the pleasant perusal must almost infallibly touch the heart. It is just this admirable combination and balance of historical drawing, with the qualities of unction, spiritual warmth, and spontaneous moralizing, that is most pleasing in Father de Chérancé's graceful volume. It is gratifying to find that it is not merely a well-formed and soulless portraiture of the times and the deeds of the Saint—not a biography merely, but a book of hagiography.

But even as a record it has claims to special notice. The author, when accumulating materials for this *Life*, had the good fortune to discover a valuable manuscript of the fifteenth century—itsself only a copy of an older one of the thirteenth century. This is the famous *Chronicle of Bernard of Besse*, a contemporary of St. Francis, of which the Bollandists (though aware of its existence) could not procure a copy. In addition to other great advantages from this discovery, it throws light upon the character of the well-known "*Fioretti*." "Most of the anecdotes and legends of the *Fioretti*, the wolf of Gubbio, St. Francis's breviary, the curing of the leper, and a hundred others, were only the literal reproduction of the *Chronicle of Bernard of Besse*." And the latter deserves the same credence as Thomas of Celano, the three companions, or St. Bonaventure himself.

When an octavo volume of four hundred pages is written throughout with unvarying ability, and is marked at almost every page by passages of deep interest or of graceful writing, it becomes difficult to select a specimen page. Here is the Saint's arrival on the summit of Alverno:—

Our travellers at length reached the summit, and the pleasure of having arrived at their journey's end made them forget the fatigue of the ascent. Francis sat down under an old oak-tree, and looking round at the virgin forests and the immense panorama disclosed to his gaze—the bright sky overhead, the magnificent plains of Tuscany at his feet, and the peaks of Monte Cimone in the distance—he was enraptured with the beauty of the situation. The solitude of Alverno pleased and the austere majesty of the mountains enchanted him. At the same moment a flock of birds swarmed about him, fluttered over his head, hands, and shoulders, welcoming him with their cries and flapping their wings. Although accustomed to their caresses, he marvelled much at this sight, and said to his companions, "I see we must remain here, since our arrival causes such joy to our brothers the birds" (p. 299). . . . The second apparition (on Alverno) followed close upon the first, and was still more explicit.

Friar Leo, having come about midnight to knock at Francis's door, and getting no reply, had the curiosity to look through the chinks to see what was going on. The grotto was inundated with supernatural light. Francis was kneeling, his arms as usual crossed upon his breast; his box-wood beads hung by his side, while his right hand was pressed to his heart, letting the modest crucifix he had so often bedewed with his tears rest upon his left arm. A bright beam of light coming down from heaven illumined his brow, and his eyes were fixed on an invisible object which seemed to attract his gaze and absorb his soul. The Master and servant were exchanging some words; but Friar Leo could not gather the meaning of this divine dialogue; he only remarked that the Saint repeated from time to time his usual prayer, "Who are you, Lord, and who am I?" Then he saw him rise, put his hand in his bosom three times, and each time extend it towards the mysterious flame; after which the voices became mute, the light disappeared, and all was darkness and silence. Friar Leo felt like a man who had fallen. He looked around him. It was the same landscape; the beech trees cast the same awesome shadows; the greyish rocks reflected the silvery light of the stars; but everything appeared to him duller and more sombre than before. He glanced back at the cavern; it had resumed its austere aspect, and no trace remained of the divine visit: it was no longer the gate of heaven (p. 305).

The French original appears with the high approval of Cardinal Pie, Mgr. Mermillod, and Mgr. Freppel—a *trinum perfectum* of worthy patronage—and has quickly reached a second edition. We have no opportunity of comparing the translation with its original, but that is scarcely necessary. The translator is to be congratulated on having produced a very readable and smooth translation, while the publishers have contributed a perfection of material and outward style that is well spent on this excellent work. We have noticed some "wills" for "shalls," and here and there some foreign constructions that might have been avoided. And why are the poor Clares styled Clarisses, without either italics or quotation marks—why indeed at all? And there should be a good Index to so valuable a book. There is none. But knowing well the difficulties of idiomatic translation, we willingly add that the blemishes are very few, and so minor as not to mar the great general excellence. The translator has also enriched the book with several valuable notes: those furnishing details as to the Franciscan Order in this kingdom add greatly to its completeness. We should be glad to welcome more Saints' lives as admirably written as Father de Chérance's St. Francis, and brought home to the English Catholic public in equally excellent translations.

The Spirit of Nature. Being a Series of Interpretative Essays on the History of Matter from the Atom to the Flower. By H. BELLYSE BAILDON, B.A. Cantab. London: J. and A. Churchill. 1880.

THIS is one of the most refreshing books we have for a long time met with. It is by a scientific student, but can be recommended for its charming style and healthy tone. The author has an enthusiastic love of nature, a marvellous power of original illustration, and a facile, well-trained pen. It is delightful to see him weave the web of

glowing fancy over such dry science topics as atoms and cells, chemical elements, their laws and combinations. Whilst when he describes the beauties and the adaptations of plant-life—algæ and lichens, “the first hardy colonists of a naked planet;” fungi, “the ministers of decay and corruption;” ferns, “the classics of Nature, owing their charm to symmetry, balance, refinement, and restraint;” and higher orders of flowering plants in their turn, he delights us with a wonderful combination of hard science with the flavour and elegance of most poetic prose. His pages on the “snow-fed pines” are extremely beautiful. To him these hardy winter-loving *Coniferæ* that with iron grip fasten their root-cordage around the boulders and in the seams of cliff and precipice, and are fed with the ethereal food of dew, mist, rain and snow, speak a lesson.

The motto of the tree is “Excelsior,” and its forests sweep up the mountain flanks in huge green waves, in serried hosts, as of a gallant army flinging itself indomitably up the steep glacis and against the mighty outworks and bastions that defend the fortresses of the frost and the shining citadels of snow. Like a sane yet aspiring soul, the Pine anchors itself to the solid fundamental rock, and straining upward, with constant purpose, is nourished by the pure skies to which it ever tends, fed with food from the heaven to which it points (p. 114).

But neither with the science nor with the style of Mr. Baildon’s book are we so much pleased as with its aim and the effectual manner in which he attains it.

My general aim is not so much to discredit Darwinism proper, as held by the original author of the doctrine, as to attack, and if possible demolish, that materialistic and atheistic system, for whose bricks Darwin himself has but supplied the stubble (p. 6). My own conception with regard to the creation and origin of the physical universe is best expressed by saying that I conceive the becoming of physical phenomena to have been evolutionary as to mode, but miraculous or divine as to cause (p. 45).

A Catholic reader will not agree with all Mr. Baildon’s views and opinions, but his main thesis that there is a Supreme Will which has created and which conserves the visible universe, is sound, and is excellently defended. Whilst his replies to such dicta as that now famous “promise and potency of all terrestrial life” in “matter,” are not less eloquent than forcible and scientific. In one place Mr. Baildon having laid down very clearly the distinction between science and philosophy—the function of science being to observe, discover, register, classify, and accurately denominate and particularize phenomena, and that of philosophy to discover the ultimate reason and cause of phenomena—the one limited by sense, the other stretching to intangible relations—very pertinently subjoins :

The distinction thus indicated is highly important in this regard, that as the functions of science and philosophy differ, so also do the mental faculties which they call into play and require for their prosecution. Hence a man may distinguish himself in science and yet prove a mere tyro and blunderer in philosophy, while another, ill-adapted for laborious observation, calculation, and experiment, may wield the results of science

in a masterly manner to philosophic ends. The requisite faculties and tastes for both might be combined, it is true, but we must bear in mind that the probabilities are greatly against such a combination, and therefore should be chary of accepting the attempted philosophy of a scientific man, as though it were necessarily of authoritative weight. In the converse case the warning is not so necessary, perhaps, as a philosophic writer usually prefers reference to acknowledged scientific authority to original investigation. By all means let science become as powerful and perfect as she can, but let her not be suffered to lay on our souls the yoke of a coarse and mechanical philosophy (p. 44).

Sanctorale Catholicum; or, Book of Saints; with Notes Critical, Exegetical, and Historical. By the Rev. ROBERT OWEN, B.D. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

MR. OWEN has here attempted an English Martyrology for members of his own communion. In one volume of four hundred pages he gives brief notices of saints and holy persons according to the date of their festival. On the one hand his notices are generally much longer than those of the Roman Martyrology—on the other vastly more brief than the lives by Mr. Baring-Gould. With Mr. Owen's apparent theories about a Holy Church, and the "preposterous" idea of requiring obedience to Rome as a condition of sanctity, it is unnecessary to speak here; it is the usual High Church view. We have the now familiar mixture of lives of saints whom his class admire, written as even a Catholic might write them, and other lives written with an anti-Roman virulence quite rivalling anything from Low Church opponents. It is a book that Catholics can make no use of, we may therefore dismiss it with few words. Contempt for Roman canonization as distinguished from that of the early church, and remarks on the Breviary such as those in the note to St. Frances de Chantal do not call for reply here. Against taste, however bad, and individual preferences—where individuals owe a "preposterous" obedience to no Church or Pope or earthly authority—there is no argument. It is quite useless to ask why under September 29 we have St. Michael as the angel to whom our prayers are committed, or a "Sanctorale Catholicum" at all, whilst the xxii. of the Thirty-nine Articles condemns such prayers as a Romish "fond thing" and "repugnant to the Word of God." It is quite useless to ask any of the thousand questions we might ask—with bewilderment if we did not know Ritualists and Anglicans and their singular ways. Mr. Owen, to give this true Anglican tone to his "Communion of Saints," has introduced on his own authority several "just men" who have "flourished in the Anglican communion since its severance from the See of Rome." Among these we have, indeed, no "abbats," nor virgins, nor martyrs, nor miracle workers. But we have such bishops as Bull and Cosin. Of emperors we have—*mirabile dictu*—Napoleon I.; of priests we have George Herbert, "a married priest" who exhibited "that beautiful ideal," that "type" which "the early church rarely, and the mediæval church never, allowed to develop

itself." Several other men have been canonized by Mr. Owen; King Arthur of the Round Table for instance. Under January 16 we have Robert Nelson, "a pious layman," who promoted the efforts of "the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;"—why did not Mr. Owen also canonize Horatio of the same name for "doing his duty" as England expected? Perhaps nothing has astonished us more than to find "John Wesley, priest," in this distracted "Sanctorale Catholicum." "A worldly episcopate" on the one hand, and on the other "his own vehement temper" without "the wholesome restraints of monastic obedience," are set down as the causes of his originating a "schism detrimental to the prosperity" of the Church of England. Could anything from Puzzledom itself rival this characteristic production of that modern Anglicanism, so weak of vision that it cannot recognize an enemy—which blames everywhere and praises everywhere; postures and prattles so unctuously about "a Holy Church" that nowhere exists, and mixes up contradictions, and all sacred and profane things in such a hopeless self-satisfied muddle?

Vie du R. P. Jean Eudes. Par le P. JULIEN MARTINE, Eudiste. Manuscrit Inédit, publié et annoté par l'Abbé LE COINTE. 2 Tomes. Caen: F. Le Blanc-Hardel, 1880.

Life of Venerable Father Eudes. Translated from the French by Rev. Father COLLINS. London: Thos. Richardson & Son. 1880.

IT is wonderful that Père Martine should ever have had leisure to write, and still more wonderful that, a hundred and fifty years after, the Abbé Le Cointe should have had the courage to edit, this long, prolix, and wearisome life of Père Eudes. The art of biography is conspicuous by its absence. The work is in fact only a minutely detailed journal of each sermon, mission, letter, or undertaking as it occurred. Two large octavo volumes of nine hundred and fifty pages are filled with ever-recurring repetitions. The particulars of each mission, though they were very much alike, are given with the awful scrupulousness as to petty incidents that marks a police report. Every time a person of merit or rank is mentioned, all his titles or claims to respect are rehearsed with a cruel oblivion of past repetitions. Nothing is omitted; so that instead of an attractive life of a very remarkable man, the ordinary reader is repelled. This is much to be regretted, as the life of Père Eudes furnishes abundant material for a very edifying, instructive, and interesting biography.

John Eudes, a missionary of apostolic zeal and success, was born in November, 1601. His devotion to the spiritual needs of the plague-stricken in France, in 1627, was simply heroic. M. Olier called him "the wonder of the age," and Bossuet spoke of his sermons as models of what Christian sermons ought to be. He founded a congregation of priests which familiarly bears his name, and an order of women which, by the success it has achieved, is Père Eudes grandest title to the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. The

order of Our Lady of Charity, better known as the "Good Shepherd" nuns, are his spiritual children, and have worked too long and too happily in rescuing the fallen and preserving the tempted of their sex, to need words of notice or eulogy. We learn from Father Collins's Preface that there are thirteen houses of their institute in the British dominions, and thirty in the United States. Père Eudes died in 1680; his religious have just celebrated his second centenary. He was declared Venerable by Pius IX., on February 7, 1874, and will, it is confidently hoped, soon be raised to the honours of solemn canonization.

Father Collins's volume is, as to bulk, the very antipodes of Père Martine's. But in his seventy small pages he succeeds in giving a good general idea of Père Eudes' work and claims to veneration. It is admirably adapted for distribution, but does not pretend to be a full life. Such a life, as interesting as it might easily be made, and within such limits as would adapt it to the opportunities of our short human existence, and written in English, is a desideratum.

Papes et Sultans. Par FÉLIX JULIEN. Paris: E. Plon et Cie. 1879.

AT the beginning of 1878, two weighty items of news flew through Europe on the same day: Pius IX. was dead, and the Russians were at Constantinople. The two theocracies that weighed on Europe are gone, said the *Journal des Débats*: M. Julien replies: "ils se trompaient." In Europe there has ever been but one theocracy—that at Rome where the spiritual power was shrined in the most straitened of temporal kingdoms. And at Constantinople the temporal power always dominated: it was the Empire *par excellence* of force and conquest. But the two events draw attention to the opposing part these two powers have played in European politics. From age to age, we follow these two figures which so long occupied Europe, the Pope to defend it, the Sultan to enslave it. To trace this conflict between the sword of Mohammed and the temporal power and influence of the Popes, is the object of M. Julien's book.

In our own day it has appeared clear to many statesmen that the empire of the Crescent encumbered the ground and lay with the crushing weight of supreme evil on many helpless Christian provinces. From the first, the Popes with the instinct of faith saw in the Sultan the enemy to Christian Europe. But for the scarcely aided efforts of Pope after Pope, Northern Europe might now be recovering by intermittent revolutions from the yoke of Islam. "Si nous sommes libres, savants et chrétiens, c'est à elle (la tiare) que nous le devons." On the one hand, Mohammed II., Soliman; on the other Nicholas V., Calixtus III., Sixtus IV., Adrian VI., between them wars and struggles on land and sea, the siege of Rhodes, and the final struggle of Lepanto. These are the chief incidents of this grand epic in prose. It is a valuable book; a very important aspect of European history is treated in a spirit of just enthusiasm for the great Popes who figured therein as the saviours of Christendom.

1. *The Brigand Chief*, and other Tales. By Lady HERBERT. London : R. Washbourne. 1880.
2. *Now is the Accepted Time*, &c. By Lady HERBERT.
3. *What a Child Can Do*. By Lady HERBERT.
4. *Sowing Wild Oats*, and other Tales. By Lady HERBERT.
5. *The Two Hosts*, and other Tales. By Lady HERBERT.
6. *The Rod that Bore Blossoms*, &c. By MARIE CAMERON.
7. *The Golden Thought of Queen Beryl*, &c. By MARIE CAMERON.
8. *Clare's Sacrifice*: a Tale for First Communicants. By C. M. O'HARA.
9. *Nellie Gordon, The Factory Girl*, &c. By M. A. PENNELL. All same Publisher.

LADY HERBERT'S excellent series of "True Wayside Tales" are here published separately, and in a form convenient for distribution. They will serve admirably for small prizes to children of almost any age, as they are both simply told, and yet carry morals that suit the needs of men and women. Respect for our holy religion, for some one of its sacraments or observances, horror of vice, or love of virtue, is the aim of each story. "The Martyr's Children," in the first volume, is an episode in the massacre of Christians by the Druses in the Lebanon in 1860. "Now is the Accepted Time" is a true incident in a priest's "sick calls," showing the danger of delaying the last sacraments; whilst "Marry in Haste and Repent at Leisure," under the same cover, is calculated to warn young people of the evil of selfishness, more effectually than a sermon. "What a Child Can Do" is a pathetic little episode from the home of a drunkard, converted by his child's Hail Mary's. "The Two Hosts" is another incident in a priest's sick visits, and a warning against a too frequent occasion of sin to poor girls. These little stories would brighten the half-hour's visit at the bed-sides of the suffering poor; the manner in which they are told attracts and pleases. The tales are not made pins for long moralizing: the incident is vividly put and left to work its own good effect. Much the same recommendation may be given of the other stories, though "The Golden Thought of Queen Beryl" is a legend for children. "Nellie Gordon" is the story—very touchingly told—of the death-bed of a magdalen, saved by the prayers of her little brother, whom she has shielded from harm in the midst of her own misery and misfortune.

Mémoire pour la défense des Congrégations Religieuses; suivi de notices sur les instituts visés par les Décrets du 29 Mars. Paris: Poussielgue frères. 1880.

WE commented in our last number on the important statistical work of M. Keller, "Les Congrégations Religieuses en France; leurs œuvres et leurs services." The valuable contribution now before us, to what is still in France a burning question of the hour, is even more interesting, because it is not statistical, but explanatory and historical. It was a happy idea that all the Congregations of Men threatened by the late Decrees should join in compiling an authentic

account, each of its own history, purpose, and actual state. No editor's name appears; but the preface, or introduction, is admirably written. The notice on each Congregation is modestly, but eloquently expressed, and these notices contain, in most cases, an exhaustive and most useful list of dates and persons connected with the development of the religious life in France during the last thirty years. The general reader will find much that is quite new to him in these authentic accounts of the different Orders. The history of the Trappists is itself a romance, from the day that Dom Augustine de Lestrange (De Rancé's lieutenant) carried out the bold design of saving La Trappe from the destruction of the great Revolution, by transporting it to Switzerland, to that in which this little-known monastic champion died at the head of sixteen communities, containing nine hundred and thirty-four monks. The touching story of Père Muard and the Benedictines of La Pierre-qui-vire forms another chapter which will probably be novel to the greater number of readers. These men of God are perhaps the strictest Order in the Church. The most contemplative of the Orders have little difficulty in proving that they are, in the words of one of the apologists, "religieux modernes et français." The Cistercians of the historic isle of St. Honorat, opposite Cannes, have been entrusted with the management of the life-saving apparatus which has been established at that dangerous point. A principal part of their work is to fire the guns which carry the ropes that are flung out to vessels in distress. The good monks have become accomplished artillerymen; they understand all the mysteries of "sauvetage"—hawsers, tackle, knots, cartridges, fuses, rope-carrying bullets, buoys, and everything. Of the Dominican revival there is a well-written account, and we learn that the Order counts in France at this moment three hundred and fifty professed religious, and something like one hundred novices. The Carmelites, besides invoking their grand traditions, can point to their services in the South of France during the cholera of 1854, and their devotion during the last great war—a devotion which made M. Challemel-Lacour say to one of them, "I have seen your behaviour in the field of battle; and the Cross of the brave must decorate your breast." The "Mémoire" does not omit the Jesuits; and it concludes with brief notices of those younger and smaller "congregations" which have done so much in recent years to revive piety among all classes in France, and to carry the faith of Christ to every quarter of the world.

Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty and the Reformation Period.

By S. HUBERT BURKE. Vol. II. London: John Hodges, 24, King William Street, W.C.

THE second volume of Mr. Burke's valuable contribution to the history of the important period which he has undertaken to illustrate, has recently appeared, and carries on the record of the momentous political and religious changes which then took place through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary.

The present generation is undoubtedly fortunate in possessing, in the Rolls Series and kindred trustworthy publications, means of which our forefathers never dreamed, of arriving at the true state of the case of that much debated event, the English Reformation; and fortunate, too, in possessing a school of historians who are not afraid of unveiling the past, even though their labours reveal the iniquity of men whom England's so-called Church acknowledges for its founders. Not that this commendable spirit of inquiry after truth for truth's sake is universal; the ready sale of Mr. Froude's writings, and the ever new editions of Foxe's "Martyrology" prove that such is not the case; but, nevertheless, all things considered, there are great hopes that before long the people of this land will read their past history aright, and profit by the lessons which it must needs teach them.

We attach great importance to Mr. Burke's work, as it is, we believe, the first attempt on any considerable scale, to collect and arrange, in a living picture, the men and women who made the England of to-day. It is needless to say, that this effort, like all other such, seriously and conscientiously undertaken, and aided by a graphic and attractive style, must do immense good. We sincerely trust that it may meet the success it deserves, and aid in the overthrow of that huge idol of lying and misrepresentation hitherto known as the history of the English Reformation. "I cannot help saying," says Mr. Burke, "there would be an inevitable change in all truth-loving minds, if the masses had the opportunity, courage, or candour to read outside of those Puritan histories whose success has been secured in proportion to their misrepresentation or intolerance" (p. 48.) Here then they have such an opportunity: will they have the courage and candour to profit by it?

Crosby Records; a Cavalier's Note-Book. Being Notes, Anecdotes, and Observations of WILLIAM BLUNDELL, of Crosby, Lancashire. Edited by the Rev. T. ELLISON GIBSON. London: Longmans.

MR. BLUNDELL, of Crosby, has obliged us with this interesting excerpt from his MS. treasures, admirably edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. T. Ellison Gibson. It gives the kind of evidence so much wanted in our day—the evidence of sufferers.

In 1590, the Blundell of that day had "harboured" a priest. He was sent to prison to Lancaster. In prison, put there also for religion, died Worthington, of Blainscoe. Blundell died there 1591–2. The agents in the outrages at Crosby were Chatterton (Chaderton), the pretended "Bishop" of Chester, and an obscure minister, John Nutter, parson of Sephton, who, for some reason or other, was called "the golden ass of Queen Elizabeth" (p. 15). They got William Blundell, son of the Blundell who died at Lancaster, to Croydon, before Whitgift, the pretended Archbishop of Canterbury, "where we were adjudged to prison, Mr. Latham to the Fleete, and I [William Blundell] to the Gatehouse at Westminster, where I remained till the 12th July, 1595." In 1611, Catholics having been refused burial at Sefton, this same

William Blundell made a churchyard for Catholics in his own grounds. The result is quoted (p. 18) from Rushworth. Some of his tenants had resisted—as they had a right to resist—the infamous fines for recusancy, that is, for remaining Catholics and refusing all participation in the abominable State imposture. Upon this he was tried in the Star Chamber, in 1629.

And ye defendant Blundell being a Popish recusant convict enclosed a piece of ground and fenced it, part with a stone wall and part with a hedge and ditch, and kept and used the same for the space of ten years for the burial of Popish recusants and seminary priests; and for these offences two of the rioters were fined £500 a-piece, and three others £100 a-piece; and Blundell for procurement of the riots, and erecting the church yard, £2000. All committed to ye Fleet, and the walls and mounds of the church yard to be pulled down by the sheriff, and ye ground laid waste by decree read at the assizes.

This may be taken as an "Eirenicon of the seventeenth century." There are plenty more, and of a worse kind. But here we have Catholics in sight of their own churchyard occupied by heretics, in 1629, refused sepulture there, and bullied, fined, and imprisoned for making a new one, and the new one desecrated, certainly in the least offensive way.

The writer was grandson of this William. He also was William. He was born in 1620, and at fifteen married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston. He received in 1642 a commission of Captain of Dragoons from Sir Thomas Tyldesley. Like all Catholics he was heartily loyal, and like all Catholics he was repaid by ceaseless persecution. In 1694, when he was seventy-four, some rogues called King's messengers, "with two of the informers, invaded the Hall at Crosby," and leaving him because of his age and lameness, gratified their instincts by carrying off pistols, swords, horses, and saddles. His son was also taken. They were acquitted; which, as they were guiltless of participation in any plot, is surprising. In 1698 the Cavalier ended his life at Crosby. We refrain purposely from multiplying extracts from this Note-Book of his. Let it be read by us all, and by those too who are not, but we hope may be, with us. Mr. Blundell and the careful and competent editor have conferred a favour on those who read past history with a grateful feeling for the light which it throws on history of quite another sort now making itself under our eyes. We can laugh now at the absurdities of which we hear. But it was no laughing matter when vulgar rogues like Chaderton were hunting Catholics to death and desolating Catholic houses. Let us hope that Mr. Blundell may give us some at least of the letters of which mention is made in this book of "Crosby Records."

The Passage of the Four GAP: a New Explanation of Romans ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; with its Bearing on the Intrinsic and Extrinsic Systems of Justification by Faith, &c. By CHARLES CHOLMONDELEY, Canon of Shrewsbury. London: Williams and Norgate. 1880.

THIS book has cost its learned author much thought and many years of work. It is an attempt to explain in a novel manner a well-known passage of the Epistle to the Romans; and the author thinks that if his interpretation be adopted, the "intrinsic" nature of Justification by Faith becomes as certain as the movement of the earth, the circulation of the blood, and the law of gravitation. We are bound to confess that he has utterly failed to convince us of the validity of an explanation which he openly professes to be perfectly unheard of in antiquity, and undiscoverable in all the commentaries of all the commentators. The truth seems to be that his "interpretation" is not an interpretation, but an inference. The point in question is the connection between verses 13 and 14—each of which contains one of the four *γὰρ*, the other two occurring in verses 11 and 12; but verses 11 and 12 are not immediately under discussion. Verse 13 runs thus—(we must quote in English)—"For not the hearers of the law are just before God; but the doers of the law shall be justified." Verse 14 is, with most exegetists, a proof of the proposition here laid down: "For when the Gentiles who have not the law do by nature those things that are of the law, these having not the law are a law to themselves." The apostle says that *doers* of the law are justified; and the Gentiles may themselves *do* (the works of) the law, for they have (equivalently) the law, such law being the light of Nature which writes in their hearts the substance of what God reveals in His written law. The Canon, however, as we understand him, would interpret thus: *Hearers* of the law are not justified, *doers* are; for it is not "the law" at all which justifies, but the *justice* which underlies the law—this it is which justifies, and this is proved by the fact that the Gentiles have no "law," but are a law to themselves, that is, are within the "justice" which is the law's essence. We confess to have found the Canon very obscure, and are by no means confident that we have understood him. But if we have, it seems clear enough that, as we have said, he makes an inference instead of an interpretation. He has no right (exegetically) to say that *νόμος*—which means the law of Moses—implies an interior justice which justifies. "How is the Gentile of himself the law," he asks; and his reply is, "Because that justice which the *νόμος* manifests *he* manifests." Not at all; but because his own natural reason supplies him with the substance of that which the revealed law is intended to make clear and to enforce. Verse 14, he contends, sustains verse 13, "because the *underlying fact* which forms the ground or inner reason for the proposition of verse 14, is the reason, and the reason offered for the double proposition of verse 13." An "underlying fact" cannot well be the "reason offered." Such a fact, by the force of the term, is implied merely, and not expressed; and if a reason is "offered" it must surely be expressed and not implied. The book, which bristles

all over with Greek, and is written in a very close and crabbed style, shows great erudition, and contains much that will be interesting to scholars.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt. (The Hibbert Lectures, 1879.) By P. LE PAGE RENOUF. London: Williams and Norgate. 1880.

THE conclusions of one of the first of living Egyptologists on the Religion of Ancient Egypt cannot fail to be valuable and interesting. "Egypt" will always remain one of the most attractive of studies and the most fascinating of histories. At least three thousand years before Christ, there was in Egypt "a powerful and elaborately organized monarchy, enjoying a material civilization in many respects not inferior to that of Europe in the last century." Of a state of barbarism or even of patriarchal life anterior to the monumental period, Mr. Renouf tells us there is no historical vestige. What kind of God or gods was worshipped by the builders of Thebes and Memphis and the Pyramids? Mr. Renouf claims to have made a discovery, or an induction, which, if it be undisputed by other experts, will make these lectures remembered by many outside the class of Egyptian students. The Egyptian deities, he says, are innumerable. He several times made the attempt to draw up an index of the divine names occurring in the texts, but it was a hopeless task. But there are clear indications that a large number of these names refer to one and the same deity; that the very greatest names of the Egyptian deities are curiously mixed up one with another; and that monotheism was held, at least in words, by the very men who worshipped those mean manifestations of divinity with which the Roman satirist and the early Christian Fathers have made us familiar. There are texts, Mr. Renouf assures us, in which Ra, Osiris, Ammon, and all other gods disappear except as *names*, and the unity of God is asserted in the noblest language of monotheistic religion. And this sublimer part of the Egyptian religion is demonstrably ancient; grossness and corruption increase as we draw nearer the Christian era. How are we to account for the two facts, (1) that the doctrine of one God and of many gods was taught by the same men; (2) that no inconsistency between the two doctrines was thought of? Mr. Renouf finds the answer to this in the meaning of the word *nutur*, the Egyptian word usually translated "God." And this is the novel and original view to which allusion has already been made. In a masterly analysis of texts and authorities, Mr. Renouf shows that this word *nutur* does not originally mean "God," but "Power." It will be observed at once that this is the very meaning of the Hebrew *El*. We see here, then, the reason why the same word was applied by the Egyptians to the one Power, and to all Powers which proceeded from that Supreme Power. These Powers, at first, were considered as dependent on the one Power, but as time went this theistic conception gave way to the pantheistic, and the Powers and their source were held to be one in substance. Scholars

were already of opinion that the most ancient discoverable religion in Egypt was monotheism. Mr. Renouf has made this much clearer by pointing out the passages which prove this, and by explaining the connection of the two sets of passages which make for monotheism and polytheism respectively. He also draws attention to the inference that the "gods" of Egypt were not the ghosts of ancestors (as Mr. Darwin says the gods of all savages originally are), nor representatives of abstract principles, nor impure spirits nor foul demons; but that they, as well as those of the Indian, Greek or Teutonic mythologies, were the "powers" of Nature, or rather the "strong ones" who were ordained and governed by an ever-living and active Supreme Intelligence. All this is further proof that monotheism is earlier in human history than polytheism, and points to the degradation of a primitive revelation. In religion at least, man, when left to himself, has not developed, but fallen.

La Vita di S. Filippo Neri. Libri tre. Di ALFONSO CAPECELATRO, dell'Oratorio, Prelato domestico di S. S., Sotto Bibliotecario di S. R. Chiesa. Napoli. 1879.

ONE of the most gracious and attractive, if not one of the most prominent characters in the religious history of his time, living in the heart of Rome, the centre of Christianity, spanning with his long life nearly the whole of the eventful sixteenth century, founder of a Congregation widely spread through the Church, friend and intimate of a crowd of Saints, theologians, Popes, men of arts and letters, it is only natural that St. Philip Neri should have found many biographers.

The best known "Life" is that by the Oratorian Bacci, written about thirty years after the Saint's death, and compiled from the process of his canonization. The English translation of this work forms part of the Oratorian series of "Lives of the Saints and Servants of God." It may safely be predicted that it will never be supplanted in general estimation. Simple in style, always keeping the author out of sight and the Saint alone in view, like the Gospels, making no reflections, but leaving the facts in all their simplicity to speak to the heart, it is a model of biographies of its kind, of that kind which belongs rather to spiritual than to historical literature. It is plain, however, that there was ample room for a life of another kind. It was impossible that the immense personal influence that St. Philip wielded at Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century should not have brought him into contact with some of the great events of his time.

Mgr. Capececlatro has had especially in view to trace such points of contact between the Saint and contemporary history, and he has fulfilled his task with all the success which his "Life of St. Catherine of Siena" had prepared us to look for. Moreover, a diligent search into the archives of his own Congregation of the Naples Oratory, the Ambrosiana at Milan, and other sources, has enabled him to add many details, especially connected with the later years of the Saint, when the

Oratories of Rome and Naples were in continual exchange of letters, which greatly increase the life-like reality of the picture he has drawn. At the same time, these two volumes are overflowing with the tenderest devotion to the Saint, and often draw out the spiritual lessons of his life with extraordinary power and persuasiveness. We venture to think, therefore, that the greatest admirers of Bacci's beautiful "Life" will still give a grateful welcome to Mgr. Capecelatro's labours. It is impossible to give any idea of such a work by reference to particular points, but it may induce some of our readers to go to the book itself if we mention a few of those which have especially struck us.

Among them we shall place the summing-up of St. Philip's first thirty-five years, in the chapter entitled *The Last Year before the Priesthood* (*Lib. I. capo viii.*). The author shows how essentially these years were those of a layman, and the especial interest and significance which they have for those whose vocation is that of laymen, for St. Philip up to that point in his life had never thought of being a priest, and even declared that he had always felt a special desire to serve God as a layman. Yet his lay life was one of heroic voluntary poverty, detachment, penance, and apostolic zeal;—a zeal which was rewarded by the conversion of a great number of souls, and which drew him on, in spite of his modesty, to become a founder. For St. Philip, while still a layman, was the chief founder of a great and fruitful work existing to this day—the confraternity of the *Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e dei Convalescenti*.

In the second book the reader will find some very curious and interesting details of the examination of the writings of Savonarola under Pope Paul IV., and the efforts and influence of St. Philip, the disciple of the Dominicans of San Marco at Florence, and the great friend of the Order, in procuring its favourable issue. These details are little known, and only the barest hint at the subject is to be found in Bacci. He mentions St. Philip's ecstasy during the 40'ore at the Minerva, and his announcement that the cause for which the devotion was being held was gained, but he is silent as to what the cause was. It was the acquittal of Savonarola's works, for which the Saint himself had zealously laboured.

St. Philip's love for the Dominicans and Capuchins is well known. What is far less known is his intimate friendship with the Barnabite Order, then lately founded. In the first chapter of Book III. Mgr. Capecelatro gives a number of very interesting facts on the subject which we believe to be new, and which are, at all events, new to ordinary readers. St. Philip was instrumental in obtaining for the young Congregation its first establishment in Rome; indeed, with his characteristic self-forgetfulness, at the very time when he was anxiously looking about for a fitting home for his own community, he renounced in favour of the Barnabites one which was urged on his acceptance by his devoted penitent the Duchess Anna Colonna, the sister of St. Charles Borromeo. It would even appear from a letter of the Barnabite P. Tito di Alessi (*vol. ii. p. 14*), that, shortly before the foundation of the Oratory as a Congregation, there were thoughts in

the minds of some of Philip's disciples, perhaps in that of the Saint himself, of throwing in their lot with the young Order. It was on this occasion that St. Philip uttered that wise maxim "that it is a good thing to change from a bad state to a good one, but that to change from a good to a better is a matter for much consideration."

A circumstance of the Saint's life still less known—indeed, as far as we are not hitherto published—is related by Mgr. Capecelatro in chapter xiv. of Book III., where he shows how St. Philip founded a college at Rome for Polish students, after the model of the English and German colleges then (1583) doing so much for the persecuted faith in the north of Europe. He chose F. Talpa for its first superior, and made him draw up a code of rules for its government, still extant. Unfortunately, this good and promising work was unsupported by the Polish Government, and after a few years of existence fell to the ground.

The student who cares to look below the surface for the more hidden causes which affect the course of history will be no less interested than the lovers of the Saint by the eighteenth chapter. Bacci mentions the part taken by Baronius, as confessor of Clement VIII., in the question of the absolution or reconciliation of Henry of Navarre. On this question hung the settlement of the Crown of France, and the absolution was vehemently opposed by the powerful Court of Spain. Baronius declared that he would cease to hear the Pope's confessions unless he absolved the French King. The deep love and dependence of Baronius on St. Philip might well lead us to suspect that he did not take so decided a course without knowing the Saint's mind. But Mgr. Capecelatro shows us St. Philip labouring in the cause in person, and with the greatest decision and energy, with Clement VIII., whose love for the then aged Saint and trust in his judgment and supernatural enlightenment are well known. Philip worked energetically also with many of the cardinals, a large number of whom, in those last years of his life, regarded him with a reverence and affection which gave him an almost unbounded influence. So that we may safely say St. Philip had a large share in the great event of Henry IV.'s establishment on the throne; and, indeed, it is said in a MS. life of him, corrected by the hand of Baronius himself, that "the King's ambassadors, *acting entirely under Philip's counsel*, at last succeeded in obtaining their master's restoration to the favour of the Pontiff, and so his being rendered capable of receiving the Crown," and that Henry himself "never forgot that this holy man had powerfully helped him to regain that favour from which his heresy had excluded him" (vol. ii. p. 673).

The limits of a notice forbid us to comment on many a page which has interested us. The titles of the chapters alone are enough to tempt the reader, and the contents do not belie their promise: The First Beginnings of the Oratory in Naples, St. Philip and St. Charles, Relations of St. Philip with St. Felix of Cantalice, St. Camillus, B. Leonardi, and Frederick Borromeo, St. Philip and the Cardinals (a wonderfully interesting study of the Sacred College in

the Saint's time), St. Philip and Music—under all these heads the reader will find a store of matter carefully collected, skilfully grouped and full of interest.

If we must in perfect candour express a criticism on Mgr. Capece-latro's work it would be this:—From a number of passages we should have gathered that St. Philip's life was the working out of an early formed and cherished plan for the true reform of the Holy Church. We are far from denying the grandeur of such a conception; but if we may venture to say so, it has always seemed to us that the *peculiar* beauty of St. Philip's life was just the absence of any preconceived design. He was as an instrument on which the Holy Spirit played at will—ever ready to receive and follow the Divine impulse; ever seeking to win men to God by the simple means he found to hand, but so far from planning anything, that he found himself in fact the head and father of a community of priests before he had ever dreamed of founding a congregation.

With this single reserve we must express our unqualified admiration of Mgr. Capece-latro's work and our earnest hope that an English translation may place it within the reach of all our readers.

The History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh. With a Short Reference to the State of Religion in Ulster previous to and since its Erection. By Rev. JOHN GALLOGLY, C.C. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.

THIS very pleasant volume will be a welcome souvenir for the countless Irishmen at home and abroad who have helped the erection of St. Patrick's Cathedral by their contributions. It is not an architectural description of the building; indeed, the author very humorously disclaims any technical acquaintance with "styles," &c. It is the simple story of the progress and vicissitudes of the fabric from the laying of its foundation-stone by Dr. Crolly on March 17, 1840, to its dedication by Dr. McGettigan, August 24, 1873. The spontaneous humour of the writer is charming. His brief memoirs of the successive Primates, anecdotes, and such portrait-sketches as that of Jemmy Kilpatrick, would secure a reading for the history of any cathedral anywhere. One feature in the tale of Armagh Cathedral is noteworthy and interesting. When Dr. Crolly took up his episcopal residence in the city of Armagh no Catholic bishop had been allowed to live there since the reign of Queen Mary. His predecessors in their diocesan visitations dared not approach within three miles of the "sacred city." Great was the dissatisfaction and alarm of many good Protestants at the advent of Archbishop Crolly to St. Patrick's own primatial see. The alarm was, however, not universal, for Dr. Crolly procured from Lord Cremorne and Counsellor Robinson the present Cathedral Hill, then called Sandy Hill. Father Gallogly also explains briefly the peculiar state of Orange Ulster with regard to Catholicism at that time and since; the sketch is worth perusing. That all opposition and ill-feeling had not evaporated

during the thirty-three years the cathedral was being built is manifest from the disgraceful scenes that marked the approach of spectators from all parts on the morning of its dedication. Trains had to be preceded by pilot engines to guard against obstructions, and police stationed on the route to protect Catholic comers. At Loughgilly the Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Leahy, was set upon by an angry crowd, and only through the dexterity of his coachman escaped in a shower of stones, and amid loud cries of "To h—ll with the Pope," which, says Father Gallogly, "had but little effect, *indeed*, on his Holiness."

The cathedral was begun from designs by Mr. Duff, of Newry, but after his death, and before it had grown far above ground, was carried up and completed in another style of Gothic by the eminent Catholic architect of Dublin, Mr. J. J. M'Carthy. It is to be regretted that, whilst a very fair sketch of Mr. Duff's design graces the beginning of the volume, Mr. M'Carthy's earlier Gothic is represented towards the end of the book so inefficiently, and even unfairly, by a most wretched woodcut.

Church History of Ireland, from the Anglo-Norman Invasion to the Reformation. With Succession of Bishops down to the present day. By SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A. Third edition. Two volumes. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1880.

THE third edition of this excellent Church History has been so greatly altered and added to that it may fitly be considered a new work. It is a Church History in a true sense: the writer traces not merely the outward struggle between the Protestantism of the invaders and the Catholicism of the people of Ireland, but he describes the inner life of the Church at various periods, her organization, discipline, and activity.

While doctrine has been unchangeable, the discipline of the Church has changed with changing circumstances; and a history which makes us acquainted with the discipline of one of the oldest branches of the Catholic Church during a period of nearly 400 years, must have strong claims on the attention of the historical student. Over and above the value attachable to a retrospect of the time within the limits of the work, it has this additional recommendation, that it is a connecting link between the old and modern discipline of the Church. The ancient discipline, no doubt, as understood by ecclesiastical historians generally, ceased before the period treated of in the following history but not before the conversion of the Irish to Christianity; and that discipline, owing to the conservative turn of the Celtic mind, and the reverential tenacity with which the Irish Church clung to everything bequeathed by St. Patrick, was preserved almost in a crystallized state down to the Anglo-Norman invasion. . . . Abundant evidence exists to show that the ancient discipline of the Irish Church survived for centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion. (Pp. v., vi.)

This extract gives the chief, and most interesting feature of Mr. Malone's History. His task of exhibiting the older usages and disciplinary rites from the history of the Irish Church is very excellently performed. His constant use of all the original sources

and "materials" for ancient Irish history, and his copious notes and references thereto, make his volumes a most valuable and permanent repertory of sure information. He does not paint his history *couleur de rose*: on the contrary, no more vivid picture of the wretched state of the Church within the "pale," and of the precarious condition and struggle of the Church without it, could well be traced than we find in his second volume. The succession of sees, the history of councils and synods, the manners and habits of the clergy, and many cognate matters, are abundantly treated either in the text or in the excellent collection of documents which form the appendices.

Path and Goal. A Discussion on the Elements of Civilization and the Conditions of Human Happiness. By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D., M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

THIS grave, ponderous, and uninteresting discussion is steadily kept up through five hundred large octavo pages, by a certain Gabriel de Mendoza and no less than fifteen guests. And at the end the dull showman comes forward to exhibit the machinery of learning by which the puppets have been moved: in plainer words, we have, after the discussion, one hundred and thirty-eight pages of dry notes of references to the classics, to Hebrew and Mohammedan and Buddhist, and every other branch of Oriental literature. There is no denying the vast erudition displayed in these notes. The misery is that, to us at least, they have many of them proved as pleasant and easy reading as the dialogue; whereas the dialogue should bear to the notes the relation of the sparkling medicinal water to the mineral-charged rocks from which it sprung. The form of the book suggests that it has been modelled after Mr. Mallock's "New Republic;" but the author has signally failed to produce any such assemblage of guests, or to play them off against each other in language that interests and attracts. So much for the literary form of the book. Is its object and matter good or useful? If the reader will forgive the extreme dullness and verbosity of both host and guests, and patiently put up with them for ten long evenings, will he gain a befitting reward? Unfortunately, no! The German biblical students and the English Christian theologians (one a Churchman and one a Dissenter), and the Polish Rabbi, and the Brahman, and the Parsee, and the Greeks, and all the other guests, discuss pedantically, and, as far as Christianity is concerned, very inefficiently, the value of various religions and their action on life and happiness. The composition of the book is not without many incidental touches that are both clever and telling; but, judging it as a whole, the discussion is a failure. There is no method or plan or agreement as to postulates and principles; the speakers begin anywhere, beat the air (sometimes very vehemently), and end, of course, wrongly. For the grand result of all this winnowing of systems is that we are to have a "new Nirwâna." Christianity—whatever a few of the guests may feebly hint to the contrary—is only one of many systems of religion, and has its faults and good points, as

have the others. Buddhism, however, would appear to present the most hopeful "starting-point of a common religion of reason and humanity" (p. 469). The "new Nirwâna" is only a rationalistic eclecticism with an Oriental name. The chief condition of membership is that the members should agree to differ. Their points of difference are, as the reader may suspect, more numerous and prominent than their points of agreement. But the motto of the "new Nirwâna" may be thus expressed:—

All spirits have sprung from one light, all are akin;
 That one light they reflect in infinite shades
 It is *I* only and *you* that engender all sects;
 This *I* and *you* are the children of folly;
 When *I* and *you* and separate being vanish,
 We shall no more be tied by church or mosque. (P. 509).

We must suppose that these learned interlocutors do not refuse to believe this "Nirwâna" ever possible whilst they prominently exaggerate the importance of exercising individual human reason in the choice of a religion, and likewise that the "Christians" among them do not refuse an amalgam or absorption of errors that is a solemn disgrace to Christianity, because of the author's own peculiar views on Christianity, and on reason in relation to divine revelation.

Modern civilization is to supply the principles or features of this new religion. The Stoic's fortitude, the Christian's peace, the Epicurean's freedom, Spinoza's "intellectual love of God," the Buddhist's resignation, the Greek's idealism, &c., are the united, or rather the to-be-united ingredients of a spiritual "*eucrasy* or *harmony of character*, which is the perfection of culture" (p. 482). This *eucrasy* leads to happiness. To all this the "zealous Christian theologian," amongst the speakers, is made to reply by a description of Christ, which is too long for quotation, ending with the words—

He is the eternal model of every moral and spiritual perfection, and all the efforts of earnest minds, I firmly believe, have no other aim than humbly to imitate his example. In this sense I heartily approve of the *eucrasy* of character constructed by our host with so much care and thoughtfulness.

And Canon Mortimer, a Broad Churchman, adds:—

I am strongly convinced that the complex culture which has resulted from our discussions thoroughly coincides with the spirit of true and catholic Christianity. For we are taught that God "at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers." "There should be no schism in the body, but the members should have the same care one for another." The Church has room for all pursuits, all truths, all enthusiasms, and the Christian is a mere fragment of humanity so long as he excludes even one of them from his creed and his life (pp. 485-6).

It is the very perfection of spiritual weariness for a Catholic to plod through heavy, sadly mistaken, protracted discussions of this nature to arrive at last at such a conclusion. Yet the repeated appearance of such books is an indication that the mind of this country is not unconscious of the supreme importance of a religion that will fill the

heart and lead it to its true rest, nor inactive in the search for that religion. It is complimentary in the highest degree to us that when able men treat the subject, Catholics never appear among the crowd of comparative religionists who are ready to commingle with error and merge dogma for the sake of an impossible union; we are either omitted entirely, as in this book, or we figure as the unconvertible slaves of dogmatic authority. Who would, for instance, so grievously have misunderstood the unique characteristic of Catholicism among the religions of the world as to represent a Catholic listening approvingly, or even patiently, to such words as these of Arvâda-Kalâma, the Brahman guest? This sanguine and, we suspect, sly Oriental, when giving in his allegiance to the "new Nirvâna," suggests that a "clear Theism" may be reconciled "with a noble Pantheism," and that the offer of peace and brotherhood should not be refused "on account of dogmas." (p. 505).

The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. By HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third edition, with a Preface. London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

IT is pleasant to know that the necessity has arisen for a third edition of these excellent lectures, which, although they were first published twenty years ago, are still fresh and pertinent to the crucial point in the unceasing struggle between the Church and the world; for one of the most sagacious of the many acute judgments expressed in this book is that in which his Eminence says:—

It is surely not paradoxical rather to say that this is the period of the manifestation and justification of the temporal power of the Sovereign Pontiff, that what the Arian period was to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Protestant period to the doctrine of justification, such the present period is to the full manifestation of the Supreme Pontificate in its twofold relations to the spiritual and political order of the world" (p. xxxvii.).

The implied assertion that the Protestant period has strictly speaking, passed away, is as profound as it undoubtedly is true. The name is still gloried in; but whilst along the banks of such dogmatic teaching as remains to it, numbers are struggling, with varying degrees of hope, against the mighty stream of Rationalism, multitudes also, still styling themselves Protestants, have ceased to protest altogether, and are willingly borne out on the rapid waters. The Catholic Church, in Europe especially, is being persecuted by Princes and their Ministers; and the Catholic Church is now identified with the Pope. One half the Christian world looks to him as to their hope; the other half contemns the notion that healing can come to society from the Nazareth of the Vatican; but indifference about him there is none. In his new preface the Cardinal says:—

The period of indifference is already passing into the period of coercive or penal legislation. Liberals are now persecutors, and Republican freedom refuses liberty to conscience. Whether this will pass away no man

knoweth. All things point to another and a violent issue. It is more likely that a collision between the revolutionary policy of the Continent and the Catholic Church will follow after these preludes of unjust repression and petty persecution. In Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and France, the Governments have entered upon the period of conflict." (p. xii.).

Since his Eminence wrote, Belgium may be unfortunately added to this unhappy list. Indeed, the abandonment by nations and sovereigns of the Vicar of Christ is now universal—acquiescence in his wrongs without a dissentient voice. This community of political action with regard to the Head of the Church is, as the author points out, "the characteristic of the present crisis."

The three series of lectures which compose this volume—on The Origin of the Temporal Power; on The Perpetual Conflict of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and on The Last Glories of the Holy See greater than the First—are now too long familiar to the Catholic public, here and on the Continent, to need any introduction. We will only note here how, in his present preface, his Eminence is able to point to recent events as confirmatory of the thesis he so courageously and fully sustained twenty years ago; that, namely, in the third lecture of the first series:—The dissolution of Christian Society is the necessary consequence of the overthrow of the Temporal Power.

Rome was never yet usurped, but the whole of Europe was shaken; and peace has never been restored in Europe, but Rome has returned again to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. At this moment every country in Europe is threatened by revolution; and the revolutions of Europe, from the Communism of France to the Nihilism of Russia, are becoming one and universal. Their confluence will probably be in the Socialism of Germany. Against these dangers at home, and against armed invasions from abroad, all the powers of Europe are under arms. Eleven millions of armed men are draining every country of its industry and of its youth. A voluntary disarmament is as hopeless as the return of the reign of Astræa upon earth. They will never lay down their arms till they have disarmed each other on the field of battle. They have heaped up judgment against themselves, and they will be left to execute it. Every man's sword shall be against his brother. As the moral power which governs Europe becomes less, the material force becomes greater: Faith and love and right are pushed aside, and an age of iron reigns in their stead. I laid no claim to be a prophet in forecasting what has come to pass; but I little thought, twenty years ago, to live to see so many of these foresights already fulfilled. (Preface to Third Edition, p. xii.)

Maria Monk's Daughter: an Autobiography. By Mrs. L. ST. JOHN ECKEL.
London: Burns and Oates. 1880.

MARIA MONK, of "Awful Disclosures" notoriety, married, we learn from this book, a Mr. St. John, and lived with him until her inveterate drinking habits drove him to take his little children and find a home for himself and them apart and away from her. The book is the autobiography of one of those unfortunate children. She introduces herself to us in her mother's wretched New

York home, some seven and thirty years ago. She is at that time an odd, weird, impulsive little girl, nicknamed "Tick," because no one had ever known her to keep still. At an early age she is taken by her father to the rural home, in Dutchess county, of her Uncle Horace and Aunt Mercy. Aunt Mercy, by the way, was a misnomer. With these unsympathetic narrow-minded people the child passed a sad youth; they brought her up "by hand." Later, she is married to a man who reveals himself afterwards to be a thorough infidel. Later again, she is separated from him, and he dies. Then we follow her to Paris, where she arrives a widow and alone, but where she soon gains an *entrée* into aristocratic society (the names of many of her friends are mentioned), appears at Court balls, the opera, and every respectable dissipation. During the years of her residence here she is slowly brought from her infidelity, and, in spite of her violent anti-Catholic prejudices, into the bosom of the Church.

Various judgments have been passed on this book; and it is exactly one of those books about which different minds will form opposite opinions. After a perusal of the whole book we entirely agree in the judgment already passed on it in the pages of the *Tablet* newspaper; that is to say, the *tout ensemble* of the work is far from pleasing, the clever and good portions are overbalanced by others that are in doubtful and even in bad taste. It is not given to every one to write the confession of a misspent life with the tact and piety of an Augustine; certainly it has not been so given to Mrs. Eckel. Portions of the American edition have, we understand, been omitted from this English edition, but it sorely needs further excision and emendation: at least if it is to be allowed into the hands of unsophisticated young men and women. No book that has appeared of late has so vividly reminded us of the necessity of a real censorship over all books that treat of our holy religion, and are to appear without comment as "Catholic books." The strange mixture of praiseworthy and mistaken motives and deeds; her resort to dreams and superstitious practices for guidance; and, still more seriously, her mistaken treatment of doubts against faith after she had become a Catholic (chapter lx.), would not have passed muster as they stand. There is, perhaps, something still more objectionable in the style—half amused and vain—in which the writer dwells on all the details of the less noble and worthy steps in her career. They do not form matter of rebuke to herself; for she had never been taught better; and withal she appears to have been naturally curiously indifferent to appearing much worse than she actually was. But the whole of that part of her story had better have been omitted or told *summatim*, and in a more subdued and penitent tone. It is but fair, however, to hear what Mrs. Eckel has to say in her defence: "I would not," she says in her preface, "tell less of my miseries, because I would encourage those who have suffered and groped and wandered and sinned like me to seek pardon and peace where I have found them." This, however, does not in the least excuse the style, nor excessive details of frivolity and trifles; whilst it greatly restricts the circle of appropriate readers.

Still, there is much in the book that is excellent—some of the arguments for Catholic faith and practice are specially so. The authoress evidences much original reflection on men and manners; she is often clever and witty; perhaps her two most brilliant and pleasing character sketches are those of General Rollin and Mike Costello. The book, too, has all that sensational attraction which attends revelations of real life; and the authoress is “unflinchingly frank” both about herself and her aristocratic Parisian friends. Mrs. Eckel’s life from her early home to her latest recorded return to America is another illustration of the saying that truth is stranger than fiction. So strange is it that some doubt has been expressed as to its genuineness. We happen to know, however, that the continental portion of her record is a *bona fide* narrative; as undoubtedly is the entire story.

Longer space than we had intended has been given to this view of Mrs. Eckel’s book. We must rapidly refer to another object she has had in writing it.

The experiences and testimony of the authoress, she hopes, “will expose the injustice and calumny that my mother heaped upon the Roman Catholic Church and her religious orders.” We shall have great reason to thank her if this result be achieved. The very first number of this REVIEW (May, 1836) contained an article on the then recently published “Awful Disclosures” of Maria Monk. Though so short a time had elapsed from the publication of this now notorious book, abundant evidence had already accumulated, and is summarized in that article, to utterly destroy its credibility. Maria Monk’s book immediately met with unanimous (and by Catholics unsolicited) contradiction and condemnation from the Protestant press of Montreal, where the convent scene of her recital was located. In that article, too, the reader will find affidavits of persons above suspicion—particularly of Dr. Robertson and Maria Monk’s own mother—which testify clearly to her “mingled insanity and depravity,” and establish an *alibi* for her during a greater portion of the time when she pretended to have been in the Hotel Dieu Convent at Montreal. But Maria Monk’s book is still read—and believed. Her daughter’s biography makes known to us that the mother herself confessed that her own book of Disclosures was made up of lies. We learn that she never wrote the Disclosures, but gave certain details, &c., to designing men (one of whom had seduced her); that these dressed them up, and made the book which *paid*; and that they cheated her out of every cent of her share of the infamous transaction (p. 139). In a touching passage the author describes the exodus of her father, sister, brother and herself from her New York home, from which the unfortunate Maria Monk had just secretly sold all the furniture to buy more drink. They left their desolate homestead ignorant of where their mother had gone. They had not walked far when they found themselves before a grog-shop. “Tick casually looked into the grog-shop as she skipped along. It was a hurried glance, but long enough for her to see a woman, with drunken gestures, standing bareheaded in the middle of the floor, her back partly turned towards the street. It was her

mother. That was the last time I ever saw MARIA MONK." Years afterwards, amidst the gaieties of Paris life, she heard that, after much suffering and disappointed yearning to see her children once more, driven by remorse and grief to distraction, Maria Monk had died insane in an asylum! Mrs. Eckel is courageous enough to add: "There was a retributive justice in her tragic end."

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A BRIEF REPLY

TO

DR. BAIN ON FREE WILL.

Republished from the "MIND" of April, 1880.

PREFACE.

SINCE I published my article of last October—"Supplementary Remarks on Free Will"—two replies have been made to me on that subject, in the Quarterly magazine called "Mind." The earlier of these was by Dr. Bain, and appeared in January. It especially called on me for a rejoinder; because Dr. Bain is one of the two writers (the late Mr. Stuart Mill being the other) against whom my assault was especially and by name directed from the first. Accordingly I inserted in the April number of "Mind" a short paper, which I here republish by the Editor's courteous permission. I republish it, because all my previous articles on the subject have appeared in the "Dublin Review"; and very few readers indeed of that periodical are in the habit of seeing "Mind." The Editor of the "Dublin Review" kindly permits me to append this brief Essay to his July number.

In the April number of "Mind," there also appeared a much longer criticism of me than Dr. Bain's, written by Mr. Shadworth Hodgson. I have to thank that gentleman, both for his courteousness of language, and also for the great care he has throughout taken to apprehend my meaning correctly. As regards however the strict question of *Free Will*, I have been unable to find any argument in his article, which I had not (as I think) answered by anticipation on other occasions.

Since therefore I am hoping—in accordance with my previous programme—to write an article for October on “The Extent of Free Will,” I will content myself with briefly referring in that article to what Mr. Hodgson has said.

Mr. Hodgson however also puts forth, in the article I mention, some criticisms of my argument on *Causation*, which do claim at my hands direct reply. I learn also from his article a fact, of which I was not at all aware; viz. that in a previous work of his (“Philosophy of Reflection” vol. II. pp. 215-227) he had commented on other portions of my humble philosophical structure. I must thank him warmly, for the very handsome language on my philosophical character which I find in those pages. And I shall take (please God) a very early occasion for replying, both to his comments on the subject of Causation, as contained in his present article; and also to his general comments on my philosophical position, as contained in the volume to which I have just referred.

May 30th, 1880.

A BRIEF REPLY,

&c., &c.

IN April, 1874—during the course of a philosophical series with which I am still engaged in the “Dublin Review”—I came upon the question of Free Will. My direct assault was upon Mr. Stuart Mill and Dr. Bain, who are far the ablest advocates of Determinism with whom I happened to be acquainted. Dr. Bain did me the honour of replying in the Third Edition of his very instructive work on “The Emotions and the Will.” I rejoined in April and October of last year, and he has rejoined on my rejoinder in the January number of “Mind.”

In April last—while cordially acknowledging that Dr. Bain had treated me with most abundant courtesy—I was nevertheless obliged to complain, that throughout his criticism he did not so much as once refer to that central and fundamental argument, on which I avowedly based my whole case. Yet, as I added, nothing could well have been more express and emphatic, than my detailed exposition of that argument. On the present occasion I must repeat the same acknowledgment and the same complaint. No one can write more handsomely of an opponent, than he writes of me. He even says that “I have bestowed more attention on the controversy concerning Free Will, than any one with whom he is acquainted.” Moreover, the extracts he gives from my articles are evidently chosen with the view of exhibiting my position in the most fair and equitable light. And yet by some (as it were) fatality which I am quite unable to explain, he entirely ignores from first to last the precise point on which I lay stress. I have nothing left for it then, except to content myself with stating that point once more; nor shall I hesitate often to repeat the very words I have used in the “Dublin Review.” Indeed I shall be very glad to take this course; because my present audience is entirely different from that which I addressed in the Catholic periodical just named. On the other hand it is a considerable inconvenience to me, that I am confined within somewhat narrow limits. It would have been unconscionable however, to ask the Editor for a much longer space in defence,

than Dr. Bain has occupied in attack. And at least I shall not improbably have a future opportunity, for supplying any defect which may be inevitable in my present Note.

I.

I will observe preliminarily, that Dr. Bain takes up far less confident ground than I had always understood Determinists to assume. I had always understood Determinists to allege, that their doctrine is certain and impreguably established. To this I answered (as Dr. Bain now quotes me) that "no Determinist with whom I happen to be acquainted had even so much as attempted to prove this," though so many have asserted it. Dr. Bain, after citing my statement, does not profess to deny it. He merely says that great *presumption* in favour of Determinism arises from the fact, that "uniformity is found to be the rule of nature," in all unambiguous cases. His "present argument," he afterwards adds, "merely requires, that there should be a *possible alternative* to the supposition, that the will is not subject to the law of uniformity. So long as there is no *unequivocal instance* on" my "side, such an explanation," he says, "deserves to be *listened to*."

For the opposite doctrine however I claim, not probability, but certainty. I maintain that there are *many* "unequivocal instances," which conclusively disprove Determinism. Dr. Bain says that "if there be exceptions to the uniformity of nature, they ought ere now to have come into view in some unmistakable cases." I reply that they *have* so come into view. There are not "some" only, but very many "unmistakable cases,"—so I maintain—which peremptorily establish, that certain actions of the human will are signal and conspicuous "exceptions" to that "law of uniformity," which prevails generally in nature. And I proceed to place before my present readers some of the arguments, which I have elsewhere adduced in behalf of this conclusion.

Dr. Bain protests against the term "Free Will"; and "sees no chance of a reconciliation of the opposing views, until this term is abandoned." He ought then to look with more favour on my own controversial standpoint, than on that of some other opponents; because—though I certainly cannot abandon the term "Free Will"—still I have gone through the more essential and fundamental part of my reasoning, before I arrive at that term. I begin by merely maintaining a doctrine, called by me "Indeterminism"; which is neither more nor less than the negative doctrine, that the doctrine of Determinism is untrue.

II.

Now what is the doctrine of Determinism? Dr. Bain quotes with entire assent my own virtual exposition thereof. According to Determinists—it holds quite universally, that “given certain psychical and corporeal antecedents, one definite group of psychical consequents infallibly and inevitably ensue.” This is precisely what Indeterminists deny, as regards certain movements of the human will. In order however more conveniently to discuss the question, let me take a particular case. Let me suppose that, at some given moment, two mutually different courses of action are open to you; and that you have to choose between them. Let me further put aside the more common case, that there is a *complication* of motives soliciting you on one side or on both. Let me suppose that there is one strong motive attracting you in one direction, and another in the other; while all other motives on either side are so comparatively weak, that they may be left out of account.¹ I will first confine myself to such a particular case as this; because all controversialists will admit, that it is especially fitted for bringing the question to a definite issue.

Such a case then being supposed, Dr. Bain considers it to be experientially known which of these two motives is “the stronger,” by the very fact that it carries the day. “Two powers are in conflict, and the result shows their relative force.” The successful motive “exercises control, not by Freedom of the Will, but by the psychological power of the stronger.” If antecedents were to recur in every respect precisely similar, the result—so Determinists maintain—would infallibly and inevitably be the same. According to Determinists, that motive which under present circumstances is the stronger, under precisely similar circumstances would again be the stronger. Moreover, according to Determinists, the stronger motive infallibly and inevitably prevails over the weaker. I am confident that all Determinists will endorse this statement of their thesis, as undeniably fair and accurate. And it is against their thesis as so stated, that my reasoning has been directed.

Now many Libertarians deny that there is any intelligible

¹ In my articles I have distinguished between two different ideas, which are commonly expressed by this word “motive”. And I think indeed that this distinction is of much importance, in the *exposition* of what I account sound doctrine. But in arguing with an opponent, it may be more convenient to waive this distinction. Here therefore I will use the word “motive”, to express any thought which in any way prompts the will to move in any given direction.

sense in the affirmation, that one motive is "stronger" than another at all. For my own part however, I submit that there may be a most intelligible meaning in the affirmation; and that the term, if so understood, is a very serviceable one. So far I am in agreement with Dr. Bain. I differ from him however, in the sense which I give to this term. When he says that at this moment motive A is "stronger" with you than motive B,—he merely means that, as a matter of fact, you give preference in action to the former over the latter. But when on my side I say that motive A is "stronger" at this moment with you than motive B,—I mean that the *spontaneous impulse*—the direct and (as I may say) passive *tendency*—of your will at this moment is towards acting on the former in preference to the latter. According to my terminology then, it is not the will's *action*, but its *spontaneous impulse*, which evinces the relative "strength" of motives. And then, as an Indeterminist, I proceed to maintain a second proposition: viz., that frequently enough you *act in opposition* to your spontaneous impulse, to your strongest motive. The first of my two propositions, it will be seen, is purely verbal; but the second is most substantial. And I will proceed at once to adduce various correlated practical instances, for the purpose of illustrating both these propositions. I will follow Dr. Bain's precedent, and take my examples from the sports of the field.

A long frost has at last broken up, and you are looking forward with keenest hope to your day's hunting. Your post however comes in early; and you receive a letter, just as you have donned your red coat and are sitting down to breakfast. This letter announces that you must set off on this very morning for London, if you are to be present on some occasion on which your presence will be vitally important, for an end which you account of extreme public moment. Let me consider the different ways in which your conduct may imaginably be affected, and the light thus thrown on the relative strength of your motives.

Perhaps (1) the public end, for which your presence is so urgently needed, happens to be one in which you are so keenly interested, which so intimately affects your feelings, that your balance of emotion is intensely in favour of your going. This motive then is indefinitely "stronger" than its antagonist. You at once order your carriage, as the railway station is some four miles off; and you are delighted to start as soon as your carriage comes round. Perhaps (2) the balance of your *emotion* on the contrary is quite decidedly in favour of the day's hunting: because the public end—though intellectually you appreciate its exceptional importance—is not one with which

your character leads you *emotionally* to sympathise. Nevertheless, through a long course of public-spirited action, and through "stored up memories of the past,"—you have acquired the *habit* of postponing pleasure to the call of duty. Here therefore, just as in the former case, there is not a moment's vacillation or hesitation: your spontaneous impulse is quite urgently in favour of going. Your balance of *emotion*, I repeat, is in favour of staying to hunt. But good habit, by its intrinsic strength, spontaneously prevails over emotion; and (taking your nature and circumstances as a whole) the motive which prompts you to go is indefinitely stronger than that which prompts you to stay. Or (3) perhaps, when you have read the letter, your will is brought into a state of vacillation and vibration. Your emotional impulse is one moment in one direction, and the next moment in another. Then—as you possess no firm *habit* of public spirit—you take a long time in making up your mind. As Dr. Bain would say—and as I equally should say—the strength of your motives is very evenly balanced, whichever may happen finally to show itself stably the stronger. Lastly (4) you have perhaps very little public spirit, and are passionately fond of hunting. So you at once toss your letter into the fire: and you do not even entertain the question, whether you shall offer up your day's sport as a sacrifice to your country's welfare. In this case of course the motive which prompts you to stay is indefinitely stronger than that which prompts you to go.

Now all these four alternatives are contemplated by the Determinist, and square entirely with his theory. In each case your conduct is determined by your strongest present motive. There is, however, a fifth case which he does not—and consistently with his theory cannot—admit to be a possible one; but in regard to which I confidently maintain, by appeal to experience, that it is abundantly possible, and indeed far from unfrequent. It is most possible, I say, that you put forth on the occasion what I have called in my articles "anti-impulsive effort;" that you act resolutely and consistently in *opposition* to your spontaneous impulse; in opposition to that which at the moment is your strongest motive. Thus. On one side the spontaneous impulse of your will is quite decidedly in favour of staying to hunt; and the motive therefore which prompts you to do so is quite decidedly stronger at the moment, than that which would draw you to London. On the other hand your reason recognises clearly, how very important is the public interest at issue, and how plainly duty calls you in the latter direction. You clench your teeth therefore, and set yourself to *resist* actively the spontaneous and passive

impulse of your will. You resolutely doff your hunting dress ; you resolutely order your carriage which shall take you to the station ; you resolutely enter it when it comes round. And now let me follow your course during the four miles' transit which ensues. During the greater part—perhaps during the whole—of this transit, there proceeds what I have called in my articles “ a compound phenomenon ; ” or, in other words, there co-exist in your mind two mutually distinct phenomena. First phenomenon. Your will's preponderating spontaneous impulse is stably set in one given direction. You remember that even now it is by no means too late to be present at the meet ; you are restless and ill at ease ; you are most urgently solicited by inclination, to order your coachman home again. So urgent indeed is this solicitation—so much stronger is the motive which prompts you to return than that which prompts you to continue your course—that, unless you exercised unintermitting self-resistance, self-government, self-control, you would quite infallibly give the coachman such an order. Here is the first phenomenon to which I call attention : your will's spontaneous impulse towards returning. A second, no less distinctly pronounced and strongly marked, phenomenon is that unintermitting self-resistance, self-government, self-control, of which I have been speaking. On one side is that phenomenon, which I call your will's predominant spontaneous and passive *impulse* or *desire* ; on the other side that which I call your firm, sustained active antagonistic *resolve*. On one side is the strongest motive, the spontaneous impulse, the direct and passive tendency, the predominant desire ; on the other side is that which I call anti-impulsive effort and active effectual resolve.

Here then I come to the point of my argument. How has this spontaneous impulse or passive desire been generated ? Dr. Bain must surely answer this question as I do. He must say that your spontaneous impulse of this moment is the inevitable and infallible outcome of your circumstances (external and internal) as they *exist* at this moment. What other account of its genesis could possibly be given ? We may know then quite certainly what is the resultant at this moment of the motives which solicit your will, by knowing what is the *spontaneous impulse* of your will at this moment. Yet in such a case as I have supposed, it is a plain matter of fact, that you are *not* acting in accordance with your spontaneous impulse. Or (in other words) it is a plain matter of fact, that you are *not* doing that to which your circumstances of the moment dispose you. But Determinists say that you must *always* infallibly and inevitably do that to which your circumstances of the moment dispose you. Therefore Determinists are fundamentally mistaken.

It is this "compound phenomenon," as I have called it—the like of which are surely very far from unfrequent—on which I have throughout mainly rested my argument. And I have now described it almost in the very words used by me last October. Dr. Bain says that the phenomenon which I describe "is no new phenomenon in human experience"; and so far of course I am zealously at one with him. But he adds, that this phenomenon "is spoken of in every account of the constitution of the mind". Now Dr. Bain has himself written a most able "account of the constitution of the mind." I have read with great attention, and (I hope) with great instruction, that portion of his labours which treats "the Emotions and the Will". But I protest that I cannot find in any part of that volume any recognition whatever of such facts, as that on which I have been laying stress. It would interest me extremely if he, or some one of his many sympathisers, would refer me to the page—say in the Third Edition—where I shall find such facts (1) recognised, and (2) explained in some way different from mine.

III.

At this stage of my argument, I proceed from the general doctrine of Indeterminism to the special doctrine of Free Will. Once more I beg my readers' attention to those two phenomena on which I lay stress. I draw attention to them, as they co-exist e.g. in the country gentleman, who has left his day's hunting very much against the grain, from a motive of public duty; and who is in his carriage en route to the station. On one side is his greatly preponderating spontaneous impulse towards returning; on the other is anti-impulsive effort, successfully *contending* against that impulse. If we examine these two phenomena successively with due care, we shall see that they differ from each other in character not less than fundamentally. In experiencing the former of them, his will has been entirely passive: in eliciting the latter, it is intensely active. He is not only conscious (I say) that he *elicits* this act of resistance: he is no one whit less directly conscious, that he elicits it *by his own active exertion*. No doubt motives differ from each other indefinitely as regards their relative "strength"; that is, as regards the influence which they respectively exercise on the will's spontaneous impulse or passive tendency. Still the agent is not *left at their mercy*, if I may so express myself. His will possesses intrinsic strength of its own, whereby on occasion it can choose to act on a motive which is for the moment weaker, rather than on one which is for the moment stronger. This fact, I say, is impressed

most unmistakably on his knowledge, by such an experience as I have described. His soul—such is the fact which he recognises—has on certain occasions the power of *redressing the balance* of motives, by throwing its own self-originated force¹ into this or that scale. And this is precisely an exercise of Free Will.

IV.

Hitherto I have so spoken as to embrace those instances only, in which (1) no more than two alternatives are presented; and in which (2) only one motive for either alternative needs to be considered. But I can easily express my argument in a much more general form. I can so express it as to include those far more frequent cases, in which (1) there are various courses of action from which a choice may be made; and in which (2) multifarious motives are at work, soliciting the agent in several different directions. Far oftener than not, he can know with absolute certainty what is the exact *resultant* of these various motives; what is the exact direction, in which their combined influence solicits him. He can know this at once, I say, with certainty; because he can recognise quite unmistakably what at the moment is his will's spontaneous impulse or desire—its direct and passive tendency. This spontaneous impulse or passive tendency measures of course, with infallible accuracy, the resulting influence exercised over his mind, by that complex of motives which for the moment is combinedly at work. But he knows also by actual experience, that on certain occasions he puts forth a vigorous self-originated effort, whereby he compels himself to act in some way entirely *different* from that prompted by his will's spontaneous impulse and passive tendency. On such occasions then he knows by experience, that he compels himself, by a self-originated and vigorous effort, to act in some way entirely different from that, towards which his balance of motives at the moment prompts him. But Determinists will be the first to admit, that such self-originated resistance to the balance of motives—if it existed—would be an exercise of Free Will.

I am greatly disappointed that my limits do not permit me to continue further the exposition of my argument, as it is contained in the "Dublin Review." In particular, I should have wished to illustrate in some detail the broad phenomenal

¹ Let no Theist misunderstand this term "self-originated" force. I explained clearly in April, 1879 (pp. 314-5), the sense in which a Theist may most consistently use it.

contrast which exists between two classes of acts, which I have called respectively acts of "anti-impulsive" and "congenial" effort. By "effort" I meant "resistance to desire." By "congenial effort" I mean "resistance to some (at the moment) weaker desire or weaker motive; in order to the gratification of some (at the moment) stronger desire or stronger motive." By "anti-impulsive" effort I mean "resistance offered by self-originated exertion of the will to what (at the moment) is the agent's strongest desire or motive." Now, Determinists hold indeed that a weaker desire will be overcome by a stronger; but they add that the strongest present *desire* cannot possibly be overcome by the will's self-originated *resolve*. They must maintain therefore, of course, that no such acts are possible as those of "anti-impulsive" effort. They maintain that all effort of the will is really what I call "congenial," and consists merely in crushing a weaker desire under influence of a stronger. I have argued in the "Dublin Review" that this affirmation is in direct contradiction to manifest mental facts; that what I call "anti-impulsive efforts" present the broadest possible phenomenal contrast to those efforts which I call "congenial." But I could not do any kind of justice to this argument, unless I exhibited various individual illustrations of my statement. And for this I have here no room.

V.

As I have already implied, Dr. Bain really offers no reply whatever to the argument I have now set forth. He does not even exhibit it, much less reply to it. The nearest approach I can find to any recognition of it, is his reference to "stored up memories of the past" as influencing human action. No doubt they do so most importantly. But in what manner do they influence it? Dr. Bain himself must reply, by modifying the will's *spontaneous impulse*; by effecting that such impulse shall be in this direction rather than in that. Yet if this be so, how can these "stored up memories" tend ever so remotely to account for a man *resisting* his spontaneous impulse? I am here but repeating what has been said by an able and most kind critic in the "Spectator" of Jan. 10th. But I must add, that the fact of Dr. Bain suggesting such an answer is the best of all possible proofs, how little he has given his mind to the point of my argument.

What he has really done is—not to answer my *reasoning* at all—but to allege various objections against the *conclusion* to which my argument points. These I will now briefly consider.

1. He complains "that he cannot grasp clearly what Free Will means." Well—I answered this question at some little length in April, 1879; and Dr. Bain has not yet explained which of my statements are to him unintelligible. Here however I may briefly give an answer, which I think is substantially accurate, founded on my preceding remarks in this Note. If an agent at any given moment has a real power of successfully resisting his will's spontaneous impulse and passive tendency,—at such moment his will is free. If he exercises the said power, he exercises Free Will. Nay, if he *refuses* to exercise the power, in such very refusal he exercises Free Will; because he *can* exercise this power if he chooses, and he has full power (within certain limits) so to choose.

2. Dr. Bain "would like to have the region of failure of uniformity closely circumscribed." In other words (as I understand him) he wishes to know, how often in the day, on what occasions, under what conditions, I maintain that a man's will is free. I briefly entered on this subject at the end of my article in April, 1879, and expressed a hope of treating it fully hereafter. I fancy that Libertarians would considerably differ from each other in their answer to this question; which, however, has really no bearing on the essential point at issue between Theists and Antitheists. My own humble view is, that a man's will is free during pretty nearly the whole of his waking life.

3. Dr. Bain implies a wish to understand how such a science as psychology can possibly exist, if so many psychical phenomena are external to the sphere of uniform phenomenal sequence. I admit heartily, that this is an inquiry which Libertarians are bound expressly and intelligibly to confront. For my own part I did confront it, in an article on "Science, Prayer, Free Will, and Miracles," published by me in the "Dublin Review" as far back as 1867. I shall have great pleasure in forwarding Dr. Bain a copy of that article. At the same time it may be as well here to point out one obvious fact. The "spontaneous impulse" or "passive tendency" of any given man's will, at any given moment, is (even on my own view) a matter open to scientific calculation in the strictest sense. This particular phenomenon, at all events, is infallibly and inevitably determined by phenomenal antecedents. In fact (as I said last October) I think that psychologists have been unduly remiss in not labouring more actively towards the exploration of this phenomenon. Consider—as one instance out of many—the mutual relations of emotion and habit. Under what circumstances does emotion spontaneously and (so to speak) passively prevail over habit? Conversely, under

what circumstances does habit spontaneously and passively prevail over emotion? How very little has yet been done (so far as I happen to be aware) towards elucidating this question!

4. Dr. Bain especially desires to know, how Libertarians stand with regard to the doctrine of *causation*. He asks, e.g., whether, according to Libertarians, "from the occurrence of a given antecedent, we can conclude what the consequent will be." Surely he must be well aware, that every Libertarian answers this question emphatically in the negative. In any given instance of free action, the elicited act of will is not infallibly determined by its phenomenal antecedents, but on the contrary is elicited by the agent according to his own unfettered choice. This is just what we *mean*, when we say that the action is free.

"Can there then be such a phenomenon"—Determinists ask—"as a *causeless* volition?" In my article of April, 1879, I treated this matter in detail. The difficulty raised I understand to be this, though I am expressing it in my own words. "It is a truth accepted by the common sense of mankind, that every event has a cause. In fact this is the very truth which we call the 'doctrine of Causation.' But by a 'cause' is meant a phenomenal antecedent, from which the 'effect' ensues in the way of uniform phenomenal sequence. Now there are certain acts of the will, in regard to which a Libertarian denies that they do proceed from phenomenal antecedents in the way of uniform phenomenal sequence. Therefore a Libertarian denies that 'doctrine of Causation,' which is accepted by the common sense of mankind."

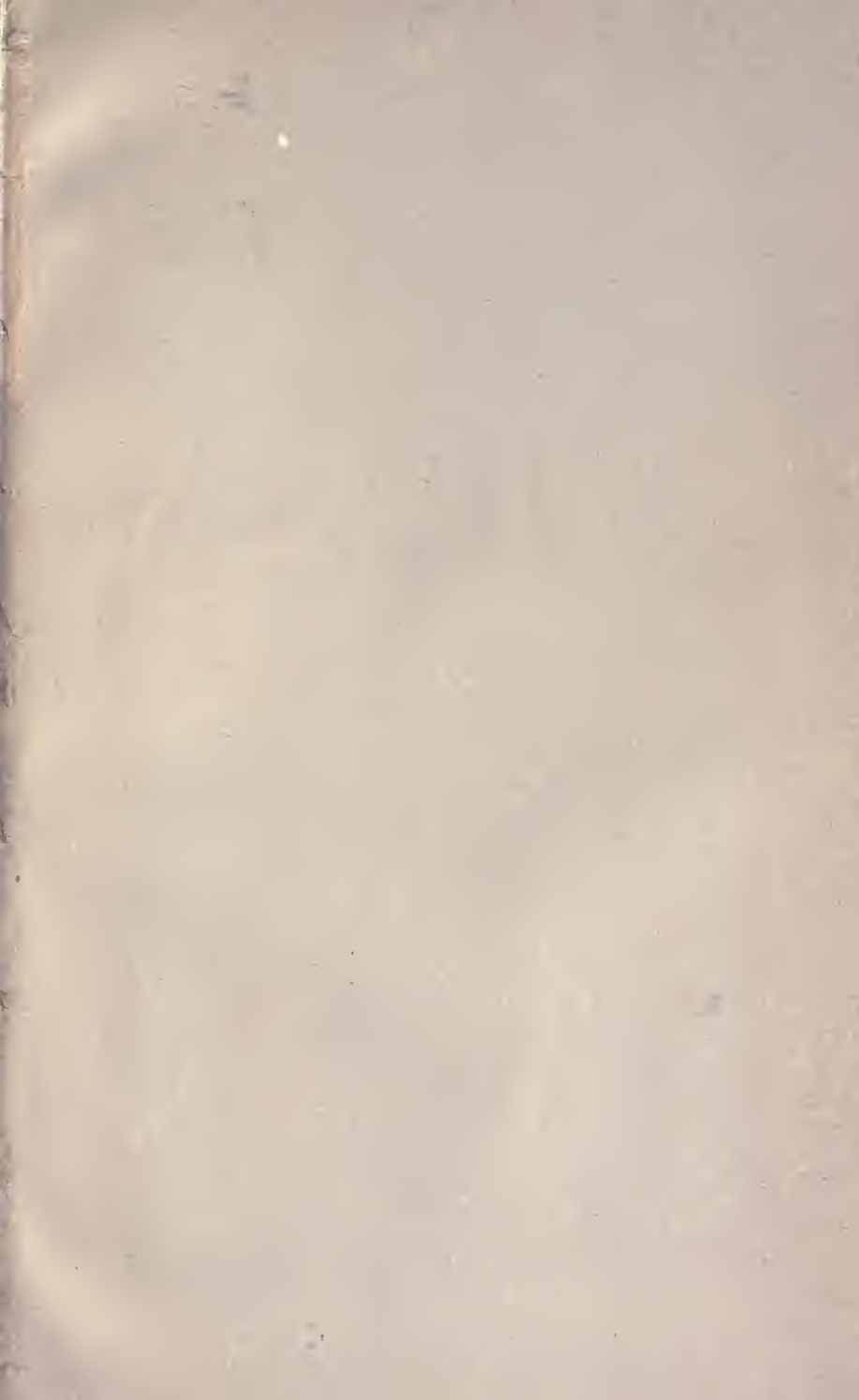
It has always amazed me, that Determinists can see any force in this objection. I am the last to deny that many of their arguments are extremely plausible, and demand most careful consideration. But this particular argument has its origin in a perfectly marvellous confusion of thought. Intuitionists entirely deny—as is surely quite notorious—that the word "cause" has (in the accepted doctrine of Causation) the sense which a Determinist supposes. They entirely deny, that the common sense of mankind accepts the "doctrine of Causation," in the sense in which a Determinist understands it. They entirely deny, that in that sense the doctrine is true. They confidently affirm, that in that sense the doctrine is false. Yet even so unusually able and thoughtful a writer as Mr. Leslie Stephen, has surely fallen a victim to the fallacy of which I am speaking. He represents Libertarian Theists as holding, that "we are bound by a necessary law of thought to believe in universal Causation;" and so far he represents them truly. But he proceeds to represent them as "saying, that another

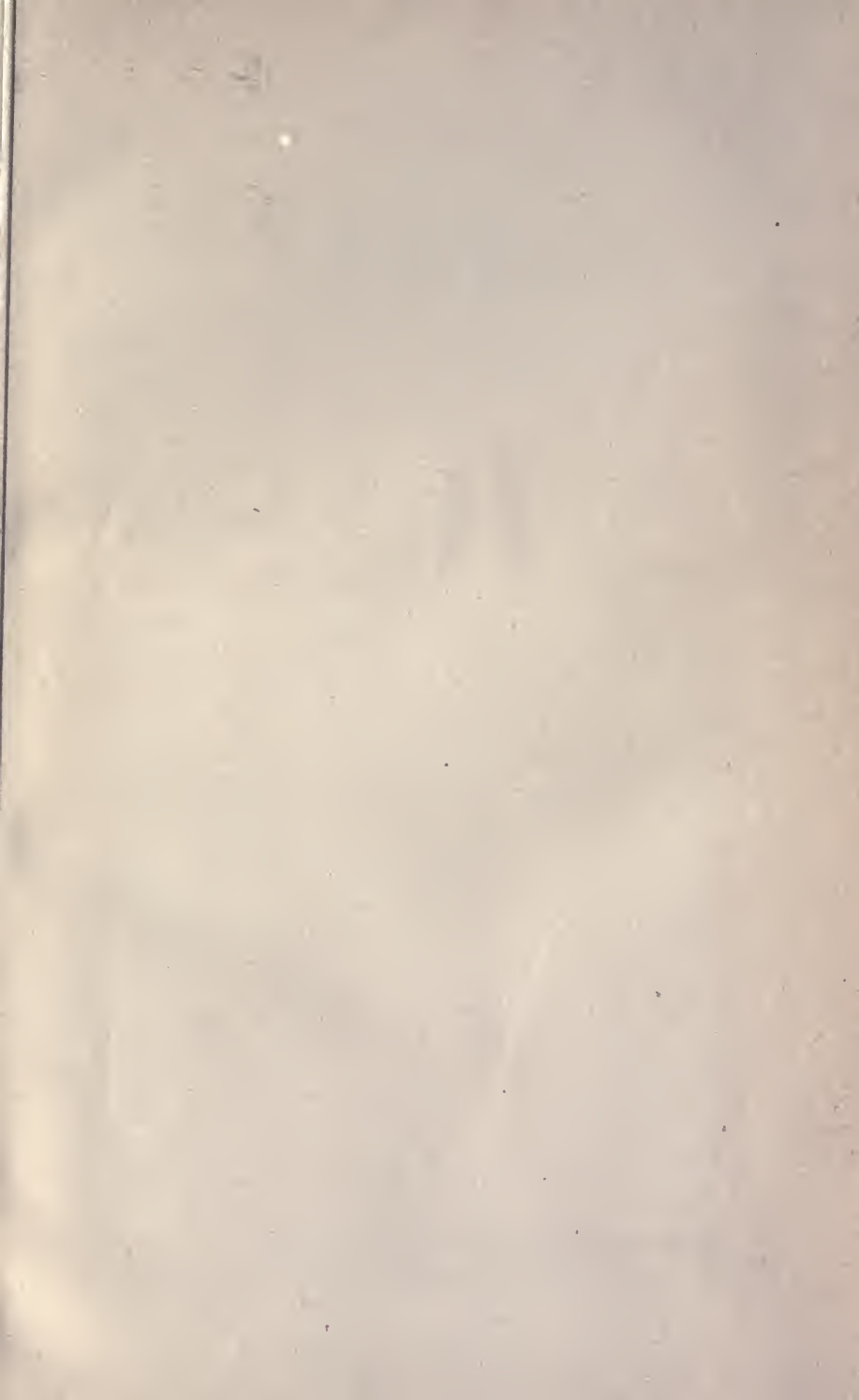
necessary law of thought tells us that Causation is not universal," because man's will is free.¹ On the contrary, Libertarians are removed in the furthest possible degree from admitting, that a free human act involves a "causeless volition." They say, that such an act exemplifies the doctrine of Causation more expressly, more emphatically, more clamourously, than does any other phenomenon in the world. All this I set forth to the best of my power last April; and Dr. Bain—according to his wont—has referred to my argument, without attempting to answer it.

5. At last, I think Dr. Bain lays his chief stress on the fact, that all *other* phenomena proceed by uniformity of sequence. He regards it as in the very highest degree improbable, that one particular class of phenomena—viz., human volitions—should be an exception to this otherwise universal rule. But he makes no way whatever in controversy by merely pointing out that, according to *his own* theory of life, such exceptionality is most improbable: he has to show (if he can) that it is improbable, according to *his opponents'* theory of life. Now, according to his opponents' theory of life, such an exceptionality is not only not an improbability, it is an absolute necessity. There can be no such thing as Theistic morality, without Free Will. On the other hand, if you *deny* Theistic morality—then (I quite admit) Free Will would be an uncouth, unmeaning, portentous exception to the otherwise universal course of nature. In fact, I may turn the tables on Dr. Bain. Unless Theistic morality be sound doctrine, Free Will is a portentous and unintelligible anomaly. But (as I have argued) Free Will indubitably exists. Dr. Bain therefore either must admit, that there exists what he himself would describe as a portentous and unintelligible anomaly; or else he must admit, that Theistic morality is sound doctrine.

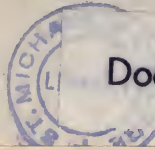
W. G. WARD.

¹ "Fortnightly Review," June 1876, p. 818, "An Agnostic's Apology".









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