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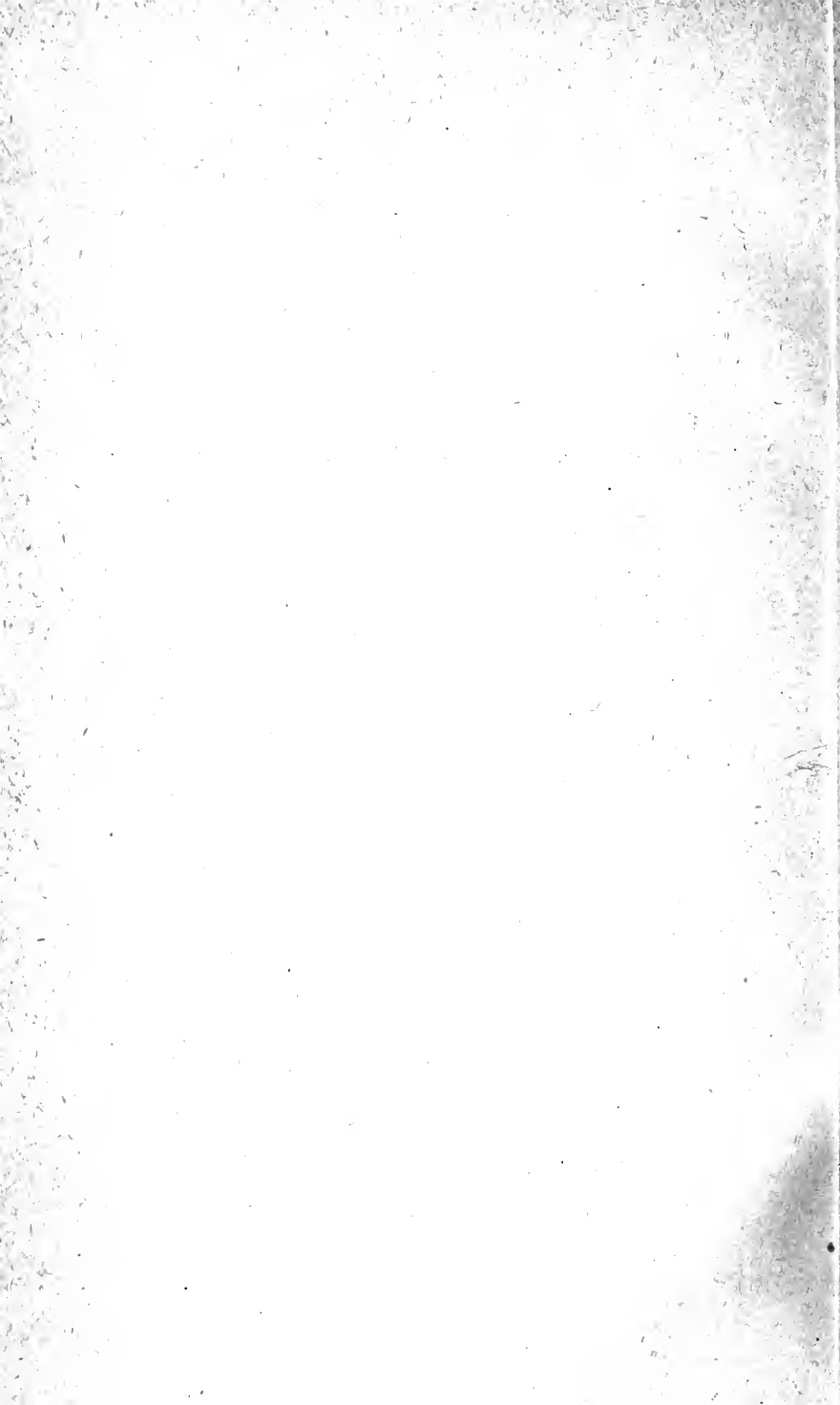
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THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

**Ballantyne Press**

**BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO., EDINBURGH  
CHANDOS STREET, LONDON**



THE

DUBLIN REVIEW.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VI.

JULY—OCTOBER.

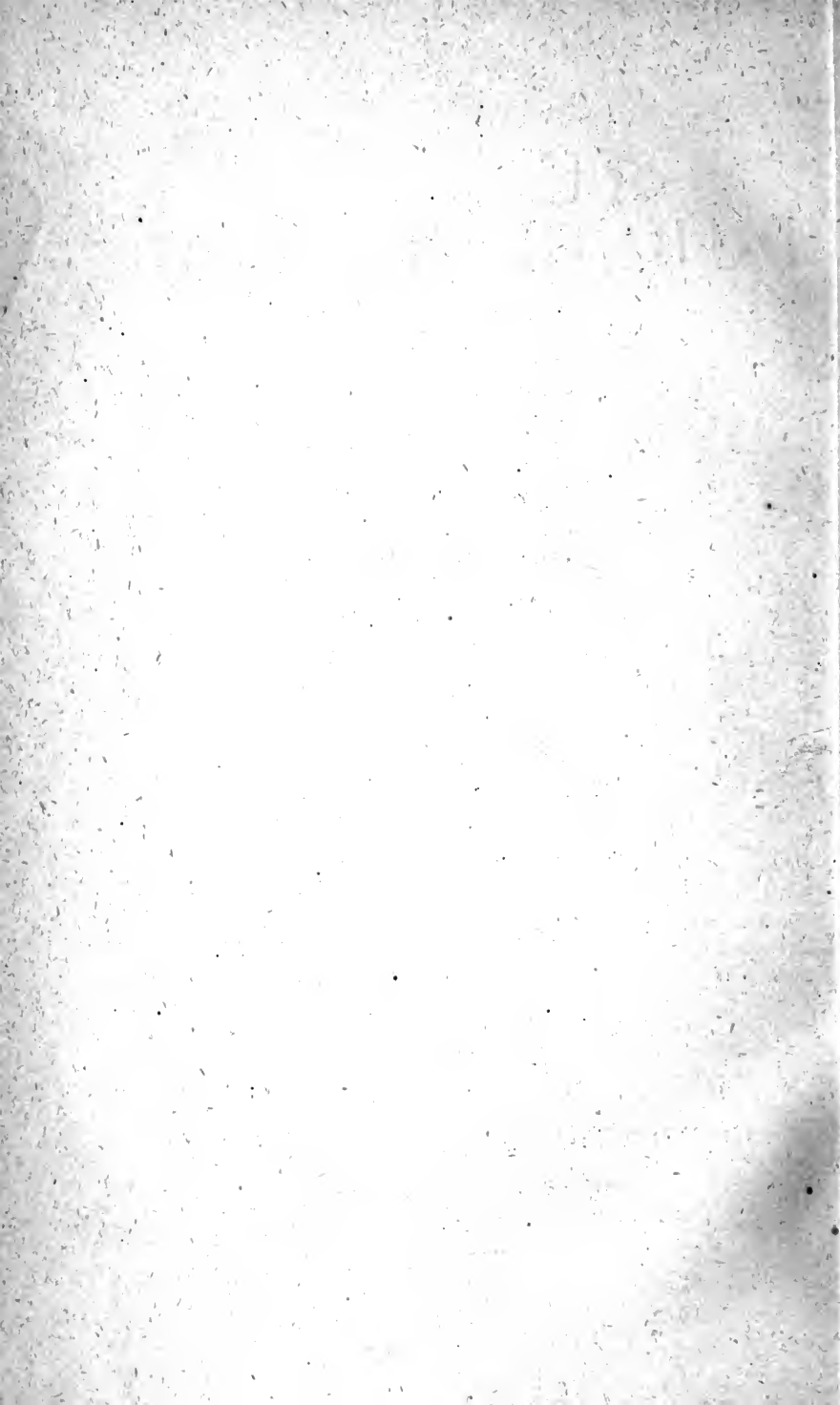
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LONDON: BURNS & OATES.

DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.

BALTIMORE: KELLY, PIET & CO.

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1881.



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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JULY, 1881.

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ART. I.—THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

*The Newspaper Press Directory.* Thirty-sixth Annual Issue. London: C. Mitchell & Co. 1881.

A WRITER in the "Saturday Review," a few weeks ago, delivered himself concerning newspapers in general, in terms which drew down upon his devoted head the fiercest wrath of the whole journalistic world. "Excessive newspaper reading," he said, "is a sure destroyer of mental health. Its effect is to corrupt the judgment, to weaken the sense of mental discrimination, to discourage intellectual initiative, and generally to deaden the mental powers by substituting a habit of mechanical for a habit of intelligent reading. A very little yielding to this disposition," he goes on, "will produce, even in cultivated men, a habit which may almost be said to be worse from an intellectual point of view than the habit of not reading at all." Some such reflection as this must necessarily strike every thoughtful man, as he turns over the pages of the volume the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. Two hundred and thirty-six closely printed pages of imperial 8vo, wholly devoted to particulars concerning the newspapers of the United Kingdom, afford a sufficiently striking evidence of the enormous interests involved in the newspaper press, and testify to the readiness of the people of this country to absorb a practically unlimited quantity of literature of this description. That this is an altogether healthy state of things, and a sign of the growing intelligence of the nation, is certainly open to question. The weary speakers who return thanks for the toast of "The Press," at the far end of municipal and other banquets, of course rejoice over it, and triumphantly point to the enterprise, and industry, and cultivated public feeling of which it is the sign. Yet there

are some amongst us who are sufficiently heretical to think that the "Saturday" Reviewer did not go quite far enough in his condemnation of excessive newspaper reading, and who trace to it no small part of that decay of patriotism, of public spirit, and of private morality, as well as of that increasing frivolity and want of serious aim in life which are so unhappily characteristic of the present day. A people who, like the Athenians of old, spend their lives "either in telling or hearing some new thing"—in other words, in gossiping—are not likely to be animated by very high aims, or guided by any very intelligent standard. And to the great mass of newspaper readers their favourite literature is only another form of gossip. Perhaps one in ten may read the leading articles, and study the telegrams with intelligence, but the rest look only at those portions of the paper which contain what may be most accurately described as gossip—and sometimes as gossip of the worst kind; police reports, reports of proceedings in the law courts—and especially those of the Court in which Sir James Hannen daily puts asunder those whom God is supposed to have joined—accidents and offences, and all the little trivial scraps of news which are forgotten as soon as read, and which have not the slightest interest for, and do not in the smallest degree concern any save the actors in the events recorded.

But the matter has an even graver side than this. On all sides it is lamented, and especially in Protestant communities, that faith appears to be decaying. Nor can there be much doubt that outside the pale of the Catholic Church religion is becoming year by year a less potent influence. The outward forms remain but the soul has departed. In the Church of England fashion appears to be the prevailing power. A hundred years ago the fashion was what is now called "high and dry" Churchmanship. The clergy were simply country gentlemen, who on Sundays put on a surplice, and read prayers and a sermon; whilst on weekdays they farmed, hunted, shot, fished, and took their part in county business like any other laymen. Then followed the wave of Evangelical reaction, when the great mass of the clergy did their best to inspire their people with aspirations after holiness by the light of a curiously narrow and mistaken creed. It was natural that a recoil should follow, and that the excessive individualism, which is the leading characteristic of the so-called Evangelical party, should lead the more thoughtful amongst them to endeavour to realize the essentially corporate character of the Christianity they professed. The result was the publication of "Tracts for the Times," with the inevitable sequel—the submission to the Church of some of the greatest intellects in the Anglican body. As Lord Beaconsfield has said, that secession inflicted a blow upon the Church of England

beneath which she yet reels. It certainly had the effect of intensifying the differences which notoriously exist amongst the members of that very miscellaneous body. The after effects of the "Tracts" have been peculiar. Those who accept their teaching carefully refrain, save in very rare instances, from carrying it to its logical consequences, while those who reject it drift year by year farther from what it is the fashion to call "the old Evangelical standards," and now form what they are pleased to describe as the "Broad Church party"—a sect, the principal article of whose creed seems to be the absurdity of having a creed at all, and whose Christianity is of so remarkable a type as wholly to abandon the supernatural element in it. All these varying parties have their organs in the press, as have also the multitude of the sects into which Protestantism outside the Church of England is divided; and their wranglings and bitterness do not, certainly, afford the impartial looker-on a very exalted idea of the effect of such religious teaching as is supplied from the pulpits of the Establishment and of the various dissenting bodies. No one, in fact, can make a study of these so-called "religious" newspapers, without arriving at a tolerably definite opinion that the tendency towards unbelief, which is so eminently characteristic of the present day, is due in no small degree to the operations of these prints. In the following pages we propose to examine their leading characteristics with as much impartiality as is possible under the circumstances.

Excluding four organs devoted to the interests of the Catholic Church, the religious papers published in London are, it appears from Messrs. Mitchell & Co.'s valuable guide, thirty-six in number. Eleven of these represent the varying parties into which the Protestant establishment is divided; two are organs of the Baptists; one proudly describes itself as the organ of Nonconformity, and takes for its motto the words "The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion;" Wesleyanism has three organs; Quakerism and Judaism each two; and Presbyterianism, Primitive Methodism, and Unitarianism each one. Besides these, eight papers describe themselves as 'Unsectarian,'—by which word we may understand excessively sectarian—and two as "Protestant," one of which "endeavours to unite all on the common ground of Protestantism, and seeks to bring forward the common danger of Romanism," while the other is a "non-Sectarian Evangelical Protestant" journal, which reports sermons, lectures, and general religious intelligence.

Of the "Ecclesiastical Gazette" nothing need be said in this place. It is the official organ of the Church of England, and is not a newspaper save in the most limited sense of the term. It is published on the Friday after the second Tuesday in every

month, and though nominally issued at the price of sixpence, its circulation is almost purely gratuitous, copies being sent free of charge to every bishop and other dignitary of the Church of England and to every beneficed clergyman of the same body. The contents are not of overwhelming interest to the general reader, consisting as they do, mainly of official documents relating to the Establishment, with occasionally an original paper of almost ostentatious colourlessness on some matter of general interest. The "Guardian" is a far more important and far more widely read organ. Established at the beginning of 1846 as the organ of that section of the Church of England which describes itself as "Anglo-Catholic," it speedily assumed a position as organ of the country clergy, much in the same way as the "Field" is accurately described as "the Country Gentleman's Newspaper." There is hardly a country-house in the kingdom where the latter organ of "Sports, Pastimes, and Natural History" is not delivered with Sunday morning's letters, and where it does not beguile the tedium of Sunday afternoon. In the same way there is hardly a country parsonage which is not enlivened on Thursday by the handsome broadsheet of the "Guardian." The first number of this journal appeared on the 21st of January 1846, in the height of the Corn-Law struggle, and at the time when the relations of Great Britain with Ireland, and with the United States on the Oregon Question, were in a painfully strained condition. It is not very easy to understand from the opening leading article what line the conductors intended to take in politics; the only point about which there was no uncertainty being that the paper was neither Whig nor Radical. Eventually it developed into a Peelite organ, but the phrases of the first number hardly point in that direction. When a Minister is described as "mysterious and intangible—alienating supporters but commanding votes—not liked, not venerated, but felt to be indispensable—ready to retire, but nobody would dare to take his place, and all would be sixes and sevens until he got back again"—when, we say, a newspaper speaks of a Minister in such terms, it can hardly be said that it uses the language of a warm supporter. By the time the "Guardian" had reached its fourteenth number, a sort of settlement had been arrived at. A new series was commenced, the size of the sheet was greatly enlarged, and the "Guardian" is found to be pronouncing the shibboleth of Free Trade with quite the orthodox accent. Its ecclesiastical tendencies speedily became very strongly marked, and more space was given to articles and correspondence on these subjects, the tone being uniformly that of the more orthodox Church of England type. Thus, in the second number of the new series, may be found an elaborate attack upon the Evangelical Alliance, written

we are bound to confess, with both force and wit, for their attempt to construct a new "creed of Christendom." On the lines thus laid down the "Guardian" has continued to flourish for five-and-thirty years. So long as Sir Robert Peel lived it supported him; so long as the Peelites continued to exist as a party it was distinctly Peelite; when that party was reduced to one member, in the person of Mr. Gladstone, it transferred its entire allegiance to him. The clients of the "Guardian" do not invariably relish the devotion of their organ to the extremely versatile statesman who for the present sways the destinies of England; and it is not a little amusing to observe the complaining tone in which some of them protest when they find an apology for an unusually flagrant piece of tergiversation or high handedness on his part forced as it were down their throats. Still, however, they accept it—"reluctantly and mutinously," as Lord Macaulay said of the Tories who supported Peel; for the "Guardian" is necessary to the English clergy. It is not only a most useful organ for communication between various members of that body, but it is written in a style which gentlemen and men of education can readily tolerate. The political leaders are readable, intelligent and moderate in tone, and the leaders on ecclesiastical subjects are, from the point of view of the moderate "High Anglican," irreproachable. Of course mistakes are made from time to time. Thus, when Bishop Reinkens and the new sect of "Old Catholics" were guilty of making a new schism in the Church, both he and they found a warm apologist in the "Guardian," whilst the proceedings of the Vatican Council were attacked in a fashion which proved very satisfactorily the justice of the claim of the Church of England to the title of Protestant. For the rest the "Guardian"—allowing for all differences of opinion—is by no means an unfavourable specimen of newspapers of this particular class. The tone of culture and urbanity by which it is characterized is precisely that which might be expected in the homes of the English clergy, and if at times there is a certain air of patronage in its references to the adherents to the ancient faith of Christendom it is redeemed by the indubitable scholarship of most of its contributors, and by the efforts which they are visibly making towards a higher life and a more complete creed than that which they now possess. That it is politically given over to Gladstonism need surprise no one who is aware of the peculiar fascination which that statesman exercises over those with whom he is brought into contact, and especially those who were trained in the schools of Oxford, and who have sat at the feet of Peel.

The "Record" is a paper of a very different character. It may fairly be described as the organ of "The Clapham Sect"—as it

was the fashion to call the "Evangelical Party" (so called) in the Church of England in the earlier years of the present century. The paper is understood to have taken its origin in certain conversations held over the dinner-table of a well-known city magistrate (Mr. A. Hamilton) in the year 1825, at which the friends of William Wilberforce were wont to assist. The first number was not, however, published until the 1st of January, 1828, after being heralded by a prospectus of a length which might have been expected from a sect which lays the extremest stress on what it is pleased to style "the ordinance of preaching." This wonderful document commences with a general dissertation on "the varied and extensive influence of the newspaper," and goes on to ask whether "the parent or the master of a family can indulge a reasonable hope that the constantly repeated history of vice and crime, told with all its disgusting details, and without any serious expression of horror at its enormities, will leave no pernicious impression on the minds of those whom Providence has committed to his care?" Having answered this question entirely to their own satisfaction, the promoters of the "Record" go on to say that they consider it a duty to establish a journal which shall give the news of the day "unaffected by the disgusting and dangerous character of those baneful ingredients which circulate in intimate, though certainly not inseparable, union" with it. An editor had, we learn, been appointed for this purpose, who—happy man!—was to work under the control of a committee of management. On the lines thus laid down, the "Record" has been issued twice a week, from Tuesday, the 1st of January, 1828, up to the present time, and its theological views remain exactly what they were at the beginning. The first piece of original writing which was published by this journal, was a violent attack on the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Ireland, and an apology for those conversions "by the bribe of a bonnet or a pair of shoes," which the writer actually treats as so much a matter of course as not even to require contradiction. The same kind of thing is to be found in the "Record" of to-day; but of late years this journal has awakened to the fact that the narrow teaching of the "Clapham Sect" is menaced quite as much from the side of intellectual activity, as from that of ecclesiastical supremacy. The Catholic Church, it is beginning to see, is not the only opponent of Calvinism, though, as becomes a paper of zealously Protestant principles, it naturally traces everything to which it takes objection to the influence of "Popery." The result is somewhat curious, since the "Record" would seem to trace the vagaries of the party who indulge in what the late Prime Minister called a "Masquerade Mass," to the direct influence of the Vatican, and at the same time to refer to the same malign power the peculiar scepticism



of Professors Tyndall and Huxley. The Conservatism of the "Record" is, indeed, unimpeachable, but its zeal is not always according to knowledge. Only a few years ago a very remarkable illustration of the kind of thing which finds favour in "Evangelical" and Protestant circles was afforded by this paper. When the *Great Eastern*—most unlucky of steam-ships—was launched, it may be remembered that there was a very terrible accident. Some of the machinery broke down, and several of the workmen were horribly injured in consequence, some six or seven being carried away in a dying condition. Coincidentally with this accident came the news, first, that the directors of the company by whom the ship had been built, had—from what motive has never been explained—decided to change the name of the ship from *Great Eastern* to *Leviathan*; and, secondly, that the ship itself, in process of launching, had stuck upon the "ways," and could not be got off. Straightway the "Record" published what was perhaps the most remarkable leading article of the year. The readers of this instructive paper were informed with the utmost gravity that the accident in question was a direct manifestation of the Divine wrath on account of the change in the name of the ship. "With all deep theologians," said the "Record," "Leviathan is a Scriptural synonym for devil." On this notion the "Record" built perhaps the most amazing argument ever seen in a newspaper, even of the type now under consideration. There was some clumsy jocularities, which to men of the world outside the charmed circles of Evangelicalism certainly appeared somewhat profane, about the Almighty having "put a hook in the nose" of Leviathan, but the argument of the writer was—nakedly stated—that the Creator was so angry with his creatures for having given to a big ship a name which in the opinion of "deep theologians" is a synonym for that of the author of Evil, that he caused a dreadful accident to happen, by which a number of working-men, who had nothing whatever to do with the change of the ship's name, lost their lives, while their equally innocent families were plunged into undeserved distress and suffering. This view of the Divine nature and purposes appears to be that most in favour with the readers of the "Record;" for, though not so openly stated, it is in the main identical with that which usually underlies the interpretations of current events which are to be found in its leading articles.

If, however, the "Record" is a somewhat violent, and to disinterested observers a somewhat profane organ of "Evangelical Protestantism," it is surpassed in these respects by its contemporary the "Rock." This journal—which, by the way, was said at one time to be edited by an Irish Orangeman and Presbyterian, but which is now in the hands of an Anglican clergyman—was

started at the beginning of 1868, in support of the Protestant character of the then "United Church of England and Ireland." Its opening address, which is of the usual type of extreme Protestantism, declares that its province is "to appeal to the masses of this great Empire in defence of Christianity as it came fresh and pure from the lips of its Divine founder, and from the oracles of God; and as it was restored at the Reformation by those Protestant confessors who sealed their protest against Rome, and their faith in the Redeemer, by the blood of martyrdom." But the "Rock" aspires to an even higher part than that of merely defending the faith: it carries the war into the enemy's camp; only, as the enemy is not at all likely to read its diatribes, it is hard to see what other effect they can have than that of intensifying party feeling, and making its Protestant readers more bitter than they were before. "It will be ours, too," this opening address goes on, "to wage a warfare of reason and fact and argument against the corrupt teachings and traditions of the Roman Church; against the principles and practices of Ritualism, and against the dangers and the delusions of that Rationalism which seeks to set the intellect of man above his soul, and does violence to human reason by its misapplication." The way in which the work is to be accomplished appears in the first number. Under the heading of "Topics of the Week" there are series of paragraphs directed against the Irish Bishops and the English High Churchmen. Roman "difficulties" are dealt with in a remarkably comprehensive and simple manner. The writer has got hold of a copy of the creed of Pope Pius IV., over the thirteenth article of which he makes merry in the following fashion:—

As the Roman Church does not pretend to be the mother of the Jewish Church the declaration must mean that she is the mother and mistress of all Christian Churches. To be the mother and mistress of all Christian Churches is to admit the existence of other Christian Churches. Therefore, a member of the Roman Church must admit as a fact that there are other Christian Churches besides the Roman Church. But he is bound to believe, as a point of *faith*, that the Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all Christian Churches.

Such stuff as this appears to suit the readers of the "Rock," for articles of the same kind are constantly published in its columns. On matters of fact the "Rock" is equally untrustworthy. Thus in the same article we find the statement that "A Christian Church was planted in England either by Paul himself, or by one of the Apostles, before Paul went to Rome; and, as a fact, England was in no way indebted to Rome for her Christianity." The reader of the "Rock" is often puzzled to know which to admire most—the ignorance or the

audacity of this accuser of his brethren. The "poetry" of the first number affords an opportunity of judging to what extent the boast of the opening address is justified—that the "Rock" is devoted to "the advancement and maintenance of the truth as enshrined in the Word of God." The name of the paper, it will be remembered, is an allusion to that conferred by our Lord upon S. Peter; and accordingly the first number appropriately enough contains what is called a "Reformation Ballad," with the title of "The Foundation Rock." After quoting the words of our Lord the balladist goes on—

Peter thou art, but not on such a Rock  
 Can I upbuild that fabric vast and tall,  
 Which, rising heavenward, shall the lightnings mock,  
 And stand secure when storms and tempests fall.

No flesh-foundation could its weight upbear,  
 No creature strength could those rude shocks sustain,  
 Still less the frail one, who will soon declare  
 He knows me not when one dark cloud shall rain.

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The later issues of the "Rock" fully bear out the promise of the earlier. Thus, in that for the 4th of March last, we find that this veracious print coolly identifies the obstructives in the House of Commons with "the Romish members;" and this in the face of the fact that Mr. Parnell is a Protestant of a rather marked type. It is only fair to say, however, that the "Rock" is quite as bitter against the Ritualistic party in the Anglican Church, whom its contributors accuse in no measured terms of "doing the work of Rome," and of desiring to propagate "the immoral teaching inculcated by the Jesuits, and criminal aims of that society." Some idea of the Christian charity and gentle tolerance of this faithful exponent of modern Protestantism may be formed from a letter in the number for the 4th of March above-mentioned. Speaking of the rival Anglican Societies—the Church Association, which has prosecuted the Ritualistic clergy, and the English Church Union, which has found the funds for their defence—the writer says that he has "no patience with those who affect to treat the English Church Union and the Church Association as a pair of equal delinquents. As well might they speak of the London thieves and the London police as equally disagreeable sets of people."

What the "Rock" does for the Low Church party, the "Church Times" does for its opponents of the Ritualistic clique of Anglicans. The great object of this journal is to prove that the Establishment is a true branch of the Catholic Church; and

this object it aims at attaining by attacks upon the Anglican bishops of a most amusingly ferocious kind, by habitual and systematic abuse of the "Reformers," from Luther and Melancthon down to Cranmer and Ridley, by dissertations upon points of ritual and the shape of vestments, and finally by savage attacks upon the Catholic Church in matters of both doctrine and practice. The tone of the paper is habitually one of anger and ill-temper, as if the writers were conscious of being in an utterly false position, and did not quite know how to get out of it; while, as regards scholarship and urbanity, the utter absence of those qualities is apt to lead the reader to believe that the contents of this paper must be the production of what Sidney Smith—whom the Whigs would have made a bishop but for his inveterate habit of joking—was wont to call "wild curates." It would be easy to compile a "Florilegium" of no ordinary beauty from the issues of this journal during the last few years; but a few quotations from the numbers published during the present year may serve to show what manner of print it is which finds favour with the extremer members of the Ritualistic school of Anglicans. First, as regards the bishops. It might be thought that these officials of the Establishment would receive an almost unlimited amount of reverence and obedience from men who derive their orders from them, and who constantly profess to depend upon the validity of the Anglican succession as a proof of their own "Catholic" position. The very reverse, is, however, the case. The "Church Times" has hardly words strong enough to express its loathing and contempt for those whom it professes to believe the guardians of the faith, and the bulwarks of the Church. Times without number it has repeated that "whenever any real difficulty has occurred in which the Church has been in danger of losing her spiritual privileges, the main body of the bishops have been on the adverse side;"\* that "the chief obstacles to church reform have been the bishops;"† and that the bishops lead and encourage the people to do wrong. Sometimes the journal is facetious at the expense of the bishops. Thus, a correspondent writes to say that being at S. Paul's on a certain Sunday, he counted fifteen sleepers in a congregation of fifty persons; on which we have the bracketed remark: "Our correspondent forgets Bishop Claughton was preaching.—ED."‡ Sometimes the bishops are instructed in their duties, or rather the clergy are taught how to behave to their ecclesiastical superiors. It would appear that some of the bishops have made a rule not to confirm catechumens until they have attained the age of puberty. This the "Church Times" considers to be wrong, and

\* Jan. 14, 1881.

† Feb. 18.

‡ Feb. 25.

accordingly advises its clerical readers that "if the child is ready and desirous to be confirmed, but is deprived of that blessing by the arbitrary and illegal conduct of the bishop, it is clearly the duty of the parish priest to admit such child to Holy Communion." The value of the opinions of the paper on the state of the Catholic Church may be estimated from the fact that one of its most important contributors is that Dr. Littledale who had the courage to say that the Vatican Decrees were "a lie," and that those who promulgated them knew them to be such. One gem may, however, fairly find a place here. It is from a letter signed "Archer Gurney," and dated from "The Vicarage, Rhayader, Feb. 10th, 1881." The substance of the letter itself is an attempt to demonstrate that "we are living in the Time of the End"—a theory which the writer endeavours to support by a number of speculations quite worthy of Dr. Cumming "of Scotland," as Pope Pius IX. described him. This wonderful production ends thus:—

Now of all unfulfilled events it behoves us to speak with modesty; but what should this be if not Catholic Reunion on the basis of the worship of the Lamb? The corrupt system which has so long possessed itself of the mighty Latin Church is doomed to speedy overthrow, and that forbidden giving of the heart's affections to the creature, which Scripture calls spiritual fornication, will be found no more. No longer will our Lord's abiding work as the High Priest and Lamb that was slain, in Heaven, and Heaven's kingdom be merged in antedated judgeship; no longer will Mary and Joseph be regarded as mediators between Him and us! The Jerusalem of the wonderful 16th chapter of Ezekiel will remember her ways and be ashamed when she shall receive her sisters, the elder and the younger (the Greek and the Anglican), so that she may never more open her mouth because of her shame when he is pacified towards her, saith the Lord God.\*

There is only one word by which an educated man of average common-sense is likely to describe writing of this kind, and that is, *rigmarole*; to which a man of devout habit of mind might be tempted to prefix the epithet *profane*. The extraordinary part of the matter is, however, that people who write and read stuff of this kind should imagine that they are in any sense of the word Catholic, and that they should—as they certainly do—expect that the Church should make advances to them in the hope of securing their valuable support.

Akin to the "Church Times" is the "Church Review," a little print whose first number was issued on New Year's Day,

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\* "Church Times," Feb. 25, 1881.

1861, at the price of sixpence, but which now appears at the more modest figure of a penny. The object of the paper, as originally announced, was not to supply news, but "to provide those who have neither the time nor the means for a search into original sources with a repertory of arguments, ready for use, in defence of the Catholic Faith as the English Church has received it from the beginning." Party spirit was earnestly and even eagerly disavowed, and a sort of undertaking was given that information and opinion would be obtained from all sources, whether "Roman, Greek, or Lutheran." Above all things, the reader was assured that "this is no commercial speculation. . . . The gain which is set forth as the one aim and end of the undertaking is the vindication of 'the Faith as it was once delivered to the saints.'" At the outset the paper was in many respects an imitation of the "Saturday Review," while it had a sort of quasi-official character as the organ of the English Church Union. Whilst the original form was maintained the character of the paper stood deservedly very high amongst those which represent the Anglican body. Its articles were scholarly and well written, and the reviews of new books were done with very considerable ability. Since it has been converted into a penny weekly paper it has, however, fallen off somewhat seriously. Its politics remain what they were—Conservative, but not violently so—and in religious matters its tone is distinctly less truculent than the excitable "Church Times." There is also a most commendable absence from its pages of those rancorous diatribes with which the readers of the latter organ are but too familiar. Even here, however, illustrations may occasionally be found of the hatred and distrust with which the Ritualistic party regard their Bishops. For instance, it would seem that the Bishop of Rochester has thought fit to make some alterations in the arrangements for the services in a church in his diocese. Even on the most pronounced of Anglican theories, it might be thought that in so doing Dr. Thorold was strictly within his right, but according to the "Church Review,"\* his nominee is engaged in the "work of destruction of the souls of the late congregation and the fabric of the Church." Better things than this might have been expected from a paper which is not, like the "Church Times," the organ of that most anomalous political party, the "High Church Radicals."

The "English Churchman" is a highly respectable paper, published at the comparatively high price of threepence, and representing the Anglican party commonly known as the "high and dry." Its leading articles can hardly be described as brilliant,

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\* "Church Review," March 4, 1881.

but there is a fine old-fashioned "port-winey" flavour about them—if such an expression may be allowed—which is by no means disagreeable. The writers are perfectly satisfied with their position as representatives of the *via media* school. They have no great sympathy with the Ritualists—in fact they distrust them and their works—but at the same they have an almost equal distaste for the Low Church clergy, and a hatred for Protestant dissenters of every type. Thus, in the number for the 3rd of February last, we find an article on "The Situation," suggested by a letter from Dr. Pusey which had just appeared in the "Times." The concluding sentences define the position of the paper with so much clearness that it is impossible to do better than quote them. After pointing out the difficulties arising from the deficiencies of the Low Church party, and the excesses of the Ritualists, the article calls upon the Anglican bishops "to express clear (*sic*) and without circumlocution, the plain requirements of the Prayer Book . . . which at any rate would secure the support of the great mass of the faithful clergy and laity." The article ends with the following sentences:—

At present a church closed from Sunday to Sunday, or opened for one half-hearted and dismal service, is not only an anachronism, but a breach of Church order and an insult to common sense; while it is equally manifest that a function such as that at St. Alban's, Holborn, is only possible by a non-natural interpretation of the Prayer Book, and by reading back into the Communion office a great deal which, whether wisely or not, was, on well-authenticated occasions, deliberately omitted from it—to say nothing of the insertion of other matters which never found a place in it. Here, we believe, lies the hope of a pacific settlement; not in giving way to either school of extremists, but in levelling up and levelling down until we reach a little nearer to the golden mean which is the Church's praise and glory.

If so eminently respectable an organ of a religious party can have an object of hatred, it must be found in the Protestant dissenter, for whom it would seem that the "English Churchman" entertains feelings very much akin to those with which the typical fine lady of half a century ago regarded a spider or a toad. Unfortunately, the paper, for some reason best known to itself, entertains a similar distaste for the Catholic Church, which it expresses in a manner sometimes gratuitously offensive. In the number already quoted is a paragraph on the Hospital Sunday Fund, which is about as unfair and unjust as anything can be. The opening sentence refers to "the interested and successful efforts of the English Nonconformists, secretly supported . . . by our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, to prevent the introduction of any questions as to religious belief in the approaching census," and the paragraph then goes on to make sneering reference to the fact

that of the £28,000 received at the Mansion House, "only £500 (came) from the Roman Catholics, £2,000 from the Independents, and £1,100 from the Baptists." The reference to the Protestant sects may be left out of the question. At the same time the writer must have known that such a coalition as that which he suggests is impossible; that Catholics have infinitely more to gain than to lose from the diffusion of the truth on these subjects; and, finally, that the collections on Hospital Sunday in London afford no test whatever of the amount of charity bestowed by Catholics on the poor and the suffering.

Unhappily the "English Churchman" appears to delight in ostentatious displays of its Protestant character, which are by no means invariably in the best taste. What can educated and intelligent Englishmen think of such passages as those which we are about to quote, save that, in spite of all the talk of the last few years about the "Catholic" character of the English Establishment, it is still as Protestant as ever, and that the spirit which prevailed in the days of Henry VIII. is, in religious matters, the spirit which prevails to-day? Speaking of the reply of the Catholic archbishops and bishops to Mr. Parnell, the "English Churchman" says:\*

. . . . the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy, as regards the land agitation, have made up their minds, and they and their flocks will support Mr. Parnell. They may not altogether like him as their leader, but he is in position—therefore the man for the time; and, though nominally a Protestant, he has some special advantages and claims to support. O'Connell was educated by the Jesuits, and altogether a supporter of the Roman Catholic Church far more agreeable to the priests than Mr. Parnell; but O'Connell is not in the field, and they must take what they can get. They are on the whole very well served. The priests and Mr. Parnell are agreed, and it will not be by their consent should order and industry be restored to Ireland.

We turn the page and find a letter copied from that influential organ of public opinion, the "Maidstone and Kentish Journal," on "The Old Catholic Cause in Germany," with which it is needless to say the "English Churchman" is in full sympathy. The style, taste and character of this production may be estimated from a single sentence. "Can any patriotic Englishman, German, or Switzer, consent to accept the re-union of Christendom on the terms of taking his orders from and kissing the toe of an Italian"† The succeeding number of the same journal contains an article on the "Church and Popular Culture," *à propos* of a speech of Bishop Magee of Peterborough, which

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\* Feb. 24, 1881.

† *Ibid.*



affords a fair example of the knowledge which the writers in this paper bring to the discussion of matters in which Catholics are concerned. After speaking of the appearance of Monsignor Capel on the platform, the writer goes on to say that "the ordinary Roman priest in this country, trained, it may be, in a foreign seminary, seldom exercises any influence over his flock apart from that of which he is the centre in his purely spiritual capacity."\* Of the taste of the conductors of the paper an opinion may be formed from the fact that the number in which the above sapient sentence appears contains an article quoted from the "Record," devoted to violent abuse of the members of the Society of Jesus, on the occasion of their establishing themselves in the Channel Islands after their expulsion from France by the Republican Government.

Of the remaining journals published in the interest of the Anglican Church but little need be said. They are not, perhaps, remarkable for brilliancy or for special ability, but they are not absolutely offensive, and as a rule are marked by a more reverent and charitable spirit than the polemical organs to which reference has just been made. The "Literary Churchman," which appears every alternate Friday, contains articles on the religious questions of the day, which are treated from a stand-point of moderate High Churchmanship, but its main reliance is upon its reviews, which as a rule are full, scholarly and accurate. The subjects treated, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say, are usually those connected with religion and education. The "National Church" is the organ of the Church Defence Association, and is published monthly. Its *raison d'être* is the defence of the Establishment *qua* Establishment against the attacks of those Protestant dissenters who so continually clamour against its pretensions to speak in the name of the nation and to enjoy the endowments which have been placed at its disposal. "Church Bells" is a harmless and well-intentioned little weekly paper of no very marked character, but in many respects more resembling a carefully written tract than anything else—a remark which may be fairly applied to the one paper remaining on the list, the little weekly miscellany called "Hand and Heart," with which the list of Anglican papers, properly so called, closes.

The organs of Protestant dissent—or rather perhaps of political dissent—which come next upon the list, belong to a very different category from those which have just been under consideration. In some of them, at all events, there is very little even of the pretence of religion, and most of them are distinguished by a bitter and intolerant spirit. Of these organs the typical repre-

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\* "English Churchman," March 3, 1881.

sentative is unquestionably the "Nonconformist," a paper started in 1841 as the organ of those dissenters who "conscientiously" refused to pay Church Rates. Its founder and first editor was the late Mr. Edward Miall, a gentleman who started in life as a dissenting preacher of the Independent—or, as they now prefer to call themselves, "Congregationalist"—sect at the thriving town of Ware in Hertfordshire. In 1841, Mr. Miall, being then in his thirty-second year, abandoned the Congregational ministry, though he continued occasionally to preach in various dissenting chapels until about the year 1852, when he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Rochdale. At the general election of 1857 he was unseated, but when Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country in 1868, he again succeeded in obtaining a seat—this time for Bradford—which he retained until the dissolution in 1874. During the whole of this period he edited the "Nonconformist," and his labours in connection with that journal were so cordially appreciated, that that when it was evident that the fall of Mr. Gladstone's first administration was merely a question of weeks, his admirers raised a sum of no less than 10,000 guineas, which was presented to him at a luncheon at the Crystal Palace on the 18th of July, 1873. It will thus be evident that the paper with which Mr. Miall's name is associated is a representative one in no common degree, and that it may fairly be taken to speak the mind of that middle class, which according to some fervid orators is the backbone of the nation, and from which the great body of English Dissenters are drawn.

It is hardly necessary to say that the "Nonconformist" is something more than liberal in politics. Mr. Miall was described as "in favour of Manhood Suffrage," and as "utterly opposed to the principle of religious endowments"—though we believe neither he nor his admirers have at any time shown the slightest disposition to surrender the small properties with which the piety of their ancestors has endowed themselves. His opening address laid down the principles of dissent with sufficient clearness. Up to the period when the "Nonconformist" started on its career, dissenters had, he told them, "fought for themselves, rather than for the truth." The time had therefore come when they must "abandon the ground of expediency, and resolutely take up that of principle"—when they must "aim not so much to right themselves, as to right Christianity." When one considers *ex quonam ligno* the average British dissenter is cut, it must be owned that there is something exquisitely ludicrous in the notion of the Christian faith needing to be "righted" by the exertions of the ministers, deacons, and congregations of Salem, and Zion, and Little Bethel. The next line, however, lets the world into the secret. "The union of Church and State is the real evil

against which their efforts must be directed." It was not always thus with the sects. Two centuries earlier, Puritanism had risen in its unloveliness to complete the work begun a century before by the "Reformers," but the votaries of that creed had not the smallest objection to the union of Church and State, or to the possession of endowments. All that they wanted was to have the endowments for themselves, and that obtained they at once laid "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne" upon the people, until the one genius whom Puritanism has produced declared that "new Presbyter was but old priest writ large."

In the earlier days of its career the efforts of the "Nonconformist" were chiefly directed against the imposition of Church Rates. The attack upon Church Rates was, however, only an affair of outposts, and Mr. Miall frankly avowed as much in his opening address. The great object of the Protestant Dissenters is a political one, and few of them now care to disguise the fact. But when the "Nonconformist" first made its appearance it was thought desirable to conciliate the religious Dissenters by the assertion that the policy of the paper was "based upon New Testament principles," which, as interpreted by Mr. Miall, appear to embody the whole Radical programme. First and foremost in the list naturally comes the disestablishment and disendowment of the Established Church, and that end has been steadily kept in view during the whole existence of the "Nonconformist." It cannot be said that the controversy has been waged with any particular fairness or courtesy. At the outset there was a good deal of the disagreeable and untruthful talk about "tithe-fed parsons," "priestism," and similar matters, while the fallacy that endowments bestowed upon the Establishment by private liberality become forthwith "national property," was from the first elevated into an article of faith. In 1865 and 1872 a new system of tactics was adopted. One of the favourite themes for Radical and dissenting declamation is, as every student of the daily press knows full well, the iniquity of "ticketing" the people of this country with their religious belief, by requiring it to be stated in the Census Returns. Why this reluctance should exist in view of the reiterated boasts of their numbers made by Protestant Dissenters it is not very easy to see, but the fact remains, and the censuses of 1861 and 1871 have been—like that of the present year—taken without these important figures. A clumsy attempt was made in 1851 to obtain some idea of the relative numbers of the different sects by counting the congregations, but the figures were notoriously incorrect and untrustworthy, and though Mr. Horace Mann of the Registrar-General's office, duly manipulated them in the interests of the political Dissenters, no weight has at any time been attached to them. In the years above-

mentioned a bright idea seized the conductors of the "Nonconformist." The Dissenters had effectually prevented a really effective and accurate religious census from being taken—why should they not take a census of their own, which might not be perfectly accurate, but would prove by infallible figures the justice of their pretension to speak in the name of the great mass of the people of England? So said, so done. The arrangement was a very simple, and, at the same time a most ingenious one. It consisted simply in taking certain areas, limited in a curiously arbitrary fashion, and counting the number of seats provided within those areas by the Established Church, by Catholics, by Jews, and by Dissenters of every type from Congregationalists and Baptists down to Swedenborgians and Latter-day Saints. The results were supposed to show the relative proportions of the various sects, whilst by contrasting the notoriously doubtful figures of 1851 with those of these manipulated censuses, it was easy to show that the sects had gained much more largely than either the Catholic Church or the Establishment. To do this of course it was necessary to manipulate the figures a good deal, and that was accomplished by taking, in some towns, the Parliamentary Borough, and in others the Municipal Borough, as the area of inquiry, while in cases where the addition of certain suburbs—as at Cardiff—would have materially altered the aspect of affairs, they were carefully left out. If to these facts be added the exaggerations of some figures and the studious understating of others, it will be obvious that these statistics are valuable only for party purposes. So notorious and so monstrous was their false witness, however, that we believe they have never been referred to as authorities, even in the meetings of the "Liberation Society."

In the course of the year 1880 the "Nonconformist" absorbed the "English Independent," for several years the recognized organ of the Congregational body. Notwithstanding this fact, however, it has to a great extent lost the character of a religious newspaper. It records, it is true, the doings of that much be-puffed organization, "The Dissenting Deputies," the meetings of the "Liberation Society," and those of such bodies as the Congregational Chapels Building Society," but there is comparatively little religious intelligence, and the leading articles are not to be distinguished, save perhaps by their acerbity of tone, from those of the secular press. It is hardly necessary to say that it supports Mr. Gladstone with intense ardour, and that it finds abundant reason for satisfaction with the present condition of public affairs.

The Baptist denomination boasts two weekly organs, both of which are published at the price of a penny. The elder is the

“Freeman,” which describes itself as a “Journal of Religion, Literature, Social Science, and Politics.” It was established at the beginning of 1853, and it advertises itself as “A high-class weekly journal, representing all sections of the Baptist Church.” It need not be added that, while its religious influence is chiefly confined to the doings of the sect it represents, its politics are vehemently radical. The tone of the correspondence—much of which turns upon the rite of Baptism as administered in the sect—is often unpleasantly flippant, while the erudite dissensions on the word βαπτίζω do not afford a very high opinion of the scholarship of the sect. The other organ of the Baptists bears the name of the sect as its title, and audaciously takes for its motto the words “One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.” Considering that in this little sect alone there are, according to the Registrar-General’s Returns, no fewer than thirteen sub-divisions—that some are Arians, some Calvinists, some Armenians, some Antinomians, and some observers of the Seventh Day of the week—it might have been thought that the last thing of which Baptists would boast would be their unity. The “Baptist” was projected in 1873, to meet what was then held to be an acknowledged want amongst the members of the denomination. It is, of course, Liberal in politics, but there is very little reference to eternal matters in its columns, the bulk of the space being occupied with reports of sermons, and with the general news of the sect. Considerable space is given to correspondence, the subject lately being, as in the “Freeman,” the right form of baptism. It is difficult in the extreme for those outside “the denomination” to understand the importance which the Baptists attach to this matter. No one ever doubted that the βαπτίζω means to “dip” or “plunge under” as the Baptists with a vast show of learning contend; but they cling to their piece of ritual—the only fragment as it would seem which they have left to them—as tenaciously as a High Church curate clings to his chasuble, or an Evangelical minister to his Geneva gown. For the rest, the tone of the paper is at the worst harmless, and if there is something too much about the doings of the Salvation Army, and of the various societies connected with Mr. Spurgeon’s tabernacle over against the Elephant and Castle, there is at least a wholesome absence of bigotry and spite which might be imitated with advantage by many more pretentious organs. At the same time it might be as well to suggest to the conductors of the paper, that amongst the duties inculcated upon the early Christians that of courtesy was not forgotten. It is not quite courteous, on the part of the dissidents from the old faith, to speak of Catholics as “Papists” and “Romanists,”

and they may be well assured that there are thousands of people, as non-Catholic as themselves, to whom words like these are needlessly offensive.

Of all the dissenting sects, that of the Methodists is perhaps the most powerful, from the simple fact that it owes its origin to a master of organization. John Wesley was in many ways a genuinely great man. He was curiously narrow-minded; he was grossly superstitious; he was overbearing and autocratic in an extraordinary degree. But he seems to have had an intuitive perception of the needs of his time, and of the proper way in which to encounter them. That time was not ripe for the restoration of Catholic order and of the Catholic faith, but it was quite prepared for the institution of a system which might render something approaching to religion acceptable to the masses of the people, for whom the moribund Establishment had done nothing, or next to nothing, during the whole of the eighteenth century. When Wesley came, with his lean ascetic face and sensational religionism, the common people heard him gladly. All might, however, have been lost, had it not been for the fact that his genius for organization made of the Methodist sect what was practically, so far as this world is concerned, a veritable Church. At the outset the sect was but an off-shoot from the Anglican Establishment, and was—in theory at all events—dependent upon the ministers of that Establishment for everything save those pious exercises of prayer, hymn-singing, and exhortation in which the true-born Methodist delights. Wesley then stepped in, and the system was settled under which the whole body of Methodists was divided into classes. Every member of the sect belonged to a “class”: each class had its “class leader,” who collected from those under his charge the weekly penny, which was duly handed over to the “superintendent” of the district, and by him transmitted to head-quarters, there to be disposed of according to the orders of the founder of the Society. As a recent writer has remarked “if Louis XIV. could say with truth *L’État c’est moi*, so with even greater accuracy could John Wesley say of the Society which bears his name that it was himself, and that none had the right to interfere with it.” That view Wesley maintained, with the result of establishing a body which at the present moment is, next to the Catholic Church, the most powerful in Christendom, especially in the United States. In England the various sects which call themselves after the name of Wesley form a community second in numbers only to the Established Church itself. In America, where for many years Methodism was practically the only religion of the people, the Methodist body is one of the strongest in existence. With its pseudo “bishops,” “church officers,” “superintendents,” “class leaders” and

“pastors,” the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States is a body which cannot be left out of account in considering the religious position of the New World.

In England the Methodist body has never attained the proportions of the same Society in the United States, and—as is perhaps not altogether a matter for surprise—Methodism has never obtained a hold upon the educated classes. The very poor who want an emotional religion are sometimes attracted by the forms and the principles of the sect; but the cultured and refined are repelled by its wild enthusiasms and show no anxiety for edification out of the mouths of the inspired cobblers and tinkers who fill the ranks of the Methodist ministry. John Wesley kept himself fairly aloof from this class during his lifetime, but his brother Charles—the “sweet singer” of the sect—lived for many months with an illiterate and fanatical brazier in Little Britain, and his example has been followed by not a few of the later Methodists. The result may be seen in their literature. Methodism is represented in the periodical press by four weekly papers, and it is not saying anything uncharitable to describe these organs as amongst the feeblest, even of the religious newspapers. The oldest of these journals is the “*Watchman*”—a paper which made its first appearance on the 7th of January, 1835. It was started with the assurance that the profits arising from its sale should be devoted to the support of some public institution. How far this pledge has been redeemed it is of course impossible to say, but in any case the charitable institution in question must have done very well during the last five-and-forty years, since, judging by the advertisements, the “*Watchman*” is a very satisfactory property, commercially speaking. The principles of the paper may best be judged by a paragraph from the opening address, which will possibly serve better than any elaborate dissertation to explain in the phrase of the great dissenter, John Foster, “the aversion of men of taste to Evangelical religion.”

The principles on which this publication will be conducted will be such, as without giving to it a formally theological or religious character, may yet at all times harmonize with the great principles laid down in Holy Scripture, and with the authorized principles and usages of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. Accordingly, in directing his course, the editor will contemplate as his “*cynosure*” that moral providence of God by which He governs the nations. While on the one hand it is not to be forgotten that the present is one of those grand climacterics of the world on which important revolutions of opinion, and transitions to new stages of the social state, are found deeply to affect the character and stability of existing institutions. On the other hand, in the conducting of this newspaper, it will be remembered that there

are, after all, in connection with that "kingdom which cannot be moved," principles which, in the best and highest sense, are at the same time *reforming* and *conservative* and which, if need be, will prove to be *resuscitating* also; since, even on the supposition of events the most appalling in prospect to a patriotic mind, they would survive the wreck of civil order, and reorganize society on a permanent foundation. It is not intended to be maintained that the spirit of change, which so strongly marks the present age, is all darkness, and its opposite all light; nor will the desire for legitimate reform be confounded with a passion for lawless revolution. But taking his station on the tower of that heavenly truth, which is perfect and immutable, and thus raised above the tumult of these various conflicts which may at any time distract the public mind, it will be the object of the "Watchman" not only to keep a diligent look-out upon the movements of society, and to make regular and accurate reports of them, but also, on all fair occasions, to interpose among the combatants with "words of truth and soberness," such as may serve to soothe and moderate their spirit; and especially whenever, as appears to be partly the case at present, conflicting parties, weary with contention, languish for repose, it will be his concern to seize the golden opportunity, and to throw off their attention from mere party politics, to things of everlasting and universal obligation. . . . But, in all cases, the principal aim of the journal will be to encourage that moral "preparation of the heart," which is so favourable to a right use of the understanding; and to place all public affairs in that same light in which alone the far less complicated and uncertain interests of private life can be fairly estimated—the clear and solemn light of eternity.

The earlier numbers of the "Watchman" were moderately Conservative in tone, but disfigured by the verbosity and "cant" which mark the passage quoted above. They are, moreover, anything but pleasant reading, from the fact that, at the time when the paper was first started, the Methodist body was in the throes of one of those periodical convulsions which wait like a Nemesis on all sects. Column after column was occupied with the disputes of "Dr. Warren and his party;" with complaints against "an individual most falsely styling himself a follower of John Wesley, and who (*sic*) has for years been well known in the Circuit as a promoter of strife and contention both in Church and State, and whose vulgar abuse and outrageous violence towards the Ministers of Christ are such as must make it apparent, even to his own partisans, that he is wholly destitute of that piety to which he has made such high but delusive pretensions." On the other hand, the early numbers of the "Watchman" contain a host of advertisements expressive of the "high sense" which the Methodists of that day entertained for the Rev. Jabez Bunting, for whose "intellectual and moral character, and for the value and disinterestedness of his labours in the cause of Wesleyan Methodism," it would, it appears, be difficult to say



too much. Of the amenities of Protestant controversy, the earlier numbers of the "Watchman" afford some interesting specimens. Of late years it has changed its character to a somewhat remarkable extent. In politics it still professes Liberal-Conservatism, but the former quality is much more conspicuous than the latter; while its religious tendencies are distinctly less sectarian than they were when it first started on its career. It is interesting to note how from time to time even a journal so distinctly Protestant as this, is compelled to admit the power and influence of the Catholic Church. To its credit, it has never joined in the anti-religious warfare which some of the sects have waged during the last half century, and the representatives of the Wesleyan body will usually be found in the same division lobby with Catholics when religious education is under discussion. Latterly this subject has been taken up with considerable energy, and those who care to turn over the files of the "Watchman" will find abundant reason for hopefulness with regard to the future of Wesleyanism. Sectarian though they may be, the followers of John Wesley are very obviously impressed with the fact that Sectarianism pure and simple unquestionably leads to contempt for and defiance of all religion, and that the only hope for religion lies within the fold of the Church. A recent number of this paper contains a letter from Dr. J. H. Rigg, the Principal of the Wesleyan Training College for Elementary Schoolmasters, and a member of the London School Board. This letter is remarkable for the indirect testimony which it affords, first, to the rapidly increasing power and influence of the Church in the United States; and, secondly, to the uneasiness with which Protestants, who are honestly religious view the flood of infidelity which is gradually over-spreading those countries where the principle of authority is condemned, and where "the right of private judgment" is most freely exercised. The official organ of the American Methodist body—the "New York Christian Advocate"—has, it seems, devoted a long article to the religious condition of the city of St. Louis, and Dr. Rigg, from his personal experience, endorses the statements of his American contemporary. It appears that in that city, which numbers 350,000 inhabitants, "Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion;" that the "Unsectarian common Schools of America have become absolutely godless;" that the people of St. Louis have to "submit to a godless system of education controlled and enforced by bar-room politicians, infidels, and atheists," and that "there is not a distinctively Protestant religious school in St. Louis, excepting one little institution belonging to the Episcopalians." Two or three sentences from Dr. Rigg's letter may be added in this place in order to illustrate the charity of Protestant dissenters, and the amenities of controversy as understood by the Wesleyan body.

We have (says the writer) 45,000 in the churches of all denominations, and 120,000 in the saloons on the Sabbath day. Roman Catholicism (he adds) is an angel of mercy as compared with those saloons. . . . With few exceptions the leading churches are huddled together in a small compass in the wealthiest portion of the city. The down-town population is left to the Catholics, the police, and the devil.

One fact only remains to be noticed in connection with the "Watchman," and that is the great number of quack medicine advertisements which adorn its columns. Religious newspapers generally profit by advertisements of this kind, but the "Watchman" is unusually fortunate in securing them.

Another organ of the Wesleyan body is the "Methodist Recorder," a penny sheet, which was started in 1861, with the avowed intention of "presenting, from week to week, a complete body of Wesleyan intelligence." The paper presents few features of special interest. Its terminology is of course that of the sect it represents, and its politics may be concisely described as Gladstonian. Like the "Watchman," it contains a good many advertisements of quack medicines, and it is further distinguished by its custom of printing at length the sermons preached on the occasion of the funerals of conspicuous members of the sect. The "Methodist"—a third journal of the same type—dates from 1874, and is chiefly remarkable for its very aggressive Protestantism. The point aimed at is not very high, and a study of the columns of the paper is not likely to impress the reader with a very exalted opinion of the intellectual capacity of the modern Methodist. Much the same verdict will probably be given by the majority of readers with reference to the remaining Methodist publication on our list—the "Primitive Methodist." As its name imports, this is the organ of that sect of the Methodist body which is most addicted to the practice of those extravagances which have brought it into disrepute with sober-minded and reasonable people. It is hardly necessary to say that it is intensely Protestant in tone, or that in politics it is as ardently Radical. If the Church is mentioned, it is always in terms which imply that the enlightened Primitive Methodists consider her as on a level with the heathen; while if the Conservative party or the House of Lords comes into question it is always with expressions which appear to be borrowed from the vocabulary of those Sunday papers which are the discredit of English journalism.

The most remarkable of the religious newspapers is, however, the "War Cry"—the organ of that "Salvation Army" whose erratic doings not unfrequently bring them into more or less violent collision with the police, and with the populace of our large towns. The social position of these persons maybe estimated from two

facts: one that their head-quarters are in the not very savoury region of the Whitechapel Road; the other that, like the secret societies of Foresters, Buffaloes, Odd Fellows, and their kindred, they appear to take an immense delight in absurd titles, and in the wearing of uniforms and decorations. The kind of religion which is preached by the leaders of this singular organization may be readily comprehended by the study of a few numbers of its favoured organ. In the first place the hierophants of the sect appear to lay great stress on their having been originally persons of very bad character, and at best of the lowest rank in life. Each number of the "War Cry" contains the portrait and biography of one of the leaders of the movement, and during the first three months of the present year the personages thus commemorated have been as follows: Abraham Davey, an agricultural labourer, educated as a Protestant dissenter of some unspecified type; Henry Reed, of Launceston, Tasmania, who, if not a convict, seems as though he ought to have been one; Tom Payne, a "converted pot-boy;" "Captain (Mother) Shepherd," born a Baptist and utterly without education, who lived a vicious life for many years until "converted" by the preaching of "Dowdle, the converted railway guard;" "Captain" George Taberer, the converted drunkard; "Captain" Polly Parks, an ex-nursery maid; "Captain" Thomas Estill, an ex-seaman, not wholly unknown to the police; "Captain" Roe, the converted horse-jockey; "Captain" Wilson, the reformed Manchester drunkard; "Captain" Hanson, a foremast man, who appears to have been the most respectable of the party; and, lastly, "Mrs. Captain" Howe, apparently an ex-maid-servant. The second point about these worthy people is, that, apart from their fantastic designations as members of the "Salvation Army," they are extremely fond of adopting fancy titles and eccentric signatures. Thus, in the number of the "War Cry" for the 13th of January there is a letter, the signature to which is literally as follows; "Private W. Stephens, the blood-washed coachman of the Stroud Corps." In that for the 3rd of February is a piece of Welsh poetry, which is signed "William Davies, the happy Welshman," and similarly eccentric signatures may be found in every number.

A third point which will strike the dispassionate reader of this paper is the astonishingly free-and-easy way in which the "Salvation Army" deal with matters of which commonplace Christians speak, if not "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," with at least reverence and humility. Richter is said to have remarked that no man could be described as truly religious who was not on such friendly terms with his religion that he could make a joke of it. Whether the saying was not in itself a somewhat indifferent jest may be open to question. At

the same time, it is beyond question that the "hot-gospellers" of the Salvation Army talk about the most sacred things with an irreverence which can only be described as shocking. No small amount of space is taken up with pious parodies of popular songs. "Rule Britannia" becomes "Rule Emanuel:"—

When Christ the lord at God's command,  
In love, came down to save the lost,  
The choir of heaven, with golden harps,  
Praised Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

CHORUS.

Rule Emanuel, Emanuel rules the waves.  
Christians never shall be slaves.

The "Blue Bells of Scotland" is distorted into a hymn beginning—

Oh, where! and, oh where can I now a Saviour find?

"Weel may the keel row" becomes the "Newcastle Anthem"—

Oh, we're all off to glory, from glory to glory,  
We are all off to glory, to make the heavens ring.

And so forth. The specimens already given will show pretty clearly the type of literature represented by the "War Cry." The news is given in paragraphs of the same character. We quote one which has for head-line: "SHEERNESS. *Major Moore to the front. All night with Jesus.*

Our Chatham comrades ran over, and the salvation jockey and his lieutenant gave some soul-stirring speeches. We could see that many were too badly wounded to get over it without going to the Great Physician. But the meeting that followed, called "an all-night with Jesus," begged description. From one to two o'clock Tuesday morning there could not have been less than 100 souls (saints and sinners) struggling and wrestling with the Lord, who had promised a clean heart. For about half-an-hour we felt we were in Heaven; the Spirit of God was upon us. . . . We do want a barracks of our own. Will not some one who loves God and souls send Captain Davey a good donation towards one. The Almighty pays 100 per cent. for all that is given out of pure love to Him. Send it along.

The appeal with which this paragraph closes is eminently characteristic of the paper in which it appears. The begging is constant, and apparently very successful. By the figures which are published from week to week, it would seem that the circulation of the "War Cry" is about 5,000, and the leader of the movement acknowledges from week to week contributions of from

£20 to £50. Where the balance-sheets are to be seen is not stated, nor is the total of each week's contributions given; but we have, instead, a strenuous protest against unprincipled imitators who—in the words of the cheap tailors—"are guilty of the untradesmanlike falsehood of representing themselves as the same concern"—

In reply to numerous inquiries, we desire it to be distinctly understood that we have nothing whatever to do with the American Christian Army, or the Christian Army, or the Gospel Army, or the Christian Mission Army (neither at Ripley or Castleford).

And we will not be held responsible in any way for the debts or doings of either of these societies, or any other imitation.

We have no connexion with persons styling themselves the Hallelujah Army in Ireland or elsewhere, and invite information of persons stating they are in connexion with us.

The interests of the Presbyterians are cared for in the "Weekly Review," a four-penny journal of moderately Liberal politics which dates from the spring of 1862. As a matter of course, the greater part of the space in this paper is occupied by the doings of the body in whose name it speaks, but some portion of it is reserved for leading articles and for occasional poetry of a somewhat advanced type of Protestantism. There is a fine intolerance about some of these productions which is very characteristic of the country of John Knox, while the terminology is exactly what might be expected amongst people who have put what they call "Sabbath-keeping" in the place of almost all religious duties, and who have substituted the hearing of polemical sermons for the duty of Christian worship. The spirit of the following piece of verse is worthy of the Covenanters themselves:—

BRITISH LAW MUST CONTROL OUR PAPAL PRIESTS.\*

If any Papal Cleric be inclined  
 To show his canine teeth, no man, I hope,  
 Would urge our Government to tell the Pope  
 That such a snarler ought to be confined.  
 What! shall we miserably creep behind  
 The Papal petticoat, and scream "Ahoy!  
 Good mother, rid me from that naughty boy!"  
 For shame, is that the measure of your mind!  
 Our ruling men must manage our affair,  
 And not go whining to a foreign priest;  
 When any double-dealing knave will dare  
 To violate our statutes in the least,  
 Let him be put beneath the judge's care,  
 And dealt with so that truth may be increased.

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\* "Weekly Review," March 12, 1881.

The expression of these lines might perhaps be improved, but there is no possibility of misunderstanding the spirit which dictates them, and that spirit, it is lamentable to say, pervades the entire paper.

The Unitarian "Inquirer" is a paper of a very different type. Its tone is almost ostentatiously tolerant, and there is a superciliousness about its leading articles which, to the non-Unitarian mind, is sometimes intensely exasperating. At the same time it must be admitted that there is an air of culture about the paper, which is by no means frequently to be met with in the organs of the dissenting sects.

Of the other religious papers—so-called—it is not necessary to say much. Quakerism boasts a couple of organs in the weekly press—the "British Friend" and the "Friend—but neither of them presents any very salient features. The Hebrew community are also represented by two newspapers, the "Jewish Chronicle" and the "Jewish World," two journals which serve, if they serve no other purpose, to prove that the people of what it is the fashion to call "the ancient faith" have hardly altered in about two thousand years, and that there are amongst them a quite sufficient number of those *qui negant esse resurrectionem*. These papers are, however, of very small interest as compared with those which describe themselves as "unsectarian," and which are carried on in the interests of the dissenting sects. A writer in "Macmillan's Magazine" recently described these organs at some length, and it would be difficult to add much to his account of them. The "Christian World," the "Christian," the "Christian Herald," and the "Fountain," appear to be written by dissenting ministers of the lower type—and what they are Mrs. Oliphant has told the world once for all in her inimitable novels, "Salem Chapel" and "Phœbe Junior"—for the edification of the young ladies and gentlemen of a "serious" turn of mind, who serve behind the counters of the shops in provincial towns, and who form the back-bone of the congregations of the dissenting chapels in the provinces. The stories which they contain are somewhat dull, and the articles which adorn them are not, as a rule, of a kind to attract people of refined taste, but there is an abundance of sectarian spite and jealousy, which, it is not unfair to suppose, makes up for deficiencies in other respects. Two points only remain to be noticed. The first is, that these papers appear, as a rule, to live by the advertisements of quack medicines, quack tea, quack jewellery, and quack pictures; the second, that the most widely-circulated of all—or at all events the one which professes to enjoy the widest circulation—is given up to speculations on the prophecies of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse. Of these matters it requires a certain sense of humour to speak

with temper. When, however, we find a "clergyman of the Church of England"—whose name, by the way, does not appear in the "Clergy List"—complacently predicting the destruction of the world as imminent on the strength of his reading of certain passages in the prophecies of Daniel, and talking with similar complacency of the "followers of the Scarlet Woman of Babylon," our laughter is apt to have a rather sardonic quality about it. Nor, in view of the fact that those who believe in the peculiar theology of these journals are amongst the most devout of Sabbatarians, is it possible to regard with entire complacency the trivial circumstance that one at least of them is openly sold on Sundays within the walls of that "Temple" of which its editor is the hierophant.

On the whole, a survey of the so-called religious press of England is not flattering to the national pride. Amongst the organs of the Establishment may be found the representatives of the half dozen sects into which that body is divided; but in no one is it possible to discover that Catholic spirit which it was the hope of the Tractarians of 1830 to revive. The Low Church party appear to delight in journals whose actual *raison d'être* is their opposition to the Catholic faith, and which in their violent Protestantism not unfrequently lose sight of the decencies of controversy. The papers which represent the interests of Protestant dissent are not much wiser or less virulent; whilst some of them are, as a matter of fact, examples of what journalism should not be. Yet these are papers of the widest circulation; and it is to their readers and supporters that is now committed the final decision of all matters concerning the real government of the country.



## ART II.—THE EXTENT OF FREE WILL.

WE need not, we hope, remind our readers that our present succession of articles has for its purpose the establishing securely on argumentative ground—particularly against contemporary Antitheists—the Existence of that Personal and Infinitely Perfect Being, whom Christians designate by the name "God." Hardly any premiss (we consider) is more effective for this conclusion, than the existence of Free Will in man, as irrefragably proved by reason and experience. We have accordingly been proceeding of late with a series bearing on this particular theme. We drew out, in April, 1874, our general line of argument on the subject; and we examined

successfully (pp. 347-360) all the objections against Free Will which we could find adduced by Mr. Stuart Mill and by Dr. Bain. Dr. Bain replied to this article: and we rejoined in April, 1879; adding some supplementary remarks in October of the same year. Dr. Bain briefly returned to the controversy in the *Mind* of January, 1880, and we answered him in the April number of the same periodical:\* nor (as he informs us in a most courteous private letter) does he intend to continue the controversy further. In the April number of *Mind* there also appeared an elaborate criticism of our whole argument, from the pen of Mr. Shadworth Hodgson; which we answered at length in our number of last October. Mr. Hodgson briefly replied in the *Mind* of last January, and we are quite willing to leave him the last word for the present. More than one Catholic of weight has expressed to us a wish that we would press on more rapidly with the general chain of our Theistic argument; and we would defer, therefore, our reply to our last opponent, till the chain is completed. Meanwhile we can desire nothing better, than that fair-minded and impartial thinkers shall judge for themselves, how far anything now said by Mr. Hodgson tends to invalidate the arguments we had adduced for our own conclusion.

The ground we have taken up (as our readers will remember) has been this. Determinists maintain, that the same uniformity of sequence proceeds in the phenomena of man's will, which otherwise prevails throughout the phenomenal world; that every man, at every moment, by the very constitution of his nature, infallibly and inevitably elicits that particular act, to which the entire circumstances of the moment (external and internal) dispose him. We have argued in reply, that,—whereas undoubtedly each man during far the greater part of his waking life is conscious of a “spontaneous impulse,” which is due to his entire circumstances of the moment, and results infallibly therefrom—he finds himself by experience nevertheless able again and again to *resist* that impulse. He is able, we say, to put forth at any given moment what we have called “anti-impulsive effort;” and to elicit again and again some act indefinitely different from that to which his spontaneous impulse solicits him.

Here our position stands at present; and it contains all which is necessary, in order that the fact of Free Will may possess its due efficiency in our argument for Theism. Nevertheless, in order to complete the scientific treatment of Free Will, a supplementary question of great importance has to be con-

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\* This paper was appended to the DUBLIN REVIEW of July, 1880.



sidered: a question, moreover, which Dr. Bain expressly challenged us to face. During how large a period of the day, in what acts, under what conditions, is any given human being able to exercise this gift of Free Will? And we are the rather called on not to shrink from this question, because the very course of reasoning which we have been obliged to adopt against the Determinists,—unless it be further developed and explained—might be understood (we think) to favour a certain tenet, with which we have no sympathy whatever: a tenet, which we cannot but regard as erring gravely against reason, against sound morality, and against Catholic Theology. The tenet to which we refer is this: that my will is only free at those particular moments when, after expressly debating and consulting with myself\* as to the choice I should make between two or more competing alternatives, I make my definite resolve accordingly. This tenet is held (we incline to think) more or less consciously by the large majority of non-Catholic Libertarians; and even many a Catholic occasionally uses expressions and arguments, of which we can hardly see how they do not imply it. Now we are especially desirous that *Catholics* at all events shall see the matter in (what we must account) its true light. Our present article then may in some sense be called intercalary. We shall not therein be addressing Determinists at all, or proceeding in any way with our assault on Antitheism; except of course so far as such assault is indirectly assisted by anything which promotes philosophical unanimity and truth among the body of orthodox believers. It is Catholics alone whom we shall directly and primarily address; and indeed—as regards the theological reasoning which will occupy no very small portion of our space—we cannot expect it of course to have any weight *except* with Catholics. But we hope (as we proceed) to deal with each successive question on the ground of philosophical, no less than theological, argument. Nor will our philosophical arguments imply any other controverted philosophical doctrines, except only those which we consider ourselves to have established in our previous articles. We consider, therefore, that our reasoning has a logical claim on the attention—not of Catholics only—but of those non-Catholics also, who are at one with us on the existence of Free Will and on the true foundation of Ethical Science. Still (as we have said) our direct and primary concern will be throughout with Catholics.

The tenet which we desire to refute (as we have already

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\* We purposely avoid the word “deliberating,” because it has led (we think) to much confusion of thought.

explained) is this: that a man is only free at that particular moment when—after expressly debating and consulting with himself as to the choice he shall make between two or more competing alternatives—he makes his definite resolve in one or other direction. The thesis which we would oppose to this (as we said in answer to Dr. Bain's inquiry) may be expressed with sufficient general accuracy by affirming, that each man is free during pretty nearly the whole of his waking life. The controversy, which may be raised between these two widely different views, is our direct controversy on the present occasion; and the thesis we have just named is our direct thesis. But it will be an absolutely necessary preliminary task, to exhibit (what we may call) a map of man's moral nature and moral action. This preliminary task will occupy half of our article; and when it is finished, we shall have gone (we consider) considerably more than half way towards the satisfactory exposition and defence of our direct thesis itself. Moreover, we hope that this preliminary inquiry will be found by our readers to possess some interest, even apart from the conclusion for the sake of which we introduce it. It will be necessary indeed to discuss incidentally one or two points, which have been warmly debated in the schools; and we have need, therefore, at starting to solicit the indulgence of our readers, for any theological error into which we may unwarily fall. At the same time we shall do our very best to avoid any such error. And at all events we shall confidently contend in due course, that as regards the direct point at issue—the extent of Free Will—we are substantially following the unanimous judgment of standard Catholic theologians. Without further preface then, we embark on our preliminary undertaking.

I. We begin with the beginning. It is held as a most certain truth by all Libertarians, both Catholic and other, that no human act of this life can be formally either virtuous or sinful—can be worthy either of praise or blame—unless it be a *free* act; and only so long as it *continues* free. On this truth we have spoken abundantly on earlier occasions, and here need add no more. Whenever, therefore, in the earlier part of this article, we speak of acts as “virtuous” or “sinful”—we must always be understood as implying the hypothesis, that they are at the moment free. How far this hypothesis coincides with fact—how large a part of human voluntary action is really free—this is the very question on which, before we conclude, we are to set forth and defend what we account true doctrine. Meanwhile let it be distinctly understood, that where there is no liberty, acts may be “materially” virtuous or

sinful; but they cannot be "formally" so, nor deserve praise or blame.

II. "Nemo intendens ad malum operatur." There is no attractiveness whatever to any one in wrongdoing *as such*; no human being does—or from the constitution of his nature can—do wrong, precisely because it *is* wrong. This is the absolutely unanimous doctrine of Catholic theologians and philosophers. It deserves far fuller exposition than we have here space to give it; but a very few words will suffice to show, how clearly experience testifies its certain and manifest truth. Take the very wickedest man in the whole world, and get him to fix his thoughts carefully on such topics as these: "How exquisitely base and mean to ruin the friend that trusts me!" "How debasing, polluting and detestable is the practice of licentiousness!" "How odious and revolting are acts of envy and malignity!" Will it be found that such considerations spur him on to evil actions? that the baseness, meanness, odiousness of an evil action is an additional motive to him for doing it? On the contrary, he knows to the very depth of his heart how fundamentally different is his moral constitution. He knows very well that, if he could only be got to dwell on such a course of thought as we have just suggested, he would assuredly be reclaimed; and for that very reason he entirely refuses to ponder on the wickedness of his acts. It is their pleasurable-ness, not their wickedness, which stimulates him to their performance.

III. Accordingly, it is the universal doctrine of Catholic theologians and philosophers, that all ends of action which men can possibly pursue are divisible into three classes: "bonum honestum;" "bonum delectabile"; "bonum utile." Let us explain what we understand by this statement. Virtuousness\*—pleasurable-ness—utility—these are the only three ends, which men can possibly pursue in any given action. Whatever I am doing at any particular moment, I am doing either (1) because I account it "virtuous" so to act; or (2) because I seek "pleasurable-ness" in so acting; or (3) because I regard the act as "useful," whether to the end of virtuousness or of pleasurable-ness; or (4) from an intermixture of these various motives. This is plainly the case: because I have not so much as the physical power of doing what is wicked *because* it is wicked; and the only motive therefore, which can possibly

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\* For our own part—and with great deference to those excellent and thoughtful Catholics who think otherwise—the more we reflect, the more confidently we hold that "virtuousness" is an entirely simple idea. We argued for this conclusion—which to us seems a vitally important one—in January, 1880.

prompt my wrong action, is the pleasurable which I thence expect to derive.

Or let us put the same truth in a different shape. My "absolute" end\* of action must in every case—by the very necessity of my mental constitution—be either virtuousness, or pleasurable, or the two combined: but there are various "intermediate" ends at which I may aim, as being "useful" to the attainment of my "absolute" ends.

At the same time it is abundantly clear on a moment's consideration, that if this division is to be exhaustive—under the term "pleasurable" must be included, not bodily pleasurable alone, but intellectual, æsthetic, or any other: the delight of reading a beautiful poem, or of gazing on sublime scenery, or of grasping a mathematical, philosophical, or theological demonstration. Then again the malignant, the envious, the revengeful person finds delight in the sufferings of his fellow-men. Lastly, it is further clear, that "pleasurable" includes very prominently "negative" pleasurable—viz., the escape from pain, grief, ennui.

We have spoken on an *intermixture* of ends; but a few more words must be added to elucidate that subject. On some occasion, under circumstances entirely legitimate, I largely assist some one who has fallen under heavy misfortune. Let us first suppose, that I do this exclusively because I recognise how virtuous it is to render such assistance. Yet the act may cause me intense pleasure—the pleasure of gratifying my compassion—because of God's merciful dispensation, which has so largely bound up pleasurable with the practice of virtue. So far is clear. But now it is abundantly possible—indeed it probably happens in a very large number of cases—that this pleasurable may be part of the very end which motives my external act. If this be so, the more convenient and theologically suitable resource is (we think) to account the will's movement as consisting of two different simultaneous acts. Of these two acts, the one is directed to virtuousness, to pleasurable the other: the one (as will be seen in due course) is virtuous; the other (as will also be seen) *may* indeed be inordinate and so sinful, but *need* not be sinful at all.

Something more should also be said on that special end of action, virtuousness. It is laid down by various theologians (see Suarez, "de Gratia," l. 12, c. 9, n. 1; Mazzella, "De Virtutibus Infusis," n. 1335) that acts truly virtuous, though

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\* We purposely avoid saying "ultimate" end; because we are inclined to think that much confusion has arisen from the different senses which have been given to the term "finis ultimus."

done without thought or even knowledge of God, are referred to Him nevertheless "innately," "connaturally," "by their own weight." And Suarez gives a reason for this ("De Ultimo Fine," d. 3, s. 6, n. 6). Such an act, he says, is pleasing to God; and is *capable* of being referred to Him, even though in fact not so referred.\* This explanation must be carefully borne in mind; because otherwise various theological statements, on the obligation of referring human acts to God, might be importantly misunderstood. Then—going to another particular—S. Thomas (e.g. 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup> q. 23 a. 7, c.) speaks of virtuousness as "*verum bonum*," in contrast with "*bonum apparens*." He contrasts again "*bonum incommutabile*" with "*bonum commutabile*:" a matter on which much amplification might be given, had we the space.

Here, moreover—to avoid serious misconception—we must carefully consider the particular case of what may be called "felicific" possessions. There is a large number of such possessions, which it is entirely virtuous and may sometimes even be a duty for me to pursue or desire, not as means to any ulterior end, but simply as an integral portion of my happiness.† So theologians speak of "*caritas egra nos*" "*amor nostri*"—either of which phrases we may translate "self-charity"—as designating one particular virtue: the virtue of promoting my own true happiness. Immeasurably the foremost, among these possible felicific possessions, stands (we need hardly say) my own permanent happiness, considered as a whole and not as confined to its earthly period. But there are very many others also. Such are, e.g., my permanent earthly happiness; bodily health; equable spirits; competent temporal means; happy family and social relations; a good reputation among my fellow-men; a sufficient supply of recreations and amusements; intellectual power; poetical taste; sufficient scope for the exercise of such power and such taste, and generally for what modern philosophers call "self-development;" &c. &c. Now as regards all these, except the first, it appertains no doubt to higher perfec-

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\* See also d. 2, s. 4, n. 5.

† We here use the word "happiness" and its co-relative "felicific," in what we take to be its ordinary use throughout non-theological writings. Theologians no doubt—as we shall explain in due course—use the word "*felicitas*" in a fundamentally different sense. But we suppose that, in ordinary parlance, "my own happiness" always means "my own sum of enjoyment." No doubt the word suggests far more prominently the higher, more subtle, more mental sources of enjoyment, than those which are lower and more animal; but the probable reason of this is, that cultured persons—who in the last resort fix linguistic usage—recognise the former class as being indefinitely more pervasive, permanent, satisfying, than the latter.

tion (as Suarez observes\*) that a man desire them only so far as they may be instruments of virtue. Still they may virtuously be loved and (if so be) pursued for no ulterior end, but merely as constituent parts of my happiness, and as the objects of self-charity. Yet it might appear on the surface that, in pursuing my own happiness, I cannot conceivably be aiming at any other end, except that of mere *pleasurableness*; and this is a misconception, which it is important to clear up. A very few words will enable us to do so.

Let us take, as a particular instance, the blessing of health. I am lying on my sick-bed in pain of body and depression of mind. I recognise that I may quite virtuously aim at the recovery of my health—not merely as a means for more effectually serving God, or more successfully gaining my own livelihood, or the like,—but simply as an integrating part of my happiness. Accordingly I pursue this virtuous end of self-charity. As a matter of conscience, I adopt regularly the prescribed remedies, however distasteful at the moment; and I fight perseveringly against my natural tendency towards availing myself of those immediate gratifications, which may retard my recovery. What is my end in such acts? Precisely the *virtuousness* which I recognise to exist, in pursuing health as an integral part of my earthly happiness. I am grievously tempted, for the gratification of present (negative) pleasurableness, to neglect my more permanent happiness: and I recognise it as virtuous to resist such gratification. It is extremely probable indeed that these acts, directed to virtuousness, will be simultaneously accom-

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\* In the Foundation of the Exercises “such indifference of affection is recommended towards created things not prohibited, as that we should not rather seek health than sickness, nor prefer a long life to a short one. But at once this objection occurs—viz., that health and life are among those things, which a man is bound by precept to preserve and seek by such methods as are virtuous and becoming. Consequently [so the objection proceeds] such indifference is not *laudable*, as would be exhibited in not seeking health rather than sickness.

[Reply.] “The good of life and [again] of health is no doubt among those things, which may be desired for their own sake; that is, as being of themselves suitable to nature and necessary to a certain integrity thereof, for the sake of which [integrity] they are virtuously desired without relation to any ulterior end. Therefore a man’s affections may, without any sin, not be entirely indifferent concerning those goods considered in themselves. Nevertheless it appertains to *greater perfection*, that we love not these goods except as they are instruments of virtue. . . . And the same thing may be said concerning all those goods which are such that, though they may be rightly loved for their own sake, nevertheless a man has it in his power to make a good or bad use of them. For in regard to *virtues*—of which a man cannot make a bad use—such indifference is not laudable.”—SUAREZ, *De Religione Societatis Jesu*, l. 9, c. 5, n. 11.

panied by other acts, tending to (negative) pleasurable-ness as their end; wherein I eagerly desire to be free from all this suffering and weariness of soul. But this is no more than a phenomenon, which (as we just now explained) continually occurs in the case of other virtuous acts, and is by no means confined to these acts of self-charity. Now, however, take an opposite picture. In my state of sickness I am a very slave to (negative) pleasurable-ness; I give myself up without restraint to my present longing for escape from my present anguish; I wantonly retard my recovery, by shrinking from immediate pain; I do nothing on principle, but everything on impulse. Here certainly none of my acts are directed to virtuousness, but all to (negative) pleasurable-ness. There is this fundamental and most unmistakable contrast between the two cases. In the former, the thought that I act *virtuously* by aiming at my recovery is constantly in my mind, prompting me to correspondent action; whereas in the latter case such thoughts of virtuousness are only conspicuous by their absence. And exactly the same kind of contrast may be shown, as regards my method of pursuing those other felicitic possessions which admit of being pursued at all. Moreover, it should not be forgotten, that my desire itself of a felicitic possession may very easily indeed become inordinate and therefore sinful: as will be explained towards the conclusion of our article.

IV. We have been speaking of those ends, at which a human being can aim. It is plain, however, that an end, which has once been "explicitly" intended, may continue vigorously to influence my will, though it is no longer explicitly in my mind. When such is the fact, theologians say that it is "virtually" pursued. And the fact here noted is of such very pervasive importance in the whole analysis of man's moral action, that we are most desirous of placing it before our readers as emphatically and as accurately as we can. Let us give then such an illustration as the following. I start for the neighbouring town on some charitable mission; and (as it happens) there are a great many different turns on my road, which I am quite as much in the habit of taking, as that particular path which leads me securely to the town. I have not proceeded more than a very little way, before my mind becomes so engaged with some speculative theme, that I entirely lose all explicit remembrance of the purpose with which I set out. Nevertheless, on each occasion of choice, I pursue my proper path quite as a matter of course, and so arrive safely at my journey's end. It is very plain, then, that my original end has in fact been influencing me throughout; for how otherwise can we possibly account for the fact, that in every single instance I have chosen the one right

course? Will you say that my *habit* of going to the town accounts for it? Not at all; because we have supposed that there is no one of the alternative paths which I have not been quite as much in the habit of pursuing as that which leads to the town. My original end then has motivated my act of walking quite as truly and effectively, after I have ceased explicitly to think about that end, as it did when it was most conspicuously present on the very surface of my mind. But, whereas, during the first few minutes of my walk, my pursuit of that end was "explicit"—during the later period it has been changed from "explicit" into "virtual."

So much on the word "virtual." Dr. Walsh, the President of Maynooth, in his recent work "De Actibus Humanis" (nn. 71-81),\* most serviceably recites the various psychological theories adopted by various Catholic theologians for the elucidation of this term. He thus, however, sums up (n. 81) the conclusions on which all are agreed: "An intention," they say, "which has previously been elicited, inflows 'virtually' into, the [subsequent] action, so long as the agent, being *sui compos* and acting humanly—although he be not [explicitly]† thinking of his previous intention—nevertheless is in such disposition of mind, that (if asking himself or asked by others what he is doing, and why) he would at once [supposing him rightly to understand what passes in his mind]‡ allege his previous intention, and answer: 'I do this for the sake of that.'" Elsewhere (n. 669)

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\* If it be not impertinent for one in our position to express even a favourable judgment on the labours of such an authority, we would say how inestimably valuable this volume appears to us. Extremely valuable for its own sake, when we consider how full it is both of unusual learning and singularly fresh and independent thought; but still more valuable, as an augury of more extended treatment being hereafter given to the "De Actibus," than has in recent times been the case. It has always seemed to us a very unfortunate circumstance, that the "De Actibus" has of late been exclusively treated as a part of Moral Theology. We would submit that its dogmatic importance also, as introductory to the "De Gratia," is very great. But a result (we think) of the circumstance to which we are adverting, has been that those portions of the treatise, which are not wanted for the Confessional, have been left unduly in the back-ground.

We hope largely to avail ourselves of Dr. Walsh's labours in what follows. And we would also do what we can towards drawing attention to three papers on "Probabilism," from the same writer's pen, which appeared last autumn in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. We should venture to describe them as forming quite an epoch in the study of Moral Theology.

† We add the word "explicitly" because Dr. Walsh avowedly includes Lugo's theory in his summary; and Lugo holds that in all such cases there is *implicit* thought of the end previously intended.

‡ We add this qualification on our own responsibility.



Dr. Walsh quotes with approval, from S. Bonaventure, an equally excellent definition. "Acts," says the Saint, "are then said to be 'virtually' referred" to some end, "when the preceding intention" of pursuing that end "is *the true cause* of those works which are afterwards done."

As to the psychological theories recited by Dr. Walsh—with very sincere deference to his judgment, we cannot ourselves but adhere to Lugo's, which he rejects in n. 77. That great theologian holds, that whenever the "virtual" intention of some end motives my action, an "actual" intention thereof is really present in my mind, though but implicitly. And we would submit that the very definition of the word "virtual," given by Dr. Walsh, substantiates the accuracy of this analysis. Take an instance. I foresee that in half an hour's time I shall very probably be disappointed of some enjoyment, which I earnestly desire. I well know how grievous is my tendency to lose my temper under such a trial; and accordingly I at once resolve to struggle vigorously against this tendency should the occasion arrive. This resolve is founded on some given virtuous motive, or assemblage of virtuous motives; in order to fix our ideas, let us suppose that it is founded exclusively on my pondering the virtuousness of *patience*. The occasion does arrive in due course; and my previous explicit intention now "virtually" influences my successful resistance to temptation. It is Lugo's doctrine, that (supposing such to be the case) my will is *now* influenced by the virtuousness of patience, no less really and genuinely than it was half-an-hour ago when I made my holy resolve. The only difference (he considers) between the two cases is, that then I thought of that virtuousness "explicitly," whereas now I do but think of it "implicitly." This conclusion seems to us certainly true; and we would thus argue in its favour.

Dr. Walsh lays down as the unanimous judgment of theologians, that (in the supposed circumstances) if I ask myself *why* I resist the temptation, my true answer will be, "I do this for the sake of that:" or, in other words, "I resist the temptation, for the sake of carrying out my previous resolve." But my previous resolve was (by hypothesis) founded exclusively on the virtuousness of patience; and therefore my present resistance is founded on the self-same motive. That motive was then indeed present to my mind explicitly, and now it is present no more than implicitly. But the motive of action in either case must surely be the very same.

Or, take S. Bonaventure's explanation of the word "virtual." The preceding resolve, he says, has been "the true cause" of my present action. But who will say that my explicit resolve to practise one given virtue has (when occasion arises) been

the "true cause" of my practising, *not* that virtue, but some other? \*

We do not deny that, according to Lugo's doctrine, a "virtual" intention may very frequently motive an act, without having been preceded by a corresponding "explicit" intention at all. But we do not see any difficulty in this conclusion. And indeed we should point out that, for our own purpose, the preceding paragraphs have not been strictly necessary. If indeed we were building on theological statements concerning "virtual intention," it would be strictly necessary to inquire what theologians *mean* by that term. But our own argument is logically untouched, if we simply say that (in what follows) we ourselves at least shall consistently use the term "virtual intention," as simply synonymous with "implicit."

We wish we had space to pursue this whole theme of "virtual" or "implicit" intention, at a length worthy of its pre-eminent importance; but we must find space for an illustrative instance. Some considerable time ago men of the world were in the habit of using much indecent language in mutual conversation: while nevertheless they thought it thoroughly ungentlemanly so to speak in the presence of ladies. We will suppose two gentlemen of the period to be talking with each other, while some lady is in the room, occupied (we will say) in writing a letter. They are wholly engrossed, so far as they are themselves aware, with the subject they are upon; politics, or the Stock Exchange, or sporting. They are not explicitly thinking of the lady at all; and yet, if they are really gentlemen, her presence exercises on them a most real and practical influence. It is not that they fall into bad language and then apologize; on the contrary, they are so restrained by her presence that they do not dream of such expressions. Yet, on the other hand, no one will say that the freedom of their thought and speech is explicitly perceived by them to be interfered with. Their careful abstinence then from foul language is due indeed to an intention actually present in their mind; the intention, namely, of not distressing the lady who is present. Yet this intention is entirely implicit; and they will not even become aware of its existence, except by means of careful introspection. And this, we would submit (if we may here anticipate our coming argument), is that kind of practical remembrance and impression concerning God's intimate presence, which it is of such singular importance that I preserve through the day. What I need (we say) is a practical remembrance and impression,

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\* In which of its many senses S. Bonaventure here uses the word "cause," there is no need to inquire.

which shall really inflow into my thoughts and powerfully influence them; while nevertheless it shall be altogether implicit, and shall therefore in no perceptible degree affect my power of applying freely and without incumbrance to my various duties as they successively occur. And this indeed is surely the very blessing which a Catholic supplicates, when he prays each morning that "a pure intention may sanctify his acts of the day."

But this very prayer itself is sometimes perverted into what we must really call a mischievous superstition. A certain notion seems more or less consciously to be in some persons' minds, of which it is absolutely necessary to show the entire baselessness, if we would exhibit a conspectus of man's moral action with any kind of intelligibleness and availableness. The Catholic is taught to pray in the morning that a pure intention may sanctify his actions of the day as they successively take place. But a notion seems here and there to exist, that these successive actions have *already* been sanctified by *anticipation*, in his morning oblation of them. This strange notion assumes two different shapes, and issues accordingly in one or other of two importantly distinct tenets. One of these tenets we will at once proceed to consider; while the other will find a fit place for discussion a few pages further on.

Some persons then have apparently brought themselves to think, that if in the morning I offer to God all my future acts of the day, I thereby secure beforehand the virtuousness of all those which are not actually evil in object or circumstance. I secure this virtuousness, they think, because by my morning's good intention I secure, that the same good intention shall virtually motive them when they actually occur. But, as Billuart demands (Walsh, n. 668), "if any one, who has in the morning offered his acts to God, be afterwards asked (when he is dining or walking) *for what reason* he dines or walks, who will say that such a man can truly answer, 'I am doing so in virtue of my intention made this morning.'" And the following passage from F. Nepveu, S.J., is so admirably clear on the subject, that we can add nothing of our own to its unanswerable argument:—

When this intention is so far removed from the time of action as happens if one is contented with offering one's actions in the morning, there is reason for fear that this intention will gradually become fainter and even come entirely to an end . . . so that it shall not *inflow at all* into the action. Moreover—since we have a profound depth of self-love—unless we bestow great attention on ourselves and much vigilance on all our [interior] movements, it is difficult to prevent the result, that there escape from us a thousand . . . movements of vanity; sensuality; desire to please mankind and ourselves; in fact

a thousand human respects; which are *so many retractations* of our morning intention, and therefore destroy it entirely.—*L'esprit de Christianisme*, pp. 95, 96.

V. In order that some given act be virtuous, theologians commonly require that its virtuousness be directly intended; though such intention of course need be no more than "virtual." Dr. Walsh says (n. 397) that this proposition is maintained by all theologians except a very few (*paucissimos*); and its truth is most manifest on grounds of reason. Take an illustration. I am very desirous (for some special purpose) of conciliating the favour of my rich neighbour A. B. Among other things which I do to please him, I repay him a small sum he had lent me; and I make him a present of some picture, to which he took a fancy when he was paying me a visit. My one motive for both these acts is precisely the same—viz., my desire to be in his good books. Suppose it were said that—whereas the second of these two acts may be indifferent—the first at all events is virtuous under the head of justice, because the repayment of a debt is an act of that virtue: every one would see that such a statement is the climax of absurdity.

On the other hand (as Dr. Walsh proceeds to point out) it is by no means requisite—in order to the virtuousness of an act—that its virtuousness be at the moment the *absolute end* of my action. Suppose I give alms to the deserving poor, in order that I may gain a heavenly reward. Here the virtuousness of almsgiving is directly intended; for it is that very virtuousness, which is my *means* towards my retribution: yet this virtuousness is (by hypothesis) desired only as a means, and not as the absolute end of my action. Most persons will at once admit, that such an act is a truly virtuous act of almsgiving. On the other hand suppose I give alms, merely in order that my outward act may become known and help me to a seat in Parliament—it would be (as we have said) the climax of absurdity to allege that my act of almsgiving is virtuous as such.

There is one class of actions however, which claims further attention. Suppose I do some act entirely for the sake of pleasurable-ness; but, before doing it, I carefully ponder whether the act be a morally lawful one, being resolved otherwise to abstain therefrom. Dr. Walsh (n. 623) refers to this case, and quotes Viva on it; but we do not think that Viva quite does justice to such an act as he supposes. He holds that such an act is neither virtuous nor sinful, but indifferent. We think he would have been much nearer the truth, had he said that it is virtuous. But the true account of the matter (we think) is as follows. In this, as in so many other cases, the will's movement may be decomposed into two simultaneous acts. One of

these acts is; "I would not do what I am doing, were it opposed to morality;" and this is obviously most virtuous. As to the other act—the mere pursuit of pleasurable—under such circumstances, we submit, it is neither virtuous nor sinful, but indifferent.

This will be our appropriate place for considering the *second* tenet, concerning the matutinal oblation of my day's acts, to which we have already referred. According to the *first* tenet on this subject—the tenet which we have already criticized—this obligation secures the result, that my morning intention shall really motive all my subsequent acts of the day, one by one, which are not actually evil in object or circumstances. This is to be sure a most singular notion; but some persons seem to hold another, indefinitely *more* amazing. They seem to hold, that even though the morning intention do *not* in fact motive these acts, nevertheless it makes them intrinsically virtuous. This allegation seems to us so transparently unreasonable, that we feel a real perplexity in divining, how any one even of the most ordinary thoughtfulness can have dreamed of accepting it. We quite understand that God, by His free appointment, may bestow gifts upon a human being, in consideration of what is not virtuous in him at all; as, *e.g.*, in an infant's reception of Baptism, or the Martyrdom of the Holy Innocents. And we understand the doctrine, held (we fancy) by many Protestants, that some act, not intrinsically virtuous, is often extrinsically acceptable to God. But we really do not see how it is less than a contradiction in terms to say, that a given act is made intrinsically virtuous, by a certain circumstance which is no intrinsic part of it whatever. Yesterday afternoon I elicited a certain act; and this afternoon I elicit another, which is precisely similar to yesterday's in every single intrinsic circumstance without exception. Yet the act of yesterday afternoon forsooth was virtuous, whereas the act of this afternoon is otherwise; because yesterday *morning* I made an oblation of my day's acts, and this morning I made no such oblation. You may as well say that my evening cup of tea is sweet, because I put a lump of sugar into the cup which I drank at breakfast. Lugo gives expression to this self-evident principle, by taking the particular case of temperance at meals. You and I are both at dinner; our will is directed (suppose) in precisely the same way to precisely the same ends; and our external acts also are precisely similar. Yet it shall be judged that you are eating virtuously and I otherwise, because *in the morning* you referred your acts to God and I did not. No doubt your morning's oblation may have given you great *assistance* in making your present act intrinsically virtuous, by facilitating your present

reference of that act to a good end. But the act is intrinsically affected by what is intrinsic, not by what is extrinsic. And so Lugo points out; assuming the theological principle, that no act is meritorious which is not intrinsically virtuous. "He who in the morning refers all his acts to God—if afterwards, when he is at dinner, is in just the same state of mind as though he had *not* elicited that matutinal intention, and if his action of eating does not *arise* from that matutinal intention or from some other good and virtuous one—that man no more merits through his present act, than he would if he had never formed such preceding intention if at all." ("De Penitentiâ," d. 7, n. 39.) Sporer states the same proposition very earnestly and emphatically; adding, that such is the common doctrine of theologians. He does not mention indeed so much as one on the opposite side. ("De Actibus," n. 22.)

On this profoundly practical doctrine, we cannot better conclude our remarks than by citing the noble passage from Aguirre, with which Dr. Walsh concludes his volume (nn. 690–692.) It refers however—as our readers will observe—not to a virtuous intention generally, but to that particular virtuous intention which motives an act of *sovereign love*.

Wherefore before all things I admonish—and entreat all theologians to inculcate and preach as a most wholesome doctrine—that each man endeavour, with the whole earnestness and fervour of his mind, to practise continuously and assiduously (so far as this fragile and mortal life permits) the exercise of referring explicitly himself and all his thoughts, affections, words, and works to God, loved for His own sake. For he should not be content if once or [even] at various times in the day he do this; but he ought frequently to insert [explicitly into his daily life] that sacrifice of mind, which is far more acceptable to God than all other homages in the matter of the moral virtues.

VI. Passing now to another matter—how are we to measure the *degree* of virtuousness or sinfulness, in virtuous and sinful acts respectively? It is evident that this consideration must proceed, in the two respective cases, on principles fundamentally different: for in a virtuous act its virtuousness must of necessity be directly intended; whereas in a sinful act its sinfulness cannot by possibility be intended at all as an absolute end. We will take the two classes therefore separately.

As to virtuous acts—it is held (we suppose) by all theologians that, *cæteris paribus*, an act is more virtuous, in proportion as it is directed to virtuousness with greater vigour and efficacy.\*

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\* We find it somewhat hard to find out in what sense theologians use the word "intensio." Do they use it to express "vigour," efficacy"? or do they rather use it to express "effort"? The two ideas are very

We have said "*cæteris paribus*," because one kind of virtuousness may be higher than another. A comparatively remiss act, *e.g.*, of sovereign love (being really such) may be more virtuous than a far more vigorous act of some particular virtue; of justice, or temperance, or beneficence.

As regards the degree of evil in evil acts—we incline to think that theologians have given far too little methodical attention to the subject. For ourselves, we submit that any given act is more morally evil, in proportion as its pursuit of pleasurable-ness is more *inordinate*; more *morally unprincipled*, if we may so speak; in proportion as the act is more widely removed from subjection to God's Will and the Rule of Morals; in proportion as the transgressions of God's Law are more grievous, which such an act would (on occasion) command. In proportion as this is the case, its agent is said to "place his ultimate end in creatures" more unreservedly and more sinfully. However, to set forth in detail—still more to defend—what we have stated, would carry us a great deal too far.\*

But, at last is it true, that *all* acts are either virtuous or the reverse? In other words, are there, or are there not, individual acts, which are neither morally good nor bad, but "indifferent"? This is the famous controversy between Thomists and Scotists, which Dr. Walsh (nn. 588-673) treats with quite singular completeness and candour; insomuch that his whole discussion presents (to our mind) one of the most profoundly interesting studies we ever fell in with. He has established (we think) quite triumphantly, that acts may be directed to pleasurable-ness as to their absolute end, without being on that account sinful. We will briefly express our own opinion on the whole matter, by submitting, (1) that very many acts are directed to pleasurable-ness as to their absolute end, yet without any vestige or shadow of

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distinct. Consider, *e.g.*, a *blow*, possessing some certain fixed degree of intrinsic force or efficacy; just sufficient (let us say) to overcome a certain definite obstacle. A very strong man will deal forth such a blow without any "effort" or trouble whatever. A weaker man must put forth some exertion for the purpose. A still weaker must exert his whole strength. A child, even if he does exert his whole strength, finds himself unable to accomplish it. In like manner two different acts, elicited by two different persons, may be directed to some given virtuous end with approximately equal "firmness," "tenacity," "vigour," "efficacy;" and yet one may cost the agent quite immeasurably more "effort" than the other. Is it "vigour" "efficacy"—or on the other hand "effort"—which theologians call "*intensio*?" We incline to think that commonly—yet not quite universally—they use the word in this *latter* sense. But we should be very glad of light on the subject from some competent quarter.

\* Something more, however, is said on the subject towards the end of our article.

inordination; and (2) that though such acts are commonly not virtuous, there is no ground whatever for accounting them sinful.\*

VII. Here, in order to prevent possible confusion of thought, it will be better to recapitulate four propositions, among those which we have been advocating in the course of our article.

(1) By the very constitution of man's nature, every act of the human will is by absolute necessity, during its whole continuance, intrinsically directed (whether explicitly or virtually) to virtuousness, or to pleasurable, or to some intermixture of the two, as to its absolute end. But it may pursue of course intermediate ends, as "useful" towards those ends which are absolute.

(2) No act is virtuous unless it directly aims at virtuousness as such; and of course therefore it remains virtuous, only so long

\* We cannot, however, follow Dr. Walsh in his view (nn. 674-688) of S. Thomas's doctrine on this subject. He considers S. Thomas to teach (see n. 675) that acts may be actually virtuous and referable to God, which are not directed to virtuousness as such. For our own part we altogether agree with F. Murphy of Carlow College—who contributes to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of Dec. 16, 1880, a very appreciative review of Dr. Walsh's volume—that the latter writer "has not established his view of S. Thomas's teaching." "In nearly every one of the passages cited," adds F. Murphy, "or in the immediate context, S. Thomas most distinctly mentions *ends* which every Thomist would denominate good." This remark does not indeed apply to *all* the passages cited by Dr. Walsh in n. 683, note, where the Angelic Doctor describes virtue as consisting in a mean. But as regards all these passages, without exception, we submit that S. Thomas is quite manifestly *supposing* throughout a real aim at virtuousness on the agent's part. "I am desiring to pursue the course of virtue; and I inquire therefore (in this or that individual case) what is the true *mean* wherein virtue consists." For ourselves—with very great deference to Dr. Walsh—the only passages which we can consider to need any special attention, are the two from the "De Malo," cited in nn. 686, 687. On these passages we would submit the following reply to Dr. Walsh's argument.

F. Mazzella has considered them (along with several others from S. Thomas) in his important volume "De Virtutibus Infusis," n. 1350; and he by no means understands them as Dr. Walsh does. According to Dr. Walsh, S. Thomas teaches in them (1) that an act, not directed to virtuousness as such, may nevertheless be free from inordination and referable to God; then (2) that such an act, if elicited by one in habitual grace, is meritorious of supernatural reward. According to F. Mazzella—what S. Thomas teaches is, that an act (otherwise faultless)—which is directed indeed to impersonal virtuousness (*bonum honestum*) as its end, but which is neither explicitly nor virtually referred to God—that such an act (if elicited by one in a state of grace) is meritorious of supernatural reward. Now this latter doctrine may or may not be theologically true; it may or may not be S. Thomas's ordinary doctrine; but at all events it is fundamentally different from that which Dr. Walsh ascribes to the Angelic Doctor, and is entirely unexceptionable so far as regards any ground of natural reason. And we submit that, without travelling one step beyond the two articles to which Dr. Walsh refers,



as that aim continues. But such aim need not be explicit: sufficient if it be virtual.

(3) Acts which are explicitly or virtually directed to pleasurable as to their absolute end, are either "inordinate" or not. If they are, they are sinful; if they are not—and if they are not otherwise faulty in object or circumstances—they are commonly indifferent.\*

(4) The morning oblation of my acts to God is a most auspicious and effective commencement of a well-spent day. It is the first link of a potentially continuous chain; and most powerfully tends to effect that those acts be successively directed to virtuousness, when they come to be elicited in due course. But if an act be not *in fact* so directed, all the morning oblations in the world cannot suffice to make it virtuous. Nay, if I offer my acts to God every hour of every day, such oblation could not

we can establish conclusively the correctness of F. Mazzella's interpretation. We turn then to the earlier article of the two: "De Malo," q. 2, a. 5, c. We italicise a few words.

"If we speak of an individual moral act," says S. Thomas, "every particular moral act is of necessity either good or bad, because of some circumstance or other. For it cannot happen that an individual act be done without circumstances, which make it either right or wrong (*rectum vel indirectum*). For if anything be done when it should (*oportet*), and where it should, and as it should, such an act is ordinate and good; but if any one of these fail, the act is inordinate and bad. And this should most of all be considered in the circumstance of *the end*. For what is done because of *just necessity and pious utility*, is done laudably, and the act is good. But what is destitute of just necessity and pious utility is accounted 'otiose,' . . . and an 'otiose' word—much more an 'otiose' act—is *a sin*" according to Matt. xii. 36.

Nothing then can well be more express than S. Thomas's statement, that every act, not directed to a virtuous end, is "inordinate" and "a sin." We have already said in the text, that we cannot ourselves here follow the Angelic Doctor, because we admit a very large number of indifferent individual acts. But S. Thomas's meaning is surely indisputable. No doubt, later theologians would say, that acts done for the sake of impersonal virtuousness are "innately," "connaturally," "by their own weight," referred to God; whereas S. Thomas speaks of them as not referred to God at all. But F. Mazzella points out (n. 1350) that S. Thomas and many others of the older theologians were not in the habit of using the more modern language on this head. And of course it is nothing *more* than a question of language.

We hope our readers will pardon this digression. The question is a vitally practical one; and it is of much importance clearly to understand what is S. Thomas's doctrine thereon.

\* We say "commonly" because we wish to avoid the speculative controversy, whether an act can be virtuous, which is directed indeed to virtuousness as to an intermediate end, but to mere pleasurable as to its absolute end. The exact meaning we give to the word "inordinate," is explained towards the end of our article. And we there also treat of two certain condemned propositions, not unfrequently alleged in controversy against the doctrine which we follow.

infallibly secure that my acts be virtuous during the interval. That my act of eleven o'clock is offered to God, does not infallibly secure that my act of ten minutes past eleven be intrinsically directed to virtuousness; and if it be not so directed, it is not virtuous.

VIII. This will be our most convenient place for exhibiting the well-known distinction between "Liberty of exercise" and "Liberty of specification." I do not at this moment possess Free Will *at all*, if I do not possess at least the power of *acting* or *abstaining* from action as I shall please.\* If I have so much power of choice as this and no more, I have at least "Liberty of exercise." But as regards the very great majority of my free acts, I do possess more power than this. I possess the power—not only of either acting or abstaining from action—but of acting in this or that given *direction* as I shall please. We have deferred to this place our notice of the fundamental distinction here set forth, because by far its best illustration will be found in what now follows.

IX. All Catholic theologians and philosophers hold, that the thought of "beatitude" and again of "generic goodness [*bonum in communi*]" imposes on the will necessity of *specification*. Whether on the other hand such thought do or do not impose necessity of *exercise*, this is disputed; and Suarez for one answers in the negative. (See, *e.g.*, "Metaph.," d. 19, s. 5.) But it is very important carefully to examine the true signification of that common dictum, on which all are agreed; because it has at times (we think) been mischievously misunderstood. Firstly then as to beatitude.

Let us suppose that an imaginary state of privilege be proposed to me as possible, in which on the one hand I shall enjoy a very large amount of mental and physical enjoyment: while on the other hand I shall be entirely free from suffering of every kind; in which accordingly there shall be absolutely no pain of ungratified wish, or of remorse, or of self-discontent. But let us further suppose that this state of privilege should involve no exemption from sin; that I should be involved in habits of pride, vain-glory, sensuality, and indeed general indifference to God's will. We are not here meaning for an instant to imply that such a state of privilege is possible, consistently with the constitution of human nature; or again consistently with God's methods of government: but still the supposition contains no contradiction in terms, and may therefore intelligibly be made. Would the thought of such a privilege as this impose on my will

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\* So in the well-known Catholic definition, "protest agere et non agere."

necessity of specification? God forbid! Manifestly I have abundant proximate power to elicit an act, whereby I shall repudiate and detest such a possible prospect; and I am bound indeed by strict obligation to abstain from all complacency in the thought of it.

On the other hand, let an imaginary state of privilege be proposed to me as possible, in which I shall be exempt, not only from sin, but from all moral imperfection; in which I shall elicit continuous and vigorous acts of theological and other virtues; but in which nevertheless I shall be a victim to severe continuous suffering, both mental and physical. No one will doubt that I have full power (to say the least) of earnestly deprecating such a future.

But now, lastly, let us suppose that an imaginary state of privilege is proposed to me as possible, in which secure provision shall be made both for unmixed virtuousness and unmixed pleasurable-ness; in which there shall neither be moral imperfection, nor yet pain and suffering. Such a state of privilege would be termed by Catholic theologians a state of "beatitude," in the widest range they give to that term. We may call it "generic" beatitude; and it is distinguished from more definite beatitudes, as the genus is distinguished from the species. Thus there is a certain definite beatitude, which God has proposed to mankind in raising them to the supernatural order: this is "supernatural" Beatitude, and its special characteristic is the Beatific Vision. There is another definite beatitude, which God would have proposed to mankind had he left them in the state of pure nature: see Franzelin on "Reason and Faith," c. 3, s. 4. There is again perhaps another, which will be enjoyed by the souls in Limbus. But these, and any further number of more definite beatitudes, are but different cases of that beatitude which we have called "generic." It is plain moreover that all these several beatitudes agree with each other in their *negative* characteristic—viz., that they exclude all moral imperfection and all suffering: whereas they may differ indefinitely on the positive side, as regards the kind or degree of virtuousness and pleasurable-ness which they respectively contain.\* But it is on generic beatitude, and not on any of these particular beatitudes, that we are here principally to speak.

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\* We need hardly remind our readers, that, even within each one of these more definite beatitudes, there is a large inequality of individual endowment. One person in heaven *e.g.* enjoys indefinitely more of supernatural Beatitude than another.

But it is remarkable, as a matter of theological expression, that the soul of Christ—notwithstanding its unspeakable suffering—is always spoken of as having been "Beata" from the very moment of its creation, on account of its possessing the Beatific Vision. And this circumstance

We say, then, in accordance with all Catholic theologians and philosophers, that the thought of generic beatitude imposes on my will necessity of specification. A moment's consideration will show the obvious certainty of this truth. If—when thinking of beatitude—I am not under necessity of specification, I have the power of preferring to it some other object. But what can such object possibly be? By the very constitution of my nature I am physically unable to pursue or desire any absolute end, except only virtuousness and pleasurable-ness; while both virtuousness and pleasurable-ness are included in beatitude, without any admixture whatever of their contraries. There is much then in the thought of that privilege to attract me, and absolutely nothing to repel me. It may be objected indeed, that the thought of *virtuousness* is *repulsive* to many persons, because they have learned to associate it with the thought of irksomeness. But those who are thus minded, are not really contemplating beatitude at all: they are not contemplating a state, from which all irksomeness is as stringently excluded as all sin.

A similar objection indeed may be put in a much stronger shape, but answered at once on the same identical principle. It may be said that the thought of Supernatural Beatitude itself is very far from imposing on men's will necessity of specification. There are many excellent Catholics, who entirely take for granted indeed that the Beatitude of heaven is one of unspeakable delight; and who yet, as regards their own *conception* of that Beatitude, would vastly prefer some happiness more nearly resembling their earthly enjoyments. Nay it may perhaps even be said that, excepting eternal punishment itself, few imaginable prospects of a future life would be more formidable to them, than the promised heaven as invested with that shape in which their imagination depicts it: so intimately does their imagination associate the thought of continually gazing on God, with the notion of something dreary, weary, monotonous. Such men are most assuredly under no necessity of specification, in the desire (as they exhibit it) of future beatitude. But then this is only because their *picture* of that beatitude fundamentally differs from its original; because their intellect and imagination fail adequately to realize, how peremptorily the Beatific Vision will exclude the most distant approximation to dreariness, weariness, monotony. This case therefore presents no difficulty

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indeed furnishes another instance of the fact on which we are especially insisting—viz., that the theological term "beatitude" is very far indeed from synonymous with the English word "happiness" as commonly used. The sense ordinarily given by theologians to the term "beatitude" is—we submit with much confidence—substantially identical with that exhibited in our text.

whatever, even on the surface, in the way of our accepting the theological statement, that the thought of true beatitude—supernatural or natural—imposes on my will necessity of specification. A more plausible objection however to that statement is the following.

Beatitude—so the objector may urge—is presented to my mind in a certain concrete shape; and I may easily enough desire *greater* virtuousness or *greater* pleurableness, than happens to be included in that presentation. To this objection, however, also the reply is not far to seek. (1) I do not the less desire beatitude in the very shape in which it is presented to my intellect, because I *also* desire something more. And (2) that “something more” is not something *different* from beatitude; but beatitude itself in higher kind or greater degree. We need hardly add, that those who shall be in the actual enjoyment of beatitude, will necessarily be preserved from all emotions of discontent or repining.

Suarez, however, and some other theologians, add that the thought of beatitude does *not* impose on my will necessity of *exercise*. When that thought presents itself, I am free to abstain (they think) from deliberately eliciting any correspondent act of will whatever. But we need not enter on this controversy, which is of most insignificant importance.

So much on “beatitude;” and very little more need be added on the similar term “generic goodness.” Goodness—in the sense here relevant—is simply “that which is able to attract the human will;” “that which can be made an end of human action or desire.” Goodness therefore (as has already been explained) is exhaustively divided into (1) “virtuousness;” (2) “pleurableness;” (3) “utility” towards either of the two former ends. But this fact—though otherwise of great importance—is entirely beside the present question, and need not here be taken into account. Our argument is simply this. If it were true that the thought of generic goodness does not impose on my will necessity of specification, this statement would precisely mean, that I have the power to pursue or desire some other end, in preference to pursuing or desiring goodness. But this supposition is a direct contradiction in terms; because “goodness,” by its very definition, includes every end which man is *able* to pursue or desire. The thought then of “generic goodness” may or may not impose on my acts necessity of exercise; but most certainly does impose on them necessity of specification.

X. We are thus led to consider a common theological statement, than which hardly any other perhaps in the whole science needs more careful examination and discrimination. Words are often used by the greatest theologians, which seem on the surface

to mean (1) that the thought of "felicity" imposes on the will of all men necessity of specification; nay (2) further, that whatever else they desire, they desire only as a *means* to felicity; (3) lastly (and most amazingly of all) that this is a truth quite obvious on the surface of human nature. Now if such language as this be understood in the sense it may well present to an ordinary reader, we should say for our own part that such a doctrine, concerning man's desire of felicity, might with far greater plausibility be called self-evidently *false* than self-evidently true. Is it self-evidently impossible then, that even in the smallest matter I can prefer virtuousness to happiness, if I suppose the two to clash? Is it self-evidently impossible that I can obey God because of His just claims on me, without thinking of my own felicity at all? Is it self-evidently impossible, that I can act justly to others, except as a means to my own enjoyment? Is every sinner under the impression that sin is his best road to happiness? Or, in other words, is every sinner necessarily an implicit heretic? But we need not pursue the picture into further details. We may be very certain that this is not what can have been meant by theologians. Our purpose here is to explain what they *intend* by language which admits of such gross misapprehension.\*

Firstly then we would point out, that the word "felicity" is always used in theology as synonymous with "beatitude;" and that thus its sense is importantly different from that of the English word "happiness," as commonly used. This latter word (as we have already incidentally pointed out) commonly expresses "my sum of *enjoyment*," quite distinctly from the question of virtuousness or sin. But S. Thomas, *e.g.*, defines "beatitude" as "perfect and sufficing good" (1<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup> q. 5, a. 3, c.): would he describe happiness, irrespective of virtuousness, as "perfect and sufficing good"? In the very next article indeed he expressly answers this question; for he says that "felicity" on earth (so far as it can be attained) "*principally* consists in virtuous action [in actu virtutis]." Other theologians speak similarly. Arriaga, *e.g.*, divides "felicity" into "moral" and "physical:" the former signifying virtuousness, and the latter enjoyment ("De Beatitudine Naturali," n. 27). Theologians then do not say that man's motive of action is always desire of his own *happiness*. At the utmost they say no more, than that it is always desire of his own *beatitude*—*i.e.*, desire of a certain complex blessing—which includes the virtuous no less than the pleasurable.

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\* On what seems to us the true doctrine concerning men's desire of happiness—and again on their obligation of pursuing that happiness—we would refer to Dr. Ward's "Philosophical Introduction," pp. 402-423.

These remarks, however, of themselves by no means meet the full difficulty of the case. For a very large number of the greatest theologians say, not only that the thought of beatitude imposes on my will necessity of specification, but also that my desire of beatitude is the one primary source of all my actions. Yet—objectors will ask on hearing such a statement—can this be maintained? Is it really true that all human acts are motivated by desire of beatitude? The impure man indulges in forbidden pleasure; the envious or malevolent man rejoices in his neighbour's suffering; the irreligious man detests God's Law, as imposing on him an intolerable yoke. Is it really true that these three men first form to themselves a picture of beatitude in any sense of that term; and that their respective sins are motivated by their desire of such beatitude? Or even in the case of a good man, is it really true that every act of grateful loyalty to his Redeemer, of obedience to his Creator, of zeal for the salvation of souls, is preceded (either explicitly or implicitly) by a mental picture of his own beatitude? To all these questions we reply, that no such inferences are necessarily involved in the theological dictum, that "men do everything for the sake of beatitude." A large number of the greatest theologians interpret the dictum as simply meaning this: "Every one of my acts," they say, "is directed to the attainment of some good or other, be it virtuous or pleasurable. But the sum of all such good constitutes beatitude: therefore every one of my acts is interpretatively referred to beatitude, because it is actually referred to a solid portion thereof."\*

We conclude, that there is no one absolute end whatever of all human action; but on the contrary that as many absolute ends are possible, as there are possible exhibitions whether of the virtuous or the pleasurable. No doubt God is *by right* my one exclusive Ultimate End; or, in other words, I act more perfectly, in proportion as I come nearer to a state in which all my acts are ultimately referred to Him, whether explicitly, virtually, or connaturally. (On the last adverb see our preceding n. III.) But, as a matter of *fact*, it need hardly be said that the number of human actions is enormously great, which are motivated quite otherwise.

XI. We now arrive at the last of our necessary preliminaries. Those acts on which our argument will principally turn, are those which are "perfectly voluntary." Here, therefore, we must explain what we mean by "perfectly voluntary." Two conditions are necessary, in order that an act may have that attribute. The

\* Dr. Ward, in his "Philosophical Introduction" (pp. 410-415), quotes passages to this effect from Suarez, Vasquez, Viva: but he might have added indefinitely to the number of his authors.

will must be in a certain given state; and the act itself must possess certain given characteristics. We will consider successively these two conditions.

Firstly then, the will must be in a certain given state. It must be "sui compos;" or (as we may translate the expression) "self-masterful." This condition is so familiar to the experience of all, that a certain general description of it will amply suffice. We may say then that my will at this moment is "self-masterful," if I possess the proximate power of regulating my conduct by steady and unimpassioned resolve. This condition is, of course, unfulfilled, if I am asleep; or intoxicated; or in a swoon; or otherwise insensible. Or (2) so violent a storm of emotion may be sweeping over my soul, that I have no proximate power to prevent this emotion from peremptorily determining my conduct. Or (3) I may be in what may be called a state of invincible reverie; I may be so absorbed in some train of reflection, that nothing can disturb my insensibility to external objects, except some (as it were) external explosion. During such periods, my will entirely fails of being "self-masterful." At other periods again, it may fail of being *entirely* "self-masterful:" I may be *half* asleep; or *half* intoxicated; or my emotions or my reverie may leave me no more than a most partial and imperfect power, of proximately regulating my conduct by steady and unimpassioned resolve. All this is so clear, that we need add nothing further thereon.

But it is of great importance to our direct theme, that we set forth systematically how fundamental is the distinction in idea, between my will being "self-masterful," and being "free." Nothing is more easily conceivable, than that at the moment I have on one hand full proximate power of regulating my conduct by steady and unimpassioned resolve; while yet on the other hand that this resolve (should I form it) be inevitably determined for me, by what a Determinist would call "the relative strength of motives." In fact, Determinists hold just as strongly as Libertarians, the broad and momentous distinction of idea which exists, between the will being "free" on one hand, and on the other hand no more than "self-masterful."

Here then is the first condition necessary, in order that my act be "perfectly voluntary:" my will must at the moment be entirely "self-masterful." On the other hand, when we say that some given act is "perfectly voluntary," we mean that it is (1) "explicit;" and (2) (what we will here call) "mature."\*

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\* We do not forget that some theologians use the phrase "perfectly voluntary" as synonymous with "free." But we think our own sense of the term is much the commoner, and also much more appropriate and convenient.



Let us consider these two elements successively. The latter is very easily explained; but the former will need our careful attention.

In order to make clear what is meant by "explicit" acts—and again by "explicit" thoughts—our best plan will be to pursue a course somewhat resembling that (see our preceding n. IV.) whereby Dr. Walsh explains what is meant by "virtual." If we ask any given man what he is doing at any given moment, he will pretty certainly be ready with an answer. "I am conning my brief for to-morrow's sitting," says the lawyer. "I am trying a new kind of steam-plough," says the farmer. "I am pursuing the fox," says the sportsman. "I am standing in expectance of buyers," says the shopman. "I am watching this furnace," says the stoker. "I am attending to my opponent's speech, that I may answer it," says the M.P. "I am driving down to my man of business," says the country gentleman. And so on indefinitely. In all these cases, of course, there may be other acts of will or intellect simultaneously proceeding; but the prompt answer given to our question shows (to use a very intelligible expression) what is *on the surface* of each man's mind. Now an "explicit" act means precisely an act "which is on the surface of my mind."

For the sake of illustration, let us pursue the last instance which we gave. I am driving down to my man of business. This may most properly be called an "act," because it began with an order I gave to my coachman, which I can revoke at any moment. As I proceed, I look dreamily from my carriage window at the various objects which present themselves; these objects summon up an indefinite number of associations, in regard both to the present and the past; silent processes of thought ensue, and an ever-varying current of emotion; acts of repentance; of yearning; of complacency; of grief; of anxiety; follow each other in rapid succession. Still no one of these so rises to the *surface* of my thoughts, that it would furnish my spontaneous answer to a friend who should ask me what is my present employment. By careful mental analysis I may observe a very large number of the thoughts, emotions, volitions, which are peopling my mind; but still none of these thoughts, emotions, volitions, furnish spontaneously my reply to the proposed question. They are mental phenomena, of which I am truly "conscious" indeed; but which, nevertheless, are "implicit" phenomena.

On the other hand my mental procedure may be quite different from this. As I drive along, I concentrate my energies on the examination of some scientific problem; on pressing various data to their legitimate conclusion; on harmonizing the various

truths which I have already acquired. Under these circumstances, if I were asked what is my present employment, I should spontaneously answer that I am occupied in this scientific investigation. This scientific investigation then is my "explicit" act; and my carriage drive has sunk into the position of "implicitness." Or it may be again, that *both* acts are on the surface of my mind and explicit; so that my spontaneous answer to the question—"what is my present employment"—would enumerate both of the two. And what we have said on this particular instance, is applicable to ten thousand other cases, in which one or two "explicit" acts may be accompanied by an indefinite number of "implicit" thoughts or acts simultaneously proceeding.

But it is not only that the explicit act is often *accompanied* by implicit acts or thoughts: one important *element* of the explicit act itself—we refer to its end or motive—is much more commonly implicit. Go back to our barrister studying his brief. What is the animating motive which impels him to this labour? Perhaps he is merely prompted by that virtuousness or pleasureableness or union of the two, which he recognizes in the due performance of his routine duties. Perhaps he is stimulated by prospects of ambition; by the thought of rising to fame and eminence. Perhaps he is aiming at the due permanent support of wife and children. Perhaps again these various ends are simultaneously (in whatever proportion) inflowing into his work. Lastly, if he is a devout and interior Christian, the thought of God's approval may probably enough supply his absolute end of action; though various intermediate links *conduce* to this absolute end. But whatever be the absolute end which he is effectively and continuously pursuing, only at rare intervals will it become explicit. For the most part the study of his brief so exclusively occupies the surface of his mind, that no other thought can share that prerogative. Nay, his end of action may even *vary* from time to time, without his being aware of the fact; though of course he *might* become aware of it by sufficiently careful introspection.

So much then for explicit acts; but one further explanation must most carefully be borne in mind. Explicit acts need not be "reflected on." Explicit acts (as we have explained) are acts which are on the surface of my mind; but they need not be direct objects of my explicit thought. What the barrister explicitly contemplates, is his brief with its contents: he does not in general explicitly contemplate his *study* of that brief. Let us briefly elucidate this important distinction.

The great majority of my thoughts (whether explicit or implicit) have for their object somewhat external to my mind. I am contemplating my chance of success at the bar; or the

probable price of money in the immediate future ; or Mr. Gladstone's Irish land bill ; or the beauty of this poetry, or music, or scenery ; or the mysteries of God and Christ. But if I am psychologically disposed, a certain small number of my thoughts will have for their object my own mental phenomena. These thoughts may be called "reflexive," because in eliciting them I "turn back" my attention on myself.\* Acts of the will then, which are the *object* of these reflexive thoughts, may be called acts "reflected on." They are not only "explicit," but something more ; they are actually at the moment *reflected on* by me as such.

We must here introduce two explanations of terminology. Firstly, Catholic theologians often speak of "full advertence to an act," or "to the substance of an act." As we understand the matter, they precisely mean by this, that the act is what we have called "explicit." Most certainly they do not necessarily mean, that the act is "reflected on;" and that there is a reflexive thought in my mind which has such act for its object.

What we have said concerning "full advertence to an act," or "the substance of an act," applies of course equally to virtuous and sinful acts. It must be carefully distinguished from that "full advertence" to the "malitia" of a sinful act, which so many theologians (rightly or wrongly) maintain to be required for commission of mortal sin. On the latter we shall speak before we conclude.

Our second terminological explanation refers to the word "consciousness." Sometimes this word is used, as though I were not "conscious" of any except "explicit" acts ; nay, sometimes as though I were not "conscious" of any acts, except those "reflected on." We think that a different usage from this is far more appropriate and convenient. We shall say that *every* act, elicited by my soul, is one of which I am "conscious." We may obviously divide this term—consistently with our previous remarks—into consciousness "implicit," "explicit," and "reflected on." But we are disposed to think that no one, or hardly any one, *consistently* uses the word "consciousness" in a sense different from ours. When by introspection I have come to observe the existence in my mind of some given implicit act or thought—we think almost every one will say that I detect simultaneously, not only the act or thought itself, but also my (hitherto latent) "consciousness" of that act or thought.

So much on the "explicitness" of acts. But (as we have said) in order that they be "perfectly voluntary," it is further neces-

\* They are called by Catholic writers, "actus reflexi;" but, curiously enough, the term "reflex acts" is commonly used by contemporary philosophers in a sense quite extremely opposite.

sary that they be "mature." When any thought whatever of the virtuous or the pleasurable is proposed to me by my intellect, my will in the first instant is attracted to the end so proposed, without itself having (if we may so speak) any voice in the matter. Even after the first instant, a further period elapses, before my will has had opportunity to put forth its *full* power in the way of acceptance or repudiation. It is not then until this *second* period has come to an end, that the act becomes (what we have called) "mature." It is when an "explicit" act has become "mature," that theologians call it "perfectly deliberate." For our own part (as we have already said) we think it better to avoid the word "deliberate" as much as possible; because we are disposed to think that the particular question, which is our direct theme in this article, has been indefinitely obscured by an equivocal use of that term.

No act, therefore, is "perfectly voluntary," unless my will at the moment possess full self-mastery; nor unless the act itself be (1) explicit and (2) mature. If an act (1) is "implicit," or (2) merely "inchoate"—it belongs to a different category.

We have now sufficiently prepared our way for treating our direct theme, the extent of Free Will. Concerning our own doctrine—at this early stage of our argument we need say no more than this. According to our view of the matter—whereas throughout the day I am almost continuously engaged in one perfectly voluntary act or other—all these acts are not voluntary only, but also perfectly free. They possess this liberty, not only at starting, but uninterruptedly during their whole course; inso-much that I am my own master, and responsible for my course of action, during pretty nearly the whole of my waking life. We do not mean indeed that my action at any given moment is always either formally virtuous or formally sinful; because (as we have already explained) we recognize the existence of many acts which, even materially, are indifferent. But we do say that (speaking generally) there is not any absence of *liberty*, which would prevent such acts from being formally virtuous or sinful during their whole continuance. This is the doctrine, which in due course we are to illustrate and defend. But we must first dispose of that most divergent tenet, to which we have so often referred, and which it is the direct purpose of our article to assail.

There is a large number then of firmly convinced Libertarians—especially in the non-Catholic world—who are earnestly opposed to our doctrine; and who consider that a man's possession of Free Will is a more or less exceptional fact in his daily life. They hold that I do not possess Free Will, except at those particular

moments, in which I have expressly consulted and debated with myself between two or more competing alternatives, and have just made a choice accordingly. "Shall I resist this evil thought," I have just asked myself, "or shall I not resist it?" "Shall I adopt this course of life, which promises better for my spiritual interests and worse for my secular;—or shall I adopt that other, which promises better for my secular interests and worse for my spiritual?" I have just made my choice between these two alternatives, and in making it I was free. But when this express self-debate and self-consultation have come to an end, then (according to these philosophers) my Freedom of Will has also for the time ceased.

This theory has always impressed us as most extraordinary; and we have been in the habit of thinking, that it has largely originated in an equivocal sense of the word "deliberate." Men constantly say, and with undoubted truth, that no act can be perfectly free, unless it be "perfectly deliberate"—*i.e.*, unless it be "explicit" and "mature." But the *verb* "to deliberate" is often used as synonymous with to "debate and consult with one's self;" and this sense—though fundamentally different from the former—is not so entirely heterogeneous from it, as to prevent the possibility of confusion. A "deliberate act" comes almost unconsciously to be taken as meaning, "an act which has been deliberated on;" and thus a notion has grown up, that no other kind of act is really free. But whatever may be the origin of the tenet which we criticize, we do not deny that its advocates may adduce one argument at least in their own favour, which is not entirely destitute of superficial plausibility. I cannot be free at this moment in eliciting any given act—so far all Libertarians are agreed—unless I have the proximate power at this moment, either to do it, or to abstain from doing it, as I may please. But—so the argument may proceed—I have not this proximate power, unless I have been just now expressly *consulting* with myself between these two alternatives. We shall not fail in the sequel to give this reasoning due attention.

Such however being our opponents' argument—they are obviously led to a further conclusion, from which indeed (we believe) they by no means shrink. Even at the period of my internal debate and self-consultation, I have been no otherwise free, than as regards the particular alternatives which have competed for my acceptance. Let us suppose, *e.g.*, that I have long since firmly resolved to pursue a systematically inimical course, against some one who has offended me. At this moment I debate with myself—not at all whether I shall desist from my injurious machinations—but only whether I shall adopt this particular *method* of aggression or some other. Our opponents

would hold, that my resolve of assailing him is not at the moment a free resolve at all; because on *that* question I have been holding with myself no express consultation whatever. I am only free just now—they consider—in my election of the *particular* mine which I shall spring against him. This is a most obvious result of their theory; nor are we aware that they at all disavow it.

As we are throughout primarily addressing Catholics, we will begin by briefly considering this tenet in its theological aspect. And firstly let us consider its bearings on our Blessed Lady's Free Will. Theologians point out in detail, how continuous throughout each day were her merits, while she remained on earth; and how unspeakably elevated a position she has thereby attained in heaven. Now if her merits were continuous, her exercise of Free Will must have been continuous also. Yet how often did she debate and consult with herself, on the choice which she should make between two or more competing alternatives? Never, we suppose, except in those comparatively most rare instances, when she did not certainly know what course at some given moment God preferred her to take. All the acts, *e.g.*, wherein, faithful to grace, she avoided imperfection—were destitute of liberty, and destitute therefore of merit. For no Catholic will of course dare to say, that she ever debated and consulted with herself, whether she should or should not elicit some given action, known by her as the less perfect alternative.

But the theological objection is even immeasurably graver, in the case of Jesus Christ. It is simply impossible that even once, while upon earth, He should have debated and consulted with Himself between two or more competing alternatives. This supposition, we say, is simply impossible: because at every moment He knew, in the Beatific Vision, what act His Father desired at His hands; and most assuredly did not debate or consult with Himself, whether or not He should elicit that act accordingly. Consider in particular His freely-accomplished death for the salvation of mankind. Did He debate and consult with Himself, whether He should die? But if He did not, then (according to our opponents) He was not *free* in dying; and man's redemption remains unaccomplished. We do not indeed at all forget how many difficulties the theologian encounters, in harmonizing the various truths connected with our Lord's Free Will in dying. But any one, who has studied the discussions on this question, will thus only receive a stronger conviction than he could well obtain in any other way, how absolutely unheard of and undreamed of among theologians is that theory on the supposed limits of Free Will, which it is our direct purpose to attack.

And we are thus led to express theological citations on the subject. We will select a very few out of the large number adducible; but they shall be amply sufficient to show beyond the possibility of doubt, how profoundly at variance is this theory with the voice of standard Catholic theologians.

There is no more authoritative writer just now on Moral Theology, than F. Gury; and his treatise has of course received great additional importance, since F. Ballerini has chosen it for his text-book. Now in the seventeenth edition of Gury's work, on which Ballerini founded his own of 1861, occurs the following singularly express statement. "Although," says Gury, "the Free and the Voluntary are mutually distinguishable in the abstract [in se distinguantur], in man during his earthly course [in homine viatore] they are in reality not distinguished: because man, during his earthly course, while *sui compos*, never acts under necessity." According to this statement, then, all human acts are free, except, *e.g.*, when the agent is asleep, or otherwise incapable of truly voluntary action. And F. Ballerini made on this no adverse comment whatever.

In his edition of 1875 we find F. Gury's words slightly modified. They now run thus—

Although the Free and the Voluntary are distinguished in the abstract—as is plain from the Definition of the two—nevertheless in those acts in which man on this earth tends to his end, they are in fact never separated: for whenever any act is voluntary, it is free; and vice-versâ. The reason is, because (as S. Thomas says) in those acts which are directed to [man's] ultimate end, nothing is found so bad as to contain no admixture of good; and nothing so good as to suffice in all respects [for satisfaction of desire]. Now the only thing which the will has not the power to abstain from willing, is that which has the unmixed quality of good [completam boni rationem habet]: such is perfect beatitude, or [man's] ultimate end; for the sake of which all [other] things are desired.

Here, it will be seen, F. Gury is making a distinction, which he had not made in his earlier editions, between those acts on one hand which men perform as *conducive* to their ultimate end, and those acts on the other hand in which they aim immediately at that ultimate end itself. It will be further seen, that, as regards these latter acts, Gury regards them as subject to necessity of exercise, no less than to necessity of specification. But as regards that vast number of perfectly voluntary actions, which are directed immediately to some other end than that of my own beatitude—Gury pronounces that they are certainly free. Yet the enormous majority of such actions during the day are indubitably elicited, without express self-debate and self-consultation.

Ballerini, in his edition of 1878, cites at length the passage of S. Thomas to which Gury refers; and then adds this remark: "Which doctrine—accordant as it is no less with Right Reason than with the Catholic Faith—shows plainly in what light a certain recent philosophy is to be regarded, which (under the title of "The Limits of Human Liberty") introduces without any ground [*inaniter invehit*] innumerable acts, in which [forsooth] man on earth (being otherwise *sui compos*) is supposed to be *necessitated*." What the "modern philosophy" is, here so severely censured by F. Ballerini,—we confess ourselves entirely ignorant; but we should say from his context, that it must be some *Catholic* philosophy. Ballerini himself at all events is plainly full of suspicion, as to any philosophy which would circumscribe "human liberty" by undue "limits."

Let us now pass to standard theologians of an earlier period; or rather to Suarez, who (as will be immediately seen) may stand as representing them all. Suarez then holds ("De Oratione," l. 2, c. 20, n. 5) that those acts of love, which holy men elicit *in a state of ecstasy*, are free: sometimes with liberty of specification, always with liberty of exercise. No one will say that holy men in a state of ecstasy expressly debate and consult with themselves, whether they shall continue their acts of love or no. And presently (n. 8) Suarez adds: "It is the *common axiom of theologians* that, externally to the Beatific Vision, the will is not necessitated in exercise by force of any object which is but abstractively known, however perfectly"—*i.e.*, which is not known in the Beatific Vision. According to Suarez, then, it is the common axiom of theologians that no object necessitates the human will, except only God as seen face to face in heaven. It might indeed be a matter of reasonable inquiry how far so simply universal a statement—concerning *the whole body* of theologians—is consistent with the fact, that many theologians consider the will to be even under necessity of *exercise*, when the thought of beatitude is proposed *in this life*. There is no reason however for us to undertake such inquiry. We need nothing for our own purpose, except to show how unheard of among theologians is the particular notion which we are directly combating; and this fact is most abundantly evident from our citations.

We should add that Suarez ("De Bonitate et Mălitiă Actionum Humanarum," d. 5, s. 3, nn. 22-35; "De Gratiă," l. 12, c. 21) makes plain how admitted a truth it is with theologians, that an act protracts its virtuousness or sinfulness—in other words, preserves its freedom—during the whole of its continuance.\*

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\* The discussions in Moral Theology concerning the "number" of sins, sometimes (we incline to fancy) produce a certain misapprehension.



From the ground of theological authority, we now proceed to the ground of reason. And, in arguing with our present opponents, we are to take for granted the truth of those doctrines, and the validity of those arguments, which they hold and adduce in common with ourselves. Now in our articles against Determinism, we laid very great stress on that ineradicable conviction of their own Free Will, which is common to all mankind; a conviction which is the more remarkable, because so very few can look at their own habitual conduct with satisfaction, if they choose carefully to measure it even by their own standard of right. All Libertarians agree with us on this matter; and lay stress on the fact to which we refer, as furnishing (even though it stood alone) a conclusive proof of Free Will. They say—no less than we say—that on such a subject the common sense and common voice of mankind are an authority, against which there lies no appeal. In arguing then against *them*, we have a right to assume the principle to which they themselves assent; we have a right to assume the peremptory authority due, on this subject, to the common judgment of mankind. We now therefore proceed to maintain that—when our opponent's theory is embodied in concrete fact and translated into every-day practice—the very doctrine of Determinism is less repulsive to the common sense and common voice of mankind, than is *their* doctrine on the limits of Free Will. We will explain what we mean, by a short succession of instances.

We will begin with one, to which we just now referred in a different connection. Let us suppose that I have long resolved on a course of grave enmity against some one who has offended me; and that I have long with entire consistency acted on that resolve. It has become indeed an inveterate habit with me—a first principle (as it were) of conduct—so to act; and as to raising the question with myself, whether I shall or shall not

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It is sometimes perhaps unconsciously supposed, that if—during some given period—A's sins are more numerous than B's of the same kind, A may presumably be considered to have sinned more grievously than B during the same period. But the very opposite inference is quite as commonly the true one. A perhaps interrupts his sinful action from time to time, and again renews it; while B continues his evil course unintermittently and unrelentingly. We need hardly point out, that in such a case (gravity of the sinful action being equal) B formally commits far more of mortal sin than A, precisely *because* A's sins are more "numerous." The number of instants, during which A merits increased eternal punishment, is much smaller than the number of instants during which B does so. Yet B's sinful instants make up what in the Confessional is only counted as one sin; while A's—from the very fact of their having been interrupted—count as many. On the other hand, we do not forget that (as Suarez somewhere observes) the fresh starting of a mortally sinful act involves a certain special malitia of its own.

continue in the same groove,—I should as soon raise the question with myself, whether I shall or shall not continue to support my children whom I tenderly love. At this moment, however, I am debating and consulting between two different *methods* of assailing my foe which suggest themselves; and I am calculating which of the two will inflict on him the heavier blow. Under these circumstances our opponents must say, that I am free indeed in my choice between these two evil machinations; but that I am strictly *necessitated* to carry out my original resolve of injuring him in what way I can. I am strictly necessitated at this moment so to act—if our opponent's theory be accepted—because at this moment I have been as far as possible from consulting and debating with myself on this particular question. But if I am necessitated so to act, I cannot of course incur any formal sin thereby. In other words, I no more commit formal sin at this moment by pursuing his ruin to the bitter end, than I commit formal sin by giving my daughter a new bonnet in proof of my affection.

Those Catholics, who are more or less implicated in the theory which we are opposing, sometimes seek to evade the force of our objection by a singular reply. They reply, that (under the supposed circumstances) though my earnest resolve of crushing my enemy be not *directly* free, yet it is free “in causâ; in its cause.” They argue therefore, that they can consistently call my present resolve formally sinful, because they consider that resolve to be “*free in its cause.*” But what is meant by this recognized theological expression? There is no doubt whatever about its meaning. My resolve—they must mean to say—was “directly” free at its outset, because then I did debate and consult with myself whether I should or should not form it. Moreover at that time of outset, I was well aware that, if I formed such a resolve, the issue would in all probability be a long continuance of my revengeful action. Consequently (they urge) I *then* incurred the formal guilt of my subsequent evil machinations. Well, the whole of this is entirely true; but then it is no less entirely irrelevant. Indeed their making such an answer, is but an unconscious attempt to throw dust into the eyes of their critic. For we are not now discussing with our opponents the moral quality of that evil action—now so long past—which I elicited in forming my detestable resolve. We are discussing with them the moral quality of my *present* evil volition; wherein I apply myself to the vigorously *carrying out* that earlier resolve, without any pause of self-debate and self-consultation. And their theory must compel them to admit, that this volition is destitute of liberty, and exempt therefore from sin. According to their tenet (we say) I am as exempt from formal sin in

continuing my settled plan of revenge, as though I were engaged in hymning the divine praises, or in spiritually assisting a sinner on his death-bed.

As an opposite picture—before we proceed to the case of saintly Catholics, let us take a more ordinary specimen of human virtue. Let us look, *e.g.*, at such a person as the excellent Elizabeth Fry; and such a work as her reformation of the Newgate female prisoners. “The pleasures, which London affords to the wealthy, were at the disposal of her leisure. But a casual visit paid to Newgate in 1813 revealed to her the squalor and misery of the wretched inmates. She succeeded in forming a society of ladies, who undertook to visit the female prisoners. The most hardened and depraved evinced gratitude; and those who had hitherto been unmanageable, became docile under her gentle treatment.”\* One cannot suppose that she entered on this noble enterprise without much planning, self-debate, self-consultation: and in the *planning* it, our opponents will say that she was free. But when her heart and soul became absorbed in her glorious work—when she no more dreamed of debating with herself whether she should discontinue it, than of debating with herself whether she should include dancing lessons in her course of instruction—then, forsooth, her Free Will collapsed. Thenceforth there was no more formal virtue in her noble labours, than if instead thereof she had spent her husband’s money in equipages and dress, and had enjoyed in full “the pleasures which London offers to the wealthy.”

In truth—on this amazing theory—there can be no such thing as confirmed laudableness or confirmed reprehensibility of conduct. When my habit of virtue or of sin is confirmed, I no longer, of course, commonly *debate* or *consult* with myself whether I shall act in accordance with its promptings; and, not being free therefore on such occasions, I cannot by possibility act either laudably or reprehensibly.

Then consider the devout and interior Catholic who labours day by day and hour by hour that his successive acts be virtually, and energetically referred to God. He may spare himself the pains (if our opponents’ theory hold) as far as regards any supposed laudableness which can thence accrue. If indeed he were weak-kneed and half-hearted in his spiritual life—if he were frequently *debating* and *consulting* with himself whether he should trouble himself at all with referring his acts to God—then he might no doubt from time to time elicit acts formally virtuous. But it is far otherwise with a fervent Catholic.

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\* Slightly abridged from Walpole’s “History of England,” vol. i. p. 202.  
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Again and again he is too much immersed in the thought of God to think reflexively about *himself*. He dwells on the mysteries of Christ; he makes corresponding acts of faith, hope, and love; he prays for the Church; he prays for his enemies; he prays for the various pious ends which he has at heart; and his thoughts are entirely filled with such holy contemplations. Who will be absurd enough to say that this holy man has all this time been expressly *debating* with himself whether he shall or shall not cease from his prayers and meditations? Yet, except so long as such debate continues, he possesses, forsooth, no liberty; and his prayers are no more formally good and meritorious, than if he were in bed and asleep.

Surely such a view of things as we have been exhibiting is one which would inexpressibly shock any reasonable man who should contemplate it in detail. And yet we cannot for the life of us see how the consequences, which we have named, fail to follow in their entirety from that theory on the limits of Free Will, which we so earnestly oppose. Now, on a question so profoundly mixed up with every man's most intimate experience, it is not too much to say that the universal testimony of mankind is a conclusive proof of truth. Moreover (as we have already pointed out), the adverse testimony of mankind is a consideration which inflicts a blow of quite singular force on those particular thinkers with whom we are just now in controversy. They press the adverse testimony of mankind, as conclusive against Determinists; and we in our turn press it, as even more conclusive against themselves.

Such is the first reply which we adduce against our opponents. Our second is the following:—The main argument—it will be remembered—by which we purported to establish Free Will was based on man's experienced power of putting forth anti-impulsive effort. We here assume that our present opponents agree with us on the validity of our reasoning on this head: because, of course, it was in our earlier papers, and not in this, that the proper opportunity occurred for vindicating the efficacy of our earlier argument. So much then as this we may consider to be common ground between our present opponents and ourselves—viz., that whenever I put forth "anti-impulsive effort,"—in that moment at all events I possess Free Will. Let us proceed then to point out how very frequently it happens that I am putting forth (perhaps very successfully) these anti-impulsive efforts, on occasions when I do not dream of *debating* and *consulting* with myself whether I shall put them forth. I have received, *e.g.*, some stinging insult; I have offered it to God; I have firmly resolved (by His grace) steadfastly to resist all revengeful emotions thence arising. I make this resolve once

for all: and I no more dream of *debating* with myself whether I shall continue to act on it, than of debating with myself whether I shall in due course eat my dinner. Yet how frequent—at first perhaps almost unintermitting—are my anti-impulsive efforts. Again and again—while I am engaged in my daily occupations—the thought of the insult I have received sweeps over my soul like a storm, awakening vivid emotions in correspondence. As every such successive emotion arises, I exert myself vigorously to oppose its prompting. But the most superficial glance will show that such exertion is, very far oftener than not, put forth spontaneously, unhesitatingly, eagerly; without any admixture whatever of self-debate and self-consultation. Nay, it is precisely in proportion as this may be the case—in proportion as the element of self-debate and self-consultation is more conspicuously absent—in such very proportion that particular argument for my possessing Free Will becomes more obviously irresistible, which is based on the promptitude and vigour of my anti-impulsive effort.

Thirdly, another consideration must not be omitted, which does not, indeed, rise in the way of argument above the sphere of probability, but which (within that sphere) is surely of extreme weight. There is no question on which the infidels of this day profess themselves more profoundly agnostic, than this: What is the meaning, the drift, the significance of man's life on earth? Is life worth living? And if so, on what grounds? Theistic Libertarians most justly claim it as an especial merit of their creed, that it supplies so intelligible and effective an answer to this question. This life (they say) is predominantly assigned by God to man, as a place of probation; such that on his conduct here, depend results of unspeakable importance hereafter. Yet, according to those particular Libertarians with whom we are now in controversy, man's probation is at last confined to certain rare and exceptional passages of his earthly existence. Even of that normal period, during which his will is most thoroughly self-masterful, active, energetic, supreme over emotion—during which he devises and carries out his chief schemes, develops his most fertile resources, manifests and moulds his own most distinguishing specialties of character—very far the larger portion is entirely *external* to this work of probation, which one would expect to find so pervasive and absorbing. During far the greater portion of this period (we say) our opponents are required by their theory to account him destitute of Free Will; unworthy therefore of either praise or blame; incapacitated for either success or failure in his course of probation.

It is quite impossible that a theory, so paradoxical and

startling, could have found advocates among men undeniably able and thoughtful, had there not been at least some one superficially plausible argument adducible in its favour. We have already said that there is one such argument; and we have no more imperative duty in our present article than fairly to exhibit and confront it. We will suppose an opponent then to plead thus—

“I am not free at this moment, unless I have the proximate power at this moment, either to do what I do or to abstain from doing it. But I cannot have this proximate power of choice, unless I have what may be called a ‘proximate warning;’ nor can I have this, unless I have expressly in my mind the two alternatives between which I am to choose. I promised my daughter that, the next time I went to the neighbouring town, I would bring her back some stamped note-paper. Well, here I am, close to the stationer’s shop; but I have clean forgotten all about my promise. No one will say that, under these circumstances, I have proximate power of choice as to getting the note-paper. Why not? Because I have received no *proximate warning*. Let the remembrance of my promise flash across my mind, this affords the condition required. In like manner, if I am expressly debating and consulting with myself at this moment whether I shall do this act or abstain from it—here is my proximate warning. But if I am not thus expressly debating and consulting, then I have no proximate warning at all, nor proximate power of choice.”

Now, in replying to this, we will confine our discussion to perfectly voluntary acts. Our contention, as a whole, is, that all perfectly voluntary acts are perfectly free; and that all imperfectly voluntary acts have a certain imperfect freedom of their own. But assuredly no one who is convinced of the former doctrine will stumble at the latter; and we need not trouble ourselves therefore with specially arguing in its favour. Then, for our own part, we follow Suarez in thinking that even as regards men’s desire of beatitude—however accurately they may apprehend that blessing—they possess therein full liberty of *exercise*.\* And accordingly we hold (as just set forth) that all perfectly voluntary acts in this life, without exception, are perfectly free. This then being understood, the sum of the answer we should give to the argument above drawn out, is this: and we submit our view with profound deference to the judgment of Catholic theologians and philosophers. I possess an *intrinsic continuous sense* of my own Free Will: and this sense amply

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\* This particular question seems to us so devoid of practical importance that there is no necessity of giving reasons for our opinion.

suffices to give me the proximate warning required for proximate power of choice. Now therefore to exhibit this statement in greater detail, and to defend it by argument.

It is commonly said by Libertarians, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, that man's Free Will is a simple and unmistakable fact of experience. Arriaga, *e.g.*, considers it to be so immediate an object of perception, that you can as it were touch it with your hand (*quasi manu palpare*). And indeed a very common expression is, that men are "conscious" of their own Free Will. Mr. Stuart Mill objected to this use of language. "We are *conscious*," he said, "of what *is*, not of what *will* or *can* be." In April, 1874 (pp. 351-2), we admitted, that on the verbal question, we are disposed here to agree with Mr. Mill;\* though he had himself in a former work (by his own confession) used the word "consciousness" in the very sense to which he here objected. He had used the word, as expressing "the whole of our familiar and intimate knowledge concerning ourselves." However, we willingly accepted Mr. Mill's second thoughts, in repudiation of his first thoughts; and we have throughout abstained from using the word "consciousness" in the sense to which he objected. "We will ourselves," we added, "use the word 'self-intimacy' to express what is here spoken of." We will not then say that I am "conscious" of my own Free Will, but that I have a "self-intimate continuous sense thereof." So much on the question of words; and now for the substance of what we would say.

How is this self-intimate continuous sense engendered, of the power which I have over my own actions? Let us first consider, by way of illustration, another self-intimate continuous sense of power, which I also indubitably possess: my sense of my power over my own limbs. When I was first born, I was not aware of this power; but my unintermittent exercise thereof has gradually given me a self-intimate continuous sense of my possessing it. A student—let us suppose—has been sitting for three hours on the edge of a cliff at his favourite watering-place, immersed in mathematics. A little girl passes not far from him, and falls over the cliff, to the great damage of her clothes, and some damage of her person. Her mother reproaches the mathematician for not having prevented the accident; though probably enough he may have quite a sufficient defence at his command. But suppose what he does say were precisely this: "I could not reach your child without *moving*;" "and in the hurry of the moment, I really did not remember

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\* We have spoken on the meaning of this word "conscious" in a previous page.

“ that I had the *power* of moving. I must tell you that it was full three hours since I last had moved my legs ; and you cannot be surprised therefore that my remembrance of my possessing the *power* to move them was none of the freshest.” The mother would feel that he was here adding insult to injury. Had she scientific words at her command, she would energetically press on him the fact, that his sense of his power over his limbs is not a fitful, intermittent sense, liable to temporary suspension ; but on the contrary is such a continuous self-intimate sense, as would have most amply sufficed had he possessed any genuine inclination to move.

Now as to the still more important power which I possess—the power of resisting my will’s spontaneous impulse—my experience of it (no doubt) did not begin for (say) a year or two after I had habitually experienced my power over my limbs. But when once it did begin, it was called into almost as frequent exercise. If I received a good moral and religious education—that very statement means, that I was repeatedly summoned to the exercise of anti-impulsive effort, in the interests of religion and morality. If I received *no* such education—the circumstances of each moment nevertheless brought with them after their own fashion a lesson, entirely similar as regards our present argument. My life would have been simply intolerable, had I not a thousand times a day energetically resisted my will’s spontaneous impulse, in order to avert future suffering and discomfort, or in order to avoid the displeasure of those among whom I lived. This proposition we assume, from our previous articles on the subject. In accordance then with the well-known laws of human nature, I acquired by degrees (as I grew up) a self-intimate continuous sense, that I have the *power* of resisting at pleasure my spontaneous impulse ; or (in other words) that my Will is Free. My notion of acting *at all* with perfect voluntariness has become indissolubly associated with my notion of acting *freely*. I have a self-intimate continuous sense that I am no slave to circumstances, whether external or internal ; that I have true control over my own conduct ; that I am responsible for my own voluntary acts. The very consciousness that I am acting *voluntarily*, carries with it the sense that I am acting *freely*. This self-intimate sense suffices to give me proximate warning at each instant of perfectly voluntary action ; and so suffices to give me a true proximate power of choice—whatever I may be about at the moment—between continuing to do it and abstaining therefrom.

Before going further, let us examine what we have now said, by the test of plain facts ; and let us once more resort to our old illustration of the revengeful man. I am firmly resolved to



inflict on my enemy whatever suffering I can ; for such indeed is my rooted and inveterate principle of conduct : but I am debating with myself what *method* of aggression will just now be most conducive to my end. Now we say this. If I believe in Free Will at all, and if I choose to think about the matter at all, I cannot possibly persuade myself that the doctrine of "limited" Free Will here holds good. I cannot possibly persuade myself that I am free indeed at this moment in my choice between these *particular* machinations ; but that my *general* resolve of crushing him is a *necessitated* act, for which I incur no present responsibility. We really do not think that any one, capable of self-introspection, would here even dream of any statement contrary to ours, except under extremest pressure of a paradoxical theory. But if I cannot possibly persuade myself that my resolve is necessitated—this is merely to say, in other words, that I invincibly recognize within myself the proximate power of choosing at this moment to abandon such resolve.

In truth the cases are by no means rare, in which it is most obvious on the surface—in which no one can by possibility doubt—that I have most abundant proximate power of choice, without any debate or self-consultation. The whole psychology of *habit* (as we have already implied) is here directly to our purpose. I have acquired a deeply-rooted habit of forgiveness, and receive a stinging insult. Spontaneously and instinctively—as soon as my will obtains even a very moderate degree of self-mastery—I select between the two alternatives, of succumbing or not succumbing to my violent emotion. I select the virtuous alternative ; I fight successfully God's battle in my soul ; I should be utterly ashamed of myself if I condescended to self-debate and self-consultation. It is precisely because I do *not* so condescend, that I have *more* proximate power (not less) of making my effective choice between the two alternatives.

It may be said, no doubt, that this sense of proximate power given me by an acquired habit is not *continuous* ; for it is only at comparatively rare intervals that any one given acquired habit has occasion of exhibiting its efficacy. Still other instances are easily found in which my self-intimate power does continue uninterruptedly. Consider, *e.g.*, my self-intimate sense of the power which I possess, to talk correct English, or to practise correct spelling. Consider a groom's self intimate continuous sense, that he possesses the power of riding ; or a law-clerk's, that he possesses the power of writing legibly. Again, a very conspicuous instance of what we mean is afforded by the phenomena of gentlemanliness. One who has lived all his life in thoroughly gentlemanly society, has a continuous self-intimate sense of his power to comport himself like a gentleman throughout every event of the day. Or let

us adduce a very different illustration. Suppose I am suffering under some affection in the neck, which makes this or that posture intensely painful. At first it does not happen so very unfrequently, that I accidentally assume the posture and incur the penalty. But as time advances, I obtain by constant practice the desired knack, of so moving myself as to avoid pain; and the possession of that power is speedily followed, by my self-intimate continuous sense of its possession.

The sum then of what we have been saying is this. On one hand the self-intimate continuous sense of possessing this or that proximate power, is by no means an uncommon fact in human nature. On the other hand it is established by due introspection—and easily explicable also by recognized psychological laws—that men do possess this self-intimate continuous sense of their proximate power, either to acquiesce in their spontaneous impulse of the moment, or to resist it. In other words, they possess a self-intimate continuous sense of Free Will; a sense which at every moment gives them proximate warning of their responsibility.

Such—we are convinced—is substantially true doctrine, concerning the extent of Free Will; and we only wish we had space to enter on its more complete and detailed exposition. One theological objection however occurs to us, as possessing a certain superficial plausibility; an objection, founded on that very doctrine which we alleged against our opponents—viz., the doctrine of our Blessed Lady's interior life. If men's self-intimate sense of liberty is founded on their repeatedly experienced power of resisting spontaneous impulse—how (it may be asked) can *she* have acquired it, who was never even once called on or permitted to resist spontaneous impulse? But the answer is obvious enough. Those most noteworthy characteristics, which so conspicuously distinguished her interior life from that of ordinary mortals, did not arise (we need hardly say) from the fact that her nature differed from theirs; but from a cause quite different. They arose from the fact that—over and above that perfection of natural and supernatural endowments with which she started—God wrought within her a series of quite exceptional Providential operations: operations, which preserved her infallibly from sin; from concupiscence; from moral imperfection; from interruption of her holy acts and affections. If this continuous sense of Free Will therefore were required for the formal virtuousness of her acts, it is included in the very idea of God's dealings with her, that He either directly infused this sense into her soul, or otherwise secured for her its possession. And if it be further inquired how her possession of Free Will was consistent with the fact, that her unintermittently virtuous action was infallibly secured—nothing on this head need be added to the most lucid explanation

given by Suarez and other theologians. For our own purpose however we should further explain, that though she possessed Free Will—as did our blessed Lord—we do not for a moment mean to imply that she was in a state of *probation*. And we should also add, once for all, that what remarks we have further to make in this article will not be intended as including our Blessed Lady within their scope, but only as applying to other human persons.

We have now completed all which strictly belongs to our direct theme; and must once more express that we put forth all our remarks with diffidence and deference, submitting them to the judgment of Catholic theologians and philosophers. But we would further solicit the indulgence of our readers, while we touch (as briefly as we can) two further subjects, which are in somewhat close connection with our theme; which throw much light on it; and which are in some sense necessary as its complement. No one can more regret than we do, the unwieldy length which thus accrues to our article. But the course of our series will not bring us again into contact with the two subjects to which we refer; and if we do not enter on them now, we shall have no other opportunity of doing so. We cannot attempt indeed to do them any kind of justice; or to set forth in detail the arguments which seem to us adducible for our doctrine concerning them. Still we are very desirous of at least stating the said doctrine; in hope that other more competent persons may correct and complete whatever is here mistaken or defective.

The first of these two subjects concerns the relation between Free Will and Morality. And at starting let us explain the sense of our term, when we say that, during certain periods, a man has a "prevalent remembrance" of this or that truth. A merchant, *e.g.*, is busily occupied at this moment on 'Change. There are certain general principles and maxims of mercantile conduct, which he has practically learned by long experience, of which he preserves a "prevalent remembrance" throughout his period of professional engagement. This does not mean that he is actually *thinking* of them all the time; but that he has acquired a certain quality of mind, in virtue of which (during his mercantile transactions) these various principles and maxims are proximately ready, to step (as it were) into his mind on every approximate occasion. Or to take a very different instance. A fox-hunter, while actually in the field, preserves a "prevalent remembrance" of certain practical rules and sporting axioms—on the practicability, *e.g.*, of such or such a fence—which again and again saves him from coming to grief. Now this "prevalent remembrance" may, in some cases—instead of being confined to particular periods

—become “pervasive” of a man’s whole waking life. Let us take two instances of this, similar to two which we have already given in a somewhat different connection. The thoroughly gentlemanly man enjoys all day long a “pervasive remembrance” of the general laws and principles which appertain to good breeding. And one who for many years has had a malady in his neck possesses all day long a “pervasive remembrance” of what are those particular postures which would give him pain. This does not mean, either that the gentlemanly man or again the neck-affected man never for one moment forgets himself; but it does mean, that the instants of such forgetfulness are comparatively very few.

This terminology being understood, we submit the following proposition:—As all men on one hand, throughout all their long periods of perfectly voluntary action, possess a self-intimate sense of their Free Will; so on the other hand, during the same periods, they preserve a “pervasive remembrance” of two cardinal truths. These two truths are (1) that virtuousness has a paramount claim on their allegiance; and (2) that pleasurable-ness (whether positive or negative) will incessantly lead them captive, whenever they do not actively resist it. We have already said, that we have no space here for anything like a due exhibition of the arguments adducible in support of our statement; and as regards, indeed, the *second* of our two cardinal truths, we suppose every one will be disposed readily enough to accept it. As regards the *former* of our truths—that virtuousness has a paramount claim on men’s allegiance—we have of course nothing to do here with proving that it *is* a truth. This task we consider ourselves to have abundantly performed on more than one earlier occasion; and we would refer especially to our article on “Ethics in its bearing on Theism,” of January, 1880. Again, we are not for a moment forgetting, that men differ most widely from each other (on the surface at least) as to what are those particular acts and habits which *deserve the name* of “virtuous.” Still, we have maintained confidently, on those earlier occasions, that the idea “virtuousness,” as found in the minds of all, is one and the same simple idea; and that virtuousness, so understood, is really recognized by all men, as having a paramount claim on their allegiance. What we are *here* specially urging is, that (throughout their period of perfectly voluntary action) all men—even the most abandoned—preserve a “pervasive remembrance” of this truth.

We have already explained how entirely impossible it is on the present occasion to attempt any adequate exhibition of the arguments adducible for our doctrine; but such considerations as the following are those on which we should rely:—Firstly, let it be

observed how indefinitely large is the number of moral judgments which succeed each other in every one's mind throughout the day. "I am bound to do what I am paid for doing." "K. behaved far better than L. under those circumstances." "M. is really an unmitigated scoundrel." "No praise can be too great for N.'s noble sacrifice." "How base it was of O. to tell me those lies." "What cruel injustice I received at the hands of P." It is not merely men that live by moral rule and look carefully after their consciences who are quite continually thus speaking; but the general rough mass of mankind. Even habitual knaves and cheats are no less given than honest people to censure the conduct of others as being unjust, oppressive, mendacious, or otherwise immoral. "There is" moral "honour" and moral dishonour "among thieves." The notion of right and wrong, in one shape or other, is never long absent from any one's thoughts; even his explicit thoughts. Then, secondly, let those psychological facts be considered, which have led ethical philosophers of the intuitionist school to insist on "the still small voice of conscience;" the instinctive efforts of evil men to stifle that voice; the futility of such efforts, &c. &c.\* We are entirely confident that such statements are most amply borne out by experienced psychological facts; though we cannot here enter on the investigation.

If the doctrine be accepted which we have here put forth, assuredly it throws most important light on man's moral constitution. My self-intimate sense of Free Will—we have already seen—gives me unintermittent information of my responsibility for my acts one by one. But now further the Moral Voice, which I can so constantly hear within me—in emphatic correspondence with that information—gives me full proximate warning, by what *standard* I am to measure those acts. On the one hand, I am *free* to choose; while on the other hand I *ought* to choose virtuously. The claims of virtuousness—the attractions of pleasurable—these are (as one may say) the two poles between which my moral conduct vibrates. Either motive of action is legitimate within its sphere, but one of the two rightfully claims supremacy over the other. And my self-intimate sense of Free Will unfalteringly reminds me that I am here and now justly reprehensible and worthy of punishment, so far as I rebel against the higher claim, under solicitation of the lower attractiveness.

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\* So (as one instance out of a thousand) F. Kleutgen speaks: "Conscience," he says, "does not *always* so speak and raise its voice, as to take from man the power of turning from it and *refusing to listen*." "It is *often* in man's power to abstain from entering into himself and *lending his ear* to that voice," &c. &c. We quoted the whole of F. Kleutgen's very remarkable passage, in October, 1874, pp. 44-450.

The second subject on which we desire to touch, is a certain thesis concerning the kind and degree of advertence required for mortal sin. That tenet concerning the extent of Free Will, which it has been our direct purpose to oppose, is very seldom (if indeed ever) applied by Catholics to their appraisalment of *virtuous* actions. One never hears, *e.g.*, that a holy man's prayer is necessitated, and therefore destitute of merit, because he has not been just debating and consulting with himself whether he shall or shall not continue it. But there are two classes of occasion (we think) on which the tenet of limited Free Will does at times (consciously or unconsciously) find issue. One of these is when the Catholic defends Free Will against Determinists; under which circumstances he is sometimes tempted by the exigencies of controversy to minimize his doctrine: and on this matter we have now sufficiently spoken. The other occasion is, when question is raised concerning the advertence required for mortal sin. Here then alone would be ample reason for our wishing not to be entirely silent on this grave theological question. But (by a curious coincidence) there is another reason, altogether distinct, which makes it pertinent that we enter on this particular subject. For the thesis to which we have referred, if consistently carried out, would place in a quite extraordinarily and preposterously favourable light the moral position of those infidels, who are our immediate opponents throughout our present series of articles.

Some Catholics then seem to hold, that no mortal sin can be formally committed, unless (1) the agent explicitly advert to the circumstance, that there is at least grave doubt whether the act to which he is solicited be not mortally sinful; and unless (2)—after having so adverted—he resolve by a perfectly voluntary choice on doing it.\* Now we admit most heartily, that here is contained an admirable practical rule, as regards a large class of persons whom Moral Theology is especially required to consider. Take a Catholic who is ordinarily and normally averse to mortal sin, and who regularly frequents the Confessional. Such a man may be certain that some given past act, which tends to give him scruple, was not formally a mortal sin unless (at the time of doing it) he explicitly adverted to the circumstance, that there was grave doubt at least whether the act were not mortally sinful. But the thesis of which we are speaking seems sometimes laid down—not as supplying a test practically available in certain normal cases—

\* Such seems the obvious sense of Gury's exposition: "De Peccatis," n. 150. S. Alphonsus and Scavini use far more guarded language. Suarez gives a most thoughtful treatment of the matter: "De Voluntario," d. 4, s. 3. But we have no space for citing the dicta of theologians.

but as expressing a necessary and universal truth. If this be the thesis really intended—our readers will readily understand our meaning, when we said just now that it seems intimately connected with that tenet of limited Free Will, which we have been so earnestly opposing. In the first place there is on the surface a very strong family likeness between the two theories. Then, further, we are really not aware of any reasoning by which the “explicit advertence” theory can be defended, unless its advocates assume the tenet of unlimited Free Will. But however this may be—we would entreat theologians duly to consider some few of the consequences which would result, if the “explicit advertence” thesis were accepted. We will begin with the case of those Antitheistic infidels, who are at this time so increasing in number and aggressiveness.

The Antitheist then would not be accounted capable of mortal sin at all. What Catholics call “sin,” is something most definite and special. “Sin”—in the Catholic’s view—is separated by an absolutely immeasurable gulf from all other evils whatever; insomuch that all other evils put together do not approach to that gravity, which exists in even one venial sin. But the whole body of Antitheists (we never heard of one exception) entirely deny that there can be any such “malitia” as this, in any possible or conceivable act. It is simply impossible then—as regards any act in the whole world which the Antitheist may choose to commit—that he shall (before committing it) have asked himself whether it were mortally sinful. And consequently—according to the thesis we are criticizing—it is simply impossible that any act in the whole world, which he may choose to commit, can be formally a mortal sin.

Consequently no such thing is possible to any human being, as gravely culpable ignorance of God. Ignorance of God (according to Catholic doctrine) cannot be gravely culpable, unless it result from the formal commission of mortal sin; and Antitheists (according to this thesis) are *unable* formally to commit mortal sin. Now we are very far from wishing here to imply any special doctrine, concerning invincible ignorance of God: few theological tasks (we think) are just now more urgent than a profound treatment of this whole question. But that there is not, and cannot possibly be, any ignorance of God which is *not* invincible—this our readers will confess to be a startling proposition. We submit, however, that it follows inevitably from the thesis before us.

From Antitheists let us proceed to Theistic non-Catholics. Suarez quotes with entire assent S. Augustine’s view, that the two causes which, immeasurably more than any other, keep back a non-Catholic from discerning the Church’s claims, are (1)

pride and (2) worldliness.\* Yet in regard to these two classes of sins—which (in the judgment of S. Augustine and of Suarez) spread so subtle a poison through man's moral nature, and so signally dim man's spiritual discernment—how can the thesis which we are opposing account them mortally sinful at all? What proud man ever *reflected* on his pride? What worldly man on his worldliness? Suppose, *e.g.*, a man considered himself to reflect on the fact that he is eliciting a mortally sinful act of pride: all men would be at once sure that it is his very *humility* which deceives him. He who is at this moment committing what is materially a mortal sin of pride, most certainly does not dream that he is so doing; and still less does he explicitly advert to the circumstance. Or consider some other of the odious characters to be found in the non-Catholic world. Take, *e.g.*, this typical revolutionary demagogue. He is filled with spite and envy, towards those more highly placed than himself. He consoles himself for this anguish, by inhaling complacently the senseless adulation of his dupes. He gives no thought to their real interest—though he may persuade himself that the fact is otherwise—but uses them as instruments for his own profit and aggrandizement. How often does this villain *reflect* on his villainy from one year's end to another? God in His mercy may visit him with illness or affliction: but otherwise the thought never occurs to him, that he is specially sinful at all. Yet would you dare to deny, that during a large part of his earthly existence he is formally committing mortal sin? And remarks entirely similar may be made on the whole catalogue of those specially odious offences, which are built on fanaticism and self-deception.

And now, lastly, we would solicit theologians to consider, how such a thesis as we are considering will apply even to those Catholics who absent themselves from the Confessional and are confirmed sinners. Look at our old case of the revengeful man. My resolve of injuring my enemy in every way I can has become, by indulgence, a part (one may say) of my nature; and I am at this moment immersed in some scheme for inflicting on him further calamity. I have been profoundly habituated, these several years past, to set the Church's lessons at defiance, and to commit mortal sin without stint or scruple. In consequence of

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\* "Heresy is found in a man after two different fashions—viz., either as himself author of the heresy, or as persuaded by another. And it does not arise after the former fashion, except either from pride or from too great affection for earthly and sensible objects: as Augustine says. But he who is drawn by another into heresy, either imitates [the heresiarch himself] in pride and worldliness; or else is deceived ignorantly and through a certain simplicity."—*De Amissione Innocentiæ*, c. 2, s. 17.



this, I no more explicitly advert to the fact that I am sinning mortally in my revengeful resolves — than I explicitly advert to the fact that I am passing through certain streets, on my daily trodden road from my office to my home. Now there is no Catholic, we suppose, who will not admit, that I continue to be formally committing a large number of mortal sins, during all this protracted course of vindictiveness. But how can such an admission be reconciled with the thesis which we are opposing?

Now take an importantly different instance. I am just beginning an habitually wicked life. I secretly retain some large sum, which I know to be some one else's property; or I enter into permanent immoral relations with another person. I cannot get the fact out of my head, and so I am always reflecting on my sinfulness; while I still cannot make up my mind to amend. I formally therefore commit mortal sin, at pretty well every moment of my waking life. Time however goes on; and in due course I become so obdurate, that I do not reflect for a moment, from week's end to week's end, on the circumstance that I am setting God's Law at defiance. Let us briefly contrast these two periods. Suppose, *e.g.*, I make my definitive resolution of remaining in sin, on March 12, 1871; and since that day have not once made any real effort to reform. Then compare the moral life which I led on March 13, 1871, with that which I led on March 13, 1881. On the earlier day I was, beyond the possibility of doubt, formally committing mortal sin almost every moment of the day, during which I was not asleep or tipsy; because I was constantly reflecting on my wicked life, and purposing to continue it. Now my acts of March 13, 1881, taken one by one, are assuredly far more wicked than those of March 13, 1871. Suarez ("De Peccatis," d. 2, s. 1, n. 3) lays down as the commonly admitted doctrine, that "the deformity of mortal sin consists in this—that through such sin the sinner virtually and interpretatively loves the creature more than he loves God." But if, in my acts of March 13, 1871, I was virtually and interpretatively loving the creature more than I loved God—who will doubt that, in those of March 13, 1881, I am doing this same thing very far more signally and unreservedly? And if the former acts therefore were mortally sinful, much more are these latter. Yet, according to the adverse thesis, these latter acts are not mortally sinful at all; because my detestable obduracy is now so confirmed, that I do not even once explicitly advert to the circumstance, how wicked is my course of life.

Such are a few instances which we would press on the attention of theologians, as exhibiting results which ensue from the thesis we deprecate; and many similar ones are readily adducible. We submit with much deference, that a satisfactory solution of the

whole difficulty cannot be found, unless that doctrine be borne in mind which we just now set forth, concerning (1) men's self-intimate sense of Free Will; and (2) the constant urgency of the Moral Voice speaking within them. But before entering directly on this argument, we will distinctly express two propositions; which otherwise it might possibly be supposed that we do not duly recognize. First—there cannot possibly be mortal sin in any act, which is not “perfectly voluntary;” and we have fully set forth in our preceding n. xi. how much is contained in this term “perfectly voluntary.” Secondly — no one can commit mortal sin, except at those times in which he possesses full proximate power of suspecting the fact. When we come indeed to treat the particular case of Antitheistic infidels, we shall have to guard against a possible misconception of this statement; but to the statement itself we shall entirely adhere. So much then having been explained, we will next try to set forth, as clearly as is consistent with due brevity, the principles which (as we submit) are truly applicable to the moral appreciation of such instances as we have just enumerated.

We begin with the revengeful Catholic, who is well aware indeed of the circumstance that his vindictive machinations are mortally sinful: but who is so obdurate in his sin, that he gives no explicit advertence to their sinful character. If those doctrines which we advocate are admitted—concerning his self-intimate sense of Free Will, and the constant monitions of his Moral Voice—he has evidently, during almost the whole period occupied by these revengeful machinations, full proximate power of explicitly adverting to their sinfulness. There may be occasional moments of invincible distraction; and at those moments (we admit) his formal commission of mortal sin temporarily ceases; but these surely cannot be more than exceptional, and recurring at rare intervals. And such as we have here given, would be substantially (we suppose) the account given by all Catholic thinkers; for all Catholics surely will admit, that his successive machinations are for the most part (even if there be any exceptional moment) imputed to the agent as mortally sinful.

We now come to the second instance. A Catholic (we have supposed) has plunged into some mortally sinful mode of life; at first he has been tormented all day long by remorse of conscience; but in due course of obduration, has entirely ceased to reflect on his deplorable state. Now in order to solve both this and the other difficult cases which we just now set forth, it is necessary (we think) not only to bear in mind the doctrines which we have already exhibited concerning men's self-intimate sense of Free Will and the monitions of their Moral Voice—but another

doctrine also entirely distinct. We may call this the doctrine of "inordination." It is one on which recent theologians (we venture to submit) have not sufficiently insisted;\* but which is of most critical importance on such questions as we are now discussing. It has been expressed and illustrated with admirable force by the late F. Dalgairns, in that chapter of his work on "The Blessed Sacrament," which is called "Communion of the Worldly;" a chapter which we earnestly hope our readers will study as a whole in the present connection. We can here only find room for a very few of the relevant passages.

Christianity holds as a first principle, that God is to be loved above all things; in such a sense that if a creature appreciatively loves any created thing more than God, he commits a mortal sin (second edition, p. 359).

When the affection for an earthly object or pursuit for a long time together so engrosses the soul, as to superinduce an habitual neglect of God and a continued omission of necessary duties, then it is very difficult for the soul to be unconscious of its violation of the First Commandment, or (if it is unconscious) not to be answerable to God for the hardness of heart which prevents its actual advertence (*ib.*).

We will suppose a merchant entirely engrossed in the acquisition of riches. No one will say that to amass wealth is in any way sinful. It has never come before him to do anything dishonest in order to increase his property, and he has never formed an intention to do so. Nevertheless, if his heart is so fixed on gain, that his affection for it is greater than his love of God—even though he has formed explicitly no design of acting dishonestly—he falls at once out of the state of grace. Let him but elicit from his will an act by which he virtually appreciates riches more than God, that act of preferring a creature to God (if accompanied by sufficient advertence) is enough of itself to constitute mortal sin. . . . The First Commandment is as binding as the Seventh; and a man who does not love God above all things, is as guilty as the actual swindler or thief (*ib.* p. 360).

And in p. 317 F. Dalgairns adduces theological authority for his doctrine. We should be disposed to express it thus. Any one (we should say) is at this moment materially committing mortal sin, if he is eliciting—towards this or that pleasurable end—some act of the will so inordinate, that by force of such act, he would on occasion violate a grave precept of God, rather than abandon such pleasure. And he formally commits mortal sin,

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\* All theologians admit that no divine precept can possibly be violated, except through the sinner's inordinate attachment to creatures. But we venture to think that the tendency has of late been to dwell too exclusively on the violation of precept; and not to exhibit in due prominence the attachment to creatures. S. Thomas's treatment of such matters is emphatically different (we think) in its general tone.

if he elicits such an act while he possesses full proximate power to suspect its being mortally sinful.

Or let us exhibit our doctrine in the concrete. No one (as has been so repeatedly pressed in this article) can possibly offend God, except for the sake of this or that pleasure; and every one therefore who commits mortal sin, is *ipso facto* preferring some pleasure to God. At this moment I am gravely calumniating an acquaintance, in order to gratify my vain-glory by being more highly thought of than he is. Here are two concomitant mortal sins; related to each other, as respectively the "commanding" and "commanded" act ["actus imperans:" "actus imperatus"]. The "commanding" act is my mortal sin of vain-glory; the "commanded" act is my mortal sin of calumny. But how comes the former to be a mortal sin? There is no sin whatever in my mere desire of being highly thought of by my fellow-men. True; but that desire is "gravely inordinate"—"a mortal sin of vain-glory"—if it be such, as to command what is objectively a mortal sin, rather than lose the pleasure at which it aims.\* But now observe. I may, the next minute, altogether forget the particular man whom I have been calumniating; and the "commanded" mortal sin may thus come to an end. But this is no reason in the world why my "commanding" mortal sin—my sin of vain-glory—should change its character. If it were mortal sin before—and if there be no change in its intrinsic qualities—it continues to be mortal sin now. Wherein does its mortally sinful character consist? In this: that *by force* of my present act, I should on occasion gravely offend God, rather than lose the pleasure at which I am aiming;

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\* "If love of riches so increase that they may be preferred to charity;—in such sense that, for the love of riches, a man fear not to act in opposition to the love of God and his neighbour;—in this case avarice will be a mortal sin. But if the inordination of the man's love [for riches] stop within this limit; in such sense that, although he loves riches too much, nevertheless he do not prefer the love of them to the love of God, so that he do not will for their sake, to do anything against God and his neighbour—such avarice is a venial sin." S. THOMAS, 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup> q. cxviii. a. 4.

"Inordination of fear is sometimes a mortal sin, sometimes a venial. For if any one is so disposed that—on account of that fear whereby he shrinks from danger of death or from some other temporal evil—he would do something prohibited or omit something commanded in the Divine Law—such fear will be a mortal sin."—*Ib.* q. cxv. a. 3.

"If the inordination of concupiscence in gluttony imply aversion from a man's Ultimate End, "accipiatur secundum aversionem à Fine Ultimo," so gluttony will be a mortal sin. Which happens, when a man cleaves to the pleasurable of gluttony as to an end, on account of which he despises God: being prepared to violate the Precepts of God, in order to obtain such gratifications."—*Ib.* q. cxlviii. a. 2.

F. Ballerini says (on Gury, vol. i. n. 178) that S. Thomas's "Secunda Secunda" "ought never to be out of the Confessor's hands."

or (in other words) that, by eliciting my present act of vain-glory, I appreciatively prefer to God the being highly thought of by my fellow-men.

Here then we are able to explain what we mean, by "inordinate" desire of pleasurable. The particular given act—wherein I desire the pleasure which ensues from good opinion of my fellow-men—may be of three different characters, which it is extremely important mutually to distinguish. It may (1) be such, that—by force of such act—I would rather gravely offend God, than lose the pleasure in question: in which case the act is "gravely inordinate," and (at least materially) a mortal sin. Or it may be (2) such that—by force of such act—I would rather offend God *venially* (though not gravely) rather than lose the pleasure: in which case the act is "venially inordinate" and "venially sinful." Or, lastly—however strong my act of desire may be—yet it may not be such that, by force of it I would offend God *in any way* rather than lose the pleasure. In this latter case, the act is not "inordinate" at all; not properly called "vain-glory" at all; nor (as we should say) possessing any element whatever of sin.\*

It will be remembered also, that that "gravely inordinate" act, which is materially a mortal sin, is not one formally, unless the agent possesses full proximate power of suspecting this fact.

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\* In the early part of our article we referred with entire assent to Dr. Walsh's argument in favour of the doctrine here assumed, that an act may be directed to pleasurable as to its absolute end, yet without inordination. But there are two condemned propositions, often cited against this doctrine, which we ought expressly to notice. They are the 8th and 9th condemned by Innocent XI. (Denz, nn. 1025, 6): "Comedere et bibere." &c., "Opus conjugii," &c." On the former of these, we need do no more than refer to Dr. Walsh's remarks from n. 638 to n. 641; with which we unreservedly concur. On the latter, what we would say is substantially what Viva says: The constitution of lapsed human nature being what it is—there is one most definitely marked out class of pleasurable ends, which tend to exercise so special and abnormal influence over a man's will, that his pursuit of them will quite infallibly be "inordinate" (in our sense of that term) unless it be kept in check by being subordinated to some virtuous end. Now it is obvious that those who (like ourselves) affirm this, may utterly repudiate the proposition condemned by Innocent XI.; and yet entirely hold that general doctrine concerning indifferent acts, which we have exhibited in our text. It may be well to add, that F. Ballerini (on Gury, vol. ii. n. 908) has some valuable remarks concerning the virtuous ends which may be pursued in that particular class of acts to which we refer.

Another theological remark. The distinction which we have made, between the "inordinate" and "non-inordinate" pursuit of a pleasurable end, is closely connected (if indeed it be not identical) with the recognized theological distinction, between pleasure being sought as the "*finis positivè ultimus*" and "*negativè ultimus*" respectively. (See Dr. Walsh, n. 479; and Ballerini on Gury, vol. i. n. 28.)

In our view, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the momentousness of this whole doctrine, for the true moral appreciation, whether of those outside the Church, or of obdurate sinners within her pale. To avoid prolixity, however, we will only consider it in detail, as applicable to the obdurate Catholic whom we were just now describing. He has sunk into so abject and degraded a moral condition, that he appreciatively prefers pretty nearly *every* passing pleasure to God. There is hardly any gratification, at all to his taste, from which he would abstain, rather than gravely offend God. In other words—as the day proceeds—almost every act which he elicits is gravely inordinate and mortally sinful.

The only question to be further raised concerning him is, whether these repeated gravely inordinate adhesions to pleasure are in general formally, no less than materially, mortal; or, in other words, whether he have full proximate power of suspecting their true character. And of this—as a general fact—there can (we conceive) be no fair doubt. We are throughout supposing him not to have abandoned the Faith. It is plain that a Catholic, who for years has absented himself from the Confessional—who is living in what he fully knows to be the persistent and unrelenting violation of God's Laws—has an abiding sense all day long, how degraded and detestable is his mode of acting. He feels all day long that he “is drinking in sin like water;” though he would of course be unable to express in theological terms his protracted course of evil.\*

Some of our readers may be disposed at first sight to regard this view of things as startling and paradoxical, because of the large number of instants during which it accounts such men to

\* It might be thought at first sight, that there is some similarity between the doctrine which we have submitted in the text concerning obdurate sinners, and that advocated by Pascal in his “Fourth Provincial Letter.” But in truth the full doctrine which we would defend is the very extreme contrary to Pascal's. The direct theme of his Fourth Letter—as laid down in the title—is “Actual Grace;” and he reproaches the Jesuits for maintaining, that “God gives man actual graces under every successive temptation.” For our own part—not only we cleave most firmly to the doctrine here denounced by Pascal—but we are disposed to go further. We are strongly disposed to accept the Fifteenth Canon of the Council of Sens; and to affirm, that “not even a moment passes” while a man is *sui compos* “in which God does not stand at the door” of his heart, “and knock” by His supernatural grace.

We need hardly say, that the Council of Sens was not Ecumenical; but Suarez speaks of its decrees as possessing very great authority. Of course this is not the place for a theological discussion concerning the frequency of Actual Grace. But our readers will observe the close connection of our *theological* doctrine, with the doctrine which we have defended in the text, on the constant urgency of man's Moral Voice in the *natural* order.

be formally committing mortal sin. But to our mind, it is precisely on this ground that any *other* view ought rather to be considered startling and paradoxical; as we pointed out a page or two back. The unrepentant *novice* in sin (before his conscience became obdurate) was most indubitably committing mortal sin during pretty nearly the whole of his waking life. It would surely be startling and paradoxical indeed, if his acts *ceased* to be mortally sinful, merely because (through a course of unscrupulous indulgence) he has come to treat his indifference to God's Commandments as a simple matter of course.

This doctrine of "grave inordination" is (as we just now said) entirely applicable to solving the other difficulties we have mentioned; to appreciating the sins of pride and worldliness so widely found among non-Catholic Theists; to appreciating the various sins of fanaticism and self-deception; and, lastly, to appreciating also the moral position of Antitheistic infidels. It would occupy however, considerable space duly to develop and apply the doctrine for this purpose; and we must therefore abandon all attempt at doing so. In regard indeed to the last-named class, a certain theological point needs to be considered: because it may be suggested that—since mortal sin derives its characteristic malignity from its being an offence against God—those who deny His Existence cannot possibly commit it. This whole matter however has been amply discussed by theologians, since a certain proposition was condemned concerning "Philosophical Sin." For our own part therefore we will but briefly express our own adhesion to those theologians—of whom Viva may be taken as a representative instance—who hold, that the recognition of acts as being intrinsically wicked, is *ipso facto* a recognition of them as being offences against the paramount claims of God as rightful Supreme Legislator; and that this recognition suffices for their mortally sinful character.

Otherwise what we have generally to say about these Anti-theists is this. We assume the truth of our own doctrine, as exhibited in the preceding pages. But if this doctrine be true—if God have really granted to all men a self-intimate sense of Free Will—if He have really endowed them with an ineffaceable intuition of right and wrong—if He is constantly pleading within them in favour of virtue — He has, by so acting, invested them with a truly awful moral responsibility. And it is perfectly absurd to suppose, that a set of rebels can evade that responsibility, by the easy process of shutting their eyes to manifest facts. It will fall within the scope of the article which we propose for next January, to show in detail the monstrous inconsistency which exists between the doctrine which these unhappy men theoretically profess, and that which they practically imply

in their whole habitual unstudied language concerning human action.

In concluding our lengthy discussion, we must once more say how entirely we submit all that we have suggested to the judgment of theologians. We indulge the hope however, that—even where we may have unwarily fallen into error—we shall nevertheless have done good service, by obtaining for some of the points we have raised more prominent and scientific consideration, than (we think) they have hitherto received.

And there is a further matter concerning Free Will, on which a word must be added. One principal argument of Determinists is, that the Free Will doctrine would on one hand make psychological science impossible; while on the other hand it would derange the whole practical machinery of life, by proclaiming the inability to predict future human actions. Now it might be thought that what we have now been urging on the *extent* of Free Will, must strengthen the Determinist objection. But facts are not so at all. The chief passages in which we replied to it appeared in April, 1867, pp. 288–290; and in April, 1874, pp. 353–4. And if our readers will kindly refer to those pages, they will see that our answer is as simply applicable in defence of our own present thesis, as in defence of any more limited Libertarian theory which can possibly be devised.

Here at length we bid farewell (for a considerable time at least) to the Free Will controversy. We hope to have a paper ready for next January, on “Agnosticism as such.” And we hope to begin it by a few pages—mainly taken from Ollé Lapruné’s invaluable work on “Moral Certitude”—in which we shall consider what are those principles of investigation, which lead to the establishment of certain knowledge on those all-important religious truths, which are within the sphere of human reason.

W. G. WARD.

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### ART. III.—THE REORGANIZATION OF OUR ARMY.

NO one gifted with the ordinary amount of observation, and who has watched for a series of years the course of public events in England, can come to any other conclusion than that in the matter of administrative reforms we are the most injudicious of civilized nations. No amount of abuses, and no quantity of exposures respecting abuses, seem to have any influence on the public mind for a long series of years. Things are allowed to go their own way, no matter how much evil they



entail. We seem to trust a good deal to chance, and the rest to Providence, in affairs which require only a little energy and a small amount of reform to set right. No matter what may be the amount of evil which a want of reform may cause, we are content to "let things slide," as the Americans say: and to congratulate ourselves on the supposed fact that "they will last our time." And so, until some flagrant case occurs in which national honour, or a large sum of money, or human life is forfeited to our apathy, we let matters take their own course and shift for themselves. At last a crisis arrives. For some reason or other we recognize distinctly that we have been persistently following a road which must lead us on the wrong direction. Then comes the reaction. We rush into impossible reforms with as much persistency as we before continued on the wrong track. Every charlatan who has a theory of his own to propound is listened to; and the greater the change from what has been to what is to be, the more firmly are we impressed with the idea that at last the right and true way of arriving at the desired end has been found.

No better illustration of the foregoing could be found than in all that regards the reorganization of the army. For nearly half a century—from the end of the great war with France in 1815, until 1871–72—no army reform, or change of any sort or kind with regard to the services, was even so much as thought of by our military authorities. Abuses in the service existed, as they will, and must, exist in all human institutions, and were by no means few in number. From time to time these were pointed out by men of experience in the army, and changes of a decided, although not a sweeping, character were advocated. It was urged again and again by writers in various magazines and newspapers, that a body of officers who not only obtained their first commissions, but also subsequent promotion, without any kind of examination—not even a medical one—as to their fitness for the service, was an anomaly, which made ours the laughing-stock of other armies. It was argued that to appoint a man to a regiment of cavalry because he could pay £840 for his cornetcy, or to a corps of infantry because he or his friends could command the sum of £450, was a practice by no means in keeping with the spirit of the age. It did not need much argument to prove that the rule by which, when an officer became senior of his rank, and a vacancy taking place in the rank above him, he could not be promoted unless he was prepared to pay down a considerable sum of money for his step, the next officer below him passed over his head, was not exactly a regulation which did our army much credit. These, and many other abuses which had in the course of time become law, were denounced as requiring immediate alteration; but all to no purpose whatever. The rule of the War Office and Horse Guards

seemed to be that "whatever is, is right;" and all sorts of reforms were denounced as inadmissible. At last the change came. It was only in 1849 that certain very mild examinations were made indispensable, both for those who were appointed to the army, and such as obtained promotion in the service. Nearly ten years later—after the Crimean War—these examinations were made harder than before; but still there was nothing to complain of in the ordeal which officers had to go through. After a time an alteration came, and, to use a vulgar expression, it came with a rush. The Franco-German War of 1870-71 surprised others besides the great nation that lost so much of its former prestige in that memorable struggle—if, indeed, that can be called a struggle, in which victory from the very first is with one army, and during which every week, nay, every day, adds to the laurels those troops had already gained. The Germans carried everything before them from the day they set foot in France; and the rest of Europe bore testimony to the truth of the saying, that "nothing succeeds like success." In England, army reform and army reorganization became simply a national mania. We tried our best to make our troops as like as possible to those of Germany. With one simple exception, every change we attempted was a mistake, every reform a most decided blunder. The abolition of the purchase system was certainly a step in the right direction; the only wonder being that so great a national disgrace had been allowed to remain part and parcel of our military code until the nineteenth century was upwards of seventy years old. Already, although barely a decade has passed since what may be called "the Banker's Book qualification," for appointments to, and for promotions when in, the service has been abolished, we look back with wonder that such a rule could ever have existed, and with still greater amazement that earnest men could ever have been found who were strongly opposed to its being done away with. But here our praise of army reform during the last ten years must cease. With the single exception of the abolition of purchase, all that has been effected in the way of change has simply and gravely deteriorated the service in every possible way. And not only this. If we are to judge of the future by the past, the time is not very far distant when we shall have no army at all; or, at any rate, when the greatly diminished number and quality of our troops will reduce us to the level of a third-class European kingdom and power.

On the 11th of May last, the Aldershot division of the army paraded before Her Majesty. The nominal strength of this division—the strength *on paper*—is 10,500 of all ranks. There were present on this occasion two troops of Horse Artillery; two regiments of Heavy Dragoons, and one of

Hussars; five batteries of Foot Artillery; one mounted and one dismounted company of Engineers, and ten battalions of Infantry. If all the different corps there had been of the strength which they are supposed, and are said to be, there would not have been less than between 10,000 to 12,000 men on parade. But for reasons of which we shall make due mention presently, the whole division mustered but 5,712 of all ranks, or not so many men as a single German or French brigade would have done, and about 3,000 fewer than the ten infantry regiments present would have had on parade a few years ago, before the short service system came into vogue. To call some, nay; with two exceptions, any of the infantry corps that paraded before the Queen on the above-named occasion by the name of regiments, would be simple irony. Thus, of a nominal strength of some 1,500 men and horses, the three cavalry regiments only mustered 869 sabres; whilst of between 7,000 and 8,000 men that ought to have been present with the ten infantry battalions, there were less than 4,000, all told.\* Of all these ten corps there were only two—viz., the 2nd battalion of the 18th Royal Irish, and the 93rd Highlanders, which mustered in anything like respectable numbers, the former having 673, the latter 536 men under arms. On the other hand, the 32nd Light Infantry, which has on its rolls 673 men, could only muster 283 on parade; the famous 42nd Highlanders only 290 out of 610; and the 1st battalion of the 2nd Queen's not more than 287 out of 640. And yet this was a parade before Her Majesty, at which every available soldier would be present.

The question naturally arises, where were the other men who ought to have been under arms on this occasion? The answer requires some little knowledge of what is behind the scenes of regimental life in these days. The fact is, that under our present military system we do not, and cannot, get recruits to fill up the cadres of our regiments, and are obliged to make shift as occasion demands. When a battalion is ordered on foreign service it is almost certain to be under the strength required for a corps in the field. It is therefore made up by volunteers from other regiments, and in nineteen cases out of twenty, it embarks for India, the Cape, or wherever it may be going, with at least half of its men who do not know their officers, who do not know each other, and whose officers do not know them. Surely it is not a harsh thing to say that most, if not all, the several small defeats we have met with of late years in different parts of the world may be justly attributed to this cause?

Another reason for the paucity of soldiers in our ranks is, that by far the greater number of the recruits we get are too young

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\* *Standard*, May 12, 1881.

at the time of being enlisted to go through any really hard work ; and are unable even to take their place in the ranks as drilled men at a parade until they have been several months in barracks, and have been well fed, well clothed, and well cared for. When they first join the service they have, in point of fact, not the physical strength to go through their duties. They are in reality not men, but boys—boys whose youth and childhood have been passed in poverty, and who require to go through a period of bodily training before they are able to learn their drill, use of the rifle, marching, and other work which they have to be taught. Even as it is, we have only to look at the vast majority of men who now fill our ranks to see that they are much too young to endure any real physical hardship. This, it may be said, is a fault that time will mend ; but according to the present rules of the service just as a man becomes fit for hard work—just at the time when he begins to be what our soldiers were in the days that they could “go anywhere and do anything”—his term of service in the ranks is over, and he must join the reserve. He is by this time just about twenty-four years of age. He has for some six years profited by the good feeding and regular habits which barrack life forces him to observe. He is commencing to be, and to feel like, a man. Hitherto his life has been one of training ; now he is trained and ready for service. In India or any of the colonies he would be simply invaluable. It was regiments of men as he is now, and as he will be for the next fifteen years, who performed the wonderful feats of marching under Nott, and Pollock, and Gough, in former campaigns in Afghanistan, the Punjaub war, and the great Indian Mutiny. But just as the soldier has attained what may be called the commencement of his usefulness, he is told that his services “with the colours” are at an end. He may, it is true, remain a few years longer with his corps, but he is at liberty to join the reserve. As a matter of course he does so. Men of his age and his class are always ready and glad to change. He leaves his regiment just as he is becoming an efficient soldier ; perhaps is sent home from India just as he begins to be acclimatized to the country, and, having learnt from his own experience what to eat, drink, and avoid, has become ten times as valuable to the State as he was when he landed in the East. He joins the reserve, and is supposed, by a fiction of the War Office, to be ready at any moment to re-enter the ranks and take his place once more as a soldier. But what is the unvarnished truth ? In nineteen cases out of twenty, the man who joins the reserve is of no more use to his country than if he had emigrated to the Antipodes. He has been just long enough a soldier to unfit him for civil life ; he is too old to learn any trade, as the chances are he was too young to do so before

he enlisted. He is not allowed to re-enlist in the army; he knows nothing, and becomes what our American cousins call "a loafer." Were he permitted to rejoin the army, as in most cases he desires to do, he would yet become a useful soldier; but, as I said before, he is not allowed to do so. His vacancy is filled by some weakly lad who requires a couple of years good feeding before he is fit for anything. Whole battalions are on parade barely strong enough in numbers to pass for three, instead of ten, companies each; and when an Afghan or a South African war comes upon us, we have to send out regiments composed, not of men and officers who have known each other and worked together for years, but of soldiers gathered from different corps, who probably never saw their commanders, nor their commanders them, before they embark for foreign service.

And for what reason—with what intention—is this sacrifice of the active service made for the reserve? We used to get on well enough in former days, when there was no such thing as a reserve in our military vocabulary. We fought through the Peninsula, at Waterloo, in India, in the Crimea, and always with a success which was unknown in any other army in the world. Our men knew their officers, and their officers knew them. Many years ago I went through three campaigns in India with an English regiment, and witnessed what British soldiers can endure, what hardships they can go through, and what they can do when hand to hand with an enemy. I was afterwards, as a special correspondent of the press, all through the Franco-German war, from what may be called the first serious battle, at Wörth, to the capitulation of Sedan; and later, at several of the engagements near Orleans and on the Loire. And I have no hesitation in saying that I would risk all I have, and all I hope to have in this world, nay my very life, upon the fact that our troops, as they used to be, would fight and conquer either a French or a German force at the odds of three to one against them. What, then, could be the object of making such a change in our military organization as that which, some eight years ago, was ordered by the military authorities? The simple fact is, that when certain so-called military reformers, who, for the misfortune of the nation, have considerable influence at the War Office, saw the results of the late war in France, they were seized with a complaint that has, not inaptly, been termed "The German Army on the Brain." They saw how the German troops had carried all before them, and jumped at the conclusion that the best thing they could do was to make the English army as like the legions of Prussia, of Saxony, and of Bavaria, as they possibly could. If they had had the power they would have introduced a system of general conscription: but they

found it utterly impossible to do so. The country will stand a good deal in the way of strange legislation, but compulsory service is what never did, and never will, be accepted by Englishmen. No other country in the whole world gives, or ever gave, a tenth of the number of volunteers for service that we do; but our fellow countrymen would never be *compelled* to take service. However, if these gentlemen could not have conscription, they were resolved to have everything else that Continental armies rejoice in; and of these, the first and chief would be limited enlistment, and a Reserve Force which could be called under arms when wanted at a day's notice.

Now, in my humble opinion, there are two insurmountable objections to both these alterations in our military organizations. To begin with, our army is infinitely more a Colonial, or an Indian force than it is a European one. We don't want a large number of troops, either to keep revolutionists in order, or to be prepared against foreign invasion. What we do require are steady, seasoned battalions, ready to embark for any part of the world at a day's warning, composed of men who can do us good service in any war which may take place in our Indian Empire or any of our Colonies. Other countries have quite different wants from ours. With the single exception of Algeria, neither France, Germany, Italy, nor Austria, has any foreign land which it has to protect and keep in order by means of their own troops. They have to be prepared against invasion from other powers, and to be ever ready to repel an enemy. With them conscription, the training of young men to the use of arms, and the necessary consequences of a reserve, are matters of vital importance. For them a reserve is a reality as well as a necessity. Their peasants, and even their working men, seldom, if ever, leave the district, the village—nay, rarely the very house—in which they were born. But it is far otherwise with us. The English working man is by nature, to say nothing of inclination, a wanderer on the face of the earth. He may be a native of Liverpool or Manchester. If he finds work in the town he was born in, he remains there; if not, he goes to Newcastle, or comes to London, or perhaps emigrates to Canada, the States, Australia, or New Zealand. In Germany, France, and all other European countries, every citizen is registered, and if he changes his abode he must give notice of the same to the authorities, unless he has passed the age when he is liable to be called on to serve. When the war of 1870 broke out, Germans who were in business, or serving as clerks in London, Paris, New York, Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco, were summoned by telegrams to the different German consuls, to report themselves at the headquarters of their respective *corps d'armée*, and with a few very

rare exceptions they did so. Their different whereabouts in the furthest off foreign lands were as well known as if they had never left the immediate neighbourhood of Berlin, Munich, Frankfort, or Bremen. I remember, after the terrible battle of Wörth was over, and MacMahon's *corps d'armée* was in full retreat for the Vosges, assisting a German corporal of dragoons, who was fearfully wounded, and who asked me to procure a priest to give him the last sacraments. I did so, and in less than half an hour after receiving the Viaticum he expired. But before his death he gave me a letter to post to his wife at San Francisco, and asked me to write and tell her he had died as a Catholic ought. This same gentleman—for by his manners and conversation he showed himself to be such, and he spoke English almost as well as I did—told me that he had been for some years at the head of a prosperous firm in the Far West of America; that he was, however, still liable to be called on to serve in the army, as he belonged to the reserve. He had been summoned to Cologne by a cable telegram to his consul in San Francisco, and had obeyed the order. Had he not done so he would have forfeited all his civil rights as a German citizen. And he informed me—what I afterwards found to be the case—that there were some hundreds of his fellow-countrymen who, like himself, had come from different parts of the world to take up arms at the call of the Government. Would Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen submit to be so ruled? I think not. We are ready enough to enlist for any thing, for any service, or for any danger, but it must be of our own free will that we do so. And unless an Army Reserve can be counted upon to the extent of at least ninety per cent. as certain to turn up when wanted, it is of no use whatever in the day of trouble. An officer on Manteuffel's staff told me that throughout the different German camps, the average of reserve men who did not put in an appearance, when called upon to join their respective regiments when the war broke out, was a fraction under three per cent.; I wonder how many there would be of our English Reserve who would answer their names if called upon to take up arms. It would not be from cowardice that they failed; but simply because they had gone away and could not be found.

No; what we wanted in the way of reorganization of our army was not a mere bad imitation of the German system, but certain amendments and reforms suitable for our own wants. The base upon which our regimental system is built is the *esprit de corps*, which only those who have been in active service, and have done years of regimental duty, do, or can understand. That *esprit de corps* the late reorganization of the army has all but, if not quite, destroyed. The reason is very plain to those who are, or

who have been, behind the scenes. Unfortunately for the country our army reformers are, with few exceptions, staff officers, the majority of whom know little or nothing of regimental work; and what little experience they may have had of it they seem to take a pride in forgetting. With them—or at any rate with most of them—the army, and all that belongs to it, exists upon paper. Their pride is in their “Returns,” “Reports,” “General Orders,” and “Field States,” not in the men, the horses, or the drill of their companies, troops, squadrons, or regiments. Had the reorganization of the army been the work of officers with regimental experience, it would have been a very different affair from the “meddle and muddle” changes which the service has been subject to for the last ten years, and of which the end seems as far from being visible as ever. But, so long as the tax-paying public is pleased with the condition of our troops, what right has any one to grumble? With the exception of the *Army and Navy Gazette* there was not a single London paper that did not publish a gushing article about the review before Her Majesty on the 11th May last. Some persons may perhaps be of opinion that this praise of what was simply a display of our national military weakness only showed ignorance of the subject. As a matter of course the day will come—in such cases it always does—when the series of blunders which our military chiefs have sanctioned will be made clear to the general public, and then the scare will in all probability bring about changes which will be, if possible, worse than the evils now complained of. And yet that would be difficult. If the most complete division of the British army at home—the force we should look to in the event of any sudden war—cannot muster for a parade before the Queen of England more than 5,700 men out of a nominal strength of 10,500, where is it possible to look for troops in the day of national trials or troubles?

As regards regimental officers, the reorganization of our army has, if possible, done more harm and worked more effectually to destroy the old *esprit de corps* which was so marked throughout the service, than has been the case with the rank and file. The abolition of the purchase system was, as I have said before, a reform which can hardly be too much praised. If the War Office had then left matters alone, regimental promotion would by degrees have regulated itself. But there seems to have been, and there is still, a dreadful fright lest officers should remain in the service too long. With a view to prevent this, two regulations have been adopted, which would do credit to the bitterest enemy this country ever had, for they have gone far, and will go further still, to destroy the efficiency of the service, to make officers discontented with their lot, and to increase the want of



personal knowledge which the commissioned ranks used to have of their men, and which the rank and file formerly had of their officers. The two rules I allude to are: first, that which makes it obligatory for the commanding officer of a regiment to retire upon half-pay after he has commanded his corps for five years; and, secondly, that which forces every captain of the age of forty to leave the service, take his pension, and, although barely in his prime, to become an idle man for the rest of his life. It would be very difficult to say which of these regulations has done, or will hereafter do, more harm—which of the two is more calculated to subvert and destroy that love of the corps which was the distinguishing mark of ninety-nine out of every hundred regimental officers in the British army. To begin with, it requires no great experience of army life to know that it takes a commanding officer at least a couple of years before he feels confidence in himself, and is able to command the regiment with credit to himself and advantage to the service. In the English army the officers of a corps live in almost perfect equality when off duty. The only exception to this rule is the commanding officer. When the senior major of a corps succeeds to the chief post in that corps, it takes him some little time—some few months, or perhaps a year—before he can, without offending his former associates and comrades, cast off all intimacy with them. It is also necessary for a commanding officer to be for some time at the head of a regiment before he can command that respect for his orders and wishes that is essential to his command being a success. To direct well a regiment of cavalry, or a battalion of infantry, to acquire a personal knowledge of all the officers and men, and work the whole complicated machine with credit and efficiency, is not an undertaking in which any man can be guided by the mere rules and regulations of the service. To do so well, seems to come as a matter of course to some officers, whilst there are not a few who would never, no matter what amount of experience they had, get through their task with advantage to themselves or the service. With some men the command and direction of their fellows seems to come naturally, but there are others who never can, and never will, acquire the art. Amongst regimental officers the opinion is almost universal that five years at the head of a regiment is much too long a time for a bad commanding officer, and far too short a period for a good one.

Most unfortunately for the British army, the ruling idea of those who have had the reorganization of the service in their hands seems to have been that everything can be done by rule and regulation, and that it is as easy to make a commanding officer efficient by printed orders as it is to determine of what colour the facings of a uniform or the length of a sword-belt ought to

be. There never was—there never could—be a greater mistake as regards the command of those, no matter to what rank in life they belong, who form the component parts of our regiments. With Germans, hard military laws that admit of no deviation whatever, may work well; but they never will do so with English, Irish, or Scotchmen. A good commanding officer can no more be made by “The Mutiny Act,” or “The Queen’s Regulations,” than an able statesman can be formed by studying the volumes of *Hansard*, or by reading the leading articles of the *Times*. To command a corps well and efficiently an officer must not only serve a training to the work; he must possess in no small degree qualifications which will enable him to see that all men are not alike, and that the rule over that complicated machine called a regiment requires judgment, tact, and discretion in no ordinary degree. There are some men who seem specially cut out for the berth and responsibilities of command, whilst there are others who never would acquire the needful qualifications if they were left, not five, but twenty-five years at the head of a corps.

There are some commanding officers upon whom this five years’ rule falls especially hard. Take, for instance, the cases of Colonel Alexander of the 1st Dragoon Guards, and of Lord Ralph Kerr of the 10th Hussars. The former of these two officers obtained command of his regiment in December, 1876. At the end of 1878, or very early in 1879, the corps was ordered out to the Cape, where it has been ever since, broken up into detachments, a portion of it having been since sent on to India. In December of the present year, Colonel Alexander, a man still in the prime of life, must resign his command and go on half pay, after having virtually only had his regiment together for two years. As a matter of course every corps that goes on field service like that in South Africa gets more or less, so to speak, out of form, and has to be in a great measure reformed, and has to be redrilled and remounted when it goes back into quarters. If all goes well at the Cape, and the services of the 1st Dragoon Guards can soon be dispensed with, Colonel Alexander will have just begun to get his regiment into working order once more, when he must lay down his command, and, after an active regimental work extending over thirty-four years, retire into private life, and become an idle man for the rest of his days.

The case of Lord Ralph Kerr is, in some respects, even harder than that of Colonel Alexander. This officer went to India with his corps in 1873. The effects of the climate obliged him to come home on sick leave in 1876, and whilst at home he succeeded to the command of his regiment. He had not recovered from his illness when the 10th was ordered up to the Afghan frontier, and Lord Ralph at once set out from England

to join. He has been with the regiment ever since; but his five years' command has come to an end, and before these lines are in print, on the 31st of May, he will have to retire on half-pay, although barely forty-five years of age; to leave a regiment in which he knows every officer and every trooper, and which he commanded with great credit to himself during a very difficult period in the field.

I have selected the cases of these two officers as peculiarly hard, partly on account of their respective regiments being amongst the first in the Army List, but chiefly because they have both done good service in the field. There are, however, many others whose treatment is equally hard, whose reward for long and faithful service is that they are forced into idleness whilst yet comparatively young men, and just as their experience in regimental life and work might be of the greatest use to the service and to their country.

Some persons might object to the principle I have laid down—viz., that five years is much too long a time for a bad commanding officer to be at the head of a corps, and far too short a period for an efficient and really good man to hold that position. It might be asked who shall, and who can, decide to which category a commanding officer belongs. To this I reply, of what use is a General of Brigade, or Division, if he cannot class the commanding officers who come under his notice? There are such things as half-yearly and annual inspections. Reports to the War Office and the Horse Guards must surely be of some service and use in showing the authorities who are, and who are not, fit and suitable men to command corps. An efficient colonel can hardly hide his light under a bushel, nor can an inefficient one make himself appear other than what he really is. If he attempts to do so, there is always the corps he commands as evidence against him. Englishmen—Celts, as well as Saxons—are much the same, whether they form part of the House of Lords, of the House of Commons, of the professional classes, of the labouring multitude, of the crew of a vessel, or of the officers or men of a regiment. They are the easiest people in the world to rule with a little management, but utterly impossible to govern by hard and forced regulations, like the Germans, and many other European nations. Everything depends upon the individual who rules them. If he is judicious and wise all goes well; if otherwise, everything goes wrong. I have seen—as every man who has served any time in the army must—in the same cantonments in India, and in the same garrison or camp at home, two regiments living under the same rules, governed by the same regulations, and doing exactly the same duty. In the one all would be harmony amongst the officers, and good order and discipline amongst the men; in the

other all would be discord and annoyance and worry in the commissioned ranks, with an utter absence of what a regiment ought to be in the barrack rooms. And yet in both corps the mess and barrack rooms were recruited from amongst the same classes. The reason of such a great difference was that the commanding officer of one regiment was an efficient man, whilst he who was at the head of the other was exactly the reverse.

I have dwelt at some length upon the question of commanding officers, because I believe that it is upon their qualifications that the efficiency of the whole army depends. If all regiments could be well and judiciously commanded, the army which they compose would be perfect. And in exact proportion as they are well or ill commanded, the service is efficient or otherwise. At the same time it is utterly impossible to lay down any rules or regulations by which good commanding officers can be secured. And, as every one of any regimental experience knows well, men fitting and suitable for the post are not so plentiful as might be imagined. In a word, and to repeat what I have said before, five years is much too long a time to entrust a regiment to the care of a weak, inefficient, and above all an injudicious, colonel; and far too short a period for one who has the needful qualifications. I have more than once seen a corps which has been well commanded fall away in six months, or less, from perfect efficiency to exactly the contrary, and this because it had changed a very good for an exceedingly indifferent commander. The five years rule—the rule which makes it imperative upon a commanding officer to retire upon half-pay at the end of five years—is so well calculated to injure the service that it almost seems as if it had been invented by some arch-enemy of this country.

And the same may be said of the new regulation which obliges any captain who has attained the age of forty, and has not yet been presented to a majority, to retire upon a pension. To begin with, the fact of making age an absolute test of efficiency or otherwise, is itself of a very great fallacy. This, too, is one of those hard-and-fast rules which we have copied from the Germans, but which are utterly unsuited to our race and the nature of Englishmen. There are many men of thirty, who, owing to a defective constitution, intemperate living, or other causes, are, in point of fact, older than others who were born ten, or even fifteen years before them. Slow promotion amongst officers is no doubt bad, but it is one of those things which correct themselves; and to avoid which, such an injustice as the one I have pointed out is rather too high a price to pay. Every officer would, as a matter of course, like to obtain the rank of major as quickly as possible. If he is not promoted before he is forty years of age it may be set down as pretty certain that the fault is not his own. To punish

him for his misfortunes—to set him adrift on the world on a small pension, at an age when he is too old to learn any new calling—is a piece of injustice of which we have few examples in British law. What between captains who are forty years of age, and colonels who have commanded corps for five years, we shall soon be like some of the far west States of America, where it is quite exceptional for any one in civil life *not* to have military rank; where the hack carriage is driven by a “colonel,” and a “captain” waits on you at the *table d’hôte* dinner, and a “major” will take a few cents for holding your horse.

But there is another very large class of persons to whom these rules of compulsory retirement from the army ought not to be without interest. What does the British taxpayer say to the increased, and yearly increasing, number of officers, who, although fully able, and, in almost every case, most anxious to remain at their posts, are forced to take a pension, or to retire on half-pay? It is calculated that during the present year no fewer than fifty colonels whose five years of command have expired will be obliged to do this, and that about one hundred and fifty captains, who have attained the age of forty, but who have not yet been promoted to majorities, will be made to take their pension. Let this go on for a few years, and our half-pay list will be very much larger than it was at the end of the war with France—more numerous, in fact, than the list of officers on full-pay.

Nor is this all. Let any one dine at a regimental mess, or mix for a few days with the officers of any corps, and he will at once perceive what a tone of discontent with the present, and of fear for the future, exists in the service. Everlasting, never-ending change of rules, regulations, and warrants, seems to be the order of the day at the War Office; so much so that no one knows or can form any idea what a day may bring forth. An officer has, let us say, entered the service at nineteen or twenty years of age. At thirty-six or seven he finds himself well up the list of captains, but knows that it will be at least five or six years before he can be promoted to a majority. In olden days he would have looked upon himself as a very fortunate individual; but now he is of all men the most miserable. He is unhappy by anticipation, for he is aware that in two or three years, as the case may be, he will be obliged to retire from a service that it is his pride and his glory to belong to, in which he has spent the best years of his life, and in which he hoped to gain honours and reward in his old age. He is still young; but he is obliged to leave his regiment, and to be an idle man for the future. It is true that the time when he must do this is still a year or two off; but the anticipation of the evil renders him inefficient for present duties; or at any rate he does not perform his work with the same zeal and activity as he

used to. And as there are two or three captains who come under this rule in almost every regiment—two or three men who see that they must become idlers on the face of the earth long years before old age shall have overtaken them—who will say that the service in general is not affected for the bad by such a rule? I was always an enemy of the old purchase system, and believe that it was an excellent thing for the army when it was abolished; but candour compels me to admit that, with all its many drawbacks and imperfections, promotion by purchase did not bring about anything like as many evils as the compulsory retirement of captains when forty years of age has done and will yet do. A more unwise or unjust regulation it would, indeed, be difficult for the brain of man to devise. Like the rest of our new rules for the reorganization of the army, it would really seem as if the destruction of all *esprit de corps*, and of whatever has hitherto made our regiments what they are, and not the greater efficiency of the service, was what those aimed at who framed the greater number of the regulations which have appeared since 1871-72—which was about the time when our military authorities became inoculated with an intense admiration of the German army, and, so far as can be judged by their actions, determined to make our own a bad imitation of that service.

It seems that we are now on the eve of another change in what has in the last decade been altered, and re-altered, so often. The old familiar names and numbers of our regiments are to be done away with, and the army is now to be divided into what are to be called "territorial regiments." To criticize too severely a scheme that has yet to be tried would be unfair. But this new reorganization of the service bears upon the face of it not a little that is in every way most objectionable. To begin with, it is a removal of old landmarks, old designations, and old titles by which almost every regiment in the service has been known for the best part of a century, and some for even longer. Again, it seems almost like a bad practical joke, in so small a country as the United Kingdom, to designate regiments as belonging exclusively to one district, or town, or country. As I said before, the classes from which the rank and file of our army are recruited are wanderers over the country, and very often over the whole earth. An illustration of this occurred to a friend of mine last year. He was watching a Scotch militia regiment at Church parade, and was surprised to see that, out of some six hundred and odd men, upwards of a hundred were marched to the Catholic Chapel. He said to one of the officers that he had no idea there were so many Catholics in a Scotch Lowland country, but was told that of those on their way to hear mass, not more than five or six were Scotchmen, the rest being one and all Irish. And so

it is with every battalion, either of regulars or auxiliary troops in the land. Such a thing as a regiment of which, not all, but even a considerable portion, belong to the same county, does not exist; and I question whether it ever will. Our army is one of volunteers. It is not, and never will be, raised by conscription. We must take our men as we can, and as we find them willing to enlist. To imagine that a London artisan will join a regiment any the more readily because it is called "The Royal Middlesex;" or that a Preston mill-hand, out of work, will prefer "The Lancashire" to "The Yorkshire," or "The Lincolnshire" regiment, is sheer folly. If the War Office authorities take upon themselves to direct that men are only to be enlisted for the corps which bears the name of the town, or shire, or district of which they are natives, the result will simply be that our recruiting will come to a standstill, and we shall not even get as many men as we do now. My own experience, which extended over fourteen years in the service, half spent in an infantry and half in a cavalry regiment, taught me that the best men we used to get for the army were those who came from a distance to enlist, and not those who joined the regiments stationed in the towns where they resided. And still better—of a better class—were those who enlisted for the old local Indian regiments, and who cast in their lot with corps that were permanently stationed in a far-off land.

If, instead of the many new fangled organizations which have been ordered during the past ten years, the War Office had spent a fourth of the money that has been wasted upon attempting to Germanize our army, in giving our men better pay and providing good pensions for them in their old age, the service would be in a very different condition from what it now is. Our recruits ought not to enlist before they are twenty years of age, and their engagement ought to be for at least fifteen years. A trained, drilled, and disciplined soldier of from thirty to thirty-five years of age is worth two, if not three, of the raw lads, without stamina or strength, who now fill our ranks, and who leave the service to join that military myth called "The Reserve," just as they come to an age when they can do good work. This is more especially the case in India, where, until a soldier is acclimatized, he is almost useless for real active service. I remember many years ago, when on service in Upper Scinde with the 40th Regiment, a sudden order being given for the corps to proceed at once to relieve a native infantry detachment that was surrounded by the enemy. Before starting, the commanding officer ordered that all men who had not been two years in India should be left behind with the sick. We marched out of camp about 5 P.M., and in sixteen hours had reached our destination, a distance of

fifty-two miles off. It was terribly hard work. For twenty odd miles our route was across a desert, in which not a drop of water was to be found. We halted every hour, and twice during the night stopped long enough to make some coffee for the men. The result of the precaution taken by our commanding officer was that in a battalion eight hundred strong, there were only eleven men who had to fall out during the whole march; and of these it was discovered that four had only been out of hospital a very few days, but had managed to join their companies before the regiment marched. Could such a feat be performed by any of the battalions filled with mere lads, as all our regiments have been since the Limited Enlistment Act came into full operation? To this question there can be but one answer.

In a country like England, where industrial enterprises are so numerous, and where there is a constant demand for steady middle-aged men to fill various situations of trust—situations in which education of a high standard is not essential—it would not be difficult to provide for our discharged soldiers. The London Corps of Commissionaires is a proof of this. And it is a standing shame to our Government that something of the kind has never yet been taken in hand by the War Office. Moreover, veterans who have done their work ought not to be left without a pension which would provide them with every reasonable comfort when they get old.

Another anomaly—or, to speak more plainly, a great national disgrace, and a decided hindrance towards our ever recruiting the quantity and the quality of men which we might otherwise enlist for the service—is the way in which our soldiers' wives, and, still worse, their widows, are treated. It is acknowledged that the best soldiers we have are the married men; or at least such used to be the case before the present system of enlisting mere boys and sending them away before they become men came into force. We used to, and we do still for that matter, allow a certain number of the men to marry. But when these had to be ordered abroad with their regiments, their wives and children were left to the mercy of the charitable, or to the care of those who liked to look after them. To their credit be it said, the present Government has intimated that a provision for soldiers' wives and children will be included in the army estimates for the present year; a measure that has certainly not been determined upon before time. Had this been done twenty or thirty years ago a vast deal of money that has been lost through desertions, and the punishments brought about by that offence, would have been saved to the country. Even as it is there is no certain provision of any kind for the widows and orphans of soldiers who die in the service; but it is to be hoped that, if the mania for Germanizing



the service comes to an end, and common sense prevails, we shall see these poor women and children saved from having to go on the parish when their husbands and fathers die, or are killed, in the service of their country.

If we may put any faith in the old adage, that "what everybody says must be true," no man in England is more opposed to the reorganization of the service on the German system than the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British army. And it must be admitted that, wherever and whenever the Duke has had an opportunity during the last few years, he has given utterance to words which, when one reads between the lines, fully corroborate what the world believes his views to be. One thing His Royal Highness has several times—and once, in particular, at a dinner given at the Mansion House about eighteen months ago—insisted upon. It is, as I said before, that our army is not like that of any other European nation. The army corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments of other nations, to say nothing of their system of conscription and the men they have on reserve, are formed for the purpose of defending their own frontiers from the invasion of their neighbours. Our regiments, on the other hand, are almost entirely kept up for the purpose of maintaining our colonies, and preserving the latter in our possession, free from internal as well as external foes. Our forces at home are recruiting depôts, from which our troops in India and the other parts of the Empire are, so to speak, to be fed. When a regiment comes home it remains in the United Kingdom a certain number of years for the purpose of regaining its strength and numbers, and qualifying for service abroad. Nothing is more improbable—I might almost say impossible—than an invasion of this country by any foreign Power. But, supposing for an instant that such an event did happen, it is not only upon our regular troops that we should depend. To begin with, the enemy would find a very awkward adversary to contend with in the fleet. But should the invader land on our shores, what would be the result? This same question, almost in these very words, was put to me by a German officer the day after the taking of Sedan, when he and so many of his fellow-countrymen were drunk with the insolence of victory. And what I said to that individual—who was polite enough to tell me that before many years were over these Islands would have to submit to the German legions as France had been forced to do—I repeat here, viz., that thousands might invade this country, but barely units would ever return alive. To say nothing of a militia, volunteers, and the regulars we have at home, the nation would rise as one man, and those we could not kill in battle, our very women and children

would poison in the food they eat and the water they drank. When talking of the defence of our country, we should not forget that the volunteers form a body of men most admirably adapted for this work. It is all very well for a certain school of military Germanizers—men who believe that every soldierlike ordinance in this world comes forth from Germany—to despise and sneer at a force of men who give up so much of their time to learn the art of soldiery and the means of using their rifles. But from what I have seen of the much-be-praised soldiers who invaded France with such success, I would rather have fifty average English or Scotch volunteers behind me in the event of a deadly struggle, than twice that number of Prussians, Bavarians, or Saxons. There is no institution, military or civil, that foreigners wonder at, and admire so much, as our volunteers; and yet there is no body of men kept so much in the background. The authorities seem never tired of washing our dirty linen in the shape of battalions only two or three hundred strong before the whole world, but they appear to shun showing strangers a body of men who, when the conditions under which they engage, their numbers, and their proficiency in their work, are taken into consideration, must certainly be regarded as the finest and most patriotic body of men that any country has ever seen. Of these, as indeed of all our forces, whether regular, militia, or volunteers, may we truly apply the words of Marshal (General) Soult to a relative of mine, who was taken prisoner by the French on the retreat to Corunna. "Your men," said the marshal, speaking of the English troops, "have one quality which will always make them good soldiers under all circumstances—they invariably obey their officers."

That a certain amount of reorganization was, and is still, required in our army there can be no doubt whatever. Every human institution must from time to time be more or less changed or reformed. But in England we have made the great mistake of taking as what we should imitate military institutions, with which our own have little, if anything, in common. A German and an English soldier are no more like each other than an English farm labourer is like an Italian vine-dresser. On this part alone of my subject a volume of considerable size might be written. Take a single instance of the discipline in the two armies. I remember seeing, a few hours after the battle of Wörth was over, a party of German infantry paraded for guard duty. One of the men had his belts dirty, or his accoutrements in bad order, upon which the officer inspecting the detachment very coolly *slapped the offender's face*. Would such a thing be possible in our own service? And yet there has been introduced into our military system during the last ten years anomalies which, to an

English military man, are nearly as outrageous as this. Take, for instance, certain pages which have been officially inserted in our "Army List" for the last few years, headed "Mobilization of the Forces at Home." Let no Englishman, on any account, who has a spark of patriotism in him, allow any foreign friend who understands English to see this extraordinary document, which reads like a bad joke, or an untimely squib on the army. In it will be found a very pretty distribution of no less than eight—purely imaginary—"Army Corps;" but with this trifling shortcoming, namely, that these Corps have imaginary divisions, which have—also imaginary—brigades; and the latter are chiefly composed of regiments stationed anywhere in the kingdom. One example of this will be enough. I have before me a list of "The First Army Corps," of which the head-quarters are at Colchester. In the first brigade of the First Division, the three battalions which compose the brigade are certainly stationed at Colchester. But as regards the second brigade of the same Division, the three battalions are stationed at Fermoy, Castlebar, and at Buttevant! Again, the first brigade of the Second Division of the same corps has its head-quarters at Chelmsford; but the three battalions composing that brigade are at the Curragh, at Tipperary, and at Birr.\* And this is called the "Mobilization of the Forces at Home." Let us hope that when the scheme of the new territorial army is matured it will be found free from such follies and absurdities as what I have here pointed out.

Want of space prevents me from even giving an outline of what has been, and what ought to be, done with regard to the reorganization of our Indian army. It was my lot, after an absence of twenty years from the East, to revisit that country in 1875-76, as one of the Special Correspondents with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. What I saw of our army there as it is, and as compared with what it was in former days, I will, with the permission of the Editor, give an account of in a future Number of this Review. For the present I can only hope to have made it pretty clear that the reorganization of our Home Forces, so far, and in the direction it has been carried out up to the present time, is, to say the least of it, in every way simply a series of military blunders.

M. LAING MEASON.

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\* See Hart's "Army List," January, 1881, p. 66.

## ART. IV.—RECENT WORKS ON THE STATE OF GERMANY

IN THE FIFTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,  
BY GERMAN AUTHORS.

**H**ISTORICAL literature in Germany has for some time past been stamped with a certain hostile exasperation against the Catholic Church, which will remain for some years a blot on the profound erudition of a country we are accustomed to look upon as a centre of learning. The unity of Germany effected since the war of 1870-1871 cannot be considered the direct cause of certain erroneous exaggerations in matters of history: yet the two facts are really connected.

It is no secret that at the proclamation of the Empire on the victorious conclusion of the war, Pius IX. made the first advances towards friendly relations with the new Imperial throne; it is also known that these advances were received with coldness, not to say contempt, at the Court of Berlin, and that the German Government lent all its power to protect and foster a schism in the Catholic Church by at once granting a pension of several thousand thalers to Dr. Reinkens, elected bishop by a few hundred Catholics who protested against the dogma of the Infallibility.

Several writers, following in Dr. Reinken's footsteps, have devoted their energies to seeking proofs that a protestation against the Church, which might appropriately be styled "Old Catholicism," existed a hundred years ago, and continued through all the Middle Ages; and that, beginning at Claudius of Turin and Hincmar of Rheims, the line of "Old Catholic" bishops has never been interrupted. Truly these historians see "Old Catholicism" everywhere—in the antagonists of Gregory VII. as well as in those of Boniface VIII.

During the last three years we have been gaining ground. The troubled waters are settling into calm, and from the still deep have risen a series of writers who, lifting their voice, have proclaimed certain historical facts too long hidden, and certain details relating to the Church and to civilization never known till to-day.

Their works, far from being controversial, are but a simple exposition of facts, related with the truthfulness of a conscientious historian, and grouped with the eye and appreciation of an artist. They acknowledge frankly the faults of eminent men, regardless of their rank in history. They describe, they paint, they delineate with photographic minuteness even, but they do not

disguise. This straightforwardness, which commends itself specially to the English mind, can in the end, indeed, but prove favourable to the Church and to the civilized and duly instructed section of mankind.

The appreciation of the public is proved by the fact that Dr. Janssen's\* work, which we here place first, has run through five editions in three years. The title of his work is "History of the German People from the end of the Middle Ages."† The second volume appeared in 1879, and continues the history of civilization down to the year 1525, including the great social disturbance occasioned by the "Reformation" and other causes.

Other works have been published quite lately containing certain biographical details which Dr. Janssen could only glance at, and they form an admirable amplification of his History of the German People and their Civilization. The Abbé Dacheux, rector of Neudorff-bei-Strassburg, has written the biography of John Geiler,‡ the famous preacher who lived at the end of the fifteenth century. Herr Höfler, professor at the University of Prague, and the Abbé Lederer, have given us the biography of two men, renowned church-administrators in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Professor Höfler, after devoting several years to the study of his subject, has published the biography of Hadrian VI., a native of Holland.§ The Abbé Lederer, in answer to a question given at an examination by the Würzburg University, wrote the life of John, Cardinal Torquemada, the great upholder of the Papacy in its struggle against the decrees of the Councils of Constance, Basle, &c. &c.||

Lastly, Herr Pastor, Doctor of Historical Science, and "privat docent" at the University of Innsbruck, publishes a work in which he describes the efforts made by Charles V., in the first

\* The Abbé Janssen, professor at Frankfort, has just been raised by Leo XIII. to the dignity of Apostolic Protonotary.

† "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters." Erster Band: Deutschlands allgemeine Zustände beim ausgang des Mittelalters; 6<sup>e</sup> Auflage. Zweiter Band: vom Beginne der politisch-kirchlichen Revolution bis zum Ausgang der socialen Revolution von 1525. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1880 and 1879. 1st vol., price 6 mks. 60; 2nd vol., price 6 mks. 30.

‡ "A Catholic Reformer at the end of the Fifteenth Century: John Geiler, of Kaisersberg, Preacher at the Cathedral of Strassburg, 1478-1510. A Study of his Life and Times." Paris: Ch. Delagrove; Strassburg: Derivaux, 1876. Price, 7 mks. 50.

§ "Pabst Adrian VI., 1522-1523," von Constantin Ritter von Höfler. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1880.

|| "Der Spanische Cardinal Johann von Torquemada sein Leben und sein Schriften," gekrönte Preisschrift von Dr. Stephan Lederer, Katholischer Pfarrer. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1878. 3 mks. 40.

place, to reunite within the pale of the Church the Princes and States threatened with schism from the time of Luther's preaching. The work of this promising young author is the chronological complement of Dr. Janssen's history; it does not, however, in the least forestall the promised continuation in four volumes of the former work. The title of Herr Pastor's work is, "Efforts for Reunion."\*

Other Catholic authors have by their several writings completed the study of this particular period; as, for instance, the Abbé Gams in the third volume of his "History of the Church in Spain;"† the first volume of which appeared in 1862, and the last in 1879.

We will now take a hasty glance at the advance made in historical research as represented by the works mentioned above. We will first point out how each is the complement of the others.

Dr. Janssen's aim in his first volume is to exhibit the grand qualities of the fifteenth century, and to prove that, in spite of abuses and errors prevalent in various classes of society, art and science flourished, the piety of the middle class was very intense, preaching of the Word of God was frequent and general, schools and education were prosperous. This is the bright side of the period. In the second volume he proves that the religious and social disturbance caused by the so-called "Reformation" put a sudden stop to the advance of civilization.

The Abbé Dacheux's aim is different. His hero, John Geiler, was born at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, in 1445, and died at Strassburg in 1510, after having officiated as preacher at the Cathedral from 1478. He did not live to see the effects of the Lutheran "Reformation," but he devoted his whole life to the real reform of abuses which had crept into church administration, as well as into the liberties and privileges of the great secular princes. John Geiler was a living protest against all the irregularities of his time. In his works, preaching and life we have presented to us the dark side of the latter half of the fifteenth century.

In the same way Herr Pastor fills up the sketch contained in Dr. Janssen's second volume (1523-1525). Dr. Janssen describes, with fearful truth, the consequences of the revolution in the beginning of the sixteenth century, while Herr Pastor unfolds a more consoling and refreshing canvas depicting the

\* "Die Kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen, während der Regierung Karls V. aus der quellen dargestellt." Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1879. Mks. 7.

† "Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien." Dritter Band: 1<sup>o</sup> Abtheilung (1055-1492) 1876; 2<sup>o</sup> Abtheilung (1492-1879) 1879. Regensburg: Joseph Manz. 460 & 570 pp.; each vol. 9s.

efforts made by the Emperor and the Sovereign Pontiffs to pacify the Empire and the Church, and to restore peace and prosperity to States "on which the sun never set." These efforts, nevertheless, were often quite barren. In the midst of this turmoil and agitation, surrounded by the intrigues of the French Court, by the fearful boldness and cynicism of Luther, the aspirations—too often ambitious—of the Court at Madrid, rises up the grand figure of Hadrian VI., as painted by Herr Höfler. Hadrian, who was the victim of political complications engendered by the Reformation, and who in a reign of two years was crushed under the weight of cares imposed upon him by men who, detesting heresy, would yet not forego their own cupidity and worldly ambition; was borne down by his labours for the restoration of peace, which he sought with a disinterestedness very different from that of the Emperor.

We will now give some details in explanation of these generalities, and taking Dr. Janssen's work as a centre we will group around it the works of the other writers.

In the first book (pp. 1–132) our author describes the state of learning in Germany at the period of the invention of printing, and takes Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, a native of Cues on the Moselle, near Treves, and known under the name of Cusanus, as the typical representative of the time. This famous man was, as a Church reformer, the counterpart of John Geiler; but as a man of science he was his superior, for at one and the same time he gave a fresh impetus to the study of theology and philosophy, to physics and mathematics, being himself, meanwhile, engaged with politics. His method, propagated in the name of the Holy See, was a reform inaugurated by the reorganization and restoration of existing institutions, and not by their destruction; by warring against the passions by faith and science.

Nicholas took part in the Council of Basle, of disastrous renown, in the reign of Eugenius IV (1431). He was then Dean of St. Florian's at Coblentz, and was called to the Council by the president, Julian Cesarini. On his side was John of Torquemada, who distinguished himself by his eloquence in the defence of the rights and prerogatives of the Papacy.\* These three men soon abandoned all idea of effecting a reform in the Church by means of this Council; but making one more effort to prevent the schism, Cusanus and Torquemada went to Mayence, 1439, and later, in 1446, to the Diet at Frankfort, in order to make terms with the Opposition. Thanks to these efforts, which were seconded by Æneas Silvius Piccolomini (formerly a defender of the Council of Basle), by Sarhano, Bishop of Bologna, and by Carvajal (who later on

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\* See Lederer, "Torquemada," pp. 25 *seq.*, 123 *seq.* .

played an important part during the Pontificate of Hadrian VI.)— thanks to the united efforts of these men an agreement was concluded, the result of which was that Sarhano in a short time ascended the Papal throne, taking the name of Nicholas, and was recognized by all parties as the legitimate Pope.

Nicholas Cusanus, renowned as a reformer and peacemaker, was no less remarkable as a man of science. Living a hundred years before Copernicus, he attributed the movement of rotation and progression to the earth. He was among the greatest of the older "humanists" in the real signification of the word, and was a worthy disciple of the "Brethren of Common Life," whom we shall refer to later on. He died in the year 1466, and was called by Trithemius "the angel of light and peace." This is the man chosen by Dr. Janssen as the type of this period.

Our author goes on to show that printing favoured the cause of Cusanus, and of the true Reformation. The clergy utilized on all sides the new invention to spread the Word of God and good reading. Some printers received patents of nobility; monastic printing-presses rose as by magic, and in less than fifty years all the large towns in Europe possessed printing machines. London and Oxford had some by 1477, and as early as 1475 Rome had twenty. In 1500 one hundred editions of the "Vulgate" had been printed. Most convents possessed copies of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and by the time Luther appeared thousands of them were scattered throughout Germany. The "Imitation of Christ" was printed fifty-nine times before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Catalogues were now drawn up of all the different works in type. The new printing-presses brought to light ancient national poems, all kinds of popular tales, popular treatises on medicine, rhymed versions of the Bible, &c. &c. Dr. Janssen observes that the fruits of the new invention were evidently offered not only to persons of fortune, but to the mass of the people. One of the most famous centres of printing was the town of Nuremberg, which sent forth works to all parts of Europe. In 1500 it had a *dépôt* at Paris, and the eagerness to obtain copies of the classical authors was such that the arrival of every fresh waggon-load of books witnessed a hand-to-hand struggle for their possession.

In the next chapter Dr. Janssen describes the state of the elementary schools and of religious knowledge. This is no less interesting or appropriate to the author's plan, which is to give us a picture of the social and religious life of the people rather than a narrative of their exploits in the battle-field or of their seditious revolts; these last are sufficiently referred to for their influence and pernicious results to become apparent. We still



possess some school-books belonging to this period, which give us some idea of the state of education—reading-books, catechisms in Low German, “*Mirrors of the Soul.*” Other books, containing rules for good behaviour and the art of living, are no less characteristic of the times. To those named by the author we would add a book of Lambertus Goetman,\* entitled, “*The Mirror for Young Men*” (“*Spyegel der Jonghers*”), published in 1488 in Flemish; then the “*Mirror for Youth*” (“*Spyegel der Joucheyt*”).†

A proof of the great esteem in which schoolmasters were held is that, according to Dr. Janssen’s computation, the salaries they received were relatively higher than what are given in these days. To impute to this period neglect of elementary education is, therefore, a mistake. There was no lack of means whereby the lower classes could obtain primary teaching, but ignorance prevailed often amongst the higher classes, who devoted their lives, many of them, to hunting and warfare.

The same may be said with respect to religious teaching, sermons, the study of the Bible, &c. Up to the present time certain writers have considered Luther as the “*revealer*” of the Holy Scriptures to a senseless world. A celebrated artist, the late Herr Kaulbach, of Munich, has, in a picture on the landing of the Museum staircase at Berlin, represented Luther standing on a pedestal, surrounded by the eminent men of the Middle Ages. He is holding the Bible on high in the attitude of a prophet announcing a new era to the world, in the discovery of the Word of Jesus Christ. We shall see more clearly later on what became of this Divine Word.

Concerning the sermons of the fifteenth century, Dr. Janssen and the Abbé Dacheux have met on the same ground. They each give us a series of proofs showing the importance attached to preaching by clergy and laity. The Abbé Dacheux names some Alsatian writers whose discourses have come down to us—Creutzer, Ulrich Surgant, Oiglin, Sattler, Wildegk, and many others (p. 5, &c.). Not to be present at the Sunday sermon was looked upon as a real sin. Priests who neglected to instruct their flocks in the Holy Scriptures were threatened with excommunication (p. 30). The number of preachers at Nuremberg, for example, was quite proverbial, and we may boldly conclude, writes Hipler, the author of “*Christliche Lehre*” (“*Christian*

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\* On this author may be consulted: Buddingh, “*Geschiedenis van het onderwys en de opweding*” (“*History of Teaching and of Education*”), Gravenhage, 1843. Also Schotel, “*Nederlandsche Volks Boeker*” (“*Dutch Popular Books*”). Haarlem: 1873, II., 219.

† See an extract from this work: P. Alberdingk Thijm, “*Spiegel van Nederlandsche Letteren*” (“*Mirror of Flemish Literature*”), II., p. 74, &c.

Teaching"), that in Prussia preaching was more frequent before than after Luther's time. It may even be calculated that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, forty thousand copies of the sermons of some preachers had been distributed. Catechetical writings were not less numerous; and it is absurd to state that false ideas, say of the doctrine of indulgences, were held by the people because of their lack of instruction (p. 41). Our author here takes occasion to notice the remarkable work of J. Geffken,\* "Der Bildercatechismus des 15 Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther," Leipzig, 1855 (Picture Catechisms, with explanatory chapters, from this time till Luther). Lastly, we will mention, as works of instruction, the so-called "Plenaria," or collections of Epistles and Gospels, with explanations and reflections.

Professor Alzog published at Freiburg, in 1874, a bibliographical pamphlet on this subject, and since then every year brings to light fresh discoveries of "Plenaria."† To these we might add the Flemish and Dutch editions—*e.g.*, one of Peter Van Os, Zwolle, 1488, a "Plenarium of the Canons Regular of Schoonhoven," 1505; another published by Vorsterman: Antwerp, 1591, &c.

Our author goes on to relate how education was greatly influenced by the schools of the Confraternity of Gerard Groete (Bruders van het gemeine leven, Fratres vitæ communis), Brothers of Common Life, natives of the Netherlands, where they had spread, especially in the north. They soon extended over a great portion of Germany.‡ Patronized by Eugenius IV., Pius II., Sixtus IV., many great humanists came forth from their schools,§ and Nicholas Cusanus was, as we have already remarked, one of their disciples.

The propagators of the study of the Humanities became, some of them, the instigators of the Reformation. Dr. Janssen, however, would not wish them to be all ranked alike. He proves

\* Wackernagel, "Kleinere Schriften," i. 345, may be consulted on the custom in Italy of illustrating the sermon by pictures shown from the pulpit. See also, R. Cruel, "Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter" ("History of Preaching in Germany during the Middle Ages"). Desmold. 15s.

† See "Historisch-politische Blätter" of MM. Jörg & Binder of Munich of the year 1875.

‡ Dacheux, p. 342.

§ Consult on this subject: 1st, Delprat, "Verhandeling over de Broederschap van G. Groete" (Treatise on the Confraternity of G. G.), Arnhem, 1846, or the German translation of Monike. 2nd, Gerard de Groote a precursor (p) of the Reformation in the fourteenth century from unpublished documents by G. Bonet. Maury: Paris, 1878. See likewise Dacheux, p. 441.

with much acumen (and this is one of the characteristic features of his work) that the first humanists were far from foreseeing that their successors in the sixteenth century would abuse the study of pagan civilization to make war on Christian doctrines. He makes, therefore, a distinction, and divides the History of the Humanists from 1450 to 1550 into two periods. To the first belong Cusanus (p. 13) and the celebrated Rudolph Agricola, a native of Laffo, near Gröningen, in Holland, one of the founders of the study of the classics in Germany, but also a fervent Catholic.

Dr. Janssen names a series of learned men in Westphalia of the same stamp as Agricola, who obtained distinction by founding or organizing schools, the strict discipline of which would in these days seem little in harmony with the "Humanities." This picturesque sketch of the organization of the schools of that period is most interesting at the present day when a special study is made of school discipline and the use of the ferule.\* In connection with Agricola we must not omit to mention James Wimpheling, of Schlettsbade, in Alsatia, that famous representative of sound learning, who received the title of "Teacher of Germany" (Erzieher Deutschlands). He was educated in the far-famed school of his native town in company with John Geiler of Kaisersberg, John of Dalberg, and some seven or eight hundred other scholars (p. 64; Dacheux, p. 443).

The sixteen universities of Germany,† four of which had just been founded, were no less well attended. Men of all ages and of all ranks were to be found there. The young prince sat by the side of the aged priest. The clergy were most numerous represented. The professors at Vienna numbered almost as many as they do now (p. 78). We will here note the name of the Carthusian monk, Werner Rolewinck, who for virtue and learning was a shining light at Cologne. He has left us a series of theological works, as also a sketch of the "History of the World," which ran through thirty editions in the space of eighteen years. This history was translated into French, and printed in Spain. Though not formally attached to the university at Cologne he used to give public lectures there, at which

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\* See, especially, the books mentioned by Dr. Janssen, p. 63, "Schulleben" (School-life), and p. 293, "Beten und Arbeiten" (Prayer and Work). To these I would add: Van Berkel, "Ein Hollandsch dorp" (A Dutch Village); in the Review, "Dietsche Warandi" revised by J. A. Alberdingx Thijm, i. 312; and the article, "Ein Schoolmeester" (A Schoolmaster), by the editor, in the same collection ii. 52, with illustrations; Schotel, "Vaderlandsche volksboeken" (Popular National Books, i. 199, &c.).

† Europe counted forty-six universities at this period.

the professors themselves were wont to attend. Of still greater fame was John Reuchlin as professor of Latin and Greek at Basle and Heidelberg. At his side shone the illustrious John of Dalberg (later on bishop) and a host of learned men skilled in Eastern lore, especially in the study of Hebrew, amongst whom we will only mention the celebrated John Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, near Kreuznach (born 1462, at Trithem, on the Moselle), to whom flocked the youth and men of learning from all the neighbouring States. Trithemius was in correspondence with the most famous theologians, mathematicians, lawyers and poets of his time. He was esteemed alike for his learning, great virtue, and excellent social qualities. Together with John Geiler and Cusanus he may be styled a precursor of the Reformation in the same sense as all those may be designated who gave themselves up to the work of reorganizing certain ecclesiastical institutions or the rectifying of abuses. Trithemius was a zealous reformer of Benedictine monasteries. With views as practical as they were enlightened he recommended the method of study of S. Thomas Aquinas as the most suitable for young students. He has bequeathed us a general and scientific literary history of the sacred authors—a work which stands alone and is of great scholastic value. At the instigation of John Geiler he also wrote a remarkable “History of Germany” (“*Epitome rerum Germanicarum*”).\*

Our author sketches for us Ulrich Zasius, the celebrated lawyer, Gregory Reisch, the mathematician, Heinlin of Stein, preacher at the Cathedral of Basle, Regio Montanus, the astronomer, and many others, representatives of an encyclopædia of science. A few of such names would be quite sufficient to prove the thesis of Dr. Janssen, that the fifteenth century, in spite of its gloomy side and of the moral degradation of the universities† was far from being a period of scientific decay.

All these men were humanists of the right sort. The young humanists of the beginning of the sixteenth century held quite opposite views; they made war on the Church and on the Empire in the name of liberty, and of pure taste for the literature of pagan antiquity.‡ But they had no inclination to side with Luther. Proud of their acquired knowledge they would not accept the decree that faith alone sufficed for salvation, and that philosophy was the work of Satan—tenets promulgated by Luther.

Our author now reviews the state of the Fine Arts. Paul Giovio, the biographer of Hadrian VI., with many other Italians, declared that Germany surpassed their own country in the matter

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\* Dacheux, p. 432.

† Höfler, p. 17, *seq.*

‡ See Pastor, p. 125.

of architecture (p. 139). Dr. Janssen gives us an account of the painting, sculpture, gold and iron work, embroidery and engraving, as also of the principal representatives of these divers arts.

The name of Hans Memling, the celebrated painter, gives us occasion to remark that, whereas Dr. Janssen supposes him to have been born at Memline, a village near Aschaffenburg in Bavaria (p. 168), Mr. James Weale, an English archæologist, believes that he was born in the Dutch province of Gueldres, and that his parents came from Medemblick in Holland. Among the celebrated artists of this period the names of Albert Durer and Holbein are, of course, not forgotten. Our author does not fail to direct our attention to certain humorous tendencies in the modelling art of the Middle Ages; he remarks truly that "it is only in ages of lively faith, of deep interior life, and of strong will-power that real humour is developed."

Referring to the different manners and customs of the people—dances, games, costumes, head-gear—our author describes their variety, picturesqueness, and charm. Further on, in the chapters on industrial life, commerce, and finance (pp. 343–370), he notices the excessive luxury that prevailed in dress, as well among the working-classes as among the citizens, insomuch that various sumptuary laws were passed at the Diets of the Empire—*e.g.*, against the use of gold and costly stuffs. Geiler of Kaisersberg used to inveigh against this extreme luxury and lack of modesty in dress; he devotes a long chapter to this subject in his "*Navis Faturum*."\*

Dr. Janssen compares the music of this period to the architecture of the same time. This is a true comparison as regards the compositions of some of the musicians, whose complicated productions recall the exaggerated style, overcharged with ornamentation, of the fifteenth century—as, for example, Ockenheim; but the simplicity, freshness, and tenderness of the popular songs of the fifteenth century resemble more nearly the less affected architecture of the thirteenth century, or else the Roman style with its grandly simple lines. Gothic architecture was in its decline in the fifteenth century, whilst music as an art was being further developed and perfected.

Our author does not forget to notice such general literature of this time as popular prose works and chronicles, books of travels, &c. He commends specially the sacred and profane dramas, and describes the play called "*Antichrist*." This piece, which has been studied with much interest in these days, represents all the vicissitudes and dangers of a monarch's position, and the quick

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\* See Dacheux, p. 213.

growth of evil passions in one destined to reign. The wicked spirit is there represented under the name of Antichrist, and chooses for his victim the Emperor of Germany. The end of the play shows us the last-mentioned personage struck with lightning at the very moment he is intending to display all his magnificence.

Dr. Janssen calls attention to the humorous features of the theatrical representations. All the droll parts were given to the devil, and therefore it often happened that the principal rôle in the piece fell to his share; whole acts were played throughout by him and his companions. In France this was called "diablerie" (devilry).

To the authors named by Dr. Janssen who have studied this subject, we might add the late Abbé Lindemann, Rector of Niederkruchten, on the Dutch frontier (author of an extract in German, from the Abbé Dacheux's monograph on John Geiler), who in his "History of German Literature" gives a clear and rather complete sketch of dramatic art in the Middle Ages.\*

Dr. Janssen concludes this chapter by a glance at the characteristic work of Sebastian Brandt, called "Narren Schiff" (The Ship of Fools), a humorous satire, in which the author lashes every abuse of the age, and persons of every rank who countenanced them. He was John Geiler's favourite author; they were contemporaries, and worked for the same end by different means—Geiler preached and Brandt wrote. The Abbé Dacheux has done well to give a long extract from this work at the end of his monograph. We see therein how two reformers expose and scourge the same social vices; the contempt for holy things, for religious customs, for Indulgences; the habit of frivolous swearing, pluralism in church benefices, every kind of profanity, deceit, adultery, &c., &c.†

Lastly, in the third and fourth books of the first volume, Dr. Janssen sketches the economic, judicial and political state of Germany at the end of the Middle Ages: 1st, agriculture, industry, commerce, and finance; 2nd, the position of Germany

\* We would call the attention of our English readers to the "Geschichte des Drama" of B. Klein, an extensive work, in the twelfth and thirteenth vols. of which is given the history of the English Theatre. These might with advantage be worked up in an English form rather than translated. The above work, still unfinished, does not at present comprise the history of German Drama.

† Sebastian Brandt also wrote a "Lives of the Saints," only four copies of which are known to be extant. One of these is in the private library of the Abbé F. X. Krauss, professor of Church History at the University of Freiburg im Brisgau. It is a quarto volume. These words are written on the last page: "Zu eren der wirdige Muter Gotes Beschlus dises Wercks Sebastian Brandt."

in its relations with other countries, its constitution, and laws, German and Roman.

The rights of the territorial lords as regards their tenants were very complicated at the end of the Middle Ages; but speaking generally the privileges of the holders of fiefs and of land had not been lessened, and the possession of the greater portion of the land lay with the vassals instead of with their lords, who seemed only to have a claim on service and contributions. These holdings had assumed the character of independent possessions. It is generally asserted that the War of the Peasants, which we shall speak of later on, was caused by the intolerable oppression of the tillers of the soil. We do not wish to deny that there were exceptional instances of this kind, but it has been proved that the general features of the agricultural class in the fifteenth century were quite patriarchal in character, and gave no pretext for revolt. It was the religious revolution, and the discontent excited by the preachers of (so-called) liberty, that made the greater portion of the people rise in rebellion.

The author reviews agricultural life and occupations, the relative value of country produce, and of the commerce and industries of the town. He compares commercial articles with provisions. A pound of saffron, for example, was worth as much as a cart-horse; a fat ox was cheaper than a velvet cloak of the most ordinary quality; a pound of sugar cost more than twice as much as a sucking-pig.

Then follows an account of the cultivation of gardens and wine, the home lives of the peasants, and their wages. An ordinary working man could earn in a week the value of a sheep and a pair of shoes; and in twenty-four days he could earn a large measure of rye, twenty-five stock-fish, a load of wood, and three ells of cloth. Was he to be pitied?

Then comes a sketch of industrial pursuits, of the state of the clubs and guilds of the artisans, their customs and rights, their assemblies—*e.g.*, the "Tailors' Congress" at Oppenheim, in Frankfort-on-Maine—the produce of their handicrafts, their *chef-d'œuvres*; the commerce and history of the Hanse,\* the centre of European commerce—which had reached its apogee in the fifteenth century. A thousand curious and interesting details but little known are here noted down—for instance, the adulteration of food and workmen's strikes. In a word, a picture of the people as perfect and finished as one of those of the

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\* Here the author would have us remark the etymology of the expression pound sterling, which means simply, pound easterling. In England the merchants of the Hanse were called "easterlings" (orientals). The current coin in England was for a long time Hanseatic money.

old masters, mentioned in the first part of the volume, is here put before us.

Our author does not forget to disclose the dark side of the period; the increase of riches and of life-comforts, financial speculations and usury; the taking advantage of small traders by wealthy merchants, and the discredit brought on commerce thereby; the profligacy, apparent in dress, against which Diets legislated, and preachers protested in vain. Amongst the latter was Geiler of Kaisersberg, who followed in the lead of Sebastian Brandt, as related by Abbé Dacheux in his monograph (p. 213).

Lastly, in the fourth book our author discusses the influence exercised by the Roman law on the ancient customs and habits of the German people. He works out the opinion that the introduction of Roman law proved an obstacle to the justice sought by the towns or guilds, and that it gave them into the hands of the territorial princes.\*

The principle of German as of canon law was that every proprietor should use his property according to justice and morality. This principle was opposed to usury and to the artificial raising of the prices of provisions. According to Roman law each individual has the liberty and right to consult his own interest regardless of the need of others. This fundamental idea is in direct opposition to the moral principle of Germanic law. Wimpheling calls the Roman law a series of lying and sophistic artifices; and Trithemius designates it as a new slavery (p. 495).

The introduction of Roman law singularly encouraged the desire of gain, and lawyers were soon denounced as the worst interpreters of law and justice. A most characteristic sign of the aversion entertained by the people for the learned men of law is the fact that in several agreements and compromises belonging to the second half of the fifteenth century, we find the several parties consenting that in case of any differences arising between them, or of any errors being discovered in the agreement, they would employ neither a doctor, licentiate, nor master in law to decide the question; "for these," said they, "seek for and create defects where none exist."

All the burghers thought alike; contemporary writers tell us that the lawyers were considered a greater evil than the "Free Lances," these last only taking possession of material property, and not interfering with men's souls.

It was only princes who, for reasons of absolutism, favoured the introduction of the Roman law, yet were they warned that

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\* Compare the opinion of Wimpheling. Janssen, i. p. 489.



this legal chaos would some day lead to revolution. ("Chaos sanctionum humanarum; perplexitas veterum et novorum jurium.")\*

After a short political sketch of the German monarchy of the Middle Ages, of the importance of imperial free towns (Reichstädte), &c., our author reverts to the reforms proposed by Nicholas Cusanus mentioned above. He relates the efforts of Nicholas to divide the Empire into twelve circles, each to have its imperial tribunal, composed of an ecclesiastic, a nobleman, and a burgher. Cusanus recommended the creation of a standing army, in order to strengthen the imperial power, and to be a safeguard against foreign princes; but his efforts were in vain, and the imperial authority declined, to the great detriment of the realm, whilst the power of the feudal princes increased (p. 466). This proved one of the great evils of the succeeding century.† The representatives of towns lost their influence, and the towns became dependent on the territorial lords. This was the case in the Mark of Brandenburg.

By the introduction of Roman law even legal science lost its importance. The new study introduced into the universities a petty, wrangling spirit, which was condemned by the most learned men of the time—a Reuchlin, Wimpfeling, and others (p. 477). A storm of satire fell upon the new organization, but in vain; the ambition of emperor and prince forbade any continuous opposition. Absolutism in Germany was too well favoured by the new law.

Francis I., King of France, wished meanwhile to become an absolute sovereign in his realm, and to add imperialism to royalty. He assumed the imperial insignia before setting out for Italy and the conquest of Naples. This was the signal for the endless warfare that filled all the reign of Charles V., and was the great cause of the unceasing anxiety of Hadrian VI.,‡ a Pope as holy as he was learned, who had ascended the Pontifical throne without the aid of nepotism, or of imperial favour.

Maximilian strove in vain to introduce measures of reform at the different Diets. "The representatives of the Empire," says Trithemius, "are quite accustomed now to yield up nothing to the Empire, and to ignore entirely their promises. Therefore, Maximilian no longer holds the power to defend justice, or to punish those who betray the peace of the State. We are continually in a state of civil war" (p. 860).

Maximilian was powerless to prevent the ancient glory of the Empire from being humbled; his efforts to reorganize the tribunals were badly supported; the princes did their utmost to pro-

\* Wimpfeling, "Apologia," bk. 49. Janssen, i. p. 495.

† Höfler, p. 247, seq.

‡ Höfler, "Adrian VI." p. 92.

mote disturbances; the States constantly opposed his projects of reform, and refused their assistance in his war with the Republic of Venice, and for a proposed expedition against the Turks. Luther, protected out of policy by Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, was just peering above the horizon. Germany had to fight on all sides against the civil foes who were undermining her prosperity. Lastly, it is well known that after the death of Maximilian, when a new emperor had to be chosen, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, "the father of all cupidity," headed the party that wished to hand over the Empire to the King of France.

In spite of treachery, of the profligacy engendered by luxury, of the abuses among the clergy, and of the vices of the young humanists, which sapped the foundations of German prosperity, charitable institutions were ever increasing, religious life among the people did not lose in intensity, and by the efforts of Nicholas Cusanus provincial synods were held in many dioceses. Yet it is through the canons of these very synods that we learn the state of the Church in general, and the almost universal depravity. The learned Wimpfeling, an impartial spectator of events, exclaims: "I take God to witness that I know, in the Rhenish dioceses, an infinite number of ecclesiastics of solid learning, and of irreproachable life—prelates, canons, vicars—all pious, generous, and humble." But, unfortunately, these exceptions only confirm the rule, or, if not the rule, the examples contrary to those Wimpfeling refers to.

It was against this worldly spirit, which had penetrated into the higher classes, and, through them, had filtered through to the clergy, high and low, that John Geiler raised his voice. The laity,\* by privileges which they well knew how to obtain, had gained an unheard-of influence in the nomination of rectors and vicars, whose moral dignity suffered not a little under the secular yoke. It is, then, the dark side of society, the very opposite view to Dr. Janssen's, which the life of Geiler unfolds before us. We will now see how the Abbé Dacheux treats the situation in the life and writings of his hero.

We have already noticed how the Abbé Dacheux and Dr. Janssen have met on the same ground in discussing certain facts in the history of the fifteenth century; for instance, the preaching, the style of sermon, the manner of teaching. With details of this kind the Abbé Dacheux opens his work on John Geiler, and his special aim is to make known the excellence of the preachers of Alsace, the field in which his reformer laboured most.

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\* See Lederer, "Johann v. Torquemada," Freiburg: Herder, 1879, pp. 40, 52; and Dacheux, "John Geiler," pp. 100, 156, 205, 209.

John Geiler was born at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, in 1445; his father settled in Alsace, where he had obtained the post of registrar to the Council of Ammerswihr. After having sketched for us his first years of study, our author shows us how Geiler became famous by his preaching. He was chosen to fill the post of preacher at the University of Freiburg, but shortly afterwards the towns of Basle, Warzburg and Strassburg, disputed the honour of electing to their Cathedral pulpit a preacher of such eloquence, such immovable steadfastness, and such irreproachable life. Indeed, the office of preacher at Strassburg Cathedral was created for Geiler by Bishop Robert, of Bavaria, but the opposition of certain competitors succeeded in hindering the strictly official employment and adequate remuneration of Geiler till 1489.\* Although he acknowledged all that Robert of Bavaria had done for him, Geiler would not allow his personal gratitude to obscure his judgment, or to interfere with the great aim he had proposed to himself. Almost his first remarkable sermon was the discourse at the funeral of Bishop Robert. With intent to depict the morals of the age, and to offer sage counsels to Robert's successor, he drew in striking words the principal faults of the deceased. In the form of a dialogue with the soul of the bishop he reproaches him with luxurious living, with haughtiness, with vanity, praising meanwhile his administration. He then draws the picture of a worthy bishop holding it up as an example to Albert of Bavaria, Robert's successor. This style of reproach and manner of counsel might be compared to that employed by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Bernardino Carvajal, in a discourse addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff, Hadrian VI., at his presentation to the Sacred College at Rome, August 29, 1522. The bishop, desirous of reading a serious lesson to some of his colleagues—to the body of cardinals of the time of Leo X., and to the adherents of the schism under Julius II., rehearsed to the new Pontiff all the woes of the Church and the causes which produced them; the simony of the Popes; their want of intellect, knowledge and good will; their being elected to the Papal throne by men indolent and vicious. "Happily," said the bishop, "those times are now past and gone." Nevertheless he thought it expedient to propose to the newly-elected Pontiff several articles which as Pope he should observe: to protect liberty of voting; to introduce reforms according to the prescriptions of the holy canons: to embrace poverty, &c. &c.†

To come back to Geiler. His discourse was the first of a series preached against the abuses of the age.

The new bishop found in him a zealous auxiliary for the ex-

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\* Chap. xvii. p. 405.

† Höfler, "Pabst Adrian VI." p. 192.

cution of his projects of reform, and when he convoked a synod of the clergy in his diocese, Geiler was invited to pronounce the opening discourse. In it Geiler reproves the clergy for their rapacious and eager grasping at temporal goods; he compares them to leeches and to wild beasts. He speaks with no less contempt of the treasures of the rich, and especially of the use to which they put them; for instance, buying Church preferments for their sons. Truly the princes "lorded it over the prelates within their lands," as John of Torquemada said in a discourse preached before the Council of Basle against the decree which had for its aim to abolish Papal rights over ecclesiastical nominations ("decretum irritans")\* Geiler reproaches the clergy with the abuse of canonical penances, with laxity in giving dispensations, with every description of iniquity committed in the towns, with the disorders allowed in the cathedrals, which were turned into public places where the people laughed and chattered and gave comic representations.

It cannot be denied that Geiler in some matters was too great a rigorist, and hence it often happened that those he reproved did not bear him very patiently.

One day in the year 1500 he inveighed in his sermon against the magistrate for not repressing with more energy the disorders and profanations committed by the burghers. The magistrate, meaning to call the preacher to order, sent him two delegates to demand an account of his bold words. Geiler answered by a pamphlet containing, in twenty-one articles, a scheme of administration afterwards famous, and disinterred by the author of this work.

In these articles Geiler reproaches the magistrate with the spoliation of the clergy and the poor in his opposition to certain bequests; with countenancing gambling, and allowing it to go on in the houses of the town councillors, who dedicated the revenue derived therefrom to the giving of banquets. Another article treats of the too great licence allowed in the frequenting of ale-houses, and of the non-observance of feast days. Geiler then complains that the gifts made to the Cathedral are taken for municipal requirements, and that the administration evinces the greatest parsimony in regard to the hospital, where the poor and other inmates are neglected and badly fed, though the institution is richer than the whole Cathedral Chapter. He complains of the excessive contributions exacted from the clergy, the encouragement given to murder by the non-punishment of

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\* See Lederer, "Johann v. Torquemada," p. 52. Compare Dacheux, pp. 100 and 156: "If there are bad priests it is because you (the princes) wish for such." Compare also pp. 205 and 209 on the "Chevaliers Fanfarons."

homicide, &c. &c. Lastly, he protests against the use of torture, as contrary to the laws of the Church.

From the beginning Geiler had the happiness of seeing that his preaching bore salutary fruit. The courage and boldness with which he poured forth his reproaches made the guilty tremble. The burghers were forbidden to hold profane assemblies in the Cathedral, the magistrates to hold court there, and the children to play at church services. A custom which prevailed on certain festivals—swearing by the members of God's body\* was forbidden, and men were prohibited from entering the convents of women, &c. (p. 71). It cannot be denied that, influenced by him, religious life in convents received a new impulse (p. 196). It was through his intercession with the bishop and the Pope's Nuncio that condemned criminals who were really penitent were allowed to receive the Holy Eucharist, which hitherto had been denied them, and was again after the siege of Strassburg by Louis XIV. On the protest of Geiler priests were more generally admitted into the hospitals, the doors of which had hitherto been often closed upon them (p. 56).

May we not attribute the measures taken by Albert of Bavaria for the reformation of certain abuses, partly to the funeral discourse pronounced over his predecessor Robert? Is it not also evident that Geiler was invited to preach at the opening of the diocesan synod, on the understanding that he was to show up these same abuses among the clergy? This liberty of speech, of which he made full use, is a proof that the minds of men were drawn towards him; and this power of attraction was in itself a success. After the death of Albert of Bavaria Geiler pronounced an exhortation before the Chapter previous to the election of a successor; in this instance, we know not which to admire most, the courage of the preacher or the good-will of his audience, amongst which sat five bishops, the Marquess of Baden, the Prince of Bavaria, and many other territorial lords, relatives of the late bishop. These all listened to the preacher as to a prophet preaching penance, for Geiler, passing over in silence the virtues of the deceased prelate, inveighed against the sins and prevarications of church-dignitaries and secular princes. By the unanimous voice of the Chapter, of which the five bishops formed a part, the man whom Geiler had pointed out as the most worthy successor of Albert was elected. This was William, Count of Honstein, one of the youngest canons of the Cathedral (page 480). William had the courage and modesty to listen to the exhorta-

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\* This custom had spread even to the Netherlands. In the Mystery Plays the demons swore after that fashion, by the members of the Body of Jesus Christ. See, for example, the Miracle Play, called "Le Sacrement de Nieuwewaert," p. 84, published at Leunarden (Suringar).

tions of Geiler, pronounced in a funeral discourse five days later, and addressed to every bishop given up to indolence, avarice, and luxury; the preacher concluded by entreating the newly-elected not to walk in the footsteps of such, but to meditate on the Holy Scriptures, to destroy in his heart all attachment to the world, and never to divert the riches of the Church from their right destination.

The Emperor Maximilian held Geiler in great esteem. He consulted him on matters of the highest importance, and asked him to draw up a kind of rule of conduct to guide him in the government of his subjects. Such was his respect for the eminent preacher that he would never allow him to remain uncovered in his presence.

Lastly, Geiler's contemporaries agreed that the conduct of the clergy showed signs of amendment. Wimpheling, though severe in his judgment on the clergy, could discern a daily increase in the number of virtuous and learned ecclesiastics (pp. 136, 140, n. 167).

This improvement did not, it must be admitted, grow or deepen; neither did it spread throughout Germany. As soon as Luther appeared on the scene, the old passions of cupidity, indolence, indifference, added to unbelief, seemed to revive. Dr. Janssen attributes all this perverse influence to the so-called "Reformation," but unfortunately the germs of it existed long before. The learned and saintly Nausea, Bishop of Vienna, wrote, in 1527: "Who is to blame for all these abuses that have crept into the Church? It is we who are to blame—and all of us." He points to the clergy as the origin of grave errors. "That is why," said he, "the clergy should first be reformed."\* Geiler, therefore, had not yet converted the world—no one imagined he had—and though his labours bore great fruit, his ardent zeal remained unsatisfied. He wished to see the diocese of Strassburg, at least, turn there and then from worldly ways, indecent dress, luxurious feasting; he insisted that the rich, either through avarice or the prodigality which impoverished them, should no longer seek Church emoluments in the shape of canonries for their sons; that the accumulation of Church benefices should cease; that dispensations of all kinds should be granted with more circumspection, &c. &c.

We have remarked that John Geiler went to extremes sometimes, but we must here note that his exaggeration lay rather in the form and in the expressions he used, than in his ideas themselves. Allowance should be made for his expressions, often strong and coarse, by taking into account the age in which they were used—the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth

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\* "De Reformanda Ecclesia," quoted by Herr Pastor, p. 287.

centuries, when a popular style of speech was used in the pulpit, as elsewhere, much more than it is now. The coarseness of Geiler's expressions cannot be compared with that found in the discussions between Luther\* and his adversaries, and this fault of style continued till a much later period. We find, for instance, Charles IX. of Sweden, writing to Christian IV. of Denmark, to decline a duel, in language coarser than the coarsest used now. The last phrase of this letter runs: "This is our answer to thy coarse letter" ("auf deinen groben Brief"†). Yet modern times were close at hand!

Geiler's rigorism is apparent in his opposition to the dispensation given for the use of butter and eggs. He knew this custom already existed in the fourteenth century in the diocese of Cologne and Treves, but he opposed it because he saw it fostered the cupidity of the clergy (the "turpis lucri cupiditas" of Albert of Bavaria, p. 483).‡ The avarice of the bishops had unfortunately become proverbial. The saying: "Es ist aber um gelt zu thun" (it is a question of money) referred to every fine inflicted for disorders of all kinds, concubinage, &c., &c. Geiler considered this cupidity as one of the principal causes of decay in the Church. "It is the mother of dissolution," said he; "it leads to the accumulating of benefices, and to all those intrigues for misleading the Pope, from whom these exemptions and ecclesiastical fines proceed. By the sale of benefices the most learned and worthy priests, who had spent twenty years in teaching theology, were thrust aside to make way for candidates whose nomination was more lucrative.§

Geiler, however, was sometimes too severe in his strictures on this and other points. For instance, when he reproaches the Papacy with always demanding supplies to fit out expeditions against the Turks. Even the Abbé Dacheux acknowledges this (p. 249), and goes on to state some facts which prove how much the Popes did, from Calixtus III. (1455) to Alexander VI., who died in 1503, to promote the war against the Osmanli.|| In 1481 it was feared in Rome that the city itself would before long be taken by the Turks.¶ Janssen and Höfler both insist upon the exertions made by the Popes against the Infidels.

\* See and compare Höfler, p. 261; and Luther's "Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians," p. 377.

† See Gfröver, "Gustav Adolph," b. i. ch. i. p. 39, n., quoted by Holberg, "Dänische Reichshistorie," ii. 661.

‡ In his work, "Peregrinetti," Geiler speaks with more moderation about fasting. Dacheux, pp. 255, 290.

§ Compare Wimpfeling, quoted p. 122, n. 2.

¶ Compare Lederer, p. 268.

¶ Dacheux, p. 294, n.

The former cites (i. 555, n.) a work written by Hegewisch, a Protestant, and professor at the University of Kiel, towards the end of the eighteenth century, who, in his "History of the Emperor Maximilian," brought to light the efforts made by the Popes to organize a war against the Turks who threatened the German Empire. These efforts of the Roman Pontiffs were, as a rule, rendered futile by the indifference of the princes; for instance, those made by Pius II., aided by Cardinal Torquemada.\* Herr Höfler in his turn gives undeniable proofs of the labours and anxieties of Hadrian VI. (p. 485) caused by the advance of the Turkish army, which advance Francis I. contemplated with satisfaction.

To return to our "Reformer." Geiler attributed the prohibition against nuns reserving some small portion of their fortune on entering a convent to the cupidity of certain authorities. The introduction of Roman law, which helped considerably to change the face of Germany, he considered, and with greater truth, to be a stimulus to cupidity. Many young men threw up their theological studies thinking to find in the law a more direct road to fortune, or else they took service at Rome, then looked upon as the California of the idle (p. 116).

We should exceed the limits of this Article were we to try to indicate all the interesting points of the Abbé Dacheux's work. It has already been reviewed by the critics of Germany, France, and other countries, who have noticed the striking features of a work which is a study of the innermost life and personal history of Geiler, rather than an account of the general movement of the period. In such a manner should we have liked to enter into Geiler's relations with his friends, especially with the Schott family—a real picture, given in the thirteenth to sixteenth chapters.

Fault has been found with the author for giving too many details of general history which had but small connection with Geiler himself. We are not of this opinion, for the Abbé Dacheux, in connecting the events of Geiler's life with the history of his age, only makes his sketch more attractive, and, indeed, more useful to our purpose, which is to give here an account, not of the advance made in the biographical details of this period, but of the progress made in discoveries relating to history taken as a whole, and of the coalescing causes productive of certain events. As is truly remarked by Dr. Janssen, the sermons of John Geiler are a real mine of knowledge, wherein to learn the popular life of that period (I. 263). One chapter might have been omitted by the author without breaking the harmony of his work; we

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\* Lederer.



refer to chapter XIV., the "History of the Convent of Klingenthal," which seems rather superfluous.

We will conclude this review by congratulating the Abbé Dacheux on the subject he has chosen, on the conscientiousness and perspicacity with which he has treated it, and on his style. We would also commend the typographical excellence of the work and its price. We would wish to see it translated into English. Historical truth would thereby be the gainer. John Geiler died in 1510, at the moment Luther was beginning to preach a reform very different to the one Geiler had longed for. We shall next pass on to the events which took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

P. ALBERDINGX THIJM.

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#### ART. V.—THE REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *The New Testament, translated out of the Greek: being the Version set forth, A.D. 1611, compared with the most Ancient Authorities and Revised, A.D. 1881.* Oxford University Press. 1881.
2. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The Greek Testament, with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version.* Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1881.
3. *Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the New Testament.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: Longmans. 1870.
4. *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament.* By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D. London: Macmillan. 1872.
5. *Biblical Revision: its Necessity and Purpose.* By MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN REVISION COMMITTEE. London: Sunday School Union.
6. *Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament.* By ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D. London: Cassell, Petter & Co.
7. *Variorum Teacher's Bible.* London: Queen's Printers. 1880.

THE English Bible has been likened to one of our old Cathedrals, not only in the beauty and majesty of its outlines, but also in the fact that it was originally Catholic. As in a much restored Cathedral, it is not easy to say what is old and what is new, how much belonged to Catholic times or how

much has been altered since; so it is with the oft-revised English Bible. Professor Blunt, in his "Plain Account," says that the foundation was certainly Catholic, being based on some version older than that of Wycliffe. Here, of course, he is at variance with most modern Protestant critics, who do not care to look back further than Tyndale. But he has Sir Thomas More to support him, and also the express statements of Cranmer and Fox, "who lived three hundred years nearer to the time they wrote of, were acute men, and recorded facts within their own knowledge." Had the Reformers spared the University and Monastic Libraries, we should have more evidence on the point. Again, it may be held that King James's Version is only the "Great Bible" twice revised; and that was Catholic, at least in its fourth edition, that of 1541, which was "oversene and perused at the commandment of the kinges hyghnes, by the right reverende father in God Cuthbert (Tunstall) bysshop of Duresme and Nicholas (Heath) bysshop of Rochester." The Great Bible was published when England was still Catholic; it was approved by Catholic bishops, who assured the King that it supported no heresy, and it found a home in the Catholic Churches of England when Mass was still offered at their altars. This Bible was revised by the Elizabethan bishops in 1568, and, in 1611, after a more lengthened revision, it appeared again in the world as King James's "Authorized Version," and was passed off as a New Translation. Nor did people suspect how much even this last revision was due to Catholic influences. There is little doubt that the complaints of Catholics about corrupt translations, expressed by Dr. Gregory Martin in his "Discoverie of Manifold Corruptions," combined with the King's hatred of the Genevan Bible and its notes suggestive of tyrannicide to bring about the revision. And in that revision King James's revisers were more largely influenced by the Rheims translation than they cared to own. Dr. Moulton, in his "History of the English Bible," says, "that the Rhemish Testament has left its mark on every page of the work" (p. 207). The Preface to the New Revision of 1881 acknowledges that King James's Bible "shows evident traces of the influences of a Version not specified in the Rules, the Rhemish, made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek Original."

Catholics may therefore be said to have a deep vested interest in what concerns the English Bible. It is true that Father Faber called it one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country. Still the same might be said of the old cathedrals and parish churches. Besides, whatever affects the religious life of the nation must have an interest for Catholics, a mournful

interest though it may be. Cardinal Newman, in his "Grammar of Assent," says :

Bible Religion is both the recognized title and the best description of English religion. It consists, not in rites or creeds, but mainly in having the Bible read in the Church, in the family, and in private. Now, I am far indeed from undervaluing that mere knowledge of Scripture which is imparted to the population thus promiscuously. At least, in England, it has to a certain point made up for great and grievous losses in its Christianity. The reiteration again and again, in fixed course in the public service, of the words of inspired teachers under both Covenants, and that in grave majestic English, has in matter of fact been to our people a vast benefit. It has attuned their minds to religious thoughts; it has given them a high moral standard; it has served them in associating religion with compositions, which, even humanly considered, are among the most sublime and beautiful ever written; especially it has impressed upon them the series of Divine Providences in behalf of man from his creation to his end, and, above all, the words, deeds, and sacred sufferings of Him, in whom all the Providences of God centre (p. 56).

Therefore any genuine effort, honestly made, to purify the text-book of English religion from errors, and to make it more conformable to the Divine originals, must enlist the sympathy of Catholics. If Church restoration serves the cause of Catholic truth, may we not expect the same of Bible revision? History proves that the Catholic Church in England was injured in the estimation of the people, mainly by corrupt translations. The so-called Reformation was an heretical appeal from the Church to the Bible, but to the Bible as translated by heretics, and in their translation there was no Church to be found, but only "congregation," no bishops and priests, but only "overseers" and "elders." Popular Bible religion was first schooled in the Calvinistic Genevan Bible of 1560, with its anti-Catholic notes. What wonder if, as it grew up, it spoke the language of Puritanism, and called the Pope anti-Christ and the Catholic Church the Beast. As Elizabeth could tune her pulpits, so could heretics phrase their Bibles. They stole the Scriptures from the Church, and then the Church from the Scriptures. Had the Bible been honestly translated and fairly interpreted, little harm would have come of the appeal. The Scriptures would have borne testimony of the Church, as they do of her Divine Founder. As the works of God cannot contradict the words of God, so the Inspired Word cannot be at variance with the Living Voice of the Holy Spirit, in the Church of Christ.

In the long struggle for existence between the various translations, King James's Bible prevailed according to the law of natural selection; it was the survival of the fittest. But it was

not till Queen Anne's reign that it obtained so firm a place in the affection of the nation. Had the Long Parliament been a little longer, Anglican bishops at least would have been saved the trouble of further revision. Still it could hardly be denied that the Authorized Version was very imperfect. The greatest Hebrew scholar of his day said "he would rather be torn to pieces than impose such a version on the poor churches of England." Bishop Lowth showed how defective was the Old Testament, from the fact that it rested entirely on the Masoretic text. The infallibility of the vowel points invented by the Masora in the sixth century was then a cardinal point in the creed of those who rejected the Church's authority. And in the New Testament it is well known that the translators had before them only the imperfect text of Stephens and Beza. How empty, then, was the boast of Protestants that their Bible was better than the Catholic because it was a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek, whilst the Catholic version was simply from the Latin Vulgate! With their imperfect text they could hardly be said to have had the originals at all, and it is pretty certain that the Vulgate as a whole is the closest approximation to the original attainable either then or now. In point of fidelity, the essential matter in Scripture translation, the Douai Bible is as superior to King James's as it is inferior in its English. For, as Dr. Dodd says, "its translators thought it better to offend against the rules of grammar than to risk the sense of God's Word for the sake of a fine period." Dr. Moulton acknowledges that "the translation is literal and (as a rule, if not always) scrupulously faithful and exact. . . . Only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work."\* Another defect in the Authorized Version is the want of grammatical precision. It mistakes tenses, ignores synonymes, and has no appreciation for article or participle. Here, again, the Rheims has the advantage, at least as concerns the Greek article. To quote Dr. Moulton again :

As the Latin language has no definite article, it might well be supposed that of all English versions the Rhemish would be the least accurate in this point of translation. The very reverse is actually the case. There are many instances (a comparatively hasty search has discovered more than forty) in which of all versions, from Tyndale's to the Authorized, inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article (p. 188).

Another defect of King James's Revision was the neglect of the principal of verbal identity. The Revisers of 1881 admit—

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\* "History of the English Bible," pp. 185-188.

That this would now be deemed hardly consistent with the requirements of faithful translation. They seem to have been guided by the feeling that their Version would secure for the words they used a lasting place in the language; and they express a fear lest they should "be charged (by scoffers) with some unequal dealing towards a great number of good English words," which, without this liberty on their part, would not have a place in the pages of the English Bible. Still it cannot be doubted that they carried this liberty too far, and that the studied avoidance of uniformity in the rendering of the same words, even when occurring in the same context, is one of the blemishes in their work.

But the most serious fault of all is that the Authorized Versions contains absolute errors. Thomas Ward, in 1737, gave a list of some in the columns of his "Errata." Many of these were corrected in the editions 1762 and 1769. Dr. Ellicott, in the Preface to the "Pastoral Epistles," says:

It is vain to cheat our souls with the thought that these errors are either insignificant or imaginary. There *are* errors, there *are* inaccuracies, there *are* misconceptions, there *are* obscurities, not, indeed, so many in number or so grave in character as some of the forward spirits of our day would persuade us; but there *are* misrepresentations of the language of the Holy Ghost, and that man who, after being in any degree satisfied of this, permits himself to bow to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, or who, intellectually unable to test the truth of these allegations, nevertheless permits himself to denounce or deny them, will, if they be true, most surely at the dread day of final account have to sustain the tremendous charge of having dealt deceitfully with the inviolable Word of God.\*

Considering that this is the candid confession of an Anglican Bishop, Protestants have set to work to revise their Bible none too soon.

Perhaps it may be not uninteresting to give one or two specimens of not very successful attempts at revision or improved translation which have been made from time to time. Dr. Eadie and Professor Plumptre give many examples. "The young lady is not dead," "A gentleman of splendid family, and opulent fortune had two sons," "We shall not pay the common debt of nature, but by a soft transition," &c. These are from "Harwood's Literal Translation of the New Testament," made, as the author claims, with "freedom, spirit and elegance!" The next is from a version which is the reverse of elegant. Describing the death of Judas, it says: "Falling prostrate, a violent internal spasm

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\* "Pastoral Epistles," p. xiii.

ensued, and all his viscera were emitted," "Blessed are you amongst women and blessed is your incipient offspring." Another enterprising reviser published the Gospels in a dramatic form. The great Franklin tried his hand at a new version of the Book of Job, and by his conspicuous failure rejoiced the soul of Mr. Matthew Arnold, who says :

I well remember how, after I first read it, I drew a deep breath of relief, and said to myself, "After all, there is a stretch of humanity beyond Franklin's victorious good sense."\*

The Baptists made a translation of the New Testament, and St. John became "the immerser," and our Lord was made to say, "I have an immersion to undergo." In another version repentance was translated "change of mind," and thus the precept "do penance" was made very easy of fulfilment—"change your mind." The Unitarians brought out a translation which was very Arian. These attempts would have made all serious revision impossible, had not "The Five Clergymen," of whom Dr. Ellicott was one, showed that it was quite possible to combine more accurate rendering with due regard for the old version.

Convocation took up the matter seriously in 1870, but the two Provinces could not agree. The Convocation of Canterbury were eager for the work, but the Northern Assembly did not think it opportune. One dignitary thought that to revise the English Bible would be "like touching the Ark." Another right reverend prelate deprecated "sending our beloved Bible to the crucible to be melted down." A third thought they had better wait till the "Speaker's Commentary" was finished, which was like Cranmer's famous saying about the Bishop's Bible—that it would be ready "the day after Doomsday." Certainly there was good reason to hesitate before undertaking such a serious task as amending the English Bible, the pillar and ground of the popular creed. The estimate of probable change was high—possibly some 20,000 emendations in the New Testament alone, many of them affecting the text itself. Dr. Thirlwall spoke of favourite proof-texts disappearing from their present prominence in current homiletical teaching. Dr. Ellicott said that there "were passages not a few which revision would certainly relieve from much of their present servitude of misuse in religious controversy." Dr. Owen had said long before that Walton's various readings in his Polyglott would make men papists or atheists. And Lord Panmure had solemnly declared at a public meeting at Edinburgh "that the prospect of

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\* "Culture and Anarchy," p. 44.

a new version is fraught with the utmost danger to the Protestant liberties of this country, if not to the Protestant religion itself."

Undaunted by these terrors, the Convocation of Canterbury settled down to do the work by itself, the University Presses finding the money as the price of copyright. The work was to be done by its own members, but liberty was given "to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong." Two committees were to be formed, one for each Testament, and rules for guidance were drawn up. To make as few changes as possible; to go twice over the ground; changes to be settled by vote, the majority to have the text, the minority the margin. The rules were mainly copied from those given to the Revisers of 1611, except in the matter of voting. It must be confessed that "Gospel by ballot" is an essentially modern idea. About fifty Revisers were selected in England and thirty in America—Churchmen, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. Cardinal Newman and Dr. Pusey were invited, but declined to attend. Convocation, regardless of Christian sentiment, also invited to their aid Mr. Vance Smith, a Unitarian, who may be a distinguished scholar, but is certainly no Christian, and they gave him a place, not in the Old Testament committee, but in the New, which was unpardonable. The Anglo-American "Septuagint," with a few spare men in case of accidents, was now complete—a somewhat heterogeneous body certainly, with doctrinal differences as wide as the Atlantic dividing them, but empowered by Convocation to revise the Gospel, and to settle the Bible of the future.

Now, it must be remembered that since the year 1611, a new science has been born into the world, called Textual Criticism—a science which professes to enable men of sufficient self-confidence to determine with absolute certainty, by the aid of a small number of MSS., hardly legible, what the text of the Scripture really is. This science, at least in the opinion of its professors, quite compensates for the loss of the inspired Autographs, and by its aid the textual critic has no difficulty in telling amidst thousands of various readings, what the sacred writer really wrote. This would be an unmixed blessing to the religious world, if textual critics could but agree one with another. That each critic should have his own theory of recension, and his own view of the age and genealogy of different MSS., is not to be wondered at. But that no two critics can agree upon a plain matter of fact is certainly surprising. To take an instance from the much-disputed reading of 1 Timothy iii. 16. If we ask what is the reading of one particular MS., the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum, one critic says it is "God," another says it is

"indisputably the relative pronoun." All turns upon the presence or absence of a faint line. One distinguished critic examines with a "*strong lens*" and says the disputed line is really the sagitta of an epsilon on the other side of the vellum. Another, equally distinguished, who says he has eyes like microscopes, saw two lines, one a little above the other.\*

What, then, has textual criticism done for the New Testament? It has destroyed the old *Textus Receptus*, but it has failed to construct another in its place. Since the days of Griesbach every critic of any textual pretensions makes a text for himself. Lachmann, Scholz, Tregelles and Tischendorf have published their texts. Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hart have just published another, the result of twenty years' toil.

Here, then, lay the chief difficulty of the revision of the New Testament. King James's Revisers had an easy task—simply to translate the text that Pope Stephens, as Bentley calls him, had fixed for them. But the Revisers of 1881 had first to find the text and then make the translation. Like Nabuchodonosor's wise men, they were required first to find the dream and then make out the interpretation. If they have failed, the blame must rest not upon them, for they could hardly be expected to be all Daniels, but upon the Church which set them to such a task. To any one who knows what textual criticism is, how dubious in its methods, how revolutionary in its results, it is amazing that any Church calling itself Christian should hand over the Sacred Scriptures, the very title-deeds of its existence, to the chance voting of critics, who are scholars first and Christians afterwards, and some not Christians at all. That it should give to these men power over the Word of God, to bind and loose, to revise and excise, to put in and leave out, to form the text as well as to give the interpretation. Yet this has been done by that Church, which made it an article of its creed that other Churches had erred and that nothing was to be believed but what was found in Scripture and could be proved thereby!

After ten and a half years of discussing and voting in 407 sessions, the Anglo-American Septuagint have finished the first part of their work—the New Testament. The committee of the Old Testament will require three or four years more. King James's Bible occupied nearly three years. But then the New Revision has been gone over seven times and has twice crossed and recrossed the Atlantic. On the 17th of May the much-travelled, oft-revised version was published to the world, both the

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\* Scrivener's "Textual Criticism," p. 554; Ellicott's "Pastoral Epistles," p. 103.



English Translation and the Greek Text, as they read it. That day will be ever memorable in the calendar of the Church of England, but whether as a feast or a fast, time alone will show. Perhaps, as in the case of the Greek Septuagint, it may be both.

The Revisers claim for their work, by the mouth of their great oracle, Dr. Ellicott, the credit of "thoroughness, loyalty to the Authorized Versions, and due recognition of the best judgments of antiquity." That it has been thorough is proved by the number of emendations, which are considerably in excess of the estimate first given. These number about nine to every five verses in the Gospels, and fifteen to every five in the Epistles. In other words, there are some 20,000 corrections, fifty per cent. being textual. Considering they were bound by express rule "to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version," this is pretty thorough. What will the good people in England and Scotland think who believe in the verbal inspiration of the English Bible, looking upon it as the pure, authentic, and unadulterated Word of God? It seems to us that the revision is too thorough for the popular mind, and not thorough enough for the educated. The more advanced suggestions from the American committee, appended to the Revised Version prove this. By loyalty to the Authorized Version we presume Dr. Ellicott means that they have not spoilt its "grave majestic English," or broken the charm of "the music of its cadences" or marred the "felicities of its rhythm." Now this is just what they have done, and what they could not help doing with their minute verbal literalism. Still they need not have written bad grammar, as the author of "The Dean's English" shows that they have done. Deep study of the Greek grammar has perhaps made them forget their own. As to the claim about "a due recognition of the best judgments of antiquity," Dr. Ellicott admits that though "not equally patent it will rarely be looked for in vain." On the contrary, we think that it is conspicuous by its absence. Again, he claims that it is "no timid revision, without nerve enough to aim at comparative finality." A revision which leaves out some forty entire verses and makes twenty thousand changes cannot be charged with timidity. But "comparative finality" is another matter. It is an illusion to suppose that finality can be attained by petty compromises with rationalism. Now textual criticism is a tool belonging to rationalism. The Revisers have borrowed it to help them to revise their Bible. They have used the tool sparingly, but they have taught others to use it, who will be less gentle. With a Variorum Bible and good eyesight, even an ignorant man can revise his Bible for himself; and soon there will be no Bible to revise. In the first days of Protestantism private judgment

fixed what the Scripture meant; now textual criticism settles what Scripture says; and shortly "higher criticism" will reject text and meaning alike. What has happened in Germany will happen in England.

We have next to examine the New Version in detail to see how it will affect Catholic truth. In the first place, there are several important corrections and improved renderings. The Revisers have done an act of justice to Catholics by restoring the true reading of 1 Cor. xi. 27, "Whosoever shall eat the bread *or* drink the cup," &c., and thus removing a corruption which Dean Stanley owned was due "to theological fear or partiality." They have removed from their version the reproach of Calvinism by translating St. Paul correctly. Beza's well-known interpolation in Heb. x. 38, "any man," brought in to save righteous Calvinists from supposing they could ever fall away, has disappeared. But perhaps the most surprising change of all is John v. 39. It is no longer "Search the Scriptures," but "Ye search;" and thus Protestantism has lost the very cause of its being. It has also been robbed of its only proof of Bible inspiration by the correct rendering of 2 Tim. iii. 16, "Every Scripture inspired of God *is* also profitable," &c. The old translation appears in the margin, a minority of the translators apparently adhering to it. Marriage is no more a necessity for eternal salvation in all men. The Apostles have now power to "forgive" sins, and not simply to "remit" them. "Confess *therefore* your sins" is the new reading of James v. 16, and the banished particle has returned to bear witness against Protestant evasion. Some amends, too, have been made to Our Blessed Lady. She is declared by the Angel who spoke to St. Joseph to be "*the* Virgin" foretold by Isaias, and she is "endued with grace," at least in the margin. Why could they not have softened the apparent harshness of our Lord's word in John ii. 4, when, as Dr. Westcott owns, "in the original there is not the least tinge of reproof, but an address of courteous respect, even of tenderness?"

But there are several points to which we must take exception. For instance, to say in Phil. ii. 6, that Christ "counted it not a *prize* to be on an equality with God" is bad translation and worse divinity. They have spoilt St. Paul's description of charity by calling it "love," thus falling back into Tyndale's error, which Lord Bacon praised the Rheims translators for correcting. As they have sinned against Charity, so also have they wronged Faith by calling it "the assurance of things hoped for" (Heb. xi. 1). In the same Epistle they have translated the same word *ὑπόστασις* in three different ways, as substance, confidence, and assurance. In Our Lord's commission to St. Peter (John xxi. 17) they have chosen the weak word "tend" as the equivalent of

ποιμαίνει; yet in Matthew ii. 6, where the Prophet applies the same verb to Christ, they render it "be Shepherd over," and in the Apocalypse it is "rule." The same word Paraclete is rendered Comforter in St. John's Gospel, but Advocate in his Epistle. For fear lest they should countenance the Catholic doctrine of relative worship, the dying Jacob in Heb. xi. 21 is still left "*leaning* upon the top of his staff," and is made a hero of faith for so doing! It was expected that the Revisers, in deference to modern refinement, would get rid of hell and damnation, like the judge who was said to have dismissed hell with costs. Damnation and kindred words have gone, but hell still remains in the few passages where Gehenna stands in the original. A new word, "Hades," Pluto's Greek name, has been brought into our language to save the old word hell from overwork. The Rich Man is no longer in "hell" he is now "*in Hades*;" but he is still "in torment." So Hades must be Purgatory, and the Revisers have thus moved Dives into Purgatory, and Purgatory into the Gospel. Dives will not object; but what will Protestants say?

Nor have they been more happy in their treatment of the Lord's Prayer. St. Jerome's experience with the Psalms might have taught translators that it is not wise to alter an accustomed prayer for the sake of a slight gain in accuracy. People always resent interference with the form of words they have learnt from their childhood. The balance, if there is any, in favour of a masculine instead of the old neuter rendering is too slight to warrant the rendering "Deliver us from the evil *one*." The Syriac version supports the rendering, and so do some of the Greek Fathers. The article, Bishop Middleton says, is here quite impartial. The Latin bears either interpretation, and the Catholic Church in her explanation of the "Our Father" in the Tridentine Catechism gives both. The question about "our *daily* bread," whether it is to-day's or to-morrow's, is more difficult. There seems to have been some hard voting on the point. Dr. Lightfoot and his supporters were out-voted and driven into the margin to pray for "bread for the coming day." ἐπιούσιος is a word which occurs but once in the New Testament; it has a doubtful etymology and more than one meaning. The old Latin had *quotidianum*, but St. Jerome changed it into *supersubstantialem* in St. Matthew's version, whilst he left St. Luke's unchanged. St. Bernard forbade Heloise to adopt the former word, and Abelard wrote to defend her.

The Revisers have striven to remedy the ignorance of their predecessors in the matter of Greek synonymes and have thus brought out distinctions obliterated in the Authorized Version. The four living creatures of the Apocalypse are no longer "beasts."

Temple and sanctuary are distinguished. The compounds of κρίνειν are no longer mixed so confusedly. Devils are carefully marked off from demons; children from babes. "Be not children in mind; howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be men" (1 Cor. xiv. 20). In this and a multitude of instances the Revisers have shown scholarship. But possibly the poverty of our language did not allow them to bring out the difference between φιλεῖν and ἀγαπᾶν; or between βάρος and φορτίον (Gal. vi. 2, 6). So St. Paul must needs go on giving contradictory advice.

We miss some of the oddities of the old version; still the new is not without some peculiarities to make up. The mariners in St. Paul's voyage do not "fetch a compass;" the Apostles no longer keep their "carriages" (Acts xxi. 15). "Old bottles" are changed into "wine skins," candles into lamps, the thieves have become "robbers," the birds of the air have lost their "nests" and now have only "lodging-places." David is no longer a time-server (Acts xiii. 36), but the Baptist's head is still in the "charger." "Banks" have at last found a place in the Gospel. The man who scandalizes, or rather "makes to stumble," a child will find it "profitable for him" to have "a millstone turned by an ass" hanged about his neck; at least so the margin puts it (Matt. xviii. 6). "The woman ought to have a sign of authority on her head, because of the angels; but the margin reads "over her head" (1 Cor. xi. 11). It will no longer be open to doubt about the sex of "Euodia and Syntyche, who are exhorted "to be of the same mind in the Lord," for it is expressly added "help these women" (Phil. iv. 2).

It was hardly perhaps in human nature to expect a committee made up for the most part of married clergymen to forego a text so dear to them as 1 Cor. ix. 5. Ἀδελφή is rightly rendered a "believer," but in their eyes γυνή could have no other meaning than wife. Yet Dr. Wordsworth might have taught them that ἀδελφὴν γυναικα meant simply a Christian woman, and might have shown them by the testimony of Tertullian, whom he quotes, that St. Peter was the only Apostle who was married. Possibly, too, a correct translation might have been thought detrimental to Protestant Societies for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Again, preachers will grieve to find that they have been robbed of a favourite text, and that Agrippa is neither "almost" nor "altogether a Christian." Total abstainers will learn that they are to "be no longer drinkers of water;" and vegetarians will be disgusted to find that their lentil pottage, so appetizing to the hungry Esau, is changed into "a morsel of meat."

The Revisers have thought good to make certain changes in the Apostolic College. They have discovered hitherto unus-

pected relationship between Judas the Traitor and the Apostle Simon the Zealot. In John vi. 71, Judas is called the "son of Simon Iscariot." On the other hand, they have deprived the Apostle St. Jude of the honour of being "the brother of James," and so of the authorship of the Epistle.

The American Revisers are like the disciples St. Paul found at Ephesus, who did not know that there was a Holy Ghost. They suggest that the word should everywhere be changed into Holy Spirit. This suggestion was not accepted, and was banished to the limbo of rejected American suggestions. But Mr. Vance Smith blames the English committee for their conduct, and says that "they have not shown that judicial freedom from theological bias which was certainly expected of them." The American Revisers are quite above reproach on this point. So great is their freedom from dogmatic prejudice that they suggested the removal of all mention of the sin of heresy—heresies in their eyes being only "factions." They desired also that the Apostles and Evangelists should drop their title of Saint, and be content to be called plain John, and Paul, and Thomas. This results, no doubt, from their democratic taste for strict equality, and their hatred of titles even in the Kingdom of Heaven. It is certainly surprising to find these gentlemen a little over-particular in the matter of St. Peter's scant attire when he jumped overboard. They wished to add a marginal note to the effect that St. Peter "had on his under-garment only." On another point also, not we think of any great importance, the American Revisers have thought it necessary to express dissent from their English brethren. And this in regard to the fate of the herd of swine, into which the devils entered and drove headlong into the lake. The English Revisers say they were "choked," but the American verdict is different; they would bring them in as "drowned." It will thus be seen that these gentlemen combine the greatest doctrinal breadth with most minute scrupulosity of detail. Seeing how ill their suggestions have been received by their English brethren, who are still under the yoke of antiquated conservatism, it is quite possible that next time they will revise their own Bible for themselves according to their own unfettered ideas.

In regard to proper names it seems to us that the Revisers have taken a most unwarrantable liberty with the language of the New Testament. They say "our general practice has been to follow the Greek form of names, except in the case of persons and places mentioned in the Old Testament: in this case we have followed the Hebrew" (Preface, p. xviii). In other words, they have thought themselves competent to teach Apostles and Evangelists how to spell proper names! St. Matthew wrote Aram and Salathiel, but he should have written, as the New

Version correctly puts, Ram and Shealtiel. St. Luke mistook Juda for Joda, and St. James seems not to have known that the right name of Elias was Elijah. Unless it should turn out that the Revisers were really inspired to correct the New Testament as well as the Universal Church, we think them guilty both of great presumption and a gross blunder. These modern scribes would make the Gospel yield to the Law, and the Church bow to the synagogue. They prefer the silly pedantry of a few wrong-headed Reformers of the sixteenth century to the practice of Christendom in every age. Are they ignorant of the fact that the inspired writers of the New Testament took their quotations as well as their proper names, not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek Septuagint? To be consistent, they should have corrected the quotations too; perhaps they may yet do so on further Revision.

\*Lastly, we come to the most serious point of all—viz., the passages the Revisers have thought proper to leave out altogether. So far it has been a question of translation and of names, but here the vital integrity of Sacred Scripture is affected. By the sole authority of textual criticism these men have dared to vote away some forty verses of the Inspired Word. The Eunuch's Baptismal Profession of Faith is gone; the Angel of the Pool of Bethesda has vanished; but the Angel of the Agony remains—till the next Revision. The Heavenly Witnesses have departed, and no marginal note mourns their loss. The last twelve verses of St. Mark are detached from the rest of the Gospel, as if ready for removal as soon as Dean Burgon dies. The account of the woman taken in adultery is placed in brackets, awaiting excision. Many other passages have a mark set against them in the margin to show that, like forest trees, they are shortly destined for the critic's axe. Who can tell when the destruction will cease? What have the offending verses done that textual critics should tear them from their home of centuries in the shrine of God's Temple? The sole offence of many is that the careless copyist of some old Uncial MS. skipped them over. Some, again, have been swallowed up by "the all-devouring monster Omoio-Teleuton"—the fatal tendency which possesses a drowsy or a hurried writer to mistake the ending of a verse further down for the similar ending of the verse he copied last. The Angel of Bethesda may have cured "the sick, the blind, the halt and the withered," but modern science has no need of his services, for it has proved, without identifying the site, that the spring was intermittent and the water chalybeate. But our intelligent critics forgot to get rid of the paralytic, whom the Lord cured, and as long as he remains in the text his words will convict

them of folly. To take another instance. In many places in the Gospels there is mention of "prayer and fasting." Here textual critics suspect that "an ascetic bias" has added the fasting; so they expunge it, and leave in prayer only. If an "ascetic bias" brought fasting in, it is clear that a bias the reverse of ascetic leaves it out. St. Luke's second-first Sabbath (vi. 1) puzzled the translators, so they reduced it to the rite of an ordinary Sabbath by omitting the perplexing word *δευτεροπρώτη*. Yet one of the fundamental rules of textual criticism, and they have only two or three, says, "ardua lectio præstet proclivi." Perhaps the reading here was too "hard" for the translators, and so they changed the rule. We have no patience to discuss calmly their shameful treatment of the "Three Heavenly Witnesses." The Revisers have left out the whole verse in 1 John v. 7, 8, without one word of explanation. Surely no one but a textual critic could be capable of such a deed. Nor would any one critic have had the hardihood to do such a thing by himself. It required the corporate audacity of a Committee of Critics for the commission of such a sacrilege. But textual critics are like book-worms—devoid of light and conscience, following the blind instincts of their nature, they will make holes in the most sacred of books. The beauty, the harmony, and the poetry of the two verses would have melted the heart of any man who had a soul above parchment. Fathers have quoted them, martyrs died for them, saints preached them. The Church of the East made them her Profession of Faith; the Church of the West enshrined them in her Liturgy. What miserable excuses can these Revisers have for such a wanton outrage on Christian feeling? They cannot find the words in their oldest Greek MSS.! The oldest of them is younger than the Sacred Autographs by full three hundred years, and the best of them is full of omissions. Most of them are copies of copies; and in families of MSS., if the father sins by omission, all his children, whether uncial or cursive, must bear the loss. The textual critics of the seventeenth century left out the second half of the 23rd verse of the 2nd chapter of this very Epistle of John, because it was not found amongst the few MSS. which formed the slender stock-in-trade of Incipient Textual Criticism. Since then older and better MSS. have been added, containing the missing sentence; and the critics of the nineteenth century have been forced to restore to the Sacred Text what their fathers stole. Who knows but that another Tischendorf may arise, and find in some secluded monastery of the Nitrian Desert a MS. older than the Sinaitic, containing the "Heavenly Witnesses?" But true critics, who are not merely textual, know that there is a higher criterion of genuineness than MS. authority. There is what Griesbach

calls an "interna bonitas;" there is what Bengel calls an "adamantina cohærentia," which he says, speaking of this very passage, "compensate for the scarcity of MSS." But our enlightened Revisers contend that the passage is a gloss of St. Augustine's, which has slipped from the margin into the text, when nobody was looking. How, then, did Tertullian and St. Cyprian quote the words a century before? How is it that the Santa Croce "Speculum," which Cardinal Wiseman thought to be St. Augustine's own, gives the words three separate times as the words of Scripture? It is beyond dispute that the Old Latin Version, made in the first half of the second century, and revised by St. Jerome in the fourth, contained the words. Still, they persist, the Peshito Syriac omits them. So does it omit four entire Epistles, to say nothing of the Apocalypse. Yet St. Ephrem, who certainly knew what was in the Syriac Bible, quotes, or rather alludes to the words. But they say the Fathers did not make much use of the words against the Arians. There is many another handy verse, the genuineness of which no one doubts, though the Fathers never cited it. The Fathers were not always quoting Scripture with chapter and verse, like modern Bible-readers and tract-distributors. But here is a fact, worth more in point of evidence than a cart-load of quotations. In the year 483, at the height of the great Vandal persecutions, four hundred African bishops in synod assembled drew up a Confession of the Catholic Faith containing the disputed text. This Confession they presented to the Arian Hunneric, King of the Vandals. Many of them sealed their testimony in their blood. About fourteen hundred years later some two dozen Anglican prelates, aided by Methodist preachers, Baptist teachers, and one Unitarian, assembled in synod at Westminster to revise the New Testament, and without a semblance of persecution they yielded up to modern unbelief a verse which Catholic bishops held to the death against Arianism. These men are worse than the ancient Vandals, who only killed the bishops, but did not mutilate the text of Sacred Scripture. In this Socinian age the world could better spare a whole bench of Anglican bishops than one single verse of Holy Writ which bears witness to Christ's Divinity and the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. Well might Strauss ask the question in one of our English periodicals, "Are we Christians?" Well may M. Renan cross the water to lecture England on the origin of Christianity.

But these modern excisers have committed a blunder as well as a crime. They stealthily cut out the verse, but they have joined the pieces so clumsily that any one can detect the fraud. As the passage now stands in their version is without sense, though they foist in the word "agree" to smooth over the



difficulty. "The witness of God" in the following verse is meaningless without the Heavenly witnesses. Their new-made Greek text will make schoolboys wonder how the first Greek scholars of the day could have so forgotten their syntax as to try and make a masculine participle agree with three neuter nouns. The Article too, as Bishop Middleton foretold, will reproach them with a half measure, for they should either have kept both verses in or cut both out. Yet strange to say these Revisers have no shame, no remorse for what they have done. One of them likens what they have done to getting rid of a perjured witness! Another talks calmly of the Revisers being in Paradise, and this after they have dared to take away from the words of him who prophesied that God would take away such men's part from the tree of life and out of the Holy City.

Cardinal Franzelin concludes his masterly defence of the Three Heavenly Witnesses with a remark as true as it is sad. Protestants, he says, have given up the verse because they have first given up the doctrine it supports. St. Jerome says that after a certain council which left the word Homousion out of its Creed, the world awoke and shuddered to find itself Arian. On the 17th of May the English-speaking world awoke to find that its Revised Bible had banished the Heavenly Witnesses and put the devil in the Lord's Prayer. Protests loud and deep went forth against the insertion, against the omission none. It is well, then, that the Heavenly Witnesses should depart whence their testimony is no longer received. The Jews have a legend that shortly before the destruction of their Temple, the Shechinah departed from the Holy of Holies, and the Sacred Voices were heard saying, "Let us go hence." So perhaps it is to be with the English Bible, the Temple of Protestantism. The going forth of the Heavenly Witnesses is the sign of the beginning of the end. Lord Panmure's prediction may yet prove true—the New Version will be the death-knell of Protestantism. But one thing is certain, that, as in the centuries before the birth of Protestantism, so after it is dead and gone the Catholic Church will continue to read in her Bible and profess in her Creed that "there are Three who give testimony in Heaven and these Three are One."

We have spoken of the admissions, the peculiarities, and the omissions of the newly Revised Version. It only remains to express our deep anxiety as to its effect upon the religious mind of England and Scotland. It cannot but give a severe shock to those who have been brought up in the strictest sect of Protestantism. Their fundamental doctrine of verbal inspiration is undermined. The land of John Knox will mourn its dying Calvinism. The prophets of Bible religion will find no sure word from the Lord in the new Gospel. But assuredly the Broad Church

will widen their tents yet more, and rejoice in the liberty wherewith Textual Criticism has made them free. Already one of their great oracles, himself a Reviser, has declared that Inspiration "is not in a part but in the whole, not in a particular passage but in the general tendency and drift of the complete words." And he teaches a new way to convert the working-classes from their unbelief. "The real way," he says, "to reclaim them is for the Church frankly to admit that the documents on which they base their claims to attention are not to be accepted in blind obedience, but are to be tested and sifted and tried by all the methods that patience and learning can bring to bear." Then Heaven help the poor working man if his sole hope of salvation lies in the new Gospel of Textual Criticism! But what will those think who, outside the Catholic Church, still retain the old Catholic ideas about Church and Scripture? How bitter to them must be the sight of their Anglican Bishops sitting with Methodists, Baptists, and Unitarians to improve the English Bible according to modern ideas of Progressive Biblical Criticism! Who gave these men authority over the written Word of God? It was not Parliament, or Privy Council, but the Church of England acting through Convocation. To whom do they look for the necessary sanction and approval of their work, but to public opinion? One thing at least is certain, the Catholic Church will gain by the New Revision, both directly and indirectly. Directly, because old errors are removed from the translation; indirectly, because the "Bible-only" principle is proved to be false. It is now at length too evident that Scripture is powerless without the Church as the witness to its inspiration, the safeguard of its integrity, and the exponent of its meaning. And it will now be clear to all men which is the true Church, the real Mother to whom the Bible of right belongs. Nor will it need Solomon's wisdom to see that the so-called Church which heartlessly gives up the helpless child to be cut in pieces by textual critics cannot be the true Mother.



#### ART. VI.—CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

1. *To the Central African Lakes and Back.* By JOSEPH THOMSON, F.R.G.S. London. 1881.
2. *Les Missions Catholiques.* Lyon.

IT is now nearly twenty years since a European traveller crossing a series of swelling heights, all tufted with sheeny plumes of plantain and banana, saw before him a great unknown freshwater sea which no white man had ever looked upon before.

It proved to be the mighty reservoir which feeds with the gathered rainfall of a vast tropical region the mysterious current of the White Nile, at a distance of three thousand miles from the point where it discharges the volume of its waters into the Mediterranean. This equatorial sea washes the shores of a strange but powerful kingdom, Uganda, or the Land of Drums, which, thus isolated in the remote heart of Africa, possesses nevertheless a certain amount of relative civilization. Rejoicing in the exuberant bounty of tropical Nature, it is rich in fat herds and luscious fruits, and supports a numerous and thriving population in perennial and never-failing plenty. Self-sufficing and self-subsisting, as it has nothing to desire, it has also nothing to fear from the world without, and is sufficiently organized to resist internal disorder or external attack under a form of government bearing a shadowy resemblance to the feudal despotisms of mediæval Europe. Its ruler, the Kabaka, or Emperor, Mtesa, holds barbarous State in his palisaded capital, attended by files of guards, by obsequious courtiers, by pages swift as winged Mercuries to convey his orders, and by the terrible "Lords of the Cord," or State executioners, ready on the merest movement of his eyelids to draw sword on the designated victim and send his severed head rolling to the tyrant's feet. This redoubtable potentate, who at the time when the first English traveller, Captain Speke, visited his Court, was scarcely more than a boy in years, combines all the furious passions of the African race with a high degree of nervous excitability. The result is an electric temperament, in which outbursts of sunny geniality are liable to be interrupted, like those of the tropical sky, by sinister caprices equally swift and sudden. On an excursion to an island in the lake on which the above-mentioned explorer accompanied him, one of the women of his train offered the youthful despot a tempting fruit she had plucked in the woods. Instead of accepting it, he turned on her in a paroxysm of bestial rage and ordered her for immediate execution, nor did the terrible incident appear to mar for a moment his enjoyment of the day's pleasure.

When Mtesa declares war against an enemy, 150,000 warriors in their savage bravery of paint and feathers muster under their respective chiefs, and defile past the royal standard in the panther-like trot which is their marching style; while a canoe fleet 230 strong, manned by from 16,000 to 20,000 rowers and spearmen, appears to join the naval rendezvous upon the lake. Tributary monarchs do homage to the powerful sovereign of Uganda as their liege lord; neighbouring states send embassies to invoke his alliance; and his great vassals, each in his own province ruling with delegated authority equal to his own,

cower and tremble in his presence like the most abject of slaves.

Seated in his chair of State, his feet resting on a leopard skin, and clad in no unkingly fashion in a gold embroidered coat over an ample snowy robe, a Zanzibar sword by his side, a tarbouche or crimson fez upon his closely shaven head, his aspect is not without a certain impressiveness conferred by the sense of conscious power. His mobile bronze features have something of the terrible fascination with which the association of slumbering ferocity invests the repose of a wild beast, and few even of white men conscious of all the prestige of civilization to sustain them, have met without a feeling of involuntary awe the glance of the large vivid eyes, in whose glooming shadows lurk such suggestions of latent fury. The whole scene of his Court, with the discordant clangour of wild music, the braying of ivory horns, roll of drums, and shrill dissonance of fifes, the prostrate forms within, the acclaiming thousands outside, the guards motionless as monumental bronzes, presents a combination of outlandish strangeness bewildering to the European visitor; while the picturesque costumes, white mantles of silky-haired goatskin, clay-coloured robes of bark-cloth draping dark athletic forms—for all are decently clad, and the law prescribes a minimum of covering without which the poorest may not stir abroad\*—furnish elements of pictorial effect not often found in African life. A rude but powerful society is here made manifest, and something like the raw material of civilization may be found in this land of primitive plenty and comfort beneath the equator.

Nor is the king a mere untutored savage; his demeanour is not wanting in dignity, and both he and his principal courtiers have acquired a foreign language, in addition to their native tongue, both speaking and writing the Kiswaheli,† or Arab dialect of the Eastern coast. Mtesa has even some claim to rank among royal authors, for he has certain tablets, made of thin slabs of cottonwood, which he calls his “books of wisdom,” on which he has noted down the results of his conversations with the European travellers who have visited his Court. A strange volume would these reminiscences of the African monarch prove, should they, in these days of universal publication, find their way to the printing press!

The ruler of Uganda has always shown a marked preference

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\* Even Captain Grant's knickerbockers were not considered sufficiently decorous for an appearance at Court in Uganda.

† The African languages are largely inflected by the use of prefixes altering the sense of the words, thus:—U means country, as U-Rundi; M, a single native, as M-Rundi; Wa, people; Ki, language, as Wa-Ganda, Ki-Ganda, the people and language of Uganda.

for the society of white men, whose visits supply his only form of intellectual excitement. Astute and imaginative, he has dreams of material advantages from their friendship, and is anxious for European alliances against Egypt, whose advances towards his northern frontier have made him uneasy as to the chance of an attack. Thus policy and inclination combine to make him desirous of attracting foreigners to his dominions. He either feigns or feels a deep interest in theological discussions, and has coquetted with more than one alien creed. A Mussulman teacher, Muley-bin-Salim, previous to Stanley's visit in 1875, had acquired a certain influence over his mind, and effected a considerable improvement in his morals. Since then, he has abandoned the use of the strong native beer which fired his blood to madness, and has consequently been somewhat more humane in his conduct. His subsequent apparent leaning to Christianity roused Mr. Stanley's zeal with the desire to secure so valuable a convert: the translation of a portion of the Bible prepared for his benefit by the enterprising American traveller, seemed to make some impression on him, and his request for missionaries excited the emulation of Christendom in his behalf. The missionaries have gone; Catholic and Protestant divines have expounded their doctrines in his presence, but Mtesa is still a pagan, and by the last accounts more indomitably fixed in his old beliefs than ever. Fitful as a child, though now in mature manhood, he catches at each new form of excitement to satisfy the cravings of his quick and eager intelligence; then comes a change of mood, and the restless, undisciplined nature turns in another direction. Such is the man on whose caprices depend the spiritual destinies of Equatorial Africa.

We must now transport the reader from Uganda and its Court to a different scene, whose connection with it, not at first very obvious, will develop later on. On the heights of El-Biar stood, in the year 1868, an unpretending dwelling, overlooking the blue bay of Algiers, and the town solidly white in the sunshine, as though sculptured from a marble quarry on the hillside. There, three lads, just issuing from childhood, were undergoing a course of preparation for the arduous task to which they had spontaneously consecrated themselves, and which was, indeed, nothing less than the apostolate of Africa. From such a small beginning has grown in the thirteen years since past, a numerous and active religious body, now taking a leading part in the regeneration of the continent which gave it birth.

The story of the Algerian Missions belongs to what may be called the romance of religion. It is told by Mgr. Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, in a letter published serially in numbers of *Les Missions Catholiques*, extending from the 4th of March to

the 6th of May, 1881, in which he reviews the question of the evangelization of Africa.

The French conquest of Algeria in 1830 restored to Christianity that portion of the soil of Africa, but the authorities, fearing to excite against them the spirit of Mussulman fanaticism by any appearance of proselytism, strictly limited the ministrations of the clergy to their own fellow-countrymen, the European settlers, and forbade all interference with the religion of the natives. Thus, though the Trappists\* established themselves, in 1843, at Staouëli, the scene of the first French victory, and showed the Arabs by their example what wealth of produce might be extracted from their soil under careful cultivation, though the Jesuits were allowed to open schools for the native children in Kabyliia, no preaching of Christian doctrine was admitted in combination with the secular and practical lessons taught by these Orders. Many of the Algerian clergy, nevertheless, entertained the hope that the French occupation was destined to lead to the introduction of Christianity into Africa; and posted thus at the gate of the great heathen continent, they held themselves in readiness until a way should be opened for them to enter it. Mgr. Lavigerie tells us that this expectation alone induced him to give up an episcopal see in France for the missionary diocese of Algiers. It was the misfortunes of the natives during a dreadful famine, which in 1868 devastated the country, that first brought them into somewhat closer relations with the French clergy, and led to the need being felt for a body of men fitted by special training to deal with them. The terrible character of this catastrophe may be inferred from the fact, that within a few months a fifth of the population perished in the districts where it prevailed. The Arab met his fate with his usual apathetic resignation to the inevitable, covered his head with the folds of his white *bernouse*, muttered, "*Kismet*," and died. But the dearth of material sustenance was the harvest-home of charity. All through the country thousands of native children were left a prey to starvation, bereft of parents and kinsfolk, orphans of the famine. The Archbishop sent out his priests and nuns into the streets and highways, organized relief expeditions to remote places, despatched his emissaries far and wide to collect all these helpless derelicts of suffering humanity, and bring them into the archiepiscopal palace in Algiers. The quest was a productive one. Soon the streets of the city witnessed a sad spectacle, as mules, ambulances, and waggons began to arrive with their piteous freight—children of all ages, in every stage of emaciation and

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\* One of their principal crops is the geranium, indigenous to the soil, and cultivated over large tracts to be manufactured into perfumes in the south of France. They have also introduced the culture of the vine.

inanity, many already beyond the reach of human aid. There ensued a curious scene, for the little creatures, even in the last extremity of suffering, manifested the liveliest terror at finding themselves in the hands of the *Roumis*—Christians, or Roman Catholics—who, they had been taught to believe, lived by sucking the blood of children. These fears were however quickly dissipated by the tender solicitude of their kind captors, and they soon reconciled themselves to their new home.

When results could be ascertained, the Archbishop found himself at the head of a family of two thousand orphans, with the whole charge of their education and maintenance thrown upon him. He joyfully accepted the responsibility, for the rescued little ones were objects of special interest to him, not only as so many young lives preserved by his instrumentality, but also as the possible seed of Arab Christianity in the future. But in the care of his orphanages and other institutions originating like them in the famine, he much required the help of an ecclesiastical body specially trained for intercourse with the natives, as the French clergy, rigorously excluded from all ministrations among them, were unacquainted even with their language. We shall let him tell in his own words how this need was supplied, as if in miraculous answer to his wishes, by a totally unexpected offer from M. Girard, Superior of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Kouba, who had long shared his desires for the evangelization of the natives.

On that day then (writes Mgr. Lavigerie), this venerable son of St. Vincent de Paul, in every way worthy of such a spiritual father, appearing before me with three pupils of his seminary, said: "These young men are come to offer themselves to you for the African apostolate—with God's grace, this will be the beginning of the work we have so much desired." I seem to see him, as with his white head bowed he knelt before me, with his three seminarists, and begged me to bless and accept their devotion. I did indeed bless them, filled at once with astonishment and emotion, for I had received no previous intimation of this offer; and coinciding exactly with the anxieties occupying my mind at the moment, it seemed to me almost like the result of supernatural interposition. I bade them rise and be seated; I interrogated them at length; I brought forward, as was my duty, all possible objections. They answered them, and my consent was at last given to a trial by way of experiment.

Thus it was that the work began in humble fashion, from elements to all appearance the most feeble; an aged man already on the verge of the grave, three young men, or, more properly speaking, three children scarcely entered upon life.

I was incapable, as I have already said, of devoting myself to the task of their training, and yet it was indispensable, for a special vocation, to separate them from the great seminary. Providence itself

provided me with the means of doing this, by sending to Algiers, in search of a mild climate, two saintly religious, both since dead. One belonged to the Jesuit Society, the other to that of the Priests of Saint Sulpice. At that very time they had been asking me for some duty compatible with their declining strength. I established them with our three seminarists in a humble house which was to be let on the heights of El-Biar overlooking Algiers from the south. There, in former days, the French army coming from Staouéli compelled this ancient nest of Mussulman pirates to conclude the struggle, and throw open to the civilized world the gates of barbarism. Such was the first noviciate.

From this insignificant beginning the institution of Algerian missionaries grew and extended so rapidly as to number at the present time a hundred priests, in addition to lay-brothers and a hundred and thirty postulants and novices. Their mother-house is the *Maison-Carrée* near Algiers, memorable as the scene of the heroic end of forty French soldiers, who, at the time of the invasion, surrounded and overpowered by a Mussulman force, were offered life and protection if they would embrace Islamism, and refusing to abjure their religion, were shot down to a man. Here the missionaries have now quite a little colony, as dependencies of various kinds are grouped round the central building.

Among the first charges confided to them were naturally the orphanages, the objects of Mgr. Lavigerie's special solicitude. He had long had a plan in connection with them, which many at first deemed chimerical, but which has been so successfully carried out, as not only to fulfil the end immediately in view, but to furnish the model of a system imitated wherever practicable in all subsequent missionary enterprise in Africa. This was to provide for the future of his orphan protégés, by forming them into independent communities, encouraging marriages between the girls and young men he had reared, and establishing the youthful couples as they thus paired off, in dwellings prepared for them on a tract of land purchased expressly, and divided into allotments sufficient each for the support of a family.

Thus have been called into existence the Christian villages of St. Cyprien and Ste. Monique, situated at a distance of 180 kilomètres from Algiers on the railway which runs from that city to Oran, along what was in former times the line of the great highway of an older civilization, leading from Carthage to the Pillars of Hercules. The passing traveller sees groups of white dwellings embowered in carob trees and eucalyptus, clustered round a little church on the brown hillside; below the Chelif winds like a silver ribbon through the plain, into which jut the lower spurs of the mountains of Kabylia. If he ask a



European travelling companion the name of one of these little Christian colonies in the wilderness, he will be told it is St. Cyprien du Tighsel, so called from a rivulet running close by. But should he, in straying through the wild mountains to the south, put the same question to a wandering Arab, he will receive a different answer, and will hear it described in more poetic language, as the "village of the children of the marabout," for so is Mgr. Lavigerie styled among the natives.

The interior arrangements of these little hamlets are characterized by an air of neatness and comfort, contrasting favourably with the squalor of the ordinary Kabyle village. Next to this peculiarity, what will most strike a stranger will probably be the extreme youth of all the inhabitants. No withered crone is to be seen guiding the movements of the children playing at the house-doors; no grey-haired elders are there to counsel the younger men at their avocations. To their spiritual fathers alone can they look for guidance and direction, for the Algerian missionaries are here in their field of activity among the natives.

But the great gala of the inhabitants is when the Archbishop comes in person to visit the colonies he has planted. The little ones, who already begin to abound in every youthful household, stand in no awe of the ecclesiastical dignity of "Grand-papa Monseigneur," as the good prelate loves to hear them call him, for these children of his charity in the second generation are the spoiled pets of his paternal affection. He cannot even bear to have them excluded from the little church when he goes there to hold solemn service, though the addition of such very juvenile members to the congregation introduces an unmistakable element of distraction into its devotions. The Arabs and Kabyles from the mountains in the neighbourhood, when they come to make acquaintance with their Christian fellow-countrymen, are struck with admiration and wonder at what they see. "Never," they exclaim, holding up their hands in astonishment, "would your own fathers, if they had been alive, have done so much for you as the great marabout of the Christians!"

The visits of these natives have given rise to a further extension of the work of beneficence. It is an invariable rule of the Order of the Algerian Missionaries to tend with their own hands all the sick who come before them; and as the fame of their medical skill extended through the mountains, patients began to flock into them from far and wide. Those who were present when these poor infirm creatures collected, with imploring gestures, round the Fathers, dressed too in the native costume, seemed to see one of the scenes of the New Testament re-enacted before their eyes.

But many of these sufferers required prolonged care, which the missionaries, living at great distances from their homes, were unable to bestow on them. Then Mgr. Lavigerie, ever inventive in good works, began to revolve a new idea, that of erecting, in the village of St. Cyprien, a hospital for natives, where they should be received and tended gratuitously. There were of course great difficulties in the way of such an undertaking, primarily and principally the necessity of raising a very large sum of money before it could, in common prudence, be even set on foot. But this difficulty was unexpectedly overcome by the munificent help of General Wolff, commandant of the division of Algiers, who, having at his disposal a considerable military fund destined for charities among the natives, made it over to the Archbishop to be used in carrying out his project. The remainder of the sum required was raised by public subscription; and the hospital, dedicated to St. Elizabeth, the patron saint of Madame Wolff, became an accomplished fact.

It was inaugurated on the 5th of February, 1876, with a scene of picturesque festivity, when Mgr. Lavigerie dispensed hospitality on a Homeric scale of liberality, not only to a large number of visitors brought by special train from Algiers and entertained within doors in European fashion, but also to the Arabs of the neighbouring tribes. These wild guests assembled in thousands, and picnicked in the open air, feasting in primitive style on sheep and oxen roasted whole, suspended above great fires on wooden poles run through their headless carcasses. A thousand Arab cavaliers executed the "fantasia," their national tournament, seeming like so many demon horsemen as they wheeled to and fro in mad career, uttering savage war-cries, flinging spears and rifles into the air, and catching them as they fell, breaking into squadrons, re-uniting, chasing, and flying, like clouds of sand swept along by the whirlwind of the desert. The Frankish visitors enjoyed this performance, viewed from a safe distance, more than they did the simulated attack on the train, with which the same wild horsemen had saluted their arrival in the morning, and which was represented with a realistic force somewhat trying to feminine nerves.

It was but a few weeks previous to this joyous celebration that the Algerian missionaries, hitherto occupied only with these works among the natives under French rule, had undertaken the first of the more distant enterprises with which their Order was destined to be widely associated. Three of their number started for Timbuctoo, with orders to found there a Christian colony, or die in the attempt. Père Duguerry, their Superior, accompanied them to the confines of Algeria, and last saw them as they rode off on camel-back into the desert, intoning the *Te Deum* in

chorus. Weeks passed without any news of them, and then vague rumours of their death began to circulate among the nomad population of the Northern Sahara. Time confirmed these sinister reports, and their bodies were finally discovered by some ostrich hunters, more than thirty days' march from the coast, on the southern edge of the Sahara, some distance from the caravan route. They are believed to have been massacred by the savage Touaregs, or Isghers, who recently annihilated the French exploring expedition under Colonel Flatters. Yet the Algerian missionaries at present wandering among these same, or kindred tribes, in search of a favourable locality in which to establish themselves, have met with a pacific and even cordial reception. The attempt to advance in the direction of Timbuctoo, has, however, for the present been abandoned.

A new field of enterprise has been opened to the Algerian Missions by an agency unconnected in itself with any religious objects. In 1877 was founded, under the stimulus supplied by the narratives of a series of travellers, the International African Association, consisting of ten States, under the presidency of the King of the Belgians, for the systematic and combined exploration of the continent. According to the programme of this new crusade against barbarism, as its founders termed it, its destined field of operations is bounded on the east and west by the two seas, on the south by the basin of the Zambesi, and on the north by the recently conquered Egyptian territory, and the independent Soudan. Through this vast and imperfectly explored region, the Association designs to establish permanent stations of supply, where travellers can be sheltered, and caravans refitted, and Ujiji, Nyangwe, and Kabebe, or some other point in the dominions of the Muata Yanvo, have been designated as among the points most suitable for the purpose.

It is no longer (writes Mgr. Lavigerie) a matter of isolated explorers, but of regular expeditions, in which money is not spared any more than men. Thus, under a vigorous impetus, an uninterrupted chain of stations is being established from Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika, where the Belgian explorers have founded their central establishment of Karema; while on the west Stanley is ascending the course of the Congo, and forming dépôts along its shores. The day is then not far distant when the representatives of the International African Association, coming from the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, will meet on the lofty plateaux where the two great rivers of Africa, the Nile and the Congo, take their rise.

But (as he goes on to say) the Church must have her part in this work of civilization, and must not let herself be anticipated in these new countries by all the other European influences to which they will soon be thrown open. It was not long before the

death of Pius IX. that Cardinal Franchi, Prefect of the Propaganda, directed his attention to the labours of the Brussels Conference, and their probable effect on the future of a country nearly as large as Europe, and containing a population estimated by some at a hundred million souls. The heads of all the principal Missions in Africa were consulted, and were unanimous in recognizing the greatness of the religious interests at stake, but the difficulty was to find a body of men sufficiently zealous and trained for labour in this new field, who had not already undertaken other engagements requiring all their energies and resources. This was the case with all the old-established religious congregations in Africa, which had each its own sphere of operations and could not abandon it for a fresh experiment, and the Algerian Missions, newly-organized, full of fervour, and comparatively free from the claims of other duties, were the only ones available for the new undertaking. For, while their numbers had continued steadily to increase, many of the charges which had been their first care, had now ceased to provide them with full occupation; and the orphanages, in particular, at the lapse of nine or ten years from their foundation, had nearly fulfilled their function, as the children of the famine were, as we have seen, being otherwise provided for.

Thus the priests of the Society were able to accept unhesitatingly the charge of the Missions to Equatorial Africa, as soon as it was proposed to them; and in an address to the Holy See declared their joyful readiness to devote themselves to the cause. But the Pontiff who had called them to their arduous task was not destined to speed them on their way. Two of the Algerian missionaries arrived in Rome in January, 1878, as a deputation from the Order, to lay their declaration of acceptance at the feet of Pius IX., and receive his final benediction and instructions; but his death intervened before he had signed the decree authorizing the commencement of their task. The fulfilment of the intentions of his predecessor in this respect was one of the first acts of the Pontificate of Leo XIII., and the rescript giving effect to them is dated the 24th of February, four days only after his accession. The territory confided to the Missions thus created is identical with that selected as its scene of operations by the International Association, and extends across the entire width of the continent of Africa, from ten degrees north to fifteen south of the line. Four missionary centres, intended later to become Vicariates Apostolic, have been created; two on Lakes Nyanza and Tanganyika; one at Kabebe, in the territory of the Muata Yanvo, and one at the northern extremity of the course of the Congo. Most of these stations will occupy the same points as those selected by the European explorers, whose track across

Africa the Algerian missionaries will thus precede or follow. In order that they might be first in the field and anticipate the teachers of any other form of Christianity, it was the special desire of the Pope that they should start without delay, and accordingly, on the 25th of March, a month after the signature of the decree, the little band were on their way to Zanzibar.

They numbered ten, of whom five, Pères Pascal, Deniaud, Dromaux, Delaunay, and Frère Auger, were destined for the Mission of Lake Tanganyika; and an equal number, Pères Livinhac, Girault, Lourdel, Barbot, and Frère Amance, for that of the Victoria Nyanza. Our readers are doubtless aware that a special ceremony of adieu is prescribed by the liturgy to celebrate the departure of missionaries for a distant station. At the close of the service all present, beginning with the ecclesiastic of highest dignity, advance to kiss the feet of the new apostles, messengers of that Gospel of Peace, surely nowhere more needed than in the torn and bleeding heart of Africa.

The Algerian Missionaries who sailed from Marseilles at the end of March, landed at Zanzibar on the 29th of April. Then began those scenes of feverish bustle and anxiety attending the process of organizing a caravan for the interior, in which the travellers were aided by the energetic co-operation of Père Charmetant, Procureur-General of their Society, come to speed them with his help and advice on the first stages of their journey. The whole success of an African expedition depends on the character of the men chosen to compose it, and especially on the efficiency of the head-men, whose influence over their subordinates is analogous to that of the officers of a regiment over the rank and file. The caravan, whether for trade, exploration, or religious colonization, is always constituted in the same way, and generally comprises two distinct categories of men. The first are the Wangwana, negroes of Zanzibar, of whom we read so much in all narratives of African travel, engaged to form the armed escort of the party, and termed *askaris*, from the Arabic word, *aschkar*, a soldier. They are a jovial, pleasure-loving crew, vain and light-hearted, averse to discipline, and liable to sudden panics and fitful changes of mood. They have, however, their counterbalancing virtues, and, when headed by a leader who inspires them with confidence, are capable of prolonged endurance of toil and suffering, and of courageous fidelity to their employer.

The second class are the porters, or *pagazis*, of the expedition, generally consisting of Wanyamwezi, natives of the province of Unyamwezi, lying to the east of the great Lake district. Being in a lower stage of civilization than the Wangwana, they have the greater measure of both good and bad qualities implied by that difference, are wilder and more unmanageable, but, on the

other hand, less enervated by vices and excesses than the more self-indulged natives of the coast. For this reason they are superior as porters, as their greater hardihood and exemption from disease enables them better to bear the continuous strain of carrying a heavy load through a long march.

In addition to these two classes of men, there are in every expedition a certain number of *kirangozis*, or guides, whose duty it is to head the different sections of the column on the march, keep order in the ranks, and select the route, and who may be compared to the non-commissioned officers in a regiment. They carry lighter loads than the rank and file, and are distinguished by the fantastic brilliancy of their apparel, by plumed head-dresses, flowing scarlet robes, and the skins or tails of animals worn as decorations. Preceded by a noisy drummer-boy, and led by these barbaric figures, the long serpentine file of an African caravan forms a sufficiently picturesque spectacle, as emerging from the reeds or jungle, it winds over open ground to some village on its road.

But the hiring and selection of his native followers is not the only care that engages the traveller preparing for an African expedition. As no form of coin is current in the interior, he has to take a bulky equivalent in the shape of goods, for the expenses of his entire force along the way; and the purchase, assortment, and classification of his varied stock-in-trade is a task of some difficulty. Chaos seems come again; while in a room strewn with all the litter of a packing-house, with shreds of matting, fragments of paper, and the wreck of tin boxes and wooden cases, black figures keep coming and going depositing the most miscellaneous loads, of which bales of unbleached cotton, striped and coloured cloths, glass beads of every size and hue, and coils of brass wire, are the most conspicuous. In the midst of this scene of confusion, with a Babel of tongues and clatter of hammers going on all round, and at a temperature of 80° Fahr., each load has to be arranged and numbered, its contents enumerated, and its place in the catalogue carefully assigned. Such is the task that awaits the traveller at Zanzibar.

The goods most in use are *merikani*, a strong white cotton, of American manufacture, as its name implies; *kaniki*, a blue cloth; and *satini*, a lighter and more flimsy fabric. These are reckoned by the *doti*, a measure of about four yards, and are used by the natives in such elementary forms of clothing as they affect.

Beads, manufactured in Venice for the African market, must be chosen with special reference to the prevailing fashion among the tribes they are intended for, as each has its own special predilection. Different varieties are exported to the opposite coasts

of Africa, so that finding some of the natives of the interior in the possession of a particular sort was a sufficient proof to Livingstone that he had crossed, so to speak, the watershed between the two great streams of traffic, and arrived from the east, at the region whose products are borne to the Atlantic. The caprices of savage taste are sometimes as fleeting as those of European fashion, and the last and youngest African explorer, Mr. Thomson, tells us in his narrative, how he transported to the shores of Lake Tanganyika a cargo of a special form of these glass wares, which his head man Chumah had on his last visit seen in great request there, but the fancy for which had in the interval so completely passed away, that the traveller found them utterly useless.

Brass wire, a somewhat ponderous form of metallic currency, is also in great vogue among the African fashionables as an ornament for their persons; so much so, that in the spirit of the French proverb, *Il faut souffrir pour être belle*, they are content to carry immense loads of it round their necks, arms, or ankles, with a view to increasing their attractions.

In addition to these ordinary wares, the Fathers had provided themselves with various ornamental cloths to propitiate the chiefs; and Mgr. Lavigerie, with a special view to the taste of the great potentates Mirambo and Mtesa, had commissioned a friend in Paris to ransack the bazaars of the Temple for the cast-off finery of the Second Empire, and lay in a stock of the State robes of ex-senators and ministers. This was done, and a result was hoped for as satisfactory as that which had once ensued from presenting an American Indian Chief with the second-hand uniform of the beadle of St. Sulpice, which he wore, as his sole garment, on the occasion of the next solemn festival, and thus attired took part in the procession, to the great edification of all beholders.

The organization of the missionary caravan was much more rapidly accomplished than that of most similar expeditions; and the preparations in which months are usually spent were completed in a few weeks. Three hundred pagazis were engaged at a hundred francs a head to act as carriers to Unyamwezi, whence the two Missions were to take separate roads, the one to Lake Tanganyika, and the other to the Victoria Nyanza. The entire baggage of the party weighed a hundred quintals, and the separate loads about 35 kilos. each. When the askaris, or guards, and all supernumeraries were reckoned, the force numbered five hundred men.

The Algerian Fathers were much assisted by the co-operation of the Missionaries of the Holy Ghost at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo, where their admirable establishments, founded by Père

Horner, since dead, form the admiration of all travellers. They have proceeded on the plan of ransoming children from the slave dealers, training them to some trade or industry, and establishing them in rural colonies under their own immediate care. One of the lay-brothers is an experienced mechanical engineer, having studied in the most celebrated workshops in Europe, that of Krupp among others, and the Mission is consequently able to execute orders for the construction or repairs of machinery in the best way. In 1873, Sir Bartle Frere, in his official report, spoke of these establishments in the following terms:—"I should find it impossible to suggest the slightest improvement in this Mission in any direction. I shall cite it as a model to be followed by those who at any time desire to civilize and Christianize Africa." The Fathers have recently established an inland station at Mhonda, among the mountains, eleven days' march from the coast, at a height of a thousand mètres above the sea, where they have been well received by the natives.

It was on the 16th of June, 1878, that the Algerian Missionaries took leave of these kind friends and fellow-labourers, and set out on their long road from Bagamoyo to the Great Lakes. In addition to their human carriers, they took with them twenty asses, the only beasts of burden which withstand the fatal effects of the tsetse bite. The path taken was the ordinary caravan route followed by Arab trade with the interior, and by constant traffic rendered safe for a well-equipped party, unless it should become entangled in the hostilities frequently going on between the natives. The greatest annoyance to which travellers through this part of the country are liable is the constant exaction of *hongo*, or tribute, on the part of every petty chief through whose territory they pass, and their diaries are little else than a narration of the delays and vexations caused by incessant negotiations with these grasping savages. On the latter part of the route a fresh centre of disturbance has of late years been created in the country by the growing power of Mirambo, "that terrible phantom," as Stanley calls him, whose name is a bugbear to travellers and traders. Originally a petty chief of Unyamwezi, he has rendered himself formidable by gathering around him all the elements of disorder and violence so prevalent in African society; and his predatory bands, known as *Ruga-Rugas*, are dreaded alike by foreigners and natives. Their raids keep the country in a ferment, and some of their light skirmishers are constantly lying in wait in the jungles to pick up stragglers from the caravans. The Arabs are, however, the objects of his special enmity, and he is in general more favourably disposed to Europeans.

The first marches of the missionary caravan lay through the



rich but unwholesome lowlands that line the coast, where the damp soil, soaked with moisture after the *masika*, or rainy season, is a hot-bed of fever, exhaling poisonous miasma. All the travellers suffered more or less from the effects of the climate, which they tried to counteract by powerful doses of quinine and other remedies. The landscape displayed the glories of African vegetation, and the dense foliage of the forests sheltered tropical birds, and was the home of black and white monkeys, which bounded chattering from tree to tree. The road the travellers followed is but a narrow track along which the column wound in single file, sometimes plunging through matted under-wood and dense cane-brakes, sometimes with the loads carried by the men just showing above a sea of rank tall grass, waving as high as their heads on either side. Wherever this path forked, the leaders of the party broke off a branch and laid it across the opening of the false turn as a signal to those who came after to avoid it. Rivers and streams had to be crossed either on the slippery trunk of a tree felled so as rudely to bridge them over, or by wading through the current where a practicable ford occurred. The first trifling misadventure in the camp occurred on June 18, and is narrated in the diary of the missionaries, published serially in *Les Missions Catholiques*.

Just as we were sitting down to dinner under a tree, a few steps away from the camp, all the men of our caravan, askaris and pagazis, rushed to arms, uttering furious cries. We ran to the scene of tumult and found that the camp had caught fire, and that the conflagration was rapidly approaching our baggage. Our first care was to extinguish it, which we did, with the aid of the soldiers, but the shouts and tumult continued. The pagazis cocked their guns, uttering wild shrieks and threatening to fire on the soldiers. The fight was then between the Wangwana askaris and the Wanyamwezi pagazis. At last, by dint of preaching peace, and desiring weapons to be laid aside, we succeeded in restoring order. We then learned the cause of all this disturbance. An askari had lost the stopper of his powder flask, a pagazi had picked it up and kept it. The theft discovered, the two men had come to blows, and the contagion of their wrath and fury had soon spread to the entire caravan. Happily the incident had no serious consequences.

The ordinary day's march of an African expedition is necessarily short, as it represents only a portion of the day's work performed by the men. It is generally got over very early in the morning, beginning at five o'clock, so that the halting place is reached by ten or eleven, before the sun has attained its full power. The preparations for encamping then commence, fire-wood and water have to be procured, and the men proceed to construct huts for themselves of an umbrella-shaped frame-work of

boughs, thatched with bundles of long grass fastened together at the top. Others meantime are busied in lighting the fires, in cooking, or in setting up the tents of the travellers, and otherwise attending to their comfort. It is an extraordinary instance of the physical endurance of the men, that frequently on arriving at an encampment, apparently completely exhausted by a long march, they will, after a short rest, spring up, and begin one of their wild and furious dances, spending the night in a perfect frenzy of movement instead of sleeping off the fatigues of the day.

Sometimes in the evening the Kirangozis (guides) address orations to their men in the style of that quoted by Stanley, in "How I found Livingstone."

"Hearken, Kirangozis! Lend ear, O Sons of the Wanyamwezi! The journey is for to-morrow. The path is crooked, the path is bad. There are jungles where more than one man will be concealed. The Wagogo strike the pagazis with their lances; they cut the throats of those who carry stuff and beads. The Wagogo have come to our camp; they have seen our riches; this evening they will go to hide in the jungle. Be on your guard, O Wanyamwezi! Keep close together; do not delay; do not linger behind. Kirangozis, march slowly, so that the weak, the children, the sick, may be with the strong. Rest twice on the road. These are the words of the master. Have you heard them, Sons of the Wanyamwezi?"

A unanimous cry replies in the affirmative.

"Do you understand them?"

Fresh affirmative cries.

"It is well." Night falls, and the orator retires into his hut.

The missionaries had to encounter more than one threatened mutiny in their camp, the men demanding increased pay or other indulgences, and on one of these occasions eight of the soldiers were dismissed and sent back to the coast. The inefficiency of their caravan leader threw the task of keeping order among the mixed and barbarous multitude of their followers principally on the Fathers, and the incompatibility of this office, entailing the necessity of energetic remonstrances and threats, with the dignity of their priestly character, suggested the idea, since carried out, of requesting ex-Papal Zouaves to accompany future missionary caravans, in order to enforce military discipline in their ranks.

On Sundays the caravan was halted, and the missionaries prepared to celebrate Mass, with all the pomp and solemnity possible under the circumstances. In the principal tent an altar was erected, decorated with ornaments bestowed by Mgr. Lavigerie and sundry religious societies, while above it hung two banners embroidered by the Carmelite Nuns of Cité Bugeaud, near

Algiers. In this little sanctuary in the wilderness, High Mass was chanted by the Fathers, in sight of their dark-skinned heathen followers, who watched through the open door of the tent, in wonder not untinged with superstitious awe, the ceremony which they had been told was the white man's most solemn rite of prayer.

On arrival in camp on the 5th of July, a soldier called Mabruki, failed to answer to the roll-call, and two of his comrades were sent back in search of him; he had carried off with him a whole piece of merikani and some articles belonging to the other soldiers, and was found in a village on the route, whence he was ignominiously brought back prisoner by the search party. His comrades tried him by a sort of drum-head court-martial, dismissed him from their ranks, and, after administering a flogging, sent him on his way back to the coast.

The party were now entering a wilder and more mountainous country, infested by wild animals, as described in the journal of July 6.

We passed through the village of Kikoka, now completely abandoned on account of the neighbourhood of lions. We were close to a camp where five or six members of a caravan had been devoured by these animals barely a month before.

Lions are one of the dangers of the journey from Zanzibar to the Great Lakes. They sometimes join together in packs of six or eight to hunt game. Some animals show fight against them successfully.\* Lions never venture to attack the adult elephant, and even fly before the buffalo, unless they are more than two to one. In general they do not attack caravans, and never in the day-time. At most, a hungry lion may spring upon and carry off a straggler while passing through the brakes and jungles. But it is otherwise at night. When the lions scent the caravan from afar, particularly if it contain goats or beasts of burden, they approach and announce their vicinity by terrific roars. Nevertheless, in a well-enclosed camp there is no danger; the lions never attempt to clear the obstacles, and marksmen from behind the palisades can pick them off with almost unfailing aim. There is danger only when the camp is not completely enclosed, or when those inside go out to attack them. Then, if the lions are in force, they seldom fail to make some victims. This, no doubt, was what had happened to the caravan that had preceded us at Kikoka.

Some considerable streams intersected this part of the route, and as the rude tree-trunk bridges by which they were crossed afforded no footing to the asses, the only way found practicable for getting these animals across was to fasten a long rope round

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\* These details agree with those given by the German explorer, Dr. Holub, in his recent book, "Seven Years in South Africa."

their necks, by which ten men standing on the opposite shore hauled them by main force through the current. This process, which lasted some hours, had to be frequently repeated during the journey.

At intervals along the road the caravan came upon traces of the unsuccessful attempt made by the English missionaries of Ujiji to introduce transport by oxen into this part of Africa, in the shape of waggons abandoned by their owners in the villages they passed through, as the draught beasts had gradually succumbed to tsetse bite, fatigue, or the effects of feeding on unwholesome grasses. Approaching the village of Mpuapua on the 26th of July, they saw the English flag flying over a building which proved to be the residence of the Protestant missionaries permanently stationed there. They exchanged visits and other courtesies with these gentlemen, who charged themselves with the conveyance of their letters to Zanzibar.

A short time after leaving this station, the caravan had its first painful experience of a *tirikeza*, or forced march, across a parched and waterless desert, where rest can only be purchased at the price of endurance of thirst. Starting at six in the morning, they entered on a sandy plain, twelve leagues in breadth, which must be crossed in eighteen hours. At mid-day a short halt was made, after which they pressed on again till seven in the evening. Overpowered with fatigue, all lay down to sleep in the open air, round large fires, for neither huts nor tents were set up, and at five in the morning they had to start again, reaching at nine the inhabited country where they stopped for two days' rest.

They had now crossed the frontier of Ugogo, a mountainous plateau, forming the water-shed between the Indian Ocean and the Great Lakes. Hitherto the missionaries had met with no annoyance from the natives, and had not had to pay hongo, or tribute, once since leaving the coast. They were now to have a different experience, and found themselves surrounded at every moment by swarms of filthy and unsavoury savages, whom even the exertions of the soldiers could not succeed in banishing from the camp. Every movement of the *wasunga*, or white men, was watched with intense curiosity, but in a spirit of ridicule instead of admiration. Reeking with rancid butter, and clad only in a scrap of greasy cotton or sheep-skin, the Wagogo are anything but pleasant neighbours at close quarters; and a crowd of them in a small tent, jabbering and making faces at everything they saw, was an infliction that might gladly have been dispensed with. They enlarge the lobes of their ears by inserting pegs into them, to which they attach various articles of use or ornament, and are thus provided with a substitute for a pocket, a convenience they are precluded from the use of by the scantiness

of their apparel. In some cases this portion of the ear is so elongated by the weights attached to it as to reach to the shoulder. Provisions were cheap in Ugogo, ten eggs being given in exchange for a single pin; but, on the other hand, the travellers had now to submit to a series of exorbitant demands on the part of every village potentate whose territory they passed. These extortions amounted to hundreds of yards of cotton, with other goods in proportion, and were everywhere the subject of wearisome negotiations, and the cause of interminable delays. Thus it was twenty-one days before the caravan cleared this notorious province, lightened, in its passage, of nearly all the goods brought from the coast.

But the Fathers had to deplore, in Ugogo, a greater loss than that of their material resources, for it was here that the first serious misfortune overtook the little band, in the death of one of its most devoted members. Père Pascal, the destined Superior of the Mission of Lake Tanganyika, had suffered from slight attacks of fever, at intervals since leaving the coast, but his cheerful spirit and courage had sustained him in battling against the malady. As too often happens, however, in these malarious illnesses, the successive attacks increased instead of diminishing in intensity, and from the 14th of August he became very ill, passing restless nights with continual high fever. Nevertheless, when the caravan was starting on the morning of the 17th, though scarcely able to stand, and delirious at intervals, he insisted on mounting his ass, so as to leave the litter to one of his sick comrades. This was his last march; he grew so rapidly worse at the next halting-place that he could no longer be moved, and died at three in the afternoon of the 19th, without any appearance of suffering towards the close. His companions consoled themselves by recalling his many virtues, particularly the humility and charity for which he had been specially remarkable. On one occasion, in Algeria, he picked up a little Arab boy, abandoned by his parents to die, and covered with sores from head to foot, carried him home, and nursed him with the greatest tenderness. The child was beyond cure, but the good Father's care soothed his last hours, and the example of his charity won the heart of his charge to Christianity before he died.

Lest a death in the camp should be made the pretext for further exactions, the Fathers determined to transport the remains of Père Pascal by night, beyond the inhospitable frontier of Ugogo, which was now close at hand. At midnight then, after assembling for a last prayer of adieu, a little funeral band started in the darkness to seek a suitable place of sepulture. They found it in the great forest skirting the confines of Ugogo, and,

penetrating for about seven or eight kilomètres into its depths, buried the remains of their valued companion in that inaccessible tropical wilderness, marking the spot with a small wooden cross.

The travellers were now approaching the end of the first stage of their journey, where, in Unyanyembe, the roads to Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika divide, and the Missions destined for their respective shores would have to part company. They entered this province on the 12th of September, but were detained there many months, from the necessity of waiting for fresh supplies, those they had brought with them having been exhausted by the exactions of Ugogo. The contract, too, with the pagazis who had accompanied them from the coast, expired here, and these men were now back in their native country, Unyamwezi, the Land of the Moon, of which Unyanyembe, the Land of Hoes, is but a province. At the meeting point of the two caravan routes has sprung up the settlement of Tabora, which, like most of the localities in Equatorial Africa whose names have become familiar to the European reader, such as Ujiji and Nyangwe, are not native towns, but Arab colonies. Traders of that nation from the coast have gradually settled at these points in the interior, either for increased facilities of commerce, or because social disabilities, such as debt or crime, have rendered it desirable for them to be out of reach of civilization. Most of these immigrants have prospered, and some possess hundreds of slaves, flocks, herds, and other belongings. They have built roomy flat-roofed houses surrounded by the huts of their dependents, the whole generally enclosed by a strong stockade. Even in Stanley's time there were sixty or seventy such stockades in Tabora, and the number has probably increased since. Although these Arab settlers introduced a certain type of civilization, their morality is not calculated to raise the lowest African standard, and they are always inimical to Christianity, as a menace to the slave trade, one of their principal sources of profit.

Their presence at Tabora, however, was of use to the missionaries, as it enabled them to negotiate a loan and purchase goods to start for their further journey. It was not till the 12th of November that the caravan for Uganda, with Père Livinhac at its head, was able to set out once more, while the Tanganyika Mission, in which Père Deniaud had succeeded Père Pascal as Superior, was delayed, by the difficulty of obtaining fresh porters, until the 3rd of December. After a march, diversified only by the usual accidents of the way, by varieties of weather and landscape, by the more or less friendly dispositions of the Sultans through whose territory they passed, and their several degrees of rapacity in the matter of hongo, as well as by frequent alarms and scares of raids from the followers of Mirambo, the first party on

the 30th of December arrived at last in sight of their goal, and saw the grey Nyanza show like a film of gossamer against the softly veiled horizon. Calm and smiling in the equatorial sunshine that gilded its green shores, there lay the mysterious lake from which flows the mysterious river, the clue to so many enigmas, the key to the speculation of ages, the unveiled secret so long shrouded in the heart of Africa.

In three hours the missionaries were at Kaduma, a little village of scattered huts under the shade of clusters of trees by the shore of the lake. Some of them were accommodated in a hut, where still lay, covered with dust, various trifles, the relics of its last occupant, an English missionary of the name of Smith, who had died there some time before. The other Fathers were lodged under their tent. A fresh series of delays was in store for them before they could reach Uganda, still separated from them by the greatest diameter of the lake; and it was finally decided to send Père Lourdel, the best Arabic scholar of the party, with the lay-brother, to Mtesa's court, to prepare the way for the others, and beg him to send canoes to fetch them. On the 19th of January, 1879, the two envoys accordingly set forth in a crazy boat, which they themselves had to patch up, for their long coasting voyage round the lake. It lasted nearly a month, but was accomplished without accident, and at last, on the 17th of February, 1879, the first of the Algerian missionaries was face to face with the great potentate of Equatorial Africa. Mtesa was ill at this time, and almost constantly lying down, but he received the missionaries graciously, as he does all European strangers. There were five Protestant missionaries already at his capital, and there was at first some difficulty in their relations with the French priests, but they became afterwards very friendly with them. Mtesa assigned a lodging to Père Lourdel, sending him daily supplies of food, as is his custom with strangers visiting his dominions, and despatched immediately twenty canoes, under the guidance of Frère Amance, to bring the rest of the party to Rubaga.

They meantime had a weary time of waiting at Kaduma, in anxious uncertainty as to their future fate. The monotony of their lives was broken by the arrival, on the 14th of February, of two Englishmen on their way to join the Mission of Uganda. They exchanged visits with the Fathers, and the negroes were much astonished to hear the Wasunga, or white men, speaking to each other in Kiswaheli, the universal medium of communication throughout Equatorial Africa, where it plays the same part that French does on the continent of Europe. Mr. Mackay, the head of the Mission of Uganda, arrived soon after with a flotilla of boats to convey the new recruits to their destination, but

there was no sign of any means of transport for the Algerian Fathers.

They saw the people of Kaduma hold a dancing-festival in honour of the new moon, and were present at the wedding of the chief's son, in honour of which Père Barbot manufactured him a necklace of various coloured beads, to his great delight.

They suffered considerable annoyance from the theft by some of their soldiers of the gorgeous robes intended as a propitiatory offering to the King of Uganda; but they were fortunately recovered by the Arab Governor of Tabora, who sent them to their rightful owners by a caravan from Unyanyembe, which reached Kaduma on the 20th of April. A still more agreeable surprise was in store for them, in the shape of a packet of letters from Europe, delivered by the same agency, and containing for the poor exiles good news from home.

At last, on Whitsun eve, the 31st of May, the long-desired flotilla appeared on the horizon, and a few days later the welcome event of the embarkation of the party took place. The discipline of Mtesa's men was so excellent that nothing was stolen from their baggage on the way; and on the 19th of June, exactly a year after they had left Bagamoyo, they landed in Uganda on the north-western shore of the Victoria Nyanza. The king was favourably disposed towards them, and the well-chosen presents of Mgr. Lavigerie tended to confirm him in his gracious mood. The presence of so many rival missionaries in his capital had given him an opportunity for indulging his favourite passion for theology, and he had already, on Monday, the 8th of June, presided at a triple conference, in which the representatives of Protestantism, Catholicity, and Islamism disputed before him on the merits of their respective creeds. A strange and interesting scene must have been the dark interior of that grass-thatched hall in the heart of Equatorial Africa, where the fierce-eyed pagan monarch, master of the future of half a continent, sat as umpire between the champions of three rival religions competing for his acceptance and support.

The balance turned for the moment in favour of Catholicity, for Père Lourdel, by his cure of Mtesa from a very serious illness, had gained some influence over his mind. The intrigues of the Arabs contributed to the same end; for, dreading beyond all things the hostility of England to the slave trade, they excited the king's jealous susceptibility against the missionaries of that nation by insinuating that they had in view the eventual annexation of his dominions. Nor was the wily African without an ulterior object in the favour he showed the new arrivals at his court, for he shortly began to sound them on the possibility of a French alliance with Uganda, the powerful



protection of some European state being one of the favourite dreams of his uninstructed but imaginative mind.

It was about six months after the arrival of the missionaries, that a sudden and inexplicable reaction in Rubaga, the capital of Uganda, seemed for a time to threaten a serious persecution of the Christian teachers, but in an equally unexplained fashion this momentary change of mood has again passed away without producing any effect. Emin Bey, Governor of the Egyptian Equatorial Provinces, communicated to *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, of November, 1880, the contents of a letter recently received by him from Uganda, describing a great council held by the king on the 23rd of December previous, where it was resolved to prohibit the teaching of the French and English missionaries alike, and to decree the penalty of death against any native receiving instruction from them. Mahometanism was also condemned, and all good subjects were recommended to adhere to the belief of their fathers. It was unanimously declared that no teaching was required in Uganda, the only improvement desirable being "that guns, powder, and percussion caps, should be as plentiful as grass." These resolutions were promulgated amid public rejoicings, with firing of guns and general acclamations, yet they have ever since remained a dead letter. The most recent letters from the Algerian missionaries in Rubaga, published in *Les Missions Catholiques*, of May 20, 1881, help perhaps to explain this inconsistency by showing us that politics in Uganda are not quite so simple as they at first sight appear. They tell us that Mtesa, despite his seemingly absolute power, is really controlled and hampered by the great chiefs who form his court and lead his armies. Among these formidable vassals there is evidently a conservative party opposed to innovation and vehemently inimical to European influence, for we are told that they go so far as to threaten the Kabaka, bidding him to go away with his white men, while they will raise one of his children to the throne. The pressure of this section of his chiefs was evidently sufficiently strong to force the acceptance of the anti-Christian decree on the king, but not as yet to compel its execution. The existence of such a party, however, shows one of the dangers to which the missionaries and their converts may at any moment become liable by a sudden change in the political situation of the country.

On the other hand, the Algerian Fathers see in the feudal organization of Uganda a prospect of facilities for their teaching. The great nobles holding the government of their respective provinces immediately of the king, transmit again their authority to a number of sub-chiefs or lesser vassals ruling over smaller districts, and bound to follow their superior's standard in the

field, each with his contingent of armed retainers. It is conjectured that this aristocratic class, including of course the king of Uganda, is descended from the Abyssinian Christians who came as conquerors at some remote epoch to the shore of the great Nyanza, and brought there the comparative civilization whose tradition still remains. It is through these powerful nobles, with their hereditary superiority to the ordinary negro, that the missionaries hope gradually to extend their influence in the country and reach the lowest orders, the slaves, or *wadou*, grouped in villages on the great estates.

As regards the material aspects of the Mission, the King presented the Fathers immediately with a piece of land, and sent workmen to build a house on it, constructed, like all the native dwellings, of reeds and grass. Strange visitors to the country, being considered as royal guests, are supplied daily with provisions. The banana furnishes almost the entire food of the population, and is cooked in various ways; plucked green, and wrapped in its own leaves, it is steamed and eaten as a vegetable, or ground after being dried, is used as flour. A sweet fermented drink called *maramba*, is made from its juice, and a similar beverage, *merissa*, is extracted from the plantain. The principal intoxicant, however, used in Uganda as in other parts of Africa, is *pombe*, a species of beer brewed from millet or other grain.

Mtesa's keen intelligence does not prevent him from being a slave to superstition; he trembles before the chief sorcerer, and worships fetishes and other idols. On the other hand he asked the Fathers for a catechism in *Kiswaheli*, and seems capable of reasoning logically on the truths it contains. He asked Père Lourdel one day if it were true, as Mr. Mackay had informed him, that in France baptism was administered to sheep and oxen, thinking the assertion so ridiculous that he added he thought the Protestant missionary must be mad to make it. Père Lourdel charitably preferred to conclude that Mtesa had misunderstood him.

On Easter eve, the 27th of March, 1880, the Algerian Fathers reaped the first fruits of their labours, in the baptism of four native catechumens, and on the following Whitsun eve, May 15th, an equal number of converts was received into the Church. The most interesting of these was a young soldier named *Fouké*, eighteen years of age, son of the great chief or tributary king of Usoga, called *Kabaka ana Massanga* (king of the elephant tusks), from the quantity of ivory he furnishes to his suzerain. His son's conversion originated in the missionaries' cure of a very bad injury to his hand, averting the amputation of a finger, which, according to the code of the country, would

have entailed degradation from the caste of the nobility to that of the slaves. He had been violently prejudiced against the Christians by the Mussulmans, whose teaching he had previously sought, but without being satisfied by it, and a sudden enlightenment of his mind seemed to urge him to demand baptism and instruction. The difficulties were placed before him—the possibility of persecution, the renunciation of polygamy; but he declared he had weighed them well, and was prepared for all sacrifices. His father, though still a Pagan, favours and protects the missionaries in every way.

Mtesa, though generally reluctant to allow strangers to settle anywhere save in his capital, was prevailed upon by Père Livinhac to allow the missionaries of the second caravan, which reached Lake Nyanza in April, 1880, to establish themselves in a tributary province of Uganda called Uwya, recommending them to the authorities there as his friends. They have thus two stations in this region, with fair prospects of success under the shadow of his powerful protection.

The Tanganyika branch of the expedition is differently circumstanced, as there is in their district no one chief with paramount authority at all comparable to that of Mtesa on the Nyanza. Having started from Tabora nearly a month later than their companions (on the 3rd of December, 1878), they sighted Lake Tanganyika on the 24th of January following, after a march through a country where tribute was demanded in the name of Mirambo, and where charred huts and devastated fields bore eloquent testimony to the destructive power of the great brigand chief. Ujiji, a long straggling Arab settlement by the shore, its low, flat-roofed houses scattered among maize fields and banana groves, with here and there a stately oil or cocoa-palm tossing aloft its plummy crown, was their first abode.

Here letters from Seyd Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, to Muini-Heri, the Arab governor, secured them the protection of the authorities, and having had assigned to them as their residence the same house occupied by Mr. Stanley during his visit, they proceeded to instal themselves in it, to have some necessary repairs executed, and to fit up a room as a little chapel. They directed their attention meantime to gathering information as to the neighbouring country, and learned that while the districts south of the lake were completely depopulated by the ravages of Mirambo's outlaws, the Ruga-Rugas, there was a healthy and populous region to the north, where a promising opening might be found for a station. Kabebe, the capital of the Muata Yanvo, one of the points already selected for missionary occupation, was described by Hassan, secretary to Muini-Heri, who had visited it, as distant five months' journey from Ujiji, and inhabited by

an amiable but savage population; the latter epithet being interpreted by the Fathers to mean that there were no Arabs amongst them.

From Mr. Hore, agent for the English Church Missionary Society at Ujiji, the Algerian Fathers received all possible kindness and assistance; and, with the single exception of Mr. Mackay at Uganda, who showed a spirit of hostility towards them, they bear testimony to the friendly dispositions manifested by the English missionaries wherever they came in contact with them.

Though all real authority in Ujiji is vested in the Arab governor, there is also a titular native sultan, who lives at some distance from the shore, as his gods have forbidden him to look upon the sea (Lake Tanganyika). This is one of many curious native superstitions connected with the lake, several of which, collected by Mr. Stanley, embody traditions of its origin in a sudden catastrophe submerging an inhabited country. A stupendous water-filled chasm in the mountain system of Equatorial Africa, Lake Tanganyika has long offered problems to science, which the recent explorations of Mr. Thomson seem to have at last answered satisfactorily. The cause of the mysterious tide, under the influence of which it was seen to wax and wane through cycles of years, and the moot point of the escape of its waters into the Congo, through the marshy inlet known as the Lukuga Creek, had been, as our readers may remember, a subject of controversy between such distinguished explorers as Commander Cameron and Mr. Stanley. On the latter point, indeed, the careful survey made by the American traveller, in combination with the continued rise of the waters of the lake, was, as to the actual state of things then existing, conclusive in the negative. He, however, hazarded the bold conjecture, since proved correct, that this was but a temporary phase of the lake, and that the current of its out-flow, which had once run through the then stagnant and obstructed channel of the Lukuga, would do so again, as soon as the accumulation of water was sufficient to clear away the obstructions choking its mouth. This was what in point of fact occurred in the summer of 1879, when the lake suddenly burst through these impediments, scoured out its former channel, and discharged through it a volume of water sufficient to cause an inundation on the Congo, sweeping away trees and villages below its junction with that river.

Mr. Thomson believes this out-flow, which had sensibly diminished in the interval between his first and second visits, to be only periodical, and dependent on the amount of rainfall received by the lake, which is so closely hemmed in by high mountains as to drain a very limited district in proportion to its

vast area, and in exceptionally dry seasons to give off in evaporation as much as it receives. The rapid accumulation of soil and vegetation at the mouth of the Lukuga then forces up the level of the water, until after a series of wet years it breaks through the barrier once more. How this natural phenomenon was used to excite superstitious animosity to the French missionaries we shall see a little farther on.

After a voyage of exploration undertaken by Père Deniaud to select a favourable site for the Mission, Ujiji being unfitted for it both from its unhealthy situation and its subjection to Arab rule, Rumongué, in Urundi, some distance to the north, was finally decided on, and thither the Fathers migrated in June, 1879. They thus describe their situation.

Urundi presents one great advantage—it is healthier than Ujiji. There are tolerably high hills and mountains, and we have the air of the lake, which is very fresh. I am now completely recovered from the fatigues of the journey, and for more than a month have had no fever.

It is a pity that I have not the gift of poetry to describe our station. I write to you under the shade of a tufted tree on the slope of a hill, fifty mètres from the shore. Before us spread the peaceful waters of Tanganyika with a crowd of fishing boats. Farther away we can distinguish through a light haze the point of the great island of Muzima, and even the mountains of the opposite shore. To right and left, in every direction, extend well-cultivated fields of manioc, interspersed with bananas and oil palms; in the distance in our rear are lofty mountains with dwellings at their feet, but uninhabited, and often bare even to their lower slopes; the heat moderate, under 30 degrees within doors, and 24 to 25 without, thanks to a breeze from the lake.

The country is described as well cultivated, producing in abundance manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and beans. The construction of the Mission House went on apace.

Our house, or rather cabin, is completed; but how poor is our workmanship. It has but produced a shed, walled and thatched with straw, with one side left open to admit air and light. This side, which is 25 mètres in length, is closed at night by means of mats, which are lifted by day. The natives come from long distances, showing great admiration, and remaining long in contemplation of this monument of architecture. We have goats and sheep, and shall soon have cows. We are turning up the ground; and I, with a daring but inexperienced hand, am sowing large tracts with wheat and corn. Corn is only cultivated by two Arabs at Ujiji, and sold at a price which forbids its purchase, except for seed, and the use of the altar. The Arabs only sow their wheat at the approach of the dry season, and are obliged to irrigate it at great cost of labour. We have, therefore, tried another system.

But an object of much greater interest than our farming is the care of our ransomed children, and we have been fortunate in beginning our Mission with them. They are very promising, are most docile to all our desires, and have no serious faults. One danger is their running away, as happened in the case of a man and boy without any reason whatever.

But trouble came upon the little colony thus cheerfully toiling in the wilderness. In the month of December, 1879, their house was totally destroyed by a hurricane, and when they were about rebuilding it, the Sultan forbade the work and desired them to leave the country. Père Deniaud, who was then at Ujiji, applied to Muini Heri, the effective ruler of the whole district, and he sent his nephew, Bana-Mkombé, with the Superior, as an envoy to the Sultan. The latter, when asked the motive of his change of conduct, explained that he had been told by the Wajiji that the white men were sorcerers in possession of fatal poisons, and that they would drain off the lake through the Lukuga, by throwing medicines on the water, but that he had desired them to be expelled without the smallest injury to their persons or property.

Bana-Mkombé had no difficulty in refuting these reports, which doubtless arose from the sudden flushing of the Lukuga channel in the manner above described, coincidentally with the arrival of the Fathers. They were finally re-established on a more permanent footing, to the great joy of the natives, who considered them thenceforward as their friends, and executed a splendid war-dance in their honour.

Père Deniaud had on his way opened negotiations for the establishment of a second missionary station in the province of Massanzé, farther south, and promised the Sultan of that country to send him white men without delay.

But for these new operations reinforcements for the little missionary staff were required, and a second caravan was already on its way to join them, having started from Algiers in June, 1879. It was accompanied by six ex-Zouaves as lay-auxiliaries, according to the suggestion made by one of the first missionaries. Of the total of eighteen of which this fresh expedition consisted, only ten survived to reach their fellow-workmen at the Great Lakes, eight having died on the road—one, a lay-brother, mortally wounded in a combat with the Ruga-Rugas.

A third caravan, numbering fifteen missionaries, started last November to follow in their footsteps, and on the 8th of March, 1881, were establishing themselves at Mdaburu, about half-way from Lake Tanganyika to the sea. The Society of Algerian Missionaries has, in a word, in two years and a half, sent forty-three missionaries into Equatorial Africa, a number representing heroic efforts on the part of the little fraternity, but lamentably

insufficient in comparison with the vast field to be reaped. The districts of Lake Tanganyika, and the Victoria Nyanza have already been created Pro-Vicariates Apostolic, and it is designed to establish two new missionary centres, one in the territory of the Muata Yanvo, accessible from Ujiji, and another on the Northern Upper Congo, to be reached from the West Coast.

The reader who has followed the details of such a series of journeyings as we have essayed to describe, will scarcely require to be told of the immense cost involved in them, and will receive without surprise Mgr. Lavigerie's statistics on the subject. Every missionary established in the centre of Africa represents, he tells us, an outlay of thirty thousand francs, and within the last three years, on the mere foundation and creation of these missions, a sum of eight hundred thousand francs has been expended. The Protestant Missions are, indeed, still more costly, as they dispose of five millions sterling a year, and their liberal outlay at all stages of the journey was found by the Algerian Fathers to have largely increased the cost of travelling by the same road. Fortunately, the charity of Christendom is never exhausted in such a cause, but all its efforts are required to carry out so gigantic an enterprise.

It would seem that Mgr. Lavigerie's efforts for the evangelization of Africa were inspired equally by zeal for the spread of Gospel truth, and by horror at the cruelties of the slave-trade, some of the victims of which were occasionally met with in Algiers, and against whose iniquities he makes eloquent protest. He dwells at length on the revolting miseries inflicted on the slave caravans, and goes on to say :—

Amongst the young negroes torn by our efforts from these infernal tortures, there are some who for long periods afterwards awake every night uttering the most horrible cries. They see again in hideous nightmares the atrocious scenes they have gone through.

Four hundred thousand negroes are annually the victims of this scourge, and it is sometimes said that if the traveller following in its habitual track were to lose all other reckoning, he would find sufficient guide-posts to mark the path in the shape of the human bones blanching in decay.

The loyal exertions of Seyd Barghash have almost annihilated the export slave-trade from the East Coast, but for its continuance in the interior let the two following pictures from Mr. Thomson's pages speak :—

Half-way up the ascent a sad spectacle met our eyes—a chained gang of women and children. They were descending the rocks with the utmost difficulty, and picking their steps with great care, as, from the manner in which they were chained together, the fall of

one meant, not only the fall of many others, but probably actual strangulation or dislocation of the neck. The women, though thus chained with iron by the neck, were many of them carrying their children on their backs, besides heavy loads on their heads. Their faces and general appearance told of starvation and utmost hardship, and their naked bodies spoke with ghastly eloquence of the flesh-cutting-lash. Their dull despairing gaze expressed the loss of all hope of either life or liberty, and they looked like a band marching to the grave. Even the sight of an Englishman raised no hope in them; for unfortunately the white man has more the character of a ghoul than of a liberator of slaves in the far interior.

Saddest sight of all was that of a string of little children, torn from their home and playmates, wearily following the gang with bleeding, blistered feet, reduced to perfect skeletons by starvation, looking up with a piteous eye, as if they beseeched us to kill them. It was out of my power to attempt releasing them. The most I could do was to stop them, and give the little things the supply of beans and ground-nuts I usually carried in my pocket.

At a later stage of his journey he came upon another of these miserable spectacles.

Camped at Mtowa, we found a huge caravan of ivory and slaves from Manyema, awaiting, like ourselves, means of transport across lake (Tanganyika). There were about 1,000 slaves, all in the most miserable condition, living on roots and grasses, or whatever refuse and "garbage" they could pick up. The sight of these poor creatures was of the most painful character. They were moving about like skeletons covered with parchment, through which every bone in the body might be traced. . . . We learned that they had had a frightful march, during which two-thirds fell victims to famine, murder, and disease, so that out of about 3,000 slaves who started from Manyema only 1,000 reached Mtowa. . . . The poor wretches were carrying ivory to Ujiji and Unyanyembé, to be there disposed of, along with themselves, for stores to be taken back to Nyangwé.

Yet the writer describes the Arabs conducting these caravans as kindly and humane men in all other relations of life—surely the strongest proof of the brutalizing effect of such traffic on all engaged in it.

One might have expected that the sight of such scenes would have predisposed the youthful traveller to take a favourable view of the conduct of men whose very presence is a protest against them. Yet Mr. Thomson speaks of the Catholic missionaries in a tone of censorious acrimony very different from that of most African explorers. On one occasion, in a village not far from Lake Tanganyika, he came on a party on their way to join the station in that district, and, making his way into their tent, unannounced and uninvited, while they were having such poor



repast as the circumstances admitted of, he took occasion to criticise all their arrangements, including their food. He speaks of them as "French peasants," severely condemning Père Deniaud for inducing them to leave their homes, apparently quite unaware of their character as missionaries. It is to be hoped Mr. Thomson may learn with more experience of life greater sympathy with the aims and motives of others, as it would be a pity if a spirit of intolerance and self-sufficiency were to mar the many fine qualities which enabled him to do his own work in Africa so creditably and well.

Ungenerous criticism of this kind is indeed in many quarters the only recognition bestowed on the Catholic missionary's labours in the cause of humanity, and the meed of human praise reaped by him is at best but small. The motives which sustain the ordinary traveller are in his case non-existent. His discoveries will evoke no applause from the learned, his adventures no sympathy from the multitude, his life's work will be obscure to the end, his name unknown, his death unchronicled. In the remote deserts where he has cast his lot scarce a word of appreciation from the world without ever reaches him to cheer the lonely hours when, amid the depressing influences of his surroundings, he seems to be labouring in vain; for European civilization, absorbed in the whirl of its own busy round, can spare no thought to those who by African lakes and streams are working at the noblest task possible to man here below—the moral regeneration of his fellow man.



#### ART. VII.—A RECENT CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH HISTORY.

*The History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.* By T. E. BRIDGETT. Two vols. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

**H**ISTORY is no longer the simple narrative of facts that it used to be—*ad narrandum non ad probandum*; the exhibition of concurrent events just as they happened *en masse*, if we may so say; a panorama of the contemporaneous political and religious and social and domestic life of nations at a glance. The spirit of subdivision, characteristic of the times, has changed, completely changed, the old summary character of history. The keen analytical temper of the day has thrown men back on the past to scrutinize and mark off and draw out each constituent part, each separate feature of human society, in order to discover and to estimate at its true worth each

separate motive power in the development and growth of nations that has contributed to make them such as they are in the present. Buckle's "History of Civilization," Lecky's "History of European Morals," Freeman's "Historical Geography," each in its turn and measure is an example of this. Stubb's "Constitutional History of England" is a still better example. And the history that is before us, the "History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain" is the best example of all. It is the history of one single doctrine in its results on the individual life and the public character of the various races—Britons, Picts, Scot, Saxons, Anglo-Normans, English and Scotch—that during a period of more than a thousand years successively peopled this island and assisted the slow formation of the English nation.

### I.

A more fitting title than the one adopted could not have been chosen for this work. And yet it is open to misconception. It is just possible that it will mislead people and give them an impression of something too doctrinal to be generally interesting, of something very abstract and learned and dogmatic, or controversial, or pious: more suitable for the study of theologians or the meditation of religious than for the general reading of ordinary laymen. This is just what it is not. It is learned, yes. There is something of dogma in it and something of controversy too. And moreover it is pious, since that may truly be called pious which, though marred by the record of much irreverence, is essentially a narrative of the piety of England in connection with the Blessed Sacrament, the *Mysterium Fidei*, the object of supreme adoration, during all the centuries that followed the adoption of Christianity by our forefathers down to the hour when the revolt of lust and greed and pride overthrew the altar of sacrifice and extinguished the lamp of the old Church throughout the length and breadth of the land. But so far from being a dry theological dissertation, a mere abstract, dogmatic, controversial treatment of the great central rite of the Catholic religion, it is, as we have already said, a history of the Holy Eucharist in its effects on the individual and public life of a nation; and it is so full of real personal interest, so full of varied biographical and historical incident; it sets forth in so fresh and striking a way the important civilizing, educating influence of the faith of the English people in the Eucharistic Presence, that it will enable many to see, who have never seen before, how singularly one-sided and incomplete that estimate of our national growth and development must be that, heedless of the operation of this particular belief in early times, overlooks the fact that the Holy

Eucharist was the origin and sanction of some of the great principles of our national prosperity, as well as a bond of union between the rulers who enunciated and upheld them and the ruled for whose benefit they were in the first instance chiefly established.

A few years ago it would have been impossible to produce such a history. The difficulties that stood in the way, great as they must have been now, would have been simply insurmountable then. And, indeed, notwithstanding the publication of the Rolls Series, of the Annals and Memorials and State Papers, of the Ecclesiastical and Conciliar Documents, of the critical studies of all the various antiquarian and archæological societies that have been laid under contribution for it, it is surprising that it has been possible even now. A moment's reflection will show why. The old Chroniclers were indifferent to every-day events. The routine of life, the *quidquid agunt homines*, had few attractions for them, little power to arrest their attention and claim a place in their records for future generations. Scandal itself—*Et quando uberior vitiorum copia?*—had a better chance of immortality at the hand of the scribe than a regularly recurring round of worship which everybody was bound to know and everybody was bound to practise.

Why should the annalist describe what everyone knew and daily witnessed? It would have seemed as natural to chronicle the daily rising of the sun and the effect of its rays upon the world. Indeed, there is a singular analogy between what is said of the weather and of the Blessed Sacrament. The annalists place on record how there was an earthquake throughout England in 1089, how a comet with two tails appeared in 1097, and mock suns in 1104; how at one time the Thames was almost dried up, and how at another it overflowed its banks; how thunder was heard on the feast of the Holy Innocents in 1249, while snow fell at the end of May in 1251. They tell of eclipses, murrains, severe winters, droughts, signs and portents. But they never describe the verdure of spring, the genial heat of summer, the fruitfulness of autumn; they never describe the full river flowing peacefully, or the midnight skies covered with brilliant stars. In the same way, if a church is burnt in an incursion of the enemy, if a murder is committed within the walls of the sanctuary, if the sacred vessels are stolen from the altar, if the holy rites cease during an interdict, such events are chronicled. But the daily service of the church, the fervent communions, the prayers poured out before the altar, the acts of faith and charity—all these, as a matter of course, are scarcely heeded.

Yet not for an instant must it be supposed that the "History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain" is unduly concerned with the dark side of the picture; that evil is more prominent than

good in it ; that irreligion and sacrilege perpetually cast their deep shadows across its pages. Abuses and crimes have their place, for the author does not suffer from 'the endemic perennial fidget about giving scandal,' and think that 'facts should be omitted in great histories, or glosses put upon memorable acts, because they are not edifying?''\* But the sanctuary in which a murder was committed evidences something more enduring than the crime that profaned it ; the stolen vessels betoken something more general than the sacrilegious theft that desecrated them ; the interdicted rites witness to something more habitual than the disorders that led to their suspension. And it is just this something, the sustained faith of ages in its highest manifestations and noblest issues that Father Bridgett has mainly occupied himself with, till from the homes of the serf and the freeman, from the haunt of the wretched leper, from the quadrangle of the cottage, from the lecture-hall of the university, from the camp of the soldier, from the cell of the hermit and recluse, from the cloisters of the monastery and convent, from the courts of justice, from the legislative assemblies of the nation, from the council-chamber of the bishop, from the palace of the sovereign, he has brought a vast concourse of witnesses, men and women, bearing testimony to one all-pervading belief, which, penetrating the whole fabric of society, domestic, social, and political, ennobled life, stayed crime, and found a royal utterance in the Cathedrals and Abbeys that are still the wonder and glory of our land, and that—in spite of all the scientific knowledge of this age of discoveries, in spite of all our mechanical appliances, of all the skill of our artizans, of all the ceaseless industry of our operatives, unspoiled by the enforced idleness of Saints' days, so distressing to the enlightened, far-reaching wisdom of political economists—no architect can now approach in beauty of proportion and form, and no workman can surpass in strength and perfection of masonry.

## II.

Beginning with the early British Church, we find the scant though clear proofs of a belief in the Real Presence identical with the belief of the Catholic Church at the present day, and consequently a belief utterly opposed to the tenets of Protestantism, gradually augmented by side lights from Brittany, and finally completed by the full radiance of the Gallo-Roman and Frankish Church, with which the Armorican Church was in close union, and which, in turn, the Armorican united to the sister Church of Great Britain and Ireland. This chapter, Side Lights from

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\* Card. Newman, "Historical Sketches."

Brittany, is a very important one, and is, besides, an admirable instance of the historical acumen of Father Bridgett and of the critical and constructive method employed throughout his book.

A few words of Tertullian's, written in 208, as many of Origin's, a few more of St. Jerome's, St. John Chrysostom's explicit statement that, 'even the British Isles have felt the power of the Word; for there, too, churches and altars (*θυσιαστήρια*, a word of special significance, used as it is by St. John Chrysostom in the numberless passages of his works where he maintains the doctrines of the Real Presence and of Sacrifice) have been erected;' the fact that the Council of Arles, held in the year 314, at which canons were enacted, regarding the uniform observance of Easter according to the decision of the Bishop of Rome, the consecration of bishops, and the inviolability of the sacrament of marriage, was attended by the Bishops of York and London and Caerleon; a brief mention, here and there, by 'the ascetic and keenly religious' Gildas, of the most holy sacrifice, the heavenly sacrifice (*sacrosancta sacrificia, celeste sacrificium*) called mass or missa, then as now, and one or two of his canons treating of the Eucharistic Rite, with special reference to the penances incurred by carelessness in the administration of it, together with his lament over the unworthy lives of certain of the clergy, "*raro sacrificantes et nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes,*" this is the sum of what we know expressly concerning the faith and practice of the British Church in relation to the Blessed Sacrament before the landing of St. Augustine in 597. Definite, unmistakeable, sufficient evidence, it is true, for those who know how to read it aright, yet really how scanty viewed apart from what it implies. But when we cross the water, and are landed on that little corner of territory, cut off by geographical position, as well as socially and politically isolated from the rest of Gaul, we are presented with a store of facts, which, though it has not been totally ignored hitherto, has, nevertheless, been so little heeded that modern historians have failed to realize that it belongs directly to the history of the Church in this country, and bears expressed on its beliefs and practices rarely more than implicitly or indirectly conveyed to us by the passing allusions of ancient historians.

That the Britons from Great Britain founded a small independent kingdom in Armorica a century before Clovis and his Franks passed the Rhine, is now, Father Bridgett, using the words of M. de Courson, the learned historian of ancient Brittany, says, as uncontested a fact as the existence of the sun in the heavens; though Breton writers, under Henry III. and Louis XIV., had to expiate in the Bastile their temerity in maintaining such a

proposition. From that time down to the invasion of Britain by the Saxons in the fifth century, there appears to have been a constant emigration of Britons to Gaul; and afterwards it increased to so great an extent that the whole body of the inhabitants of Western Armorica came to look upon themselves as British or of British origin. And the British emigrants of the fifth century did what Gaulish missionaries on the borders of Lower Brittany had failed to do. They covered Armorica and the islands round about the main-land with monastic and eremitical settlements, rescued by their preaching and example the original inhabitants from the idolatry of Druidism, converted them to Christianity; and so both rendered the fusion of the two peoples, alike in race and language, and differing only in religion, complete, and completed the establishment of the continental British Church.

Leaving aside the lives of the saints venerated in Brittany as involving disputes about dates and authenticity, Father Bridgett draws his facts concerning the religious practices of this off-shoot of the Mother Church in Great Britain from two principal sources, viz., Gallic Councils legislating for the British Church and contemporary Gallic writers.

The conciliar evidence is very remarkable and of the first importance. Keeping well in view the political and geographical isolation of the Britons in Gaul, analogous to the isolation of their brethren in Great Britain after the Saxon invasion, Father Bridgett advancing from council to council gradually unfolds an uninterrupted and growing intercommunion of the Gallic and British Churches, until at last we come to see that the detailed information which we possess regarding the Eucharistic Rite as celebrated in other parts of Gaul is applicable to Brittany and through Brittany to our own country, Great Britain, which kept up such close relations with the British Church of the emigration, united by ecclesiastical organization to the province of Tours, that two of its Churches, one at Canterbury in the south-east, the other at Withern in the north-west—the only two whose early dedications have come down to us—were dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. From the first Provincial Council of Tours, opened on the octave day of the Feast of St Martin in 461 under the presidency of St. Perpetuus, in which a British bishop took part, *Mansuetus episcopus Britanorum interfui et subscripsi*, on to the provincial synod held at Tours in 567, ecclesiastical legislative measures, canons and decrees were enacted regarding abuses amongst the clergy similar to those reprobated in unmeasured language by Gildas, which leave no doubt of the antiquity of the discipline of clerical celibacy and its close if not indissoluble connection with belief in the Real Presence.

For example, the first council named insists on the absolute necessity, not merely of conjugal chastity, but of virginal chastity, or at least of continence, for the ministers of the altar "who at all times must be ready with all purity to offer sacrifice." And although it so far mitigates the rigour of earlier councils as to admit to communion those who, having been married previous to their ordination, were unwilling to observe this discipline, it interdicted their admittance to the higher grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and forbid them the ministry of their respective functions. It must be borne in mind that Mansuetus, the bishop of the Britons, subscribed the canons of this Council, which are therefore a witness to the discipline of celibacy, and also to the motive of it, in Britain as well as in Gaul. The excommunication of Macliarus is perhaps a still stronger proof of the ordinance in Brittany. Macliarus was a British prince. After he had been tonsured and consecrated bishop, seeing a chance of succeeding to the throne, he let his hair grow, and took back his wife, from whom, on becoming a cleric, he had been separated. For this, according to St. Gregory, of Tours, he was excommunicated by the rest of the British bishops. Another council, held under the presidency of St. Perpetuus, at Vannes, in Brittany, accentuates the motive of the decrees of the Council of Tours enjoining celibacy four years previously; it forbids all deacons and sub-deacons from being present at marriage feasts and dances, then conducted with much indecency, "in order that they may not defile their eyes and ears consecrated for the sacred mysteries." And further, the synod assembled at Orleans in 511, and attended by Modestus, bishop of Vannes, marks the increasing and ever-watchful care to maintain due reverence for the "sacred mysteries" by its twenty-sixth canon, which forbids anyone to leave the church during the celebration of Mass. Then, whilst the attendance of two British bishops, St. Paternus, of Avranches, and St. Sampson, of Dol, at a council held in Paris, in 557, shows continued harmony between the two churches of Brittany and Gaul in the intercommunion of the saints of both countries, we find just ten years after at a provincial synod at Tours, the bishops of Tours and Rouen and Paris and Nantes and Chartres and Mans, and one or two others engaged on measures to stay the action of political causes at that time moving the Britons to seek independence of a see that had become Frankish territory, and at the same time lamenting bitterly the necessity that compelled them to renew the decree, obliging the clergy married previous to ordination, very numerous in those days, to live apart from their wives. "Who could have believed that a man who consecrates the Body of the Lord would be so wickedly bold had not such abuses arisen

in these last days as a punishment for our sins?" These strong words, Father Bridgett points out, "were not directed against concubinage, nor against attempts to marry after ordination—for there was no question at all on such matters—but against a continuance in a lawful marriage after the voluntary separation promised in ordination."

Conciliar evidence, however, though interesting and of great consequence, necessarily partakes of something of the abstract, dry character that inevitably attaches to legislative measures and enactments of the past dealing with classes and bodies of men; but scarcely are we conscious of it in this case before the whole subject is vivified by the personal narrative of the two contemporary authors who throw direct light on the Church of Brittany in early times, and we are carried away by the real interest of biographical incident. Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, the friend of St. Felix and the Secretary of Queen Radegund, writing an inscription to be engraved on a golden tabernacle or tower for the preservation of "the priceless pearl, the Sacred Body of the Lamb Divine;" poor Ursulfus suddenly regaining his sight while assisting at Mass one Sunday, *dum esset ad pedes Domini et cum reliquo populo missarum solemniter spectaret*, so that he could go up to the altar to receive communion without a guide, *ad sanctum altare communicandi gratiâ*; the cripple placed at the tomb of St. Martin cured on the feast of the saint, at the end of Mass, when the people began to receive the body of the Redeemer; men and women going into the Church at all hours and prostrating themselves in prayer before the high altar; the old woman trimming the lamps before nightfall; the priest Severinus decking his Church with garlands and lilies, and Queen Radegund with the Abbess Agatha wreathing Christ's altar with flowers at Easter-time; the solemn oath taken before the altar with the hand sketched over it, just as it was in Gildas's time; the obligation of the dominical Mass, and Severinus having said Mass at one church riding every Sunday twenty miles to celebrate a second; the widow attending daily the Mass she caused to be said for a whole year for her dead husband; the sermon of St. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, rebuking the people for leaving the church before the sermon—some to go home, some to talk and laugh and quarrel outside—and urging them to wait till the mysteries are ended, since though they could have prayers said and the Scriptures read in their own houses, only in the Church could the oblations be made and the Body and Blood of Christ consecrated, *consecrationem vero corporis vel sanguinis Domini non alibi, nisi in Domo Dei, audire vel videre poteritis*; all this and much more besides gives an insight into the British Church such as was



hitherto deemed unattainable, whilst it utterly breaks down the theories of a pure British Church, untainted by the Romish corruptions of the invocation of saints and the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament; and reads like a chapter out of the history of the middle ages rather than one of those far-away-times best known through political historians as the dreary ages of barbarism with all their horrid accompaniment of bloodshed and lust and rapine.

### III.

Unquestionably many of the apparitions and visions and miracles recorded of the first centuries of Christianity, are calculated to irritate and it may be shock, not only those who constitutionally lack the broad humanity of Terence, but those also, who more richly endowed have nevertheless been so narrowed by the bigotry of their bringing-up, and the cramping nature of their intellectual surroundings in after life, that they cannot give a patient consideration to anything so opposed to their preconceived notions of what ought to be, as that God should be able or willing to suspend the Laws of Nature at the prayer of one of his creatures. Such as these cannot fail to be arrested by the calm, philosophical spirit with which Father Bridgett, using, as he was bound to do, the important matter contained in what a less conscientious historian would have been specially tempted in these days to put aside or slur over as legendary uncertainties if not something worse, insists that, whether or not the miracles and visions of early historians be considered delusions or impostures, they are at least consonant with the customs of the period, and must be accepted as evidence of the belief of the times. And certainly no unbiassed judge could deny that incidents like that related by Adamnan of the youth of St. Columba 'may be fairly adduced as evidence of a state of mind amongst the Northern Picts, either arising from an habitual sense of God's omnipotence engendered by their belief in transubstantiation, or at least as a proof that such a doctrine could have met with little resistance on account of its intrinsic difficulties if for other reasons it was proposed for acceptance.'

But the history of the Holy Eucharist, in the Scottish and Pictish Churches, does not all run along the smooth lines of miracle. It has its stern side there as well as in the Church of Apostolic times. Another incident, preserved by the same Adamnan, discloses the repressive power of the Blessed Sacrament in its connection with the working of the penitential system. Libanus, an Irishman, slew a man and afterwards violated a solemn oath. He went over to Iona, made a full confession to

St. Columba, and swore that he was willing to fulfill any penance to atone for his sins. The Saint required him to live in exile, but in monastic service, for seven years, and at the end of that time to return to him during Lent, 'Ut in Paschali solemnitate altarium accedas et Eucharistiam sumas.' And this repressive power becomes more and more apparent the further we advance in the history before us: a power that often it has been impossible for those outside the Catholic Church to realize either because from having adopted a most unfortunate method of metaphorical interpretation, which plays havoc with the plainest words, they have utterly misunderstood the language concerning the central Rite of the Apostolic Church in all times and in all places, or else because they have deliberately shut their own eyes to its true meaning and veiled it for others who looked to them for guidance.

To those who share the conviction of Venerable Bede that the Catholic Church has never erred and never can err, because she is the Spouse of Christ and has received the Holy Ghost for her dowry, there is no need to prove that the early Church was one in faith regarding the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar with the Church of to-day, and for them it will be enough to know that the Scots and Picts were in communion of worship with the Anglo-Saxons, and both with the Church of Rome, to be sure that, when St. Gregory planned a new hierarchy for Great Britain in the sixth century, the same faith was preached, the same sacrifice offered, as when Pius IX. and Leo XIII. divided the island in the present century. Nor ought it to be difficult to convince any unprejudiced mind of this identity of faith by the identity of language on the subject of the Eucharist. A modern Catholic reading the "Life of St. Columba," written by Adamnan in 696, or the "Ecclesiastical History of England," written by Bede in 736, will find every formula familiar to himself, and expressing his faith exactly as well as adequately. Protestants, on the contrary, whether Calvinists, Zwinglians, Lutherans, or High Church Anglicans, are uneasy at such language, carefully avoid it themselves, and sometimes even distort or evade it when making quotations. To give one example. Bede relates that King Ethelbert gave St. Augustine the old church of St. Martin, and that "in this they began to meet, to chant psalms, to offer prayers, to celebrate masses (*missas facere*), to preach, and to baptize."\* In relating this Carte says they preached and performed "other acts of devotion;" Collier that they "preached, baptised, and performed all the solemn offices of religion;" Churton that they "administered the sacraments."

Such vague expressions show well enough a want of sympathy with Bede even as regards so simple and venerable an expression as Mass. How much less then would Protestants use or understand the various periphrases so familiar to Bede and to all our early writers, as the

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\* Bede, i. 26.

celebration of the most sacred mysteries, the celestial and mysterious sacrifice, the offering of the Victim of salvation, the sacrifice of the Mediator, the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, the memorial of Christ's great passion, the renewal of the passion and death of the Lamb! All these expressions are used by Bede;\* and for the Blessed Sacrament itself (as distinct from the rite of offering it to God)—besides the more common designations *Hostia* and *Sacrificium* (in the vernacular *Housel*)—they would speak of the saving Victim of the Lord's Body and Blood, the Victim without an equal, a particle of the sacrifice of the Lord's offering. These expressions are also found in Bede. Adamnan the Scot speaks of the sacrifice of mass, the sacrificial mystery, the mysteries of the most holy sacrifice; and he tells us of the priest at the altar who performs the mysteries of Christ, consecrates the mysteries of the Eucharist, celebrates the solemnities of masses.†

If we turn to the writings of Eddi, or St. Boniface, or St. Egbert, or to the decrees of early councils, we find the same or similar phrases, varied in every possible way to express a mystery, the sublimity of which was beyond human utterance. A multitude of verbs were in common use to designate the action of the priest at the altar. "Missam cantare" or "canere" might designate the whole action, though with special allusion to the vocal prayers. "Missam facere," "offerre," "celebrare," "agere," would also refer to the whole divine action; "conficere," "immolare," "libare," regarded the *Hostia*, or Victim, which was our Lord's Body and Blood or our Divine Lord Himself; and the secret operation by which the bread and wine were changed into our Lord's Body and Blood was indicated by every word by which transubstantiation can be expressed, among which we find "transferre," "commutare," "transcribere," "transformare," "convertere."

After this it is difficult to conceive that there are still Protestants who affirm that transubstantiation was unknown to the Anglo-Saxon Church, and was not introduced into England till the Norman Conquest, when by the influence of the two Italo-Norman primates, Lanfranc and Anselm, it supplanted the ancient and pure Protestant or quasi-Protestant doctrine that up to that date had prevailed. But this is not all. Declarations exist of Anglo-Saxon belief in a change of Substance so plain, so explicit, that there is no gainsaying them:—

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\* See Lingard, "Anglo-Saxon Church," i, ch. 7. The expressions will be found in his history and homilies: "celebratis missarum solemnibus" (iii. 5), "victimam pro eo (defuncto) sacrae oblationis offerre" (iv. 14), "oblatio hostiæ salutaris, sacrificium salutare" (iv. 22), "sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerre" (iv. 28), "corpus sacrosanctum et pretiosum agni sanguinem quo a peccatis redempti sumus denuo Deo in profectum nostræ salutis immolamus."—*Hom. in Vig. Pasch.*

† "Sacrificate mysterium," "sacrosancti sacrificii mysteria," "munda mysteria," "sacra Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria," "missarum solemnia peragere," "mysteria conficere," etc.—*Vita S. Col.* ii, I, i. 40, 44, iii. 17.

Would any one, for instance, mistake the meaning of the following letter addressed to a Catholic priest? "I beg you will not forget your friend's name in your holy prayer. Store it up in one of the caskets of your memory, and bring it out in fitting time when you have consecrated bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ." Are not these words explicit? Well, they were indeed used in writing to a Catholic priest, but it was more than a thousand years ago, and he who used them was Alcuin,\* the disciple of Bede. And Alcuin's scholar, Aimo, writing in A.D. 841, says,† "That the substance of the bread and wine, which are placed upon the altar, are made the Body and Blood of Christ, by the mysterious action of the priest and thanksgiving, God effecting this by his divine grace and secret power, it would be the most monstrous madness to doubt. We believe then, and faithfully confess and hold, that the substance of bread and wine, by the operation of divine power—the nature, I say, of bread and wine are substantially converted into another substance, that is, into Flesh and Blood. Surely it is not impossible to the omnipotence of Divine Wisdom to change natures once created into whatever it may choose, since when it pleased it created them from nothing. He who could make something out of nothing can find no difficulty in changing one thing to another. It is then the invisible Priest who converts visible creatures into the substance of His own Flesh and Blood by His secret power. In this which we call the Body and Blood of Christ, the taste and appearance of bread and wine remain, to remove all horror from those who receive, but the nature of the substances is altogether changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. The senses tell us one thing, faith tells us another. The senses can only tell what they perceive, but the intelligence tells us of the true Flesh and Blood of Christ, and faith confesses it."

I would observe that Aimo does not say that the senses are deceived; on the contrary, he says that they convey true messages to the mind—"sensus carnis nihil aliud renuntiare possunt quam sentiunt"—but that the mind would be deceived if it formed its usual judgment on their testimony. The senses tell us nothing about substance, the existence of which is known by reason. And reason judges rightly, as a general rule, that where the accidents of bread and wine appear, there is also the substance. But reason does not tell us that this is necessarily so. There is always this tacit exception—unless by God's omnipotence it is otherwise. And God's revelation tells us that in the case of the consecrated bread and wine *it is* otherwise; that the natural substance is not there, but is converted into (*transubstantiatur*) the substance of our Lord's Flesh and Blood.

Now it is obvious that so long as this language is ignored or

\* Alcuin, *Ep.* 36, *ad Paulinum Patriarcham Aquilensem.*

† *Tractatus Aimonis*, apud D'Achery. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 42, ed. 1723. The full Latin text is given by Dr. Rock, "Church of our Father," vol. i. p. 21, to whom I am indebted for this passage.

misunderstood or glossed over, the faith that it indicates is ignored likewise, and consequently the immense power that such a faith was in the world for restraining evil, coping with the wild passions of man in the wildest and most passionate of times, rousing the dormant intellect of a rude race, and bringing about the civilization of our country. The offering of the Mass was esteemed the characteristic and highest function of the priesthood; a man could not be ordained priest or deacon unless of approved life and properly instructed, and once ordained a priest he was obliged to live in perpetual celibacy. The Mass itself was the great centre round which the life of the nation revolved. The king was not crowned, the witan was not assembled, the battle was not fought, the church was not consecrated, the nuptial contract was not entered upon, the monk and nun were not professed, the Abbot or Abbess was not installed, the dead were not buried **unless** the blessing of God had first been sought in the Mass. If a crime were committed, the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice was suspended until the evil-doers had been brought to justice. St. Dunstan himself would not say Mass on Whitsunday until the terrible punishment, *i.e.*, the loss of a hand, had been executed on the false coiners:—

“They injure all classes, rich and poor alike, bringing them to shame, to poverty, or to utter ruin. Know then that I will not offer sacrifice to God until the sentence has been carried out. As the matter concerns me, if I neglect to appease God by the punishment of so great an evil, how can I hope that He will receive sacrifice from my hands? This may be thought cruel, but my intention is known to God. The tears, sighs, and groans of widows and orphans, and the complaints of the whole people, press on me and demand the correction of this evil. If I do not seek as far as in me lies to soothe their affliction, I both offend God who has compassion on their groans, and I embolden others to repeat the crime.”

How is it possible to over-estimate the repressive power of faith in the Real Presence, with such examples as this before us? Here was the prime minister of the king, the man who has left the progressive and constructive stamp of his mind on the laws of Edgar as well as on the ecclesiastical laws of the period,\* refusing before all the people, on the solemn feast of Pentecost, to begin the Mass until justice had been satisfied and the course of evil stopped. And if it be denied that his sacrifice implied the full-orbed doctrine of the Real Presence upheld by the Catholic Church of to-day, we have only to turn to the beautiful account of the Saint's last Mass and death written by his contemporary, Adelard, for a refutation of the error:—

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\* “Memorials of St. Dunstan” (Rolls Series, 1874). Introd. pp. cv, cvi.

"On Ascension Day, 988," he says, "Dunstan preached as he had never preached before; and as his Master, when about to suffer, had spoken of peace and charity to His disciples, and had given His Flesh and Blood for their spiritual food, so too did Dunstan commend to God the Church which had been committed to him, raising it to heaven by his words, and absolving it from sin by his apostolic authority. And offering the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, he reconciled it to God. But before the Holy Communion, having given as usual the blessing to the people, he was touched by the Holy Ghost, and pronounced the form of benediction with unusual grace. Then having commended peace and charity to all, while they looked on him as on an angel of God, he exclaimed: 'Farewell for ever.'

"The people were still listening eagerly to his voice and gazing lovingly on his face, when he returned to the holy altar to feed on his Life; and so, having refreshed himself with the Bread of Life, he completed this day with spiritual joy.

"But in that very day the column of God began to totter, and as his sickness increased he retired to his bed, in which the whole of the Friday and the Friday night, intent on celestial things, he strengthened all who came to visit him. On the morning of the Sabbath (*i.e.* the Saturday), when the matin song was now finished, he bids the holy congregation of the brethren come to him. To whom again commending his soul, he received from the heavenly table the viaticum of the sacraments of Christ, which had been celebrated in his presence, and, giving thanks to God for it, he began to sing: 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath made a memorial of His wonders, He hath given meat to them that fear Him.' And with these words in his mouth, rendering his spirit into his Maker's hands, he rested in peace. Oh! too happy whom the Lord has found watching!"

Faith in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar was moreover the real life of another chief factor of civilization among the Celts and Saxons. It was the keystone of the penitential system of the Church, without which, Father Bridgett says, the whole arch of the system would have crumbled to pieces:—

A second great principle of civilization among our Celtic and Saxon forefathers was the penitential discipline of the Church. This was for ages both the supplement and the support of the civil law, and was the principal means both of preventing crimes and of punishing malefactors. But if you take away the hope of receiving Holy Communion, you take away the keystone from the whole arch of this system, and it would have crumbled to pieces. The necessity of receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord on the one hand, the danger to the soul of doing this without the requisite purity on the other, could alone have induced men to undergo purifications so hard to human nature. And be it remarked that the Church, during this period, dealt not only with sin as an offence to God, but as a crime against society. Her discipline took the place, in a great measure, of civil penalties. While the Church punished crime by penance, the

State could leave the matter almost entirely in her hands. When the penitential system became less severe, civil penalties became more rigorous. Or we may perhaps say with equal truth—for in this matter there were mutual action and reaction—when the State, by advance in unity and organization, became competent to deal with crimes against itself, the Church willingly relaxed her penitential discipline, lest the same crimes should be twice punished. But certainly, during the period now under review, the chief agent in the repression and punishment of crime was the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, as giving life to the exhortations, admonitions, and maternal corrections of the Church.

And whenever men fell away altogether into bad courses, when vice and wrong-doing were rampant in the land, the old cry of Gildas, *raro sacrificantes*, was again heard. Neglect of Mass was the invariable accompaniment of broken vows, of luxury and intemperance: “Male morigerate clerici, elatione et insolentia ac luxuria praeventi, adeo ut nonulli eorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas illicite duxerant, et alias accipientes, gulae et ebrietati jugiter dediti.”

Equally remarkable with what we have called the repressive power of the Holy Eucharist is its creative power, its power of bringing forth positive good, and good not solely in the spiritual and moral order of things but also the temporal and political.

The Anglo-Saxon dominion spread the blight of slavery over England. Christianity met it by teaching the spiritual equality of all mankind redeemed by the Blood of Christ, and destroyed it by the practical results of such teaching. The serf and the lord knelt before the same altar, and both alike were privileged and bound to receive the same communion. On Sundays the master and the slave met in the same church to fulfil the same obligation, imposed without distinction on both, of being present at the Supreme act of worship, the Sacrifice of the Mass. On Sundays, the day consecrated in great measure by the dominical obligation, the bondsman could neither work for himself nor be compelled to work for his master; whilst at the great festival times of Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption, though the master could no longer enforce his usual right to the toil of his serf, the serf was free to labour for himself, and often earned sufficient not only to render his life less miserable, but even to purchase, in the course of time, his own freedom. If a master led his female slave into a breach of chastity, he was bound to give her freedom as well as to do six months penance himself. And of all the forms of emancipation obtaining in those days, that before the altar of the Church, “*sacrosancta altaria, sacrificii cœlestis sedem,*” as it had been known from the days of Gildas, was the most frequent; almost all the existing records on the

subject are taken from the margins of Gospels or other books belonging to religious houses, and the few references in the laws imply emancipation at the altar. Once emancipation gained, no bar stood in the way of the humblest serf in the land aspiring to the priesthood, in the ranks of which the highest and the lowest classes met on a footing of absolute equality. And the sons of slaves, not of plebians only, were received into the companionship of Ninians, Wifrids, Egberts, Columbas, all members of royal houses or noble families. "The enslaved shall be freed, the plebians exalted, through the orders of the Church and by performing penitential service to God. For the Lord is accessible. He will not refuse any kind of man after belief, among either the free or plebian tribes; so likewise is the Church open for every person who goes under her rule." So ran the Brehon Laws, supporting a lofty democracy, a noble radicalism that will never be surpassed or equalled, though it be trampled upon and reviled by modern counterfeits that arrogate the name and usurp its place.

How far such teaching was at first opposed in Saxon times it would be hazardous to say; but it is a clearly established fact that having gained a footing it did not maintain its ground without a struggle against the spirit of the world in Norman times. Repeated attempts were made under our Norman kings to exclude slaves from the priesthood. One of the Constitutions of Clarendon, rejected by St. Thomas of Canterbury, as opposed to the rights of the Church, was that no serf's son could be admitted to holy orders. And the Church, in vindicating her own prerogatives, and upholding the rights of the poor and lowly in the reign of Richard II., was fronted with the prayer of the Commons to the king, "that no naif or villain shall place his children at school, as has been done so as to advance their children by means of the clerical state," and was opposed in the same spirit by some of the colleges of the universities who actually shut their gates in the face of the bondsman. Nevertheless the Church triumphed, and bishops' registers show that, down to the Reformation, emancipation previous to ordination was a common occurrence.

After all that has been said lately about oaths, their use and meaning and expediency, we follow with special interest their import and influence on the early life of the nation, bound up as they were with the most solemn and awful rites of religion. In the days of Howel the Good, when a judge was elected, he was taken to church by the king's chaplain, attended by twelve principal officers of the court, to hear Mass. At the end of Mass he had to swear by the relics, and by the altar, and by the *consecrated elements placed upon the altar*, that he would



never deliver a wrong judgment knowingly. Two centuries later we find that an oath was taken at Cirencester not only, *tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis*, but, *super sacramentum sanctum*. Earlier still than Howel the Good, the dooms of Ine, king of Wessex, ordained that greater weight should attach to the oath of communicants than to that of others. About the same time the Saxon laws of Wihtred required that, 'a priest clear himself by his sooth in his holy garment before the altar, thus saying, "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not." In like manner a deacon. Let a clerk clear himself with four of his fellows, and he alone with his hand on the altar, let the others stand by; and so for the king's thane, the ceorl, and the stranger, and let the oath of all these be incontrovertible.' Hence belief in the Real Presence was one of the great safeguards of the integrity of an oath, whatever the occasion of it might be. It brought before the most careless, in a way there was no evading, a whole system of rewards and punishments present and future; it brought a man into the unseen world; it brought him face to face with the hidden God, *Deus absconditus*. And what is happening now that that faith is deliberately and explicitly spurned by the sovereign the moment a king or queen succeeds to the sway of this Empire? Disbelief in the necessity of veracity, disbelief in the sanctity of the oath, disbelief in the existence of God Himself, is following surely, if slowly, step by step. And whereas formerly the oath of a clerk, or thane, or ceorl, or stranger, taken with his hand resting on the altar was incontrovertible, now, no sooner has a witness been brought into court and sworn, as it is called, 'than he is treated by the opposing barrister as if he had come purposely to perjure his soul and to confound justice.'

#### IV.

The exultant prologue of the old Salic Law reaches the crowning point of the glories of the Frankish people when it proclaims their freedom from heresy. All their beauty and boldness and bravery are but as so many steps leading up to this, 'ad catholica fide nuper conversa et immunis ab herese.'\* It is noteworthy that the Church of the kindred Teutonic race that conquered Britain, the Anglo-Saxon Church, could boast of precisely the same characteristic freedom from heresy. So that when Lanfranc, the first archbishop of Canterbury of Norman appointment, left the field of his encounters with the shifty, scoffing, sharp-tongued Berengarius, in the very heat of the

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\* "Lex Salica." Prologus. Ed. Merkel.

controversy, and assumed the government of the English Church, he—the acute and profound defender of the Real Presence, who had unswervingly affirmed the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the clearest and most precise terms in France—though his rule was not without severity, though he deposed bishops and abbots, though he did not spare the ignorance of the islanders he had come amongst, could bring no charge of heresy against his new flock. The Norman invasion was so totally different from the invasions of the Saxons and Danes because the new conquerors were one in faith with the vanquished nation. The English, monks and laity, hated their victors. The Church of Glastonbury was the scene of sacrilege and bloodshed, originating in a feud between the Norman Abbot and the Saxon Monks. But the cause of the feud was no matter of doctrine, simply the monks would not abandon their Gregorian chant. If the victors, full of the controversy that was raging in the land they had just quitted, had attempted to impose on the Anglo-Saxon Church a novel faith, as over and over again it has been asserted they did, history would have been full of the fierce resentment that springs from the jealousy of religious innovation. As it is not a single favourer of the Berengarian heresy is mentioned in English History.

With the gradual quieting down of the country after the Conquest, and the amalgamation of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman people, the Cathedrals and Abbeys and parish Churches of the Anglo-Norman Church gradually rose and covered the land. And in the thirteenth century so great was the zeal for splendid buildings in which to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, that the Council of London presided over by the Pope's legate, Otho, in 1237, decreed that 'Abbots and rectors must not pull down old churches in order to build better ones without leave of the bishop, who will judge of the necessity or expediency.' The same Council enjoined that all churches were to be consecrated 'because in them the Heavenly Victim, living and true, namely, the only begotten Son of God, is offered on the altar of God for us by the hands of the priest.' Princes, prelates and people vied with one another in their zeal for the glory and beauty of God's House. Everything that was richest and most costly was committed to the guardianship of the bishop or abbot for the Church. As Eadfrid, the fifth Abbot of St. Alban's, in the time of King Edmund the Pious, had manifested his faith in the Eucharistic Presence by the offering of a beautiful vessel, *cyphum desiderabilem*, for the Blessed Sacrament, so Robert, the eighteenth Abbot, who died in 1166, marked his belief by the gift of a precious vessel under a silver crown; and his successor, Simon, caused to be made by Brother Baldwin, the goldsmith, a vessel

'most admirable of pure red gold with gems of inestimable value set about it,' which King Henry II. hearing of, 'gratefully and devoutly sent to St. Albans a most noble and precious cup in which the shrine *theca*, immediately containing the Body of Christ, should be placed.' Eustace of Ely, one of the three bishops who published the great interdict in the reign of John, gave to his Church a gold pyx for the Eucharist. Eustace, Abbot of Flay, who was sent to England in 1200 by the Pope, frequently admonished priests and people that a light should be kept burning continually before the Eucharist in order that He who enlightens every man who cometh into this world might for this temporal light grant them the eternal light of glory. William Stedman 'settled a wax taper to burn continually day and night for ever before the Body of our Lord in the chancel of the Church of St. Peter, of Mancroft, Norwich.' And this daily, hourly reverence for the Blessed Sacrament, Father Bridgett traces in the munificence of our ancestors down through the centuries, in examples drawn from chronicles and wills of generation after generation, till we come to what indeed is the most touching of all: the will of Agnes Badgercroft, a Benedictine nun. The poor creature was driven from her religious home, the dissolved Abbey of St Mary's, Winton, by the tyranny of Henry. Yet she was loyal to the end to her vows and her faith. And when she died in Mary's reign, by her will, June 30, 1556, she bequeathed "my professed ring to the Blessed Sacrament for to be sold and to buy a canopy for the Blessed Sacrament in the Church of St. Peter's, Colbroke."

Living in the midst of all the multitudinous religious discords of the present day, breathing whether we will or no the very atmosphere of theological dissension and strife, it is exceedingly difficult to seize the full meaning of Father Bridgett's picture of the Anglo-Norman Church, though it is worked out to the very least detail of its outward manifestation in material magnificence and of its moral aspect in the spiritual life of the people. Yet unless we do fully compass it, it is scarcely too much to say that we can have no real insight into one of the greatest events of the time, the famous interdict of Pope Innocent III. The picture of the Anglo-Norman Church brings into view a mighty nation bound together in perfect concord by the strong tie of religious unity. It is a complete exemplification of the unitive power of the Holy Eucharist. It introduces us to a whole people brought together on an equal footing in one great act of faith and worship which was at once their highest privilege and their gravest obligation; the first care of their daily life, their hope in death, and a bond of union with those that had left them for another world. Richard I. in his better days used to rise early and seek first the kingdom

of God, never leaving the church until all the offices were ended. William the Conqueror heard Mass daily, and assisted at matins and vespers and other Canonical hours; and when dying he had at his own request been taken to the Priory of St. Gervase, with floods of tears for the terrible destruction of Mantes and his previous barbarities in Northumberland, he begged that he might receive Holy Communion from the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen. When St. David, King of Scotland, felt that his end was approaching, he had himself carried by the clergy and soldiers into his oratory to receive for the last time the most holy mysteries before the altar. Henry III., according to Walsingham, was wont "every day to hear three Masses with music (*cum notâ*), and not satisfied with that, was present at many low masses besides; and when the priest elevated the Lord's Body, he used to support the priest's hand and kiss it. It happened one day that he was conversing on such matters with St. Louis, King of the French, when the latter said that it was better not always to hear Masses, but to go often to sermons. To whom the English king pleasantly replied that 'he would rather see his friend frequently than hear another talking of him however well.' Henry's son, Edward I., was so distressed at the neglect of Mass by his daughter, after her marriage with John of Brabant, that he caused large alms to be made to atone for it. And the neglect and the atonement are thus handed down to us in the wardrobe book of the year: 'Sunday, the ninth day before the translation of the virgin (*i.e.*, the Assumption), paid to Henry, the almoner, for feeding 300 poor men, at the King's Common, because the Lady Margaret, the King's daughter, and John of Brabant, did *not* hear Mass, 36s. 7d.,' a sum equal to £27 of our money; and besides this John of Brabant was obliged by his father-in-law to give an additional sum in alms. The renowned Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, had to cope with grave abuses, not because the nobles neglected Mass, but because they insisted on having it said privately for the benefit of their own households, a privilege accorded solely to royalty. Henry of Estria, Prior of Canterbury, who died in 1330, having been prior for forty-seven years, 'at last in his ninety-second year, during the celebration of Mass, after the elevation of the Lord's Body, on the 6th of the ides of April, ended his life in peace.' St. Ælred, Abbot of Rievaulx, for ten years grievously afflicted with bodily infirmities, fought against them so long as he could stand in order to say Mass, though for the last year of his life after the daily effort, exhausted, he would lie for an hour on his bed, motionless and speechless. Then when Edward I. wrote to the Archbishop of York to announce the death of Queen Eleanor and beg for prayers and Masses, 'that as she herself could no longer merit,

she might be helped by the charitable prayers of others,' the Archbishop wrote to the King that the number of Masses he had ordered to be offered for the Queen's soul in the parish churches and chapels where there were priests celebrating amounted to 47,528; and that he had also granted forty days' indulgence to all who said a *Pater* and an *Ave* for the repose of her soul. As the Masses were to be said every Wednesday for the space of one year, and would amount to 47,528, a simple calculation reveals that at the end of the thirteenth century the number of priests in the archdiocese of York alone was no less than 914. And finally, to put a limit to proofs that might be multiplied almost endlessly, the example of William of Kilkenny, Bishop of Ely, who left two hundred marks to his church to find two chaplains to celebrate perpetually for his soul, shows that those who were continually besought to supplicate for the souls of others were careful to provide against the neglect of their own.

Now the interdict of Innocent III. means the arrest of the whole of this part of the common life of England for more than six years. The threat of it startled even the shameless King, who brought it upon the country, and he vowed that if it were published he would banish the clergy from the land, mutilate every Italian in the realm he could lay hands on, and confiscate the property of every man who should obey it. But the interdict was published, and correcting the inaccuracies of Mr. Green's account of it, and supplying what was wanting to the brevity of Dr. Lingard's, Father Bridgett gives us a view of its effects such as no historian has succeeded in doing before.

The interdict of Innocent III. was no ordinary interdict—if a measure so exceptional can ever in any sense be rightly termed ordinary. It surpassed in the severity of its clearly-defined prescriptions all those of a later date. From the 23rd of March, 1208, Mass ceased, the altars were stripped and the churches were closed throughout the land; espousals could not be contracted nor marriages celebrated; infants were to be baptized, but only at home; the dying might make their confession, but they could not receive the Eucharist or Extreme Unction; the dead could not be buried in consecrated ground; friends might lay them wherever they pleased outside the churchyards, especially where passers-by would be moved by the sight, but no priest could be present at the burial; the bodies of the clergy, inclosed in sealed coffins or in lead, might be placed in the trees of the churchyard or on its walls, but even bishops themselves who died during the interdict, so long as it lasted, remained unburied.

When it came to the Pope's hearing that some of the Cistercians, not considering themselves comprised in the general terms of the interdict—their special privileges requiring a particular mention

of them to be made—had begun to say Mass, Innocent, without blaming the monks, charged the bishops to determine whether this partial non-observance was likely to cause scandal, or to make the King think that he, the Pope, would relent if John persisted in his contumacy. If it were calculated to do so, they were to restrict at once the liberty claimed by these religious.

In January, 1209, Cardinal Langton sought and obtained permission for Mass to be celebrated once a week secretly in all the conventual churches, where up to that time the interdict had been obeyed, in order 'that the virtue of this most Divine Sacrament may obtain a good end to this business.' Permission was also granted to the Cardinal and to the three Bishops of London, Ely and Worcester to have Mass said for themselves and their households should they be summoned to England by the King. But a further entreaty of the Cistercians for something more than the general concession to monastic orders of a weekly Mass was firmly, though kindly, refused. They urged every argument likely to avail, Innocent's own, for the concession he had already made, included. But the Pope remained fixed in his refusal. 'Although,' he wrote, 'you very piously believe that the immolation of the Saving Victim will bring about more speedily the desired ending to this business, yet we hope that if you bear patiently this undeserved pain, "the Spirit who asketh for you with unspeakable groanings," will all the more quickly obtain a happy issue from Him, who by bearing a pain not due, and by paying what he had not taken, hath redeemed us, even our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we pray and beseech you, beloved sons, that remembering that this affair is now almost at its end, you will not disturb its progress, but that you will well weigh what we have written for God's sake and for ours, who with a most fervent charity are zealous for you and your order, and who hold it in veneration; and that bearing your present troubles in patience you will give yourselves to prayer to God that He would so soften the author of this guilt as to absolve those who bear the pain; and be certain that, for the undeserved pain you bear, a worthy recompense is in store for you, not only from God but from us also.'

History as a rule is so busy with the turbulent doings of the barons, and so intent on the conduct of the great personages of the struggle, that we lose sight of the multitude of Religious, and of the bulk of the people and secular clergy cut off from everything that made life worth living to them. Such words as 'the disgrace and horrors of the interdict' fall upon almost deaf ears, so vague and abstract have the circumstances and the spirit of our own times rendered them. Sermons in Music Halls, if Music Halls had been in those days, though delivered by the

most eloquent or popular preacher, would never have compensated for the loss of Mass to the poorest congregation of mediæval England. It is just this view of the matter that Father Bridgett's account of the interdict supplies. Together with the increasing restlessness of the religious orders under its gloomy restrictions, we feel the secret disaffection that was spreading amongst the people, when, contrary to all the expectations of the Pope, John—envying Mahommedan nations who knew no restrictions of morality, and had no Pope to vindicate God's rights and the rights of God's people—so far from yielding, hardened himself more and more against God and man; gave himself up to every kind of brutal indulgence; is said to have even sought help from the Emperor of Morrocco with an offer of renouncing Christianity; pillaged churches and confiscated the goods of the churchmen who resisted him; and carried his impious defiance of interdict and excommunication alike to such lengths that when he chanced to see a very fat stag brought in, he cried out with a laugh, 'He had a good life, and yet he never heard Mass.' No wonder that the terrible verdict of the King's contemporaries—'Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John'—has passed into the sober judgment of history.\*

Dr. Lingard, with certainly less than his usual perspicacity, esteems the interdict 'a singular form of punishment by which the person of the King was spared, and his subjects, the unoffending parties, were made to suffer.' Father Bridgett shows a wider grasp of the subject. He has appreciated and exhibits the fact that, though far less guilty than the King, England as a nation was at the time far from innocent:

'A mediæval monarch, however despotic, could not be considered apart from his people, as if they bore none of the responsibility of his acts. When it suited their own interests the barons could be bold enough both to counsel and to resist their sovereigns. The feudal system put no standing army in the pay and obedience of the King. It left him dependent on the fidelity of his great vassals. If kings were bold to do evil, it was because they were pushed on by evil counsellors among the clergy and the laity, were surrounded by docile agents, and counted on the co-operation or connivance of their people. What were the great excommunications and interdicts of the Middle Ages but lessons in constitutional government given to kings and people alike, teaching them that they were responsible to and for each other? If the innocent suffered with the guilty, that is the very condition of human society.'

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\* J. R. Green, "History of the English People."

And then more pointedly justifying the Pope for an act that has been variously misrepresented and misinterpreted as part of a crafty or ambitious policy, difficult of vindication on the grounds of either equity or justice, he sums up this section of his subject :

‘The crimes of the country attained their climax in John, one of the vilest of our kings ; and there was no injustice in requiring the whole nation to unite in expiating his guilt.

‘Besides this, if we would form a right conception of the great interdict of 1208, we must remember that an interdict is not an ordinary punishment of ordinary crimes. It is a solemn protest against outrages to the liberty and majesty of the Church. She is established by God as the Queen of the nations as well as their mother. She has a right to hide her countenance when she is insulted. She had a right to demand reparation. Pope Innocent exercised no tyranny. He withdrew from the English nation nothing to which it had a right. He confiscated none of its riches, he abridged none of its liberties. It was as a supernatural society, as a baptized people, as a part of the Church of which he under Christ was supreme ruler, that he humbled the nation, or called upon it to humble itself, by the withdrawal of God’s presence. He judged it better that the Churches should be closed even for years than that they should be opened for the pompous but sacrilegious ministrations of the enslaved and corrupted priesthood which John would have created. It was better, as he wrote to the Cistercian Abbots, that the Holy Spirit should, with ineffable groans, plead in the hearts of desolate men, than that Masses should be offered in the presence of impenitent sinners.

‘The obstinacy of the King, and perhaps the sins of the nation, made the interdict far longer than the Pope had anticipated. He had hoped that a short vigil would be followed by a glad festival. It was not his fault if the vigil was of unexampled length. It was a war, and partook of a war’s chances. Innocent chose it, it would seem, as a milder measure than excommunication.

‘Having once entered upon it he had no choice but to fight it out to victory, even though the victory could not be gained without a far more terrible and prolonged contest than he had expected, and though he was obliged to add at least those other spiritual penalties from which he had shrunk at first.

‘The interdict lasted six years and three months ; for though the King had been absolved from his excommunication, and High Mass and Te Deum were sung in the Cathedral of Winchester on the 20th July, 1213, yet reparation was not made by him, nor the interdict removed from the country, until July 2nd, 1214,



“Et factum est gaudium magnum in universa Ecclesia Anglicana.” \*

V.

Clearly the interdict derived its unconquerable operative power from the faith of the people, not from the faith of the Sovereign, and it was a faith that, as we observed just now, had never been breathed upon much less shaken by the wind of heresy. William of Newborough, writing at the end of the twelfth century, rejoiced that England had ever remained free from every heretical pestilence though many other parts of the world were afflicted by various forms of its disturbing presence. “The Britons indeed,” he wrote, “produced Pelagius, and were corrupted by his doctrine. But since Britain has been called England no contagion of heresy has ever infected it.” And for nearly two centuries after William of Newborough wrote, England remained free. And even when the metaphysical subtleties of Wycliffe and the frenzy of the Lollards against the Holy Eucharist first made its dreadful disintegrating power felt, heresy had no wide-spread influence, it did not exert a national influence. Great as the mischief it did was, it could not alienate the masses from their old faith.

‘Ten years after the death of Wycliffe the fanaticism of the Lollards emboldened them to present a petition to Parliament, which, though then rejected, is remarkable as being the first mention in that assembly of a heresy which was, in the course of centuries, to be adopted by it as a test of the allegiance to the Crown and Protestant Church. “The false Sacrament of Bread,” says this petition, “leads all men, with a few exceptions, into idolatry; for they think that the Body of Christ, which is never out of heaven, is, by virtue of the priest’s words, essentially enclosed in a little bread which they show to the people.” †

‘There was much corruption of morals, much scepticism in England, at that time among the higher classes, much misery and ignorance in the lower orders, yet the nation was not yet prepared to reject the faith of centuries and cut itself off from Christendom. There was a sturdy common-sense view which prevailed over the metaphysical subtleties of Wycliffe and which is thus exposed by Netter: “Are then all infidels who are not Wycliffites? All—Greeks, Illyrians, Spaniards, French, Indians, Hungarians, Danes, Germans, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, English, Irish, Scotch—all the innumerable priests and bishops throughout the world all blind, all infidels? And has the whole Church throughout the world now at length to learn from this

\* Thomas Wykes, p. 58, Rolls Series.

† Wilkins, iii. 221.

John Wicked-life\* what Christ meant in the Gospel when he gave His Body in the Eucharist? And did Christ thus leave His spouse, the Church of the whole world, deprived of the possession of the true faith, in order to cleave to this Wycliffian harlot? Surely the portentous ambition of this new sect is alone deserving of eternal punishment. You wretched, deluded men, does it really seem to you a trifle to believe in Christ as you profess to do, and to disbelieve in His Church? To believe in Christ the Head and to sever from Him His mystic body? To begin the creed with, I believe in God, and to terminate your counter-creed with, I deny the Catholic Church?" †

Granted that the Lollard negations prepared the way for 'the wider and ever-widening negatives called by the general name of Protestantism,' that they did not take real hold of the masses is abundantly proved in many a chapter of the History of the Holy Eucharist, embracing the generations that came and went before the Reformation 'was forced on an unwilling people.' And to show that they did not affect the choice specimens of human wisdom and virtue, we have only to recall the names of men and women like Robert Grosseteste, the upholder of our national liberties; William of Wykeham, the illustrious Bishop of Winchester; Elphinstone of Aberdeen, churchman, lawyer, and statesman; Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII. and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; John Fisher, the great patron of learning, Bishop and Cardinal; Thomas More, Chancellor of England and martyr.

John's character and acts proved 'that what is called the Reformation—that is to say, the perpetual and self-imposed interdict of the Catholic religion in England—might have come some centuries earlier than it did had it only depended on the will of kings. Such men as Rufus and John were quite as willing as Henry VIII. to sacrifice the souls of their people to the gratification of their own avarice, lust, and hate. Remedies such as that made use of by Innocent were possible in the thirteenth century, but would have been found useless in the sixteenth. They depend for their efficacy on the strength of faith, not merely in one country, but throughout Christendom. When a great number have come to be of the opinion of John, that temporal prosperity is more important than religion, and boast how well a country can get on without Mass—like John's fat buck—then it would be an idle threat to deprive them of what they already disregard.'

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\* "A Joanne, cognomento impiæ vitæ." If my translation is correct, this pun on Wycliffe's name must have been well known in England, since the Latin would convey no meaning to any but an Englishman.

† Thomas Netter (Waldensis), "Doctrinale Fidei," iii. 35.

How in the sixteenth century so great a number came to be of the opinion of John as to bring about the tremendous revolution that made the national faith of centuries a penal offence Father Bridgett does not tell us. Passages such as the one last cited foreshadow and anticipate the momentous epoch in the History of the Holy Eucharist when the doctrine of the Real Presence was reviled as a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit, when the offering of Mass by a Catholic priest was punished with a cruel death, and the repudiation of it was required as the price of social preferment or of civil liberty; but that is all. The volumes we have been rapidly glancing through bring us down to the Reformation, and there they stop. Happily the reason is not far to seek, nor disconcerting when found. In a notice prefixed to the first volume the author tells us that he had collected materials to complete his History to the present day; but when he found that a third volume would be required to treat adequately the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, he thought it better to make the early and mediæval periods complete in themselves, and he has done so. And moreover he promises the third volume. It cannot well be more important than the two volumes before us. But if we have not shown that it will be of very great importance as the completion of a work that has hitherto been wanting to the popular apprehension of our national history, we have gravely failed in our duty.



ART. VIII.—ON SOME REASONS FOR NOT  
DESPAIRING OF A NATIONAL RETURN TO  
THE FAITH.

*[This Paper was read by the writer before the Academia of  
the Catholic Religion.]*

**A** MOST able and thoughtful Paper on the conversion of England, which was read by an Academician at the last session in June last, elicited from several members, including the present writer, the expression of an opinion more favourable to our wishes than that to which he inclined. The accomplished author of that Paper appeared to believe that, whereas there were many signs of a growing tendency on the part of individuals, alarmed at the swift and wide-spread movement of this age and country towards disbelief in all and every form of supernatural religion, to fall back on the Catholic Church as the alone adequately tutelary system of historic, and doctrinal Christianity, yet anything like

a *national* return to the faith of our fathers seemed hardly to be possible. It is with the hope of being able to marshal a few facts and draw from them some inferences less unfavourable to our wishes, that I make the following remarks, which I trust may serve as topics on which we may have the advantage of reading others more competent to treat of such matters.

1. My first topic in mitigation of the less hopeful view is a historic consideration to which in the ardour of controversy we may perhaps have not been quite fair. I mean the fact that the first lapse of the national establishment of religion under Queen Elizabeth was the worst. The tone of the Anglican formularies and that of their defenders since that lapse has been on the whole an improving tone. Compare the uniform downward tendency of the other separatists of the sixteenth century in this and in other lands with that of the Established religion, and you will see a marked contrast. "Lutherans," says John Henry Newman, "have tended to rationalism; Calvinists have become Socinians; but what has it become? As far as its formularies are concerned, it may be said all along to have grown towards a more perfect Catholicism than that with which it started at the time of its estrangement; every act, every crisis which marks its course, has been upwards. It never was in so miserable case as in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. At the end of Elizabeth's there was a conspicuous revival of the true doctrine."\* It is true that these are the words of an illustrious writer who was at that time an Anglican; but I think the facts are as he states, however differently we, and no doubt he himself now, would estimate their value and importance. I also conceive him to be speaking, as I do now myself, of Anglicanism in the restricted official sense of the term. Similarly, what a vast improvement in the doctrine and tone of the "Caroline" Divines over those of the so-called Reformation! and though the storms of the great rebellion for a time swept all before them, these were more akin to an external persecution, affecting rather the outward conditions of the establishment of religion than its inward and spiritual character. In the next century, again, the Socinian elements in the Protestant Church may be fairly said to have been checked, if not eliminated, by her own action; and the eighteenth century will figure in the minds of orthodox Anglicans, nay, of fair-minded historians, rather as that of Butler, and Wilson, and Horne, than as that of Tillotson, Warburton, Newton, Hoadley, and their successors and imitators. The undisturbed Erastianism of the last age, again, has in its turn gradually given way to the higher conception of the

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\* J. H. Newman, *Catholicity of the English Church*: "Hist. and Crit. Essays," vol. ii. p. 55.

Church and her office which is now current among Anglicans. If, for instance, we compare an assize sermon preached at the beginning of this century by a very able and excellent man, whose name and principal work is still familiar to elderly Oxonians, Mr. Davison, some time Fellow of Oriel, with such compositions at the present day, we shall see what a great advance has been made in the interval of some sixty or seventy years. In the discourse alluded to, the preacher, speaking of the importance of some public authoritative instrument for teaching and impressing, warning, or fortifying the public mind, never once directly or indirectly alludes to the Church as a divine, or even as a human, institution directed to this end; but speaks of human and civil law as their "most certain instruction," as furnishing them with "at least some stock of ideas of duty," and as their "plainest rule of action." I have said not even *indirectly* does he allude to the Church, but this is incorrect; for I find in the same passage (by Newman in his article on Davison) the following fine apostrophe: "As if the Mother of Saints were dead or banished, a thing of past times or other countries, he actually applies to the law of the land language which *she* had introduced, figures of which *she* exemplified the reality, and speaks of the law as 'laying crime under the *interdict* and infamy of a public condemnation.'" (*Ib.*, p. 409). Lastly, let me remind you that whereas in the first age of Anglican Protestantism the universal and unchallenged belief in the real absence of our Lord on her altars was fitly symbolized by the sordid table and side-benches placed lengthways in the body of the churches, now I believe I am right in saying that, with scarce an exception, and irrespective of the parties and their shades of belief, or unbelief, which divide the Anglican Establishment, all Anglican Churches contain a communion-table placed altarwise, and, in a very large number of instances, intended and contrived to look more or less like a real altar. If we assume this fact to have but a slender, or even no, dogmatic significance, still the fact remains, and, like other facts, has to be accounted for. I believe that the origin of the upward tendency in this as in other particulars is distinctly to be traced in the Anglican canons of 1603, and again in those of 1661.

2. Next I will remark on the distinct increase of religious practice which characterizes this latter half of the nineteenth century. I remember that one of the broad issues which challenged my attention when first, some forty years ago, I began to think of the religious question, was the palpable fact that, whatever might be the alleged superior purity of Protestant doctrine over that which it supplanted, in point of religious practice there was no question the so-called Reformation was a vast decline from the ante-Reformation standard. The mere fact

that the pre-Reformation churches were always open, on feast day and on feria, that the services succeeded each other from early dawn till noon-tide, and that they were attended by crowds of people of all ranks and conditions, whereas after the religious revolution the churches remained shut, the great service which brought men to them was abolished, and the times seemed to have come on this land which God foretold by the mouth of His prophet when all his solemnities and festival times should cease,\* this mere fact is a *prima facie* condemnation of the whole so-called reformation of religion. Well, whatever stress we justly lay on it, we must in equity proportionately mitigate when, as at the present time, we see a vast number of churches once more opened and frequented, and a most remarkable increase of services, so as in some places to imitate the Catholic use of churches in the repetition at frequent intervals of the Holy Mass; nor only so, but the services thus repeated are specially those in which that dim and shattered image of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which the so-called Reformers substituted for it, is repeated, as if in emphatic repudiation of the Anglican article, which denounces the reiteration of the Mass as an abuse to be by all means and for ever done away. Moreover, not only has an extraordinary revival of church services and church frequentation and observance characterized this time, but the ritual, as we all know, has undergone such a change in the Catholic direction as would have simply astounded our immediate progenitors if, as is the case in rare instances still, they had survived to behold the change. Even in my own recollection the service and ritual of the Anglican Church throughout the land has undergone an astounding revolution. Instead of a huge pile of woodwork often entirely obscuring the squalid communion-table and its deserted septum, and containing, on three stories, receptacles for a preacher above, a praying minister in the middle story, and a very "pestilent fellow," called a "clerk," on the ground-floor, it is now universally the case that the preaching and praying desks, cut down from their sometime lofty estate to a moderate height, or even disappearing altogether, leave the altar not only visible, but dominating the chancel and whole church. The "clerk," with his grotesque utterance and costume, is an extinct species, and the duet between the parson and this functionary, which represented the devotions of the whole congregation, is heard no more. Then as to the administration of the supposed sacraments and sacramentals of the Establishment, a no less momentous change has taken place. Even distinctly low Church and dissenting

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\* Osee ii. 11.

ministers adopt a solemnity and an accuracy of gesture and rubrical observance such as Archbishop Laud prescribed for the most part in vain to his clergy, while in their dress and deportment the clergy of the Establishment exhaust every device in their unwearied efforts to reproduce the exact type of a Catholic ecclesiastic. Nor is this confined to the clergy or to the Establishment. The tone of the public mind, too, when we can trace its action in *obiter dicta*, and, as it were, off its guard on the subject of religion, is clearly different from what it was some fifty or sixty years ago. I open, for instance an old *Monthly Review* of the year 1822, and I find in an article on a town in Switzerland the following expression: speaking of Geneva, the writer says: "A free government, the *same religion*, and similar tastes, render Geneva attractive to the English." I concede that in a review or essay treating of religion such an expression might be found now either in deprecation or in applause, according to the bias of the writer; but I submit that, intention apart, it would not occur to any one nowadays to assume that Genevan Calvinism is our national religion. So, again, if you read Maitland's preface to the collected edition of his *Essays*, you will see that he elaborately addresses himself to show that it is not inexcusable for a Protestant clergyman to be fair and equitable in treating of Catholic times, and persons, and things. Nowadays the Surtees, and many other such societies, publish year by year Catholic documents which are most damaging to historic Protestantism without a word of apology. The fact is, that they themselves, and we through them, have taken most of the chief Protestant positions—for instance, and notably, the summary polemic view that the Pope is anti-Christ. None but a few old women (of both sexes) make any attempt to defend them, and the public mind tacitly consents to browse in the grass-grown embrasures and unroofed casemates of many an exploded Protestant transitional fortress. I do not forget the plea that this is in part indifferentism; but I believe the temper of mind which leads men to such inquiries and such publications is not that of indifferentism but something better and higher in the greater number.

Here also we must mention the astonishing sums of money, representing in a vast number of instances the most real and the most unobtrusive self-denial and sacrifice, lavished on the fabrics of the ancient churches throughout the land, or expended in the erection of new and magnificent imitations of them. Altars of almost unrivalled splendour, stained glass, marble and mosaic wall-surfaces, rich pavements, gorgeous metal-work, paintings of the loftiest ideal and most artistic beauty, carvings in wood and in stone, are to be found renewed or created in every church,

from the cathedral down to the village chapelry ; while instead of the paltry or misshapen monuments in wood or stone, without sign in letter or in symbol of Christianity or of any religion at all, the graves of the dead are surmounted by beautiful monuments breathing in form and inscription the faith and hope of the Christian, nay even of the Catholic, with regard to the departed.

3. But, further : to pass from these more direct evidences of an upward, or Catholic, tendency in the national religion, surely it is worth our notice how certain causes not only in their nature not conducive to such results, but positively such as would lead to adverse and contrary effects, seem to have been and are still being overruled by a force superior to the conscious intuitions of men in an opposite sense. First of these I would mention the religious movements of the last and present centuries represented by the names of Wesley, Whitfield, Law, Venn, Wilberforce, Thornton, Simeon, and the rest. Surely it is evident, on the one hand, that short of the miraculous (of which we are not now speaking), a religious movement, properly so-called, a stirring of the dry bones of the National Establishment and revival of any kind of personal religion by the *direct* operation of Catholic teaching and teachers, was never more entirely out of the question in England than when the last Stuart sovereign was reigning, and her brother and afterwards her nephew were plotting and being betrayed by worthless political gamblers ; and, on the other hand, it is more evident still that Wesley and those I have just named had nothing less at heart than the propagation of the Catholic faith : yet if the Almighty *has* decreed the recall of England to the faith, but still, in accordance with His usual moral governance of the world, does not reveal His right hand by miracle, what other way could there be for breaking up the dead and slumberous lethe of that age and country save by such agencies as those whose genesis and history is summed in those men's names ? Time would not suffice, nor is it necessary here, to point out how they broke up the long-deserted and weed-grown fields, not yet ripening to the harvest, of our fatherland, raising before the eyes of a generation sunk in so much ignorance and sloth concerning heavenly things, a vision, vivid though incomplete, of the Personal, nay, of the Incarnate, God, whose name and office were then well-nigh effaced from the national mind and conscience. They delivered a message, tintured indeed with error, and unbalanced, but earnest, and sanctioned by lives of self-denying purity, and full of the unseen and eternal things of which their times had lost at once the knowledge and the appetite—the great message of “justice and judgment to come,” the pleadings of conscience, and the presages of eternal loss or gain. More-



over, they delivered it divested of any such colour as would have deprived it at once of every chance of success; and this not as an economy, but *bonâ fide* as "*the whole counsel of God,*" as they so often say.

Without this preliminary stirring of the national mind, what would have availed the scattered fragments of Catholic truth lying buried in formularies and liturgy, which the High Churchmen of a later age were to order and arrange again, and to build up amidst the scoffs of many and the mistrust of all—nay, even of themselves—into the ideal of the true and only City of God, as yet seemingly so far off, and yet so near to them? The beatitude of the Divine hunger and thirst for a justice as yet unknown, would have been prematurely bestowed on such as those who began, and of whom some still survive, the Oxford movement, unless it had been preceded by the deep sense of spiritual need, and love of a Personal Redeemer, aroused in them by these Calvinistic but earnest and pious men. Their writings and examples were the food of young souls, as yet unfitted for a stronger meat by the prejudice of birth and of education. Thus Wesley, and the rest, whose work was to become a running sore in the body-politic of Anglicanism, and the Evangelical school within it, who have long since degenerated into mere anti-Catholic fanatics, seem to me to have prepared the way for a movement which they neither contemplated nor would have approved if they could have foreseen it.

4. But now let us look for a similar paradox in a totally different direction. In the last century the whole of our literature was, as has been often said, in one conspiracy against the Catholic religion. The writings of our classical authors, from Pope—himself a Catholic, but half-drowned in the torrent of contemptuous ignorance of Catholic things around him—downwards, either entirely ignored, or grossly misrepresented and inveighed against, the truth, and a whole jargon of invective was invented and served up, in season and out of season, in large or small doses, to denounce, ridicule, and condemn the Church, and especially the Church of the middle and later ages.

The fierce persecution of the last two centuries had indeed begun to relax, and State prosecutions, the axe and the stake, had well-nigh become things of the past a hundred years ago; but the gross violence of the mob made itself felt by the Catholics of London in 1780, in a way which showed plainly how well the people had learned to hate the faith from which their fathers had apostatized. Moreover, a new impetus and a more specious show of reason had been given to the irreligion of the educated classes by the French Freethinkers, whose efforts were soon to be crowned with portentous effects in France. Milton and Hobbes

were the philosophic parents of the French materialists and doctrinaires, who, in their turn, gave us our Bolingbrokes, Humes, and Gibbons, and Paynes, and so many more impugners of dogmatic and historic Christianity, while in the political order our Whig statesmen and legislators were deeply tainted with the French irreligion, which suited their aims as well as it did their vices.

In the very noontide of this condition of things there appears suddenly, without assignable cause or antecedent, a group of writers who, yielding to none of their contemporaries in personal conviction of the entire error and absurdity of Catholic doctrine, nevertheless produce a new literature, destined in a short time to effect a very wide-spread and complete reaction of sentiment and feeling in the cultivated mind of the nation. Southey, learned, brilliant and absorbing; Scott, picturesque, scenic and genial; Coleridge, profound, original, seductive; Wordsworth, the pensive interpreter of Nature, her prophet and her priest—one and all true poets, rise up each in his place, and with one consent break forth with a strain of such harmony that no one that has ears to hear but must confess their song has some common origin. Whether they will it or not, they are the mouthpieces of a Spirit mightier than themselves, and instruments in a scheme beyond their ken and their intention. Thus, early in this century, as some of us can remember, the enthusiasm and ardour of our childhood or our youth were rallied, not as our fathers had been to the side of pagan virtues and formed on pagan examples, but to the great ideal of *Christendom*, its chivalry, its high enterprise, its picturesque beauty, its soul-stirring mixture of a splendid and mysterious religion, with all the shifting accidents by flood and field that form the favourite ground whereon young imaginations delight to expatiate. It was in vain that the very authors themselves strove, in foot-note or appendix, to keep up in their readers the orthodox Protestant traditions as to the folly and iniquity of mediæval belief and mediæval practice; their poetic *estro* was too strong for them, and while they tried to swell the chorus of the old malediction, lo! they “blessed us” altogether with a new estimate, at least in feeling and sentiment, of those things and persons we had been so carefully trained to hate and to mistrust. Would Maitland’s “Dark Ages,” and a host of similar books which now cover the tables and shelves of every drawing-room and book club throughout the country, ever have been written, unless they had been preceded by such poems as “Roderick the Goth,” “Marmion,” and “Cristabel,” or such novels as “The Abbot,” “The Monastery,” “Kenilworth,” “Waverley,” and so forth? I trow not. And now, if English youth, you may depend on it, have no longer the same estimate as that with which we begun

life, of such names as "priests," "monks," "nuns," "monasteries," "cloisters," and the like, why is it but because we were taught a truer one, not by the grave and authoritative teaching of Catholic educators, for we had none, but by the pens of such queer Christians as Robert Southey, LL.D., or Samuel Taylor Coleridge or Walter Scott. It matters not whether Southey's learning, or Coleridge's metaphysics, or Scott's antiquarian lore had either much or little to do with their literary success—what I dwell on is that they "made their running," as the phrase is, on ground hitherto so despised and rejected as that of the Middle Ages, by an appeal primarily directed to the most "forward and obtrusive" of all our faculties. This I esteem a stroke of Providence. If God is light and truth, heresy is both error and darkness too, and surely nowhere is it more conspicuous than in England that the strength of heresy lies in the ignorance of the people with regard to spiritual truths, in which more than in any other branch of human science contempt is the sure gauge of ignorance, as knowledge is the parent of esteem and reverence. Now, though we must admit that the mass of our people are still sunk in gross ignorance, and seem incapable of illumination in spiritual things, yet there is an advance even among them in places where High Church clergy have been at work for many years in school and church. Nor must we forget that this literary movement was manifestly the parent of similar ones in the other forms of poetry. Architecture, painting, music, have all since received a similar inspiration and impulse. It is an exception to a general rule that a Catholic bishop (Milner), and a Catholic architect (Augustus Welby Pugin), had a share, and a very large one, in the revival of a due respect and admiration for mediæval art: in both cases they were preceded by non-Catholics—viz., the Protestant Canon Nott, of Winchester, and the Quaker Rickman. But this touches on a separate topic, on which I would fain say a few words later. I will here only mention, in passing, a reflection which admits of much and interesting development—viz., the influence of the revival and spread of mediæval Christian ideas upon our language; in which you will most probably have noticed that a number of words have of late obtained a footing which were unknown, or, if known, then misapplied, a generation or two ago. Nor is it unworthy of notice that as the isolation and consequent stupid insular pride of the last age was an agent for evil in making us contemn all foreigners and foreign things, and therein of course the faith which had become strange to us, so now the contact with our neighbours and the diffusion of their tongue is productive of some good by familiarizing us with the knowledge and phraseology of their religion. I pass to another topic.

5. While our romantic poets were in their childhood or nonage

a neighbouring country was passing through the throes of a revolution which a century has scarcely sufficed to play out. An astonishing enthusiasm fell upon well-nigh the whole governing classes of the French people. A systematic attack had been planned and carried out by a band of clever specious sophists on all the existing institutions of the country; the disciples of Voltaire, of Diderot, of D'Alembert, of Volney, and J. J. Rousseau, and so many more, were to be found on the steps of the throne, in the senate, and in the magistrature—nay, in the assemblies of the clergy itself. The scheme had been contrived with a wonderful cunning; the kings of a whole continent, who were themselves a chief aim of the conspirators, were trained in the school of the new philosophy, and made use of as cat's-paws to carry out their nefarious views; infidel and philosophic ministers led them on step by step to destroy the power which had been their only possible stay and support. The Church's vanguard, that illustrious society whose privilege it is to be the first object of the hatred of the enemies of God and His Church, was disbanded and driven for shelter from the dominions of Catholic kings to those of the schismatical and heretic sovereigns of Eastern and Northern Europe. Then came the end: the Church itself in France, and wherever France had sway or influence, was clean abolished, and a vast number of her bishops and pastors were thrown on our neighbouring shores. Scarcely a family of note or position throughout the land, but received some of these sufferers into its intimacy. Either as guests and inmates, or as laborious and successful teachers, they found access to the interior of that boasted fortress—the Englishman's house and home. Eight thousand French ecclesiastics were sheltered among us; and, thanks be to God, to know them was to esteem and to love them. Besides good people had some hopes that kindness might convert them from frog-eating, popery, and wooden shoes. True they were Papists, but this vice was a vice of origin over which they had no control; idolatrous, massing priests or bishops, performers of strange rites in a "tongue not understood of the people;" but perhaps if they now came in contact with the pure Gospel, and beheld its fruits in the sanctities of English homes, who could tell whether they would not see the error and darkness of their way, and embrace the true Protestant religion as by law established? French—that is contemptible; Popish—that is abominable; eaters of vermin and worshippers of stocks and stones they were by the disadvantage of birth and prejudice of education; but then they were certainly well-bred and refined, devoted and loyal subjects of their king, and sufferers in his cause. Moreover, they played whist, and played it well; these were not small merits, and perchance were destined to develop-

Under the fostering influence of British food and port wine, their appetite for *kickshaws*, religious as well as culinary, would surely fail. His Majesty gave up his red-brick palace at Winchester to house nine hundred of these worthy ecclesiastics, and the University of Oxford set its press to work and turned out, for the use of the Gallic clergy in exile ("in usum cleri Gallicani exulantis"), a very neat edition of the New Testament—"Vulgatæ Editionis"—at once a generous evidence of good-will and a possible means of converting them to a purer faith, since, as all men knew, the main cause of the protracted existence of Popery was their ignorance and dread of reading the Scriptures. This view, by the way, must have received a check by the fact that the book bore on its title-page that it was brought out "curâ et studio quorundam ex eodem clero Wintoniæ commorantium." These examples on the part of an eminently Protestant king and university were largely followed, and so it came to pass that Mr. and Mrs. Bull and their young folks throughout the land obtained an unexpected ocular proof that the cherished belief about Popish priests was, to say the least, exaggerated, if not erroneous. Neither horns nor hoofs had they: this was certain, and, language and dietary apart, they were, after all, found to be tolerable "good fellows."

Well, time went on, and the poor *émigrés* got thinner and thinner, and many that had come here till the storm should be overpast, laid their anointed bodies in the old, once Catholic, churchyards of England, to await there the resurrection of the just, and thus took possession of our land in the name of justice and of faith; but still the revolutionary tornado swept relentlessly over fair France without sign of abatement. Meanwhile, what is this stir and sound of footfalls in the little chapels served by "Mushoo," the French abbé? In back courts of great cities, or in outhouses of remote country-places, lent or let to the exiled nobility still mourning for the torrents of blue blood which flood their native land, Mr. Bull is credibly informed that "Mushoo's" flock is increased and increasing. Hundreds and thousands, nay, tens and hundreds of thousands, of emigrants are flocking into England: but now it is not the powdered and gentle noble who is to invade his drawing-room, and even place his polite legs beneath the yet more polished shadow of Mr. B.'s sacred and inviolable mahogany, but only poor frieze-clad Paddy, useful, cheap, hard-working and merry; contemptible, of course, because he is not English—and all but Englishmen are contemptible—and a degraded priest-ridden Papist. O! what would Mr. Bull have said, if he had been told that these are to become the flock who alone would render it possible that in a brief half-century, the names and functions of a Catholic hierarchy should

spread like a net over all England, the augury and presage of a "second spring"! Meanwhile, in the poorest quarters of our cities, a Catholic population grows up, and the English people have learnt to see in the dreaded Popish priest no foreign political agent, but only a quiet, hard-worked clergyman, with a definite work of mercy and love to fulfil, rewarded not by State emolument, but only by the gratitude and affection of his people. Poor they are, these Irish, and alas! too often not exemplary, nay, scandalous, if you will, in their lives; every workhouse and every gaol knows them, and the Protestant wealth and power and fanaticism of the nation buys the weak and breaks down the strong, in many and many an instance; but still, it is the great wave of Irish emigration, Irish faith, and love, and zeal, which has carried the Ark of God, His Name, His Priesthood, and His adorable Presence, to many a resting-place in town and country-side, where they had been unknown for three dreary centuries. Now, the reason why I couple these two emigrations together, is not merely because they synchronize—which is also a symptom of a Divine disposition to my mind—but because they resemble each other in the matter of causality so far as this, that neither of those causes to which they are referable—viz., the French Revolution in the one case, and Orange rule and corruption in the other—were placed by their respective authors, to say the least, with any intention or wish whatsoever to produce, however remotely, any results favourable to the propagation of the Catholic religion in England, or anywhere else.

6. And if you will allow me but one other illustration of this sort of discrepancy between man's intentions and God's results, where can I better find it than in the history of that later stage of the religious movement of our times, to which so many of us directly owe the benefit of conversion to the Faith? Who, including the Right Honourable Edward Smith Stanley, M.P., and Orange Under-Secretary for Ireland in 1833, would have supposed that by the suppression and amalgamation of certain useless Protestant Bishoprics in Ireland, he and his Tory compeers, were evoking a spirit in certain quiet college precincts in Oriel and Merton Lanes, and thereabouts, which was so soon to rend their old garments with new patches, and burst their old bottles with new wine; a spirit as subtle as it is potent, a discerner of the thoughts and intents of so many hearts, past, present, and to come?

Space warns me to say but a very few words on some remaining topics, of which the first shall be the martyrdoms and sufferings of our Catholic forefathers. If we reflect merely on the undoubted fact that, as was said of old, "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church," it would seem that our land

which was so copiously watered with that fecundating dew, would certainly some day reap a great harvest from it; but I venture to think that a circumstance connected with the great majority of these martyrdoms gives us a special ground for hoping that this harvest of conversion would take a national or political form. I mean the circumstance that almost all the Elizabethan martyrs, and those of the succeeding reigns also, seem to have been inspired to express in their last moments ardent feelings of loyal adherence to the civil power which was so cruelly misused. No doubt this was a protest on their part against the false account which the persecutors tried to give of the cause of their sufferings. They were alleged to be traitors and to be suffering as such, and not as martyrs to the old faith, and so they loudly protested that this was a calumny, as indeed it was; but I look on it also as the registration before God and man of their willingness to suffer if their blood might by Him be accepted as crying from English ground for the conversion of the nation and polity in whose name and by whose ruler this wrong was being inflicted on them.

7. Next, as to conversions to the faith at the present time, I would remark that I am not disposed to think the number of conversions which we know are occurring at the present time, is such as to constitute a great ground of hope of the national return, merely from the point of view of number. Though absolutely considerable, relatively speaking to the whole population of the country, the number is but small; yet here again there is a circumstance not without significance. A "nation" is not constituted by a mere mob or aggregation of people without organization or ordered common life. To make the nation there must be a government, and whatever form it takes must be the result of the adhesion of the great moral corporation which embody the primary ideas and functions of civil order. Property, education, law, religion, legislation and administration, relations with other nations, and the means of repelling force by force, represent the chief characteristic interests of a civilized people, and find their expression in the great moral bodies or members of the State. If conversions not relatively numerous were confined to one or other only of these moral corporations, no doubt there would be so far no room for hopeful anticipations as to a national return to the faith; but if, on the other hand, such conversions, though few, were distributed through the whole of these interests or corporations, and form a group, as it were, of *specimens* of each and all, they put on another character and give just cause for other inferences. S. Thomas teaches that the test of a genuine national adhesion to, or rejection of, a given government, is not the test of mere numbers, but that of the mind of the great constituent moral members of the State.

Hence the existence of Catholics who are so, not by what is called the accident of birth, but by conviction and at the price of sacrifice have become Catholics, in any proportion in each of these members, is *pro tanto* an argument for the possible return of the whole. Now which of our classes in the hierarchy of civil order is quite free from the return of "Popery"? Neither the senate nor the house of knights and burgesses returned by shire or city or borough to Parliament, nor the established Church, nor the Universities, nor the bar and magistrature, nor the colleges of physicians, nor the army, nor the navy, nor the diplomatic service, nor any other branch of the public administration—all and each have paid and are paying Peter's pence in *kind*—the souls which his net is ever ready to gather out of the deep. It has been objected that, as some one put it, we have converted "Scottish duchesses but no English grocers," that is, that the middle and lower classes afford no contingent of conversions in proportion to their numbers. I grant it is so at present; but, on the other hand, I see that with a great show of independence, there are no people so accessible to aristocratic influence as the English, and no society in which a perpetual and wide process of natural selection from the lower strata goes on so constantly and rapidly. I see it in the past and I see more of it in the future. Thread your way through the carriages of the great to Mrs. Metals' afternoons in Park Lane, and you may see not one but many besides herself, whose genealogy is, if not forgotten yet forgiven, not only for their wealth's sake but for that of their real culture and refinement. They are recruits of the classes who recruit us, and their roots reach low down. Moreover, if it is true that hitherto these conversions are found only in the upper strata of our society, and as yet no signs appear of a mass movement—surely we must not forget that it was from above, from the noble and wealthy, that the ruin and decay of faith began, and unless (which is not alleged) our race and nation are completely changed in the last three centuries, it is by an analogous process that they are likely to be restored. Besides, it is not true that our converts are not only personally typical and representative, but also for the most part influential, so that scarcely one but can trace to his or her influence the further result of one or more other conversions to the faith. I say "her" because the influence of mothers is so wide and so enduring, and the proportion of female converts is said by our adversaries to be unduly large. I trust, and I thank God, that such is indeed the case.

8. Next I would mention as a ground for hopes of a national return the instincts of the faithful in all countries. It is a well known maxim of the spiritual writers that when God wills to



bestow a grace He prompts holy people to ask it of Him by ardent and persistent prayer and mortification. I am not now speaking so much of that more external leading whereby He causes His elect to repay services rendered to Him by intercession; of this we all know many instances have been afforded by the devout cloistered and uncloistered souls in France, who repaid, and are still repaying, the hospitality of England during the Revolution by ardent prayer for her conversion—I mean rather to allude to those instances, of which the number is no doubt great though to us unknown, of holy men and women who had no personal knowledge or connection with our country, but yet were moved to pray all their life long for her return, such as were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the holy nun, Maria Escobar, and the saintly lady Theresa de Carvajal in Spain, or in the last century Saint Paul of the Cross in Italy. Similarly I would refer to the instincts of the Holy See in such acts as the erection of the Hierarchy in 1850; or, again, in the nomination, unparalleled in all history, of three Englishmen to the Cardinalate at one time, and of no less than eight English-speaking Cardinals within our own memory. Whence are these promptings, and what can be the meaning of them?

Let me advert here to the objection urged from the present aspect of a very large section of the community who form what is called the extreme High Church, or Ritualist School of Anglicans. I grant that they present an aspect of apparently increasing hostility to the Catholic Church which is at first discouraging to our hopes, raised as they were some quarter of a century ago to a high pitch by the early results of the Tractarian movement; but, once more, the miraculous apart, how is it conceivable that the frozen soil, hardened by three centuries of neglect and error, should break forth into one vast garden of fruits and flowers in the course of less than one half-century of partial and uncertain thaw? To expect this seems to me to mistake the whole teaching of our history, and to substitute for the warranted and sober inference from facts, a heated, fanciful theory which it is as easy to demolish as it was pleasant to build up. If there is one truth which I seem to see broadly written on the past Reformation history of our religion and country it is this—that the wisdom and goodness of God are as conspicuous in regard to us as are His justice and chastisement and judgments for our national sins; and that in nothing are the former more evident than in the Divine attribute of *patience* as shown in the long waiting for us, both individually and collectively, to return to Him. No one alleges, either that the Almighty is bound to bring back our nation by miracle, or that He is actually doing it by that means. Now, whatever may be the destiny of individual souls

(of which we know nothing), it is certain that if a large number of the Ritualists, say some thousands, were at once to submit to the Church, the movement, whatever its final results may now be, would in that case, humanly speaking, end; for no conscientious adherent of Anglicanism would continue in a course which would thus have been demonstrated to lead directly to Rome. I believe that the hope of a national return is, on the contrary, wrapped up in a gradual, almost insensible, extension to the whole people of a knowledge of Catholic doctrine, so that when the hour of God's decree is come, and the conditions required are ready, they may yield themselves to the impulse of His illuminating and fostering grace, and that this extension can only be effected, as it is now being effected, by the instrumentality of causes operating for the most part and at present, outside the visible corporation of His Church.

9. And here let me call your attention to the fact, which I think is evident, that the *direct* influence of the Visible Church in England is remarkably absent in the various movements (especially those of a preparatory kind) on which we have touched. Even in the case of the *émigrés* it does not appear that they were what is called "proselytizers;" they contented themselves with letting the light of a fameless example shine before men, and they conquered, where they conquered at all, more by endurance of contradiction and outrage than by aggressive or demonstrative act or speech. I heard but the other day of an instance, in the person of a poor *émigré* priest who, being recognized by three fanatical youths as a foreigner and Papist, was by them actually put to death by drowning in the Thames, near Reading. As he disappeared beneath the waters, he raised his hands to Heaven and audibly prayed that God would not let his murderers die without knowing the truth. Two of them died soon after; but the third, to the amazement of his relations, insisted on seeing a priest on his death-bed, and then narrated to him these facts, and implored to be instructed in the Catholic faith, stating that the remembrance of his victim's meek end and prayer had never left him; and accordingly he was able to make his abjuration, and died a Catholic, and in the best dispositions. Other such instances may be known, but as a rule it is true to say, that all the modern conversions are owing to the *immediate* operation of the Holy Ghost on minds and souls, and that we have had but little or no direct impression made upon us by the Catholic Church in England. It would seem as if no person or persons were to be wholly credited with a work so eminently that of God's Holy Spirit. I do not overlook certain great names, chiefly of converts, who have had a direct influence on others, which must be in all our minds as exceptions to this statement:

I only say they *are* exceptions, and that the usual mode of God's later dealings with this nation, has been like the building of a house not made with hands: and further, that I see in this mode itself, a ground of wider hopes, and greater confidence.

But to sum up. I have mentioned, I think, nine several grounds for entertaining a reasonable, if sanguine, hope of our being as a nation restored to the faith. 1. There is the upward tendency of official Anglicanism as a system, and as a history for the first epoch of its lapse. 2. There is the present marked increase of religious observance throughout the land, as contrasted with all previous times since the so-called Reformation. 3. There are the irregular but earnest religious movements of the last century. 4. There is the literary rehabilitation of the Christian and mediæval idea by our romantic poets. 5. There is the consequence of the French and Irish migrations into England. 6. The profuse martyrdoms and other sufferings for the faith, and their special character as State prosecutions. 7. The typical and influential character of the conversions of the latter years. 8. The instincts of the Church in prayer, and of the Holy See in provision, for a national conversion. 9. The absence of *direct* Catholic influence in most of the modern conversions, on the nation. Now I am not conscious of exaggerating the importance of these topics, but, of course, they are not all of equal importance, and I can quite understand that to some minds some will seem to have little or no weight. What, however, I conceive to be of weight is their collective force. For instance, take the direction of cumulation. The first five considerations seem to have this force visibly impressed on them as a series or whole. If Anglicanism had an upward tendency, it is not possible to disconnect it from an increase of religious observance as a fruit thereof: if that fruit exists it has an antecedent history which is supplied by the religious movements of the last century and of this, and if they later took that form of a reaction favourable to Catholic ideas which they now present, that reaction was rendered possible by the revival of the mediæval ideas in literature, and by the accidents of the French and Irish immigrations at the same time. Then, again, looking to the *natural* connection of cause and effect, we are struck by seeing an absence of such a connection in most of the subjects mentioned: a bloody persecution of the Church and an infidel philosophy in one country, and a corrupt Protestant ascendancy in another, do not seem likely *à priori* to conduce to the advance of Catholicity in a third. Nor, again, would it seem probable that the first harbingers of a return on the part of many to truer and juster, and therefore kinder, thoughts of the Church, her ministers, her doctrines, and her practices, should be found in

the persons of a learned Protestant, a dreamy Germanized metaphysician, and a Scottish Presbyterian lawyer. Napoleon the First is said to have exclaimed, "Give me the making of a nation's songs and you give me the nation." Our lake poets and Scottish novelists wrote our songs, and they turned out to be Catholic psalms, though they were written by the waters of Babylon. So again the recrudescence of Calvinistic fanaticism in the last age and in this, outside and inside the Establishment, would seem not likely to pave the way for the Oxford movement, which nevertheless it did. It is this kind of overruling of things to an end which seems quite foreign to their natural result which is embodied in so many proverbs like the French "*l'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose*," and which must be in the experience of every thoughtful person's interior consciousness as regards themselves.

As to my three last topics, they touch on other and higher grounds of confidence; for every martyrdom was a special grace of God, not only in the constancy of the martyr, but in each and all of its circumstances; so is each conversion, and so are the instincts of the Holy Church of God and of His Vicar. But in all and through all that I have so feebly attempted to recall to you I think I see the evidence of a great design—a merciful resolve in the inscrutable counsels of the Most High to lead us back as a nation to Him. It would be beside the object of this Paper were I to allude to the means within our reach for the furthering of this end; and, indeed, it may be said that the tendency of my remarks would be rather to encourage us to stand aside and see the work of God accomplished by Him without our intervention. My feeling, however, is not such; for surely that which is true of the progress of the spiritual life within each soul is equally true of the aggregate souls of a race or nation—viz., that whereas we should *believe* that it is God alone who can and will convert, and sanctify, and perfect, we should *act* as if all depended on our own activity and perseverance. Nor can I admit any contradiction or opposition between the two convictions—that God, who sweetly and strongly disposes all things according to His will, designs the ultimate conversion of our nation, and that we have our share to perform in the fulfilment of the same, however subordinate and limited the sphere of our co-operation. In conclusion, I will say that I think we must all agree that we can hardly conceive it possible that we should be destined to a national return without national humiliation. May it not be that the humiliation lies in this, that every trace and vestige of our old Catholic polity is destined to destruction before the new structure is to rise again? If, as I have tried to show, the building up is eminently Divine, the

destruction is eminently human, and, whether in motive or in result, such as no Catholic can consistently admire or take part in. It was an opposite course of action—forced, we may admit, by the circumstances of the time upon Catholics, which tended as much as anything to impair their influence on the upper classes of Protestants a generation or two ago. Even forty years ago Newman could enumerate among the reasons holding back good Protestants from sympathy with Catholics “as a church, the spectacle of their intimacy with the revolutionary spirit of the day” (“Essays,” vol. ii. p. 71). I well remember that feeling, and I think we must deprecate giving any just cause for it now, though we may see in the acts of the destroyers just judgments of God, and the inevitable consequences of a national departure from His law.

What do we see about us at this moment? We see a Government which has subjected us as a nation to a profound humiliation, by forcing a professed and emphatic atheist and blasphemer into the national council, and, too probably, the nation accepting that humiliation. It was in that assembly that the rejection of Christ’s Vicar and all his authority was made to be thenceforth the foundation of our national religion and law, three hundred years ago. We are indeed draining that cup to the dregs! In one sense it is the beginning of the end: we can go no lower. May it be so in another and happier sense! Amidst the ruin and wreck of our institutions, where the Christian character of the State, nay, even the basis of natural religion is compromised, and by a necessary consequence the national establishment of religion, the privileged classes, the landed proprietary, and hereditary rights, including the Crown and its succession, are piece-meal destroyed—all of which seems to be now visibly looming at no great distance in the future—may the right hand of God once more build up the walls of Jerusalem, and His light shine upon the island, sometime of His saints, as in the days of yore—the days of Alfred and of Edward: “*reposita est hæc spes in sinu meo!*”

✠ JAMES, BISHOP OF EMMAUS.

## ART. IX.—MR. GLADSTONE'S SECOND LAND BILL.

1. *The Land Law (Ireland) Bill.* Session of 1881.
2. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and the Acts Amending the same.* Together with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.
3. *Preliminary Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners on Agriculture.* Together with Minutes of Evidence.

IT has again fallen to the lot of Mr. Gladstone to make a great effort for the pacification of Ireland by the re-adjustment of the relations of landlord and tenant in that distracted country. More than ten years have elapsed since the Land Act of 1870 came into operation, and so lately as the spring of last year its author spoke with pride and satisfaction of the effects that it had produced. "It gave a confidence," he said, "to the cultivator of the soil which he never had before;" and, after alluding to the distress in some parts of the country, he continued :

The cultivation of Ireland had been carried on for the last eight years under cover and shelter of the Land Law, with a sense of security on the part of the occupier—with a feeling that he was sheltered and protected by the law, instead of feeling that he was persecuted by the law. There was an absence of crime and outrage, with a general sense of comfort and satisfaction such as was unknown in the previous history of the country.\*

It is not a little remarkable that, before a year had passed, the great leader of the Liberal party found himself constrained to reconsider the action of the law which he thus eulogizes, and to propose to Parliament a measure for the further shelter and protection of the Irish tenantry. The explanation of this change of opinion is to be found in the troubled events of the past year, and its justification in the Reports of the several Commissioners which we have placed at the head of this Article. Even the Conservative majority of the Commissioners on Agriculture, including the Dukes of Richmond and Buccleuch, bear the following testimony to the necessity of again dealing with the Land Question in Ireland :—

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\* Mr. Gladstone's Speech to the Edinburgh Liberal Club: *Times*, April 1, 1880.

Bearing in mind the system by which the improvements and equipments of a farm are very generally the work of the tenant, and the fact that the yearly tenant is at any time liable to have his rent raised in consequence of the increased value that has been given to his holding by the expenditure of his own capital and labour, the desire for legislative interference to protect him from an arbitrary increase of rent does not seem unnatural; and we are inclined to think that, by the majority of landowners, legislation, properly framed to accomplish this end, would not be objected to. With a view of affording such security, "fair rents," "fixity of tenure," and "free sale," popularly known as the "three F's," have been strongly advocated by many witnesses, but none have been able to support these propositions in their integrity without admitting consequences that would, in our opinion, involve an injustice to the landlord.

The minority Report of the same Commission, and the several Reports of Lord Bessborough, Baron Dowse, the O'Connor Don, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Kavanagh, while they differ as to the form that legislation should assume, all agree in the expediency of some check being placed on the power of raising rent in an arbitrary manner. We may, therefore, summarily dismiss the objection that no Land Bill is necessary, and pass at once to the consideration of the proposed measure, and the agricultural condition of the people who hope to be benefited by it.

Mr. Gladstone, in his speech introducing the Bill, on the 7th of April, spoke of it as "the most difficult and complex question with which, in the course of his public life, he had ever had to deal;" and even his marvellous powers of exposition, and mastery over details, failed to impress the mind with the conviction that the difficulties had been overcome, or the complexities simplified. The perusal of the Bill itself corroborates this conclusion. We miss the clear enunciation of principle, the courageous recognition of right, the outspoken message of reform which are absolute essentials of a great and connected work; and which are never absent where the evil is clearly discerned, and mercilessly dealt with. Considering at present merely the *form* of the Bill, it leaves the impression of being the joint product of several minds, taking very different views of the policy to be adopted. This is probably to be explained by the necessity of conciliating opposite parties by concessions scarcely in harmony with the general plan. Not alone landlords and tenants in Ireland, but the several sections of the Liberal party, and even, to some extent, the Olympian Upper Chamber, had to be considered in the drafting of the Bill; and, in some places, it almost seems as if the impossibility of pleasing all sides compelled the draftsman to take refuge in deliberate obscurity. Ambiguity of language

and occasional inconsistencies add considerably to the intrinsic difficulty of the subject. The multitude of provisoes and conditions is perfectly bewildering. It resembles more a Treaty of Peace than an Act of Parliament. Free sale is conferred, and immediately a procession of sub-clauses takes back the gift. Fair rent is defined, and the definition is forthwith qualified by repugnant and incomprehensible explanations. Fixity of tenure is flaunted before the eyes of the tenant, while ejectionment for breach of statutory conditions is whispered in the ear of the landlord. In fact, it is throughout a legislative illustration of the fable in which the cow yields an ample store of milk, but invariably ends by kicking over the pail. Some defects may, of course, be supplied in Committee; but, as a general rule, the effect of the piecemeal consideration that measures receive in that stage is to increase rather than to diminish their complexity.

Before proceeding to discuss—we will not say the principles, but the contents of the Bill, it is of the first importance that we should sketch in dispassionate outline the real state of the case between landlord and tenant, so as to bring to the attention of our readers the points in which reform is required; and we shall then be in a position to appreciate what is effected by the measure, and to determine whether it ought to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the tenant.

The difficulty of forming an impartial judgment is, we must admit, greatly enhanced at the present moment by the condition of the country, and the remark obviously applies with additional force to the difficulty of legislation. No one dreams of laying down rules of diet and hygiene for a patient in the delirium of fever, or the prostration of early convalescence; yet this is practically what the legislature is called upon to do in the case of Ireland. We trust that the political excitement, the revolt against law, the social disorder, may pass away with time; but the effects of legislation must necessarily be permanent, whether for good or evil.

It cannot be repeated too often that the land question in Ireland is far more a social than a legislative problem. The relations of landlord and tenant, depending rather on *status* than on contract or tenure, are interwoven with the whole structure of society to such an extent, that an alteration of the legal conditions may produce unexpected and startling results. This must always be the case where agriculture is the only available outlet for the energies of the population, and where land acquires in consequence an artificial and factitious value. We may exemplify this by referring to what occurred on the passing of the Incumbered Estates Act in 1848. The acknow



ledged evil then was an insolvent proprietary—the desideratum, the attraction of capital. The measure produced the effects that were anticipated and desired. Capital flowed in, and land to the value of more than £50,000,000 has been sold by the Court. The insolvent owners of large estates were replaced by many small capitalists. But beyond this the legislature had not looked; if they could have foreseen the evils that resulted they would probably have paused. The purchasers, having expended their money in land speculation, naturally looked for a profitable return; they were unfettered by ties of sympathy with the occupiers, and the result was the establishment of the commercial spirit. Nothing more disastrous could have been devised by the ingenuity of demons. The influx of capital, instead of benefiting the cultivation of the soil, merely satisfied the cravings of creditors and incumbrancers, and transferred the peasantry to the serfdom of new masters. This is what the Bessborough Commission writes on the subject:—

Most of the purchasers were ignorant of the traditions of the soil—many of them were destitute of sympathy for the historic condition of things. Some purchased land merely as an investment for capital, and with the purpose—a legitimate one so far as their knowledge extended—of making all the money they could out of the tenants by treating with them on a purely commercial footing. A semi-authoritative encouragement was given to this view of their bargains by the note which it was customary to insert in advertisements of sales under the Court—“The rental is capable of considerable increase on the falling in of leases.”

The unexpected results of the Land Act of 1870 also illustrate the same position. Although it was carefully disguised, and frequently denied, the tenant acquired under that Act a *something* which he did not possess before. What was the social result? The banks and money-lenders were not slow to discover that the tenant had an available security to offer, and accordingly supplied his improvidence with loans at exorbitant interest. Three or four abundant harvests in succession deluded all parties into the belief that prosperity was permanent, and when the cycle of bad seasons returned, no corn had been gathered into the barns, no provision made for the time of scarcity, the inflated credit collapsed, the banks and money-lenders pressed for payment, and the farmers discovered too late that they had been living on their capital.

It was more especially in Ulster, where the conditions of land tenure differ from those prevailing in the rest of Ireland, that the social operation of the Land Act was unsatisfactory. What is popularly known as the Ulster Custom was legalized by that Act; but the attempt to give it the force of law destroyed in

many cases its beneficent operation. Before the Act the Custom worked well, because it rested on public opinion and mutual good-will. The landlord refrained from raising the rent so as to destroy the selling value of the tenant-right; and the tenant, on the other hand, submitted cheerfully to the "office rules," which limited the price which he should receive for his interest. But the passing of the Land Act changed all this. The landlord found that what he had permitted through indulgence, was then demanded as of right; and in return acted up to the limits of the law. He raised the rent on every transfer of the holding, so as to keep the tenant-right within reasonable bounds. The amicable relations which had previously subsisted were seriously impaired, and what seemed a boon to the tenant turned out to be a disturbance of the social equilibrium. In these instances which we have adduced the introduction of capital was neutralized by the loss of the sympathetic, but impoverished, landlord; the gift of tenant-right was prodigally lavished on the usurer, and the attempt to transform custom into law proved that the dealings of men are more likely to be harmonious when conducted on the voluntary principle than when they are restrained by legislative interference.

It must be conceded that in asserting the Irish land question to be a social rather than a legal problem, we are removing hope to an indefinite distance; for, if a law is harsh and unjust, it may be repealed; but, if society contains elements of discord, they can only be removed by the slow growth of time. How can we resist, however, the conclusion that the present laws relating to land furnish only an insignificant factor in Irish misery and discontent, when we consider that very similar laws operating in England are accompanied by peace and prosperity? Indeed the law is, in some respects, more favourable to the tenant in Ireland than in England. The Duke of Richmond's Commission reports that the Land Act "offers to tenant-farmers and cottiers in Ireland, as compared with those in England and Scotland, exceptional privileges of occupation;" and the report of the O'Connor Don contains the following recognition of the same fact:—

So far as the mere occupation of land is concerned, I do not know that the position of affairs is worse in Ireland than in other countries; on the contrary, I believe it would be found that, regarding the occupier as a mere hirer of land, his legal rights are superior, and his security greater, than in most other countries in Europe; whilst his practical rights—those recognised by the majority of landlords, and enjoyed by the majority of tenants—are in excess of the rights or the security ordinarily given elsewhere.

The paradox that the Irish tenant is thus exceptionally

favoured, and is yet represented as a martyr to the injustice of the landlord class, is only to be explained by looking beyond the statute-book into the actual conditions of Irish tenancy. The occupier of the soil has never in Ireland regarded his position as what the law defined it to be. The tenant-at-will looked on eviction as an outrage: and the leaseholder, on the expiration of his lease, was rarely called on to surrender his farm. This view received the sanction of public opinion, and was generally acquiesced in by the landlords. Custom, in fact, regulated the tenure and occupation of land—law was a superior power occasionally called in to get rid of the tenant; but the assertion of the legal right of eviction has always been condemned as an extremely harsh measure.

The Irish tenant always considers himself as the owner of his farm, speaking invariably of "*my land*," while the rent, and the rent alone, is the landlord's due. This must be carefully borne in mind in considering the question of tenants' improvements; for, by the law of Ireland as it existed until 1870, as by the law of England to the present day, if a tenant chose to build, knowing that he had but a limited interest, the landlord could resume the occupation of the farm without paying compensation for the money thus rashly expended. It is matter of every-day occurrence in England for the landlord to acquire a vastly improved property on the expiration of building leases. The almost fabulous fortunes of some English dukes have received enormous accessions from windfalls of this kind, yet the lessees of houses in Portland Place or Belgrave Square do not complain of confiscation at the inconvenient period when the ninety-nine years come to an end. But the circumstances under which the Irish tenant expends his money and labour on his holding are completely different. In the first place, he has, as a general rule, no lease for a long term, but instead, the implied right of perpetual occupancy. Secondly, the landlord acquiesces in this mode of dealing, and it would be inequitable for him to stand by until the improvements had been effected, and then to seize them under colour of law. And lastly, the nature of the tenant's improvements is very frequently such that they are absolutely indispensable for the proper cultivation and occupation of the farm. Now, is it the fact that in Ireland the greater part of the improvements have been made by the tenants? The answer is not doubtful; and we shall take it from the Reports of the Commissioners:—

As a fact, the removal of masses of rock and stone, which in some parts of Ireland incumber the soil, the drainage of the land, and the erection of buildings, including their own dwellings, have generally

been effected by tenants' labour, unassisted, or only in some instances assisted, by advances from the landlord.\*

It seems to be generally admitted that the most conspicuous difference between the relations of landlord and tenant as they exist in Ireland, and in England and Scotland, is the extent to which in Ireland buildings are erected and improvements are made by the tenant and not by the landlord.†

In a country like Ireland, where the dwelling houses, farm buildings, and other elements of a farm, including often the reclamation from the waste of the cultivated land itself, have been, and must, in our opinion, continue to be for the most part the work of the tenants; this condition of things (raising rents) has created injustice in the past, and is fatal to the progress so much needed for the future.‡

Still more explicit information is furnished by a table that has been recently published by the Land Committee; and, as it is based on returns obtained from landowners, we may trust it not to understate the case in their behalf. The information is derived from 1,629 estates, comprising upwards of 6,000,000 acres, and may therefore be accepted as fairly representative of the agricultural condition of the country. On 11·01 per cent. of this large number of acres the improvements have been made entirely at the landlords' expense; on 26·62 per cent. they have been made entirely by the tenant; and on 62·37 per cent. partly by the landlord and partly by the tenant. These figures are in the nature of an admission; and they certainly place in a striking light the prevailing custom of tenants' improvements, since they can only boast of about one-tenth being the work of the landlord alone.

The Land Act of 1870 first recognized the equitable right of the outgoing tenant to compensation for the improvements and reclamations that he had made; and it seems to us, looking at the question with impartial judgment, and by the light that has been thrown upon it by full discussion, a matter at once humiliating and astounding that so just a contention was so long resisted.

The value of a tenant's improvements is only one element in the calculation of tenant-right. There is yet another, which, if not so obvious, is quite as practical. Suppose the case of a farm occupied for years by the same tenant, without any material improvements having been effected. Has he, or ought he to have, any tenant-right? By the written law the landlord has the power of turning him out, but by the prevailing custom he is entitled to remain so long as he pays his rent. This

\* "Bessborough," par. 10.

† "Richmond," p. 5.

‡ Separate Report of the minority of the Commissioners on Agriculture, generally referred to as "Lord Carlingford's Report," p. 20.

practical fact of continuous occupation must be recognised. It is not the case of hiring a piece of land to make a greater or less pecuniary profit; the possession of a farm in Ireland means subsistence, if not comfort. It is as much an assured position, won in the battle of crowded life, as when a barrister or physician succeeds in establishing a practice. In a country where the only resource of the great majority is the cultivation of the soil, the actual possession of land is a valuable inheritance. Regarding the question from another point of view, it seems, at first sight, somewhat hard that a landowner cannot part with the possession of ten or twenty acres of land without creating rights that were never contemplated by the parties, and giving occasion for claims more or less destructive of his rights of property. Such cases are, however, exceptional. In the vast majority of lettings the land has never been in the occupation of the owner as a farmer on his own account; and we may therefore treat the case that has been suggested as occurring so seldom as to constitute only a theoretical grievance.

The Land Act endeavoured, by imposing a fine on the capricious eviction of a tenant, to prevent the evils that result from arbitrary disturbance. Now, the principle involved in this enactment is precisely what we have endeavoured to explain as the second element of tenant-right—the expectancy of continued occupation arising from the custom, and the circumstances of the country. Although the fine has not been heavy enough to secure, in all cases, the tenant from eviction, yet it cannot be ignored in calculating his practical interest in his farm.

It is not unusual to speak and write of Ireland as if throughout its entire area it was homogeneous in misery, and uniform in its system of land tenure. Nothing can be farther from the truth, and no mistake could be more mischievous. There is scarcely any country in which greater differences can be found than prevail in Ireland between the conditions of the tenants in different provinces, and even on different estates; and this variety adds considerably to the difficulty of legislating effectively for the more distressed classes. We may roughly divide the country into three parts with reference to the circumstances of agricultural holdings. (1) The Province of Ulster, where the custom of tenant-right has long prevailed, and is now recognized by law; (2) the larger part of Leinster, especially the counties of the Pale, where the English system is partly in vogue; and (3) the Southern Counties of Leinster and the Provinces of Connaught and Munster, which are the head-quarters of famine, discontent, improvidence, and outrage. It does not lie within the scope of this article to trace in detail the conditions of land tenure in

these three divisions ; but we may briefly indicate their principal peculiarities. The Ulster Custom of tenant-right consists in the recognized right of sale by an outgoing tenant to the new comer of his beneficial interest in the farm, subject in general to certain limitations, varying on different estates. In some cases the custom is absolutely uncontrolled, and the landlord is then but little removed from a mere rent-charger, while the tenant is the real owner of the fee. The former has no voice in the selection of his tenant, and is liable to have a worthless and improvident rogue foisted on him in that capacity. He cannot raise the rent, even if the value of land should rise, and he has to look on with the best grace he can assume, while the tenant right is sold for fabulous sums. On most estates, however, there exist Office Rules, so framed as to restrict the tenant-right within reasonable limits. Under these the landlord generally possesses a veto as to the purchaser, and some price is fixed, —three, five, or seven pounds per acre, or a certain number of years' rent—as the maximum which the incoming tenant is to be allowed to pay. It is almost unnecessary to mention that the object of thus limiting the price is to save the landlord's rent from being encroached on ; for the interest on the capital sunk as purchase money is as much rent as the half-yearly payments made to the landlord. We may observe, by the way, that this principle does not always seem to be steadily borne in mind, and many persons who are in favour of limiting the competition *rent*, do not seem to recognize the similar necessity of controlling the competition *price* of a tenancy.

So vehement is the desire to obtain land in Ulster, that it very commonly occurs that, over and above the maximum price allowed by the Office Rules, a large sum is surreptitiously paid to the outgoing tenant. One price is agreed on in the presence of the agent, while another is paid behind his back, and the new tenant enters on the cultivation of his farm with crippled resources, if not deeply in debt.

It is a curious circumstance that the origin of the Ulster Tenant-Right is involved in considerable obscurity. According to some authorities, its establishment dates from the plantation of that part of the kingdom by James I., when the grants to settlers contained a condition to give "certain estates to their tenants at certain rents ;" while others, including Judge Longfield, consider that it rapidly assumed its present form in the last decade of the last century. The advantages of the custom are that it confers practical fixity of tenure, secures to the landlord the payment of all arrears of rent on a change of tenancy, and gives the tenant such an interest in his farm as stimulates his energies by

the sense of ownership. On the other hand it is not without drawbacks. The tenant requires a double capital—the price payable for the tenant-right, and the money necessary for working the farm. His solvency is diminished, and the temptation to borrow on improvident terms is almost irresistible. If a man fails he certainly has the price of his tenant-right to fall back on; but he has to give up his farm and disappear into space. Lastly, the vagueness of the custom, which is a sort of equilibrium between the two conflicting forces—rent-raising by the landlord, and sale by the tenant—throws us back in the end on mutual understanding and harmonious relations between the parties.

We have dwelt at some length on the peculiarities of the Ulster usages, because that Province is generally pointed to as the *beau idéal* of what Ireland ought to be, and it has even been suggested that the custom should be extended by statute to the rest of Ireland. It would be of course possible to create a Parliamentary tenure resembling the Ulster Custom in its essential features; but we must remember that in Ulster itself the usages are so various in different places as to deprive the expression, "Ulster Custom," of all precise and definite meaning; and, further, it does not come within the power even of an Act of Parliament, to create, on the instant, friendly feelings between embittered foes.

The second agricultural division of Ireland—that in which, to a certain extent, the English mode of farming prevails—requires scarcely any notice; since there the practice of farmers harmonizes with the principles of law. Status does not control contract, or regulate the terms of occupancy. As a rule the tenant has taken the land with the "improvements" already made; and, if he has a lease, he is ready to surrender possession at the expiration of his term. The landlord has furnished the farm as a "going concern;" and the first principles of hiring an article for use apply in such cases, to the exclusion of artificial doctrines of partnership between landlord and tenant. It is certainly rather hard on landlords who have done everything which the majority neglect, to be subjected to a uniform system of legislation with their needy and grasping brethren. It is impossible, however, to separate one class from the other; for, although we have referred to one Province as peculiarly the land of English farming, yet even there the practice is by no means universal, and in other parts of Ireland exceptional cases exist in which everything that can be done for the benefit of their tenants, and the improvement of their farms, has been effected by the beneficent owners.

If we turn from the two Provinces whose condition we have

attempted to describe, to the remaining moiety of the island, a miserable and dispiriting spectacle presents itself. It is there, in Connaught and Munster, that the Irish Land Question starts forward in ghastly prominence. A state of things exists in some parts of those Provinces—for even there, fortunately, we find degrees of misery—that shames our boasted civilization. The dwellings of the people are often not fit for the beasts of the field, their food barely sufficient for subsistence, their clothing for decency. The land, from which in wretchedly small plots they strive to extract the means of living, is a barren and unfruitful soil, half-reclaimed bog and stony waste. Their agriculture, it is needless to say, is of the most primitive order; and their husbandry is confined to the simple operations of planting and digging their potatoes. They eke out the scanty produce of their miserable holdings by migrating to England and Scotland, where they work as harvest labourers, at wages that must seem to them splendid remuneration. These they carefully hoard, and bring back to pay their rents and supply their needs for the rest of the year.

The various Commissioners have not ignored the position of these farmers of the West, who furnish one of the most anxious and difficult problems that it is possible to imagine. The majority Report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission, refer to them in the following terms:—

With reference to the very small holders in the Western districts of Ireland, we are satisfied that with the slightest failure of their crops they would be unable to exist upon the produce of their farms, even if they paid no rent. Many of them plant their potatoes, cut their turf, go to Great Britain to earn money, return home to dig their roots and to stack their fuel, and pass the winter, often without occupation, in most miserable hovels.

And the Report of Lord Bessborough's Commission is not couched in more hopeful language:—

The condition, it says, of the poorer tenants in numerous parts of Ireland, where it is said they are not able, if they had their land gratis, to live by cultivating it, is by some thought to be an almost insoluble problem.

Professor Baldwin, in his evidence before the Richmond Commission, states that there are at least 100,000 farms too small for the support of the occupiers, and that it is absolutely necessary to "lift" 50,000 families, that is to say, to give them the alternative of migrating or emigrating. We must not dwell at too great length on the actual condition of the Irish tenantry, for our principal object in this article is to give some account of the Land Bill which has been presented to Parliament; but



it would have been impossible to deal with that subject in a satisfactory manner without having first described the status of the tenants in the several parts of the country, upon whose interests the Bill is intended chiefly to operate. This we have endeavoured to do, and have shown that there exists considerable diversity in the positions of tenant-farmers in the different Provinces—a complication which enhances tenfold the difficulty in the way of legislation.

There is one other subject to be considered, and one question to be answered, before we pass to the consideration of the Bill. We must know precisely what the evil is that is now to be redressed, and ask the tenant-farmer, "What is it that you desire?" We once more obtain our information, and receive an answer to the interrogatory from the Reports of the Commissioners. In the words of Mr. Kavanagh ("Report," p. 55) "the question of rent is at the bottom of every other, and is really, whether in the North or South, the gist of the grievances which have caused much of the present dissatisfaction." Professor Bonamy Price, who was rather roughly handled by Mr. Gladstone for his adherence to the abstract principles of Political Economy, has to admit that "great abuses have occurred in violent and unreasonable raisings of rent by some landowners." The Report of Lord Carlingford, and the minority of the Richmond Commission who sided with him, contains the following passage:—

We have had strong evidence, both from our Assistant Commissioners, Professor Baldwin and Major Robertson, and from private witnesses, that the practice of raising rents at short and uncertain intervals prevails to an extent fully sufficient to shake the confidence of the tenants, and to deter them from applying due industry and outlay to the improvement of their farms.

We might easily multiply quotations from the Reports and evidence, all tending to the same conclusion, but we will content ourselves with one more taken from the 19th paragraph of the "Bessborough" Report. After alluding to the advantages conferred on the tenants by the Land Act, it continues:—

It has, however, failed to afford them adequate security, particularly in protecting them against occasional and unreasonable increases of rent. The weight of evidence proves, indeed, that the larger estates are, in general, considerately managed; but that on some estates, and particularly on some recently acquired, rents have been raised, both before and since the Land Act, to an excessive degree, not only as compared with the value of land, but even so as to absorb the profit of the tenant's own improvements. This process has gone far to destroy the tenant's legitimate interest in his holding. In Ulster, in some cases, it

has almost "eaten up" the tenant right. Elsewhere, where there is no tenant right, the feeling of insecurity produced by the raising of rent has had a similar effect.

We are now in a position to assert that the chief, if not the only, grievance from which the Irish tenant suffers, is the liability to have his rent unfairly raised, and, in default of payment, to be ejected without compensation. His legitimate demand is, Give me security against the imposition of an unfair rent, and against capricious eviction. Considering that freedom of contract in respect of land cannot be said to exist in Ireland, this demand does not seem unreasonable, and accordingly the several Reports are unanimous in recommending the fixing of rents by some independent authority.

It might seem probable to persons reading the foregoing extracts, that the Commissioners would proceed to condemn the greed and rapacity of Irish landlords, in taking advantage of the dependent position of their tenants for the purpose of unduly raising their rents; but nothing of the kind! On the contrary, the Bessborough Commission says that "the credit is indeed due to Irish landlords, as a class, of not exacting all that they were by law entitled to exact," and Lord Carlingford bears testimony that "upon many, and especially the larger estates, the rents are moderate and seldom raised, and the improvements of the tenants are respected." The other Commissioners adopt similar opinions, and even Mr. Gladstone declared, emphatically, that the landlords of Ireland "have stood their trial, and they have been as a rule acquitted."

Now, the plain meaning of all this is that, though the landlords have, as a body, behaved well, yet there have been found some black sheep amongst them. One instance of unfair rent-raising, one harsh case of eviction, spreads like wildfire through a whole Barony, shakes public confidence, and annihilates the sense of security which it may have taken years to establish. It is unsafe, according to Mill, to ignore the influence of imagination, even in Political Economy; and if the conclusions of the Commissioners are correct, imagination is working awful havoc with the condition of Ireland. The fear of an increase of rent, and the consequential eviction, generates a sense of insecurity, which paralyzes the naturally active energies of the tenant, and produces "a general feebleness of industry and backwardness of agriculture." This dark cloud, impressing his imagination with the dread of coming misfortune, ought to be dissipated at any cost. The landlord must be prevented from indefinitely "screwing up" the rent, and the occupying tenant must be protected from his own desires.

Mr. Gladstone justifies "searching and comprehensive legislation" for Ireland by three reasons:—(1) The existence of

“land-hunger.” (2) The failure of the Act of 1870, or, as he prefers to put it, the “partial success” of that measure. (3) The harshness of a limited number of landlords. These three reasons, though grouped together, and insisted on with equal force by the Premier, are not all equally extensive in their application, nor do they all unite to justify the whole of his present proposals. Thus, it is difficult to understand how “land-hunger” is to be removed by increasing the attractiveness of occupancy, and conferring, to a certain extent, the boon of fixity of tenure on the present holder. We presume, however, that this “land-hunger” is to be satisfied by the reclamation of waste lands, and by removing those whose appetite is strongest to the corn prairies of Manitoba; while the “tenure clauses” of the Bill may be assumed to be covered by the last two of his reasons. It may be considered a dangerous proceeding to legislate for a few hard cases; and, no doubt, an enlightened public opinion, and the gradual improvement of social relations, would do more to restrain the unjust exercise of arbitrary power, than the vain and futile attempt to impose countless restrictions on freedom of contract. It is a remarkable circumstance that Mr. Gladstone did not allude to the unsettled state of the country, the popular disaffection and disloyalty, the resistance to legal process, the existence of murder, outrage, and anarchy as potent reasons for reconsidering the question of land-tenure in Ireland. He did not repeat his warning, uttered in the debate on the ill-fated Compensation for Disturbance Bill, that the country was within “a measurable distance from civil war,” possibly because he thought that the “measurable distance” had become infinitesimal. But enough as to the reasons for introducing fresh legislation; let us pass to the examination of the measure itself.

The Bill, which consists of fifty clauses, with numberless sub-clauses, and even in some cases a further analysis of sub-clauses into subordinate categories, is divided into seven parts. The first contains what may be called the Tenure Clauses; the second relates to the intervention of the Court; the third provides for the exclusion of the Act by the agreement of the parties; the fourth supplements in some particulars the three preceding parts; the fifth, not very logically, groups together acquisition of land by the tenants, reclamation of waste, and emigration; the sixth deals with the constitution of the Court and the Land Commission; and the seventh furnishes a glossary of terms, an enumeration of excluded tenancies, and rules for determining when a *present* is to be considered as becoming a *future* tenancy. From this bare outline it will be seen that a wide range of subjects is treated, some of which might well have been reserved for fuller development in separate measures.

That the Bill is not easy reading will be readily taken for granted, and the difficulty in understanding some of its provisions is, we must candidly confess, very considerable. We find "present" and "future tenancies," "tenancies to which this Act applies," "tenancies subject to statutory conditions," "judicial leases," and "fixed tenancies," introduced for the first time as terms of art. And, as the practical rights of the parties depend on the distinctions involved in these expressions, each clause has to be read microscopically in order to determine the future conditions of tenure. This is not the form which a great popular pronouncement should assume. Simplicity is of the first importance, but we find, instead, a cloud of technicalities, and scarcely a single clause capable of being safely interpreted without the assistance of a court of construction. To furnish occasion for perpetual litigation and acrimonious controversy is not, in our opinion, any advance towards a settlement of this vexed question; and, at all events, even if the substance of the measure be all that could be desired, this complicated form militates considerably against its chances of success. We should have preferred the enunciation of a few general principles, to the overwrought details and cumbrous scrupulosity of the present Bill. If there is really anything seriously amiss with the Land Laws of Ireland, it ought to be possible to set it right in less than twenty-seven folio pages. If the tenant has, as a matter of fact, an interest in his holding which the law does not sufficiently protect, by all means let it be recognized by legislation. If it is desirable to confer upon him something which he has not hitherto possessed, let it be granted to him, and compensation paid to those injuriously affected. But the present measure carefully avoids the responsibility of definition, and merely places landlords and tenants in a position to commence a ruinous conflict by competition sales, and litigious proceedings.

The very first clause of the Bill contains the provisions as to the sale of the tenant's interest. It is enacted that, "the tenant for the time being of every tenancy to which this Act applies may sell his tenancy for the best price that can be got for the same," subject, however, to the following restrictions:—

(1) The sale is to be made to one person only, unless the landlord consents. (2) The tenant must give notice to the landlord of his intention to sell, and thereupon, (3) the landlord may exercise his right of pre-emption at a price to be settled, if necessary, by the Court. (4) The landlord may refuse on *reasonable grounds* to accept the purchaser as tenant. And instead of leaving the reasonableness of the landlord's refusal as an open question for the Court, the clause proceeds to enumerate, in somewhat mysterious language, particular examples

of "reasonable grounds."\* We have, first, "insufficiency of means, measured with respect to the liabilities of the tenancy." Insufficiency of means to pay down the purchase money of the tenancy would be comprehensible, but the tenancy being "the tenant's interest in his holding," no liabilities attach to it. Does "liabilities of the tenancy" mean the requirements of the holding, as farm stock and utensils; or merely the rent that is payable in respect thereof? We really cannot discover any meaning in this "reasonable ground," except—and this is only the result of guessing—that the purchasing tenant, after paying his purchase money, must have a clear capital sum sufficient for the working of the farm. The second ground of veto, "the bad character of the purchaser," seems likely to give rise to much ill-feeling, and to raise delicate questions for the decision of the Court. The issues to be tried by the chairman will involve him in a roving inquiry through the purchaser's entire life. His relatives, his friends and foes, the publican, the priest and the policeman, may all be called to give material evidence. And what is "bad character?" We can recognize extreme cases, but we find a difficulty in drawing a precise line. To be consistent, the Bill ought to give a right of ejection against all "bad characters," but this it fails to do. Surely a more ludicrous provision was never inserted in an Act of Parliament. The next "reasonable ground" is "the failure of the purchaser already as a farmer," and the last, "any other reasonable and sufficient cause." We do not know whether there is any subtle intention in requiring a "cause" to be both reasonable *and* sufficient in order to furnish a "reasonable ground;" but if so, it is too refined a distinction to have much practical importance.

In a Declaration on the subject of the Land Bill, signed by all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland—to which we shall have occasion frequently to refer—it is pointed out that "the grounds set forth in the Bill on which a landlord may refuse to admit as tenant the purchaser of a holding—as well as the right of pre-emption conferred on the landlord—interfere seriously with the tenant's right of free sale." It is, indeed, clear that the right of sale conferred by this clause falls very far short of the free sale which the tenant desires; and we think that, instead of a veto, the landlord might rest satisfied with the power of obtaining from the Court, in proper cases, an injunction to restrain the sale.

We have always considered that the importance of free sale was exaggerated; for what the Irish tenant, as a rule, wants, is

\* While these sheets were passing through the press, the committee determined on striking out these limitations of the discretion of the Court; and as the Bill now stands, what is recommended in the text is practically enacted.

not to sell, but to keep his land. A small sum of money is no compensation to him for the loss of his farm, and the disruption of old associations. If the tenant possesses, or ought to possess, any property in his holding, the right of assignment—an inseparable incident of all property—should certainly be attached to it. The more straightforward policy for the legislature to adopt would be, however, to define and declare the right of property, and allow the right of sale to follow as a matter of course. But the authors of this Bill shrank from the consequences of enacting that the tenant should be a joint-owner with his landlord, and preferred to give him a right of selling—What? Presumably, what is his own to sell, the improvements that he has made, and his right of continuous occupancy, so far as it is secured by the fine on capricious eviction, and by the provisions of this Bill. The power of selling a vague and indefinable tenant-right seems calculated to introduce a practice of reckless trafficking in land which cannot but prove injurious to the interests of the agricultural community. The tenant may sell for a “fancy” price; the landlord can scarcely treat this as a reasonable ground for objecting to the purchaser, but if he accepts the newcomer as tenant, the latter, who is still a “present tenant,” may apply to the Court to fix his rent, “having regard to his interest in the holding,” that is to say, to the exorbitant price which he has recently paid for the tenant-right. This, we must say, opens up a vista of acrimonious conflict that seems perfectly endless.

We shall next consider the provisions of the Bill with reference to the question of “fair rent;” but, inasmuch as the “present” tenant occupies in this respect a somewhat favoured position compared with the tenant of a “future tenancy,” we must first examine the grounds of this distinction, and point out as accurately as we can the occasions on which a tenancy changes its tense.

The reason for placing present and future tenants on a different footing was, no doubt, that the former being in actual occupation, were not considered as free agents in contracts relating to the land which they occupied, and in which they had sunk all their capital, to which they had devoted a life-time of labour, and which possessed in their eyes a *pretium affectionis* over and above its actual value. The future tenant, in bargaining for the possession of a farm, is supposed to be influenced by none of these motives; and may, therefore, be trusted to manage his affairs in a strictly commercial spirit. But after the lapse of years, where will the difference be? The “present” and the “future” tenant will then be occupying adjacent farms under precisely similar conditions, except such as the law

imports as the privileges of the former. Both will then have, possibly, expended their capital and labour on the land; to both alike their homes will have become endeared by a thousand sweet associations, and every argument that can now be adduced for affording additional protection to the present tenant, will then apply with equal force to every occupier of the soil. The Irish Bishops place in the forefront of their Declaration, the demand that the position of the two classes of tenants shall be assimilated; and there is no recommendation contained in that important document in which we more heartily concur. It would vastly simplify the complicated scheme of the Bill, and save the agricultural community of the future from the heart-burnings attendant on unequal privileges. It must not be supposed, however, that the expression, "present tenancy" is limited to the persons now actually in occupation of land. It requires a violent break in the devolution of title to originate a future tenancy. And the circumstance, that the number of future tenants will be for some time very limited, renders the distinction even more invidious. The devisee, the purchaser, the foreclosing mortgagee, the executor, and the assignee in bankruptcy of a present tenant, will all be, to the end of time, present tenants; and it is manifest that the reason that has been given for distinguishing the two classes does not in any sense extend to the tenants of a remote future. The only ways in which future tenancies can come into existence are, first, when a sale takes place on account of a breach of contract by the tenant; and, secondly, when the landlord, having resumed possession, re-lets the land. But there is the following qualification of the latter, namely, that if the landlord exercises his right of pre-emption under the first clause of the Bill, he is for fifteen years from the passing of the Act rendered incapable of creating a "future tenancy." This must be regarded rather as a discouragement of the landlord's right of pre-emption than as a provision in favour of existing tenants. The breaches of contract which may give rise, by means of a forced sale, to future tenancies, are violations of what are called "Statutory Conditions," to which we shall presently refer. It is enough to state here that they are a somewhat stringent set of covenants that are to be implied by virtue of the Act in every case where a statutory term is conferred. If the tenant violates any of these conditions, for example, does not pay his rent, or sub-lets, he may be compelled to sell his holding, and the purchaser will then become a future tenant. This being the way in which the majority of such tenancies will arise, it is clear that their increase will be very slow, for these sales will take the place of ejectments, and will possibly be even less numerous. And at

the present rate it would take some thousands of years to exhaust the 600,000 holdings in Ireland. It is safe, however, to assert that centuries will elapse before the last "present tenant" disappears from the land.

A "fair rent" is assuredly a plausible demand, but unfortunately the word, "fair" has as many different meanings in any particular transaction as there are human beings engaged in it with conflicting interests. This is what renders the determination of a "fair rent" a problem of such exceptional difficulty; and this it is that has drawn down upon Clause 7, which attempts the determination of that unknown quantity, a perfect storm of unfavourable criticism. That it should be allowed to remain in its present form is not possible; but what Amendments the Government are prepared to adopt has not yet been declared. By this Clause every tenant of a "present tenancy"—and this is his chief privilege—may apply to the Court to fix his rent, or, in the exact words of the Bill, "to fix what is the fair rent to be paid." If it had stopped there the Clause would have been complete in itself, an absolute discretion being reposed in the Chairman. It goes on, however, to define, and perishes in the attempt. "A fair rent," it says, "means such a rent as in the opinion of the Court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another." This definition is also complete in itself, but clashes with the delegation to the Judge of an unfettered discretion; for we have here, neither more nor less than the much abused "competition rent," and this certainly differs from the "fair rent," intended by the authors of the Bill. It is also to be noticed that by the very terms of the Clause, a "solvent" applicant could never succeed in getting his rent reduced, for it is the rent which he not only "would undertake," but has undertaken to pay one year with another. The most extraordinary part of the Clause is yet to come. We have had a "fair" rent and a "competition" rent introduced, and they are not only different in amount, but they are both capable of being ascertained, the one depending on the opinion of the Judge, the other being a question of fact to be ascertained by evidence. That being so, no amount of "provisoes" or qualifications can logically alter the one into the other, but that is what Clause 7 now proceeds to attempt. We shall quote this concluding proviso in full, for no description could do justice to its drafting.

Provided that the Court, in fixing *such* rent, shall have regard to the tenant's interest in the holding, and the tenant's interest shall be estimated with reference to the following considerations, that is to say,—



(a.) In the case of any holding subject to the Ulster Tenant Right Custom or to any usage corresponding therewith—with reference to the said custom or usage;

(b.) In cases where there is no evidence of any such custom or usage—with reference to the scale of compensation for *disturbance* by this Act provided (except so far as any circumstances of the case shown in evidence may justify a variation therefrom), and to the right (if any) to compensation for improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessors in title.

A practical man might have little difficulty in determining what would be a fair rent to pay, or what a solvent tenant as a fact would undertake to pay; but, when such a proviso as this has to be construed, we can anticipate nothing but confusion and uncertainty. We can scarcely conceive so much obscurity of language arising, except as the fitting medium for obscurity of thought. If there had been a policy, or a principle, it would surely have come forth with perfect clearness. We cannot undertake to solve this legislative conundrum, but we may indicate a few of the difficulties in the way of solution; and, taking principle as our guide, we may venture to suggest what the definition of "fair rent" should have been. One of the most obvious and striking difficulties in the interpretation of the clause is this: something is manifestly to be deducted from the full competition rent, because the tenant possesses an interest in the holding, and it would be unjust that he should pay rent for what was his own property. The rent, however, is a periodical payment, the tenant's property a capitalized sum. Until the rate of interest is fixed, the problem remains indeterminate, What annual deduction is to be made in respect of an ascertained capital sum? If we suppose the case of a tenant who has purchased the tenancy applying under this Clause to have his rent fixed, we must assume that in general his "interest in the holding" would be assessed at the purchase money which he had paid. The deduction from his rent, however, cannot be made to depend on whether he has borrowed the money at four, five, or ten per cent.; and if not at the rate of interest he pays, or if he has provided the purchase money out of his own resources, how is the rate to be fixed? This may appear a trivial point, but it illustrates the vagueness that pervades the necessary process of calculation. Again, the tenant's interest is to be estimated with reference "to the scale of compensation for disturbance." That scale, however, is fixed on the hypothesis that the tenant is dispossessed; under this Clause he is to continue in occupation; moreover, that scale only prescribes certain maximum payments beyond which the Court cannot go, and the circumstances of the eviction have to

be taken into account in determining the compensation to be paid; but if there is no eviction there are no circumstances which the Court can regard, and, therefore, no means of estimating, for a totally different purpose, the amount which the Court would have awarded if there had been a "disturbance." Lastly, and this objection strikes at the root of the principle of "compensation for disturbance;" the higher the rent the greater is the compensation which the landlord has to pay. But it is manifest that the higher the rent, the less is the balance of profitable interest belonging to the tenant, and the less the deduction that should be made from a competition rent in respect of such interest. A rack-rented tenant who has made no improvements possesses no real interest in his holding, which would, or ought to fetch any price under Clause 1; yet, if he is evicted, the compensation which he may receive is larger than what might be awarded to a man who had a large margin of profit in the cultivation of his farm. This is comprehensible as a penal clause against rack-renting landlords, but when it is adopted as a standard for the adjustment of continuing contracts we must admit that we fail altogether to see the force of its application.

The question of fair rent, we believe, might be confidently left to the determination of any competent tribunal, and the attempt to assist the discretion of the Court by a legislative declaration of principle is only calculated to impede justice and foster litigation. There is no tenant in Ireland, it must be remembered, who does not himself know whether his rent is fair or not, and a complicated Clause, with endless provisos and mystifications, is just the thing to tempt the speculative tenant to try his chance with the Court. Universal litigation is an evil to be avoided if possible. The appeal to the Court ought to be discouraged except in hard cases. It should not be made an ordinary incident in the tenure of land, for we are fully convinced that the prosperity and progress of the country depends more upon the introduction of happier relations between landlords and tenants, forbearance on the one side, industry and good-will on the other, than on any paltry reductions, or it may be increases, in the amount of rent. But if the legislature is not satisfied to leave to the Court a full and uncontrolled discretion as to the fixing of a fair rent, and insists on laying down some guiding principle to regulate its decisions, we think that sub-clause 9, of this Clause indicates the direction which such interference should take. That sub-clause gives power to the Court to fix "a specified value for the holding." It means, we presume, the "tenancy," or tenant's interest in the holding, for it goes on to declare that, in case the tenant is desirous of

selling during the statutory term, the landlord may resume possession on payment to the tenant of the amount so fixed. Now this sum is clearly the ascertained value of the tenant's property. Why should not the Court be empowered in all cases to ascertain this value, and deduct, from the full or competition rent, interest at four or five per cent. on this capital sum? This, it seems to us, would meet all objections. The tenant would no longer be required to pay rent for what was in reality, if not in law, his own property; and the duties of the Court would be reduced to the ascertainment of facts, and a simple arithmetical calculation.

Let us now turn to the subject of Fixity of Tenure, and seek to extract from the tangled network of this Bill an answer to the question, How far is the tenant secured in his holding? Security we have seen is his chief desideratum, security not only against eviction, but also against arbitrary raising of rent. The latter is provided against, after a fashion, by the Clause which we have just been engaged in discussing; but it is obviously of no use to fix the rent unless you also secure the continued enjoyment of the farm. The fine on capricious eviction imposed by the Land Act of 1870 was intended to operate in this direction. That it did, to a great extent, carry out the intentions of the legislature in that behalf we have little doubt; yet, in particular instances, as appears from the evidence before the Commissioners, the greedy incoming tenant not only paid the fine for getting rid of his predecessor, but also offered an increased rent to the landlord. Accordingly, the scale has been raised by this Bill to a prohibitory standard. Thus, for example, whenever the rent is under £30 the compensation may amount to seven years' rent, an allowance which has been hitherto limited to a £10 valuation; and at the other end of the scale the change is still more marked. No matter how large a tract of land may be included in the tenancy, a fine of three years' rent may be awarded against a landlord. Under the Land Act, on the contrary, only one year's rent was payable when the holding was valued above £100, and in no case could the compensation exceed £250. It is clear that the stringency of these provisions ought to secure their object; for, certainly, the landlords as a class could not afford to pay such heavy sums for the gratification of a whim. There is one serious blot in the proposed scale of compensation for disturbance to which we desire to call attention. It proceeds *per saltum*, and at the limiting figures of each class the amount payable to a tenant is suddenly diminished. An alteration of a shilling in his rent may reduce his compensation from seven to five years' rent. This was avoided in the Act of 1870 by a somewhat crabbed

clause enabling him to claim under any lower class, his rent being reduced in proportion for the purposes of calculation. Let us illustrate this point by an example. Suppose that there are two tenants, the one paying £29, the other £30 a year as the rents of their respective farms. Now, under the proposed scale, the former could claim seven years' rent, or a sum of £203, while the latter, who pays a higher rent, could under no circumstances obtain more than five years' rent, or £150. The same sudden inequality prevails in the transition from every class into the next. There is, in fact, a want of continuity in the assessment of compensation which in particular cases works injustice. This, we think, ought to be amended by enabling a tenant to claim under any lower class, his rent being reduced by a proportion to the maximum limit of the class under which he claims. This mode of securing the tenant's position, is however, only an indirect provision; the more important scheme of the Bill in relation to fixity of tenure remains to be considered.

The "statutory term" is fixed at fifteen years; and for those fifteen years the conditions of tenure are to be unalterable. The rent cannot be raised, and the tenant cannot be evicted, except for breach of the "statutory conditions." Now this statutory term may arise in two ways; either when the landlord attempts to raise the rent if the tenant agrees to the increase, or when the "fair rent" is fixed by the Court. In both cases there is absolute fixity for fifteen years. But what happens on the expiration of that term? Mr. Gladstone is reported to have stated that "at the end of that period the tenant will of course give up his holding."\* We are unable to discover in the Bill any such provision; and, indeed, it would be out of harmony with the entire scheme of the measure. It is expressly provided by Clause 7, sub-clause 11, that "during the currency of a statutory term an application to the Court to determine a judicial rent" shall only be made during the last twelve months of the statutory term. It leaves undefined the position of the tenant who permits the statutory term to expire without making any application; but we cannot doubt that such a tenant will be still a "present tenant," and, as such, entitled to have his rent revised by the Court. This view is confirmed by the preceding sub-section, which provides that "a further statutory term shall not commence until the expiration of a preceding statutory term, and an alteration of judicial rent shall not take place at less intervals than fifteen years." We believe the intention is to confer upon the tenants holding statutory terms

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\* *Times*, April 8, 1881.

indefinite "fixity of tenure," subject to the statutory conditions, and also subject to periodical revision of rent; but it is curious that so vital a point as this should be left to be discovered by inference, instead of being expressly stated. Still more extraordinary is it that the position of lessees should not be accurately defined. The forty-seventh Clause exempts existing leases from the operation of the Act, the express terms of those written contracts being allowed to regulate the conditions of the tenancy. But at the expiration of the term, is the lessee to give up his farm without compensation, or is he a tenant of a "present" or a "future tenancy?" If he is to give up possession in accordance with the usual covenant in that behalf, a large number of occupiers will be excluded from the benefit of Bill; a class, too, quite as necessitous, and as much in need of protection, as the tenants from year to year. If, on the other hand, he is to become an ordinary tenant, whether present or future, considerable difficulty arises as to the terms on which he is to hold his farm. The rent may have been fixed on the granting of the lease many years ago at a figure by no means representing the present letting value of land, and, moreover, it may have been reduced in consideration of covenants in the lease, or by reason of the payment of a fine. It would, therefore, be inequitable to treat the tenancy as continuing upon the sole condition of paying a rent which had been determined with reference to totally different circumstances. The difficulty might be met by allowing either party in case of disagreement to apply to the Court to fix a fair rent under Clause 7, as if the lessee were an ordinary tenant of a "present tenancy." This is substantially the recommendation made by the Bishops in their Declaration. They also advance the opinion that "tenants holding under leases made since the passing of the Land Act, 1870, should have the right to submit them for revision to the Court, both as to amount of rent and other conditions." This, we regret to say that we cannot support in its entirety, since it seems an unwarrantable interference with existing contracts; but, possibly, some provision might be inserted giving the tenant the option of surrendering his lease, assuming the position of a "present tenant," and applying to have his rent fixed for the statutory term.

The provisions of the Bill on the subject of fixity of tenure are ingenious and satisfactory, at all events as applied to the ordinary yearly tenancies, which constitute the great majority of Irish lettings. We must now briefly refer to the "statutory conditions," or implied covenants of the new tenure. The first is that the "tenant shall pay his rent at the appointed time." This, at first sight, appears to require the strictest

punctuality on the part of the tenant if he is to avoid committing a breach of the statutory conditions, and thereby rendering himself liable to the penal consequences; but when we remember that in ejectionment for non-payment of rent the tenant has six months in which to redeem, we anticipate little difficulty in the practical working of this hard and fast rule. The next is that the tenant shall not commit "persistent waste," by dilapidation of buildings, or deterioration of the soil, after notice has been given to him to desist. Then follow provisions for securing the landlord's right of mining, quarrying, cutting timber, making roads, and sporting. Little exception has been taken to the justice of the foregoing conditions; not so as to the last two in the series, which are that the tenant shall not, without the consent of the landlord, sub-divide, or sub-let; and that he shall not do any act whereby his holding becomes vested in a judgment creditor or assignee in bankruptcy. As to the former, it is thought desirable by many persons that in the case of large holdings, the occupier should be at liberty to assign a part, not less, say, than thirty acres, provided he also retains in his own hands a farm of a similar extent. It is argued that, in a country like Ireland, where "land hunger" prevails to such an extraordinary degree, every facility should be given for the accommodation of as many persons as the land will hold. From this view we respectfully dissent. The acknowledged evil of Irish tenure is the wretchedly insufficient farms on which multitudes of the inhabitants strive to exist. That lies at the root of all Ireland's miseries; and the natural causes tending in the direction of continuous sub-division are so powerful, that they do not require to be assisted by legislation. There are nearly a quarter of a million holdings in Ireland under fifteen acres, and most of these are cultivated in so slovenly a manner that, by moderately good farming, the occupier might actually double his income.\* We are as bitter enemies to "clearances" and "consolidations" as any tenant in Ireland, but we are averse, on the other hand, to deliberately sowing the seeds of destitution and famine. The condition which forbids the tenant from doing any act whereby his holding becomes vested in a judgment creditor or assignee in bankruptcy, seems calculated to give rise to curious "triangular duels." The tenancy, like all the other property of a bankrupt, confining our attention to that case, passes to the assignee; but not being in possession he is not a tenant. He has to take steps to compel a sale or surrender. In the meantime the landlord is entitled to treat the tenancy as determined by the breach of

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\* See Professor Baldwin's Evidence before the Richmond Commission, 2,867 *et seq.*

the statutory condition, but if he brings ejectment the tenant is expressly authorized to sell, and being a bankrupt it is not easy to see how he can confer a title on a purchaser. Similar interesting questions will probably arise when a judgment creditor or mortgagee attempts to enforce his security; but we have dwelt sufficiently long on the proposed fixity of tenure and its conditions, and must now pass to the other scarcely less important provisions of the Bill.

One striking result of the changes introduced by the tenure clauses is, that in future ordinary leases will be so much waste paper, unless indeed the farm is valued at £150 or upwards, and the parties expressly exclude the operation of the Act. The third part of the Bill, however, introduces what is called a "judicial lease." It must be for a term of at least thirty-one years, and be approved by the Court on behalf of the tenant. This is practically the only way in which leases can henceforward be granted by the landlord, or accepted by the tenant; and amounts to an admission that freedom of contract no longer exists in Ireland.

The "fixed tenancy" is one more form which the relations of landlord and tenant are permitted to assume. It seems to amount to a perpetuity, the landlord's reversion being converted into a rent-charge, which "may or may not be subject to re-valuation by the Court." It is somewhat inconsistently declared that it shall not be deemed "a tenancy to which this Act applies," and yet the "Statutory Conditions" are imported as defining the terms of the tenancy. If any of these are violated, the landlord may recover the premises in ejectment; but, surely, it cannot be intended that the evicted tenant should have none of the privileges of an ordinary tenant as to the sale of his tenancy. It is also noticeable that complete silence prevails as to the "quality" of the fixed tenancy. Is it a freehold or a chattel? The answer is of course important, not only as affecting the rights of a deceased tenant's representatives, but also in respect of electoral qualifications, and fiscal liabilities.

It is with pleasure that we turn from the tenure clauses of this complicated measure, to its other provisions, which, at all events, can be understood without difficulty. Part five includes the subjects, "Acquisition of Land by Tenants," "Reclamation of Land," and "Emigration;" whose only logical connection is that they all involve an application of public money. We can only afford a brief notice of these important contributions to the settlement of the Land Question, but a few words will suffice to place before our readers the main outlines of their provisions. The land Commission is authorized to advance to purchasing tenants three-fourths of the purchase-money of their holdings; and, what is perhaps still more important, it can buy an estate

*in globo*, and re-sell in suitable parcels. These powers are, of course, hedged round with provisions to secure the State from eventual loss, and the experience of the sales under the Church Act points to the conclusion that serious defalcations are not to be anticipated. We rejoice to see that the Commission is to have power to indemnify the tenant against incumbrances, or doubtful titles; and that the sales may be negotiated at a fixed percentage, according to a scale to be settled from time to time. These provisions will do much to facilitate the practical working of the scheme, and to avoid the rocks on which the "Bright Clauses" of the Land Act suffered shipwreck. The advances to the tenants are to be paid back by an annuity of five per cent. on the sum advanced, payable for thirty-five years. The conditions annexed to holdings while subject to the payment of this annuity, are not so onerous as those contained in the Land Act; for the tenant can sell at any time, with the consent of the Commission, and without such consent when half the burthen has been discharged; and the absolute forfeiture incurred by a tenant under the former Act, on alienation, or sub-division, is replaced by a sale of the interest thus attempted to be dealt with.

The reclamation of waste lands is a subject of such interest and importance that it might well furnish the occasion for separate consideration. The provisions of the Bill seem to us meagre in the extreme. One clause attempts to deal with this complicated problem, and the method adopted is to authorize the Board of Works, with the consent of the Treasury, to make advances to companies formed for the purpose of reclaiming waste, drainage, or other works of agricultural improvement. As the Government advance is not to exceed the amount actually expended out of its own moneys by the company, it is clear that the success of the scheme will depend on private enterprise, and on the somewhat remote prospects of remunerative return. Under these circumstances we anticipate that it will prove almost wholly inoperative.

The subject of emigration is still more crudely treated. The Bishops of Ireland condemn, in no measured language, all attempts to foster the already strong incentives impelling the Irish peasantry to leave their native shores. They say, in the Declaration, to which we have previously referred:—

We cannot but regard emigration, and every Government scheme, however well intended, that would encourage it, as highly detrimental to Irish interests.

In the face of this authoritative denunciation, we think the Government would act a prudent part in suffering Clause 26, the only one relating to this subject, to drop quietly out of the Bill. Emigration, no doubt, now exists as a fact that cannot be ignored, and the circumstances under which the emigrants



land in a foreign country are highly detrimental to their moral and material welfare. Much of the evil that falls on the individuals might, we believe, be averted by the voluntary exodus of entire communities; but no measure of success could be commanded against the express disapproval of the Clergy, by whom alone the scheme could be worked to a prosperous issue. It is tantalizing to read of tracts of vacant land needing only the rudest plough, the very simplest husbandry, to suffer transformation from a desert into a cornfield, and then turn our eyes on the barren wastes of Connaught, overcrowded with a starving population; but we repeat that without the hearty co-operation of the Priests it is worse than useless to attempt the exportation of the peasantry.

There is another subject which, although not included in the Bill, is of pressing importance. We allude to the existing arrears of rent. There are great difficulties in the way of dealing with this question in such a manner as to afford practical relief where it is absolutely necessary, and at the same time to avoid violating the principles of natural justice. We are confronted by a state of circumstances in which some men cannot, and others will not, pay the rents which they have contracted to pay. Any measure devised for the purpose of dealing with this subject should be so framed as to permit of a sound discretion being exercised in the discrimination of these two classes. We have no sympathy with the well-to-do farmer who merely avails himself of the existing agitation to avoid payment of his just liabilities; and who, after compelling his landlord to incur the odium of extreme measures, at the last moment draws from his pocket the bundle of notes which he should have paid over some months before. But there is also, undoubtedly, a large class of tenants who have suffered by the agricultural distress to such an extent that they are not able to pay at once the arrears of rent due to their landlords, and for these some provision ought to be made. We do not see our way to recommending a total extinguishment of all arrears, for that would be to confound the prosperous and the necessitous tenants in one enactment; and, moreover, would be open to the charge of bare-faced confiscation of the landlords' rights. But the subject may be treated in one of two ways. Either the Court may be authorized to capitalize arrears where it sees that the tenant is unable to pay; or the Treasury might advance the necessary sums to liquidate existing claims. In both cases the capital sums might be paid off by an annuity extending over a certain number of years. Without some such provision, we feel assured that the Land Bill of this Session will fail, in its immediate effects, as a message of peace to Ireland.

We have not alluded to the machinery by which this important

measure is to be worked; yet, as a practical question, very much of its success must depend on the spirit in which it is administered. It is to be feared that the part of the Bill dealing with the constitution of the Court and of the Land Commission will not prove by any means satisfactory. The Court that is to take cognizance of the numerous and important questions that may arise between landlord and tenant is the Civil Bill Court of the county where the holding is situated. The Judges of these Courts—the County Court Judges—have been recently reduced in number from thirty-three to twenty-one, and their time is already fully occupied by the discharge of their existing duties. Moreover, in the exercise of their jurisdiction under the Land Act, they have failed to impress the tenant farmers of Ireland with that confidence in their impartiality, which is above all things necessary as a condition of success in a Court of Arbitration. We would not, for a moment, be understood as impugning the perfect fairness and uprightness of those functionaries, but it so happens that their decisions have tended to impress the tenants with the belief that the law was framed in the interests of the landlords. Again, the Land Commission, which is constituted a Court of Final Appeal from the decisions of the Chairman, is composed of three persons, described in the Bill as A.B., C.D., and E.F., one of whom is to be a Judge of the Supreme Court. But as the salary attached to the office is only two thousand pounds, it is manifestly the intention of the Government that the judicial member of the Commission shall continue to hold office in his former capacity. If the Land Commission is to be anything more than a dignified nonentity we do not see how any of its members can discharge other functions. Considering the vast and unrestrained powers that are vested in this body, powers involving an adjudication on the rights of all the landowners and tenants in Ireland, it is of the highest importance that their character and position should be such as to furnish a guarantee, not only for impartiality, but also for the highest administrative and judicial capacity. These Commissioners hold their appointments at the pleasure of the Crown, and are removable without compensation or retiring allowance. A considerable part of the actual work of the Commission, will, no doubt, be performed by the Assistant Commissioners, whose appointment by the Lord Lieutenant the Bill contemplates; and as all the powers of the Commissioners, without limit or qualification, may be delegated to a single Assistant Commissioner, it is too apparent that the Bill is open here to the grave charge of entrusting the most delicate and difficult functions to a tribe of underpaid, and consequently inefficient, functionaries.

We must now conclude our criticisms on this important

measure. Our readers will understand that, while we deplore the unnecessarily cumbrous form in which it has been cast, we find in its substantive proposals much that is calculated to improve the relations of landlords and tenants in Ireland. Its central position, that an independent tribunal should be charged with the revision of rent is of cardinal importance, and recognizes one of the unhappy necessities of Irish land tenure. Its treatment of the other F's is not so satisfactory. The attempts to create, in various ways, fixity of tenure, are complicated and highly artificial; while the clause dealing with free sale is so mutilated by conditions and provisoes that it can be expected to do little more than inaugurate a new era of struggle and strife.

The prospects of the measure becoming law are, as we write, still somewhat remote. More than two months have elapsed since it was introduced, and almost every Government night has been occupied with its discussion. In spite, however, of the energy with which it has been pushed forward, the Committee is still engaged on the first Clause of the Bill; and when the House adjourned for Whitsuntide, after thirteen sittings devoted to the Bill, only six lines had been considered in Committee. Upwards of fifteen hundred Amendments, were, shortly after the second reading of the Bill, placed on the paper, of which only an inconsiderable number have as yet been disposed of; and unless some practical mode of sifting the chaff from the grain is discovered, the time that will be consumed in their discussion will be almost interminable. Mr. Gladstone has already thrown out a significant hint that under certain circumstances it may be necessary to propose "urgency"; but it is difficult to see how this dictatorial policy could be adopted in the case of a complicated measure like this, every line of which requires the most careful consideration, without infringing the rights of Parliamentary discussion. The hint, however, has not been thrown away, and already the Liberal members have met and filtered down their amendments, with the result of relieving the paper of at least one hundred; and there can be little doubt that it will also have a salutary tendency towards checking loquacity and incipient obstruction.

There is only one thing certain, that the Government are pledged to their Bill, and will adopt any legitimate means to force it through all its stages. We trust, in the interests of all parties, that no factious opposition may arise in the course of the discussion to impede its progress; for it is now clear to all impartial minds, that the sooner a fair and equitable adjustment of the Land Question is arrived at, the better chance there will be of a restoration of peace and goodwill among all classes in Ireland.

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

#### 1. *The Katholik*.

THE March issue of the *Katholik* contains a very able exposition, contributed by Professor Bautz, of Münster University, on Luke xxii. 43, "apparuit angelus confortans eum." In the same issue I commented on the pamphlet published in January, 1881, at Rome, by Cardinal Zigliara, "Il *Dimittatur* e la spiegazione datane dalla Congregazione dell' Indice pel Cardinale Tommaso Maria Zigliara, dell' Ordine dei Predicatori." It is generally known that the Congregation of the Index, when some works of the learned Abbate Rosmini were submitted to its examination, gave the decision "dimittantur." Rosmini is an eminent writer, whose philosophical system is still largely supported in Italy. The decision of the Congregation originated a bitter strife amongst Catholic philosophers in Italy. The meaning of the word, "dimittantur," some contended, was as much as a testimony or a "passport" of orthodoxy; whilst others interpreted it as only a permission given for a certain time, but which, in other circumstances, might be withdrawn. A year ago, June 21, 1881, the Congregation solemnly declared the sense of the word "dimittatur" to be, "opus quod dimittitur, non prohiberi." Cardinal Zigliara, who is a learned theologian and acute philosopher, displays much knowledge of theology, history, and canon law in establishing this explanation of the holy Congregation. He begins by explaining the various form of approbation given by the Church to Catholic books; such approbation is either definitive, or elective, or permissive. A "definitive" approbation is stamped with a dogmatical character; once bestowed on a book, it cannot be withdrawn. The "elective" approbation means that the Church chooses a book, or a sentence, in preference to another one. It does not give dogmatical authority to a theological work; it is based on the knowledge which the authorities in the Church possess, "hic et nunc." This approbation is far more than a simple permission. Nevertheless, as our author appropriately points out, it does not exceed the limits of what is more or less likely. Hence, it might happen that a sentence held to be only probable, might, by a process of development, come to be held as certain, and obtain from the Church a definitive approbation; whilst, on the other hand, opinions less probable might eventually turn out to be erroneous, and then, although formerly permitted, would no longer be permitted by the authorities. Lastly, comes what

is styled the "permissive" approbation. It is no real approbation, as in the two former cases, since it does not contain any judgment as to whether or not errors exist in a book; it claims only a mere negative importance; the work which is permitted or dismissed is not prohibited. Cardinal Zigliara clearly shows that the "dimittatur" does not in the least imply a definitive, nor any elective approbation. The Cardinal also establishes the truth of his thesis from ecclesiastical history. As early as the fifth century, Pope Gelasius pointed out the aforesaid approbations by distinguishing three sorts of books. Firstly, the books of the Bible inspired by the Holy Ghost, together with dogmatical decrees of the Popes and œcumenical councils; secondly, the works of the holy fathers; and thirdly, a class of books which he permits the faithful to read, whilst reminding them of St. Paul's words, "Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete." A sample of the third class of books was shown in the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea. The same distinction is established by Cardinal Turrecremata in his explanation of cap. "Sancta Romana ecclesia," dist. 75. In the last part of his pamphlet our author answers two important questions, largely discussed in Italy by Rosmini's supporters and adversaries. 1. May books that have been only permitted, be re-examined and impugned by Catholic authors who are unable to agree with them? 2. May the Church withdraw the permission given in favour of a Catholic book as soon as certain weighty reasons call on her to do so? Both questions are answered in the affirmative by the Cardinal. I may also call the reader's attention to the learned work in which all questions bearing on the "Dimittatur" are exhaustively treated. Its title is "Seraphini Piccinardi, De approbatione S. Thomæ," Patavii: 1683.

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2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*—The March number contains a critique of the recent edition of Cardinal Contarini's correspondence from the celebrated diet of Ratisbone, 1541, published by Dr. Pastor, of Innsbruck University. We are indebted for it to the kindness of Cardinal Hergenröther, who, on being appointed keeper of the secret archives of the Holy See, admitted Dr. Pastor to the immense treasures heaped up there from all parts of the Catholic world. Contarini's correspondence, long searched for in vain, was finally found in Vol. 129 of that part of the Vatican Archives which bears the name, "Bibliotheca Pia." Of its importance no words need be said. German Protestant historians for centuries have been accustomed to claim the papal nuncio Contarini for the Protestant Reformation. It cannot be denied that Contarini, owing to his indulgent and meek character, did his utmost to bring over to the Catholic Church the champions of Protestantism sent to Ratisbone—Melancthon, Bucer, and Sturm—but it would be totally inconsistent with all historical truth to claim him for the Reformation. His orthodoxy, his zeal for the Apostolic See, as well as his kindness and forbearance towards the Church's disobedient sons, are clearly testified by the recently discovered letters dragged out from the dust of three-

centuries. Contarini strongly opposed the opinions of the Protestant theologians about the real presence, and constantly blamed them for their ambiguous terms. Those unhappy men were most anxious not to offend their secular princes, and for fear of disagreeing with them, dared not bring forward their real opinions. The one who was sunk in the deepest slavery was Melancthon. Contarini's letters leave no doubt about it; the Reformer sighed under the cruelty of the Duke of Saxony, and was afraid of losing his life.

The March and April numbers contain the concluding articles on the "Wanderings of *Jansenism* through Europe." Next to France and Germany, we meet with the pestiferous influence of the sect in Italy and Portugal. A very stronghold of Jansenism in Northern Italy was the University of Pavia. To prove to Italian Catholics at Milan the orthodoxy of the new creed, a work was published in 1786—"Del Cattolicismo della chiesa d'Utrecht." It was triumphantly replied to by Canon Mozzi, in his "Storia delle Rivoluzioni della chiesa d'Utrecht," a work of great learning, and still well worth reading. The last article examines the influence of Jansenism in Portugal. The Nuncio Pacca—afterwards Cardinal—who represented the Holy See in Portugal from 1795 till 1802, soon learned how detrimental an influence had been brought to bear on Portuguese Catholics by Jansenism. It there enjoyed the protection, not only of the Government, but also of certain members of the higher clergy, amongst whom we cite the Bishop of Viseu, Don Francesco Mendo Trigozo, who ascribed the translation of the Jansenistic Catechism of Montpellier to a "special act of God's Providence," declaring that he would be guilty of sin if he did not introduce it into his diocese. The sect, the Cardinal says, by its hypocritical behaviour, has succeeded in persuading the governments to believe that its adherents are the most faithful subjects of the Church, and the most sincere defenders of the rights of the governments against the so-called encroachments of the Roman Court. The Government most unfortunately trusted such assertions; hence there was sown that seed from which sprang so many disasters in those countries.

The second May issue criticizes a very important book, which may fitly be styled a definitive sentence on a question eagerly discussed for some years amongst Catholics, viz., "Who is the author of the 'Imitation of Christ?'" The book bears the title, "Thomas à Kempis, als Schryver der Navolging van Christus gehandhaafd door P. A. Spitzen, oud-hoogleraar te Woormond, pastor te Zwolle. Utrecht: 1881." It is indeed curious, that in the recent dispute about Thomas à Kempis and Abbot Gersen no voice has been heard from the very country which for centuries was commonly held to have given birth to the author of the "Imitation." Spitzen, the parish priest of Zwolle, has broken the silence, and has succeeded in establishing two important facts: A person called Giovanni Gersen never existed; Thomas à Kempis is the author of the "Imitation." Spitzen brings forward six facsimiles of the most important manuscripts of the "Imitation," and by palæographical reasons utterly destroys the opinion

about manuscripts of it dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century. There are, on the contrary, evident proofs that the oldest manuscript codex of the "Imitation" is not older than the middle of the fifteenth century. But far more weighty are the historical witnesses bearing testimony for Thomas à Kempis. The chief one quoted by Spitzen is the "Chronicon Windisheimense," in which John Busch calls Thomas author of the "Imitation." This testimony is unimpeachable, since Busch, himself a member of the same congregation as Thomas, was deputed also to be its official historian. John Gerardyn, a member of the Convent of the Holy Apostles at Utrecht (1466) who transcribed the "Chronicon," calls Thomas author of the "Imitation." In every century those scholars who were most competent stood for Thomas; but Abbot Gersen is only a fabricated person. What gave rise to the fabrication, and how it came down to us from the seventeenth century, is so convincingly shown by Spitzen, that further serious dispute we may well consider to be mere waste of time.

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### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Scuola Cattolica.* 28 Febbrajo, 1881.

#### 1.—*The Roman Malaria.*

THE *Scuola Cattolica* concludes its treatment of the subject of the Roman Malaria in its February number by replying to the following questions:—1. Is it possible to restore the Agro Romano to a healthy state? 2. Is the malaria chargeable on the Pope-kings? Proof had already been adduced to establish incontrovertibly that the malaria has its origin in physical causes. But are those causes removable, or capable of being counteracted? Upon the answer must depend the question whether or no blame is imputable to the Papal Government, which failed to remove or counteract them. The writer goes on to show that the draining of the Agro, a work frequently attempted unsuccessfully by the Popes, involves a very complicated problem. The higher grounds—all, in short, above the sea level—could be drained, it is true, by means of canals which would draw off the water from all the marshy depressions; but this would effect nothing towards restoring the district to a sanitary state, so long as the great focus of infection remained in the low grounds of the Delta, viz., the accumulation of stagnant and putrescent waters shut in by the sand hills from the sea, and beneath its level. The Commissioners appointed by the present Italian Government, after discussing projects for either emptying or filling up these lagunes, seem to consider that the only plan which recommends itself as feasible under the circumstances is to fill these basins, and thus raise their level above that of the sea. Signor Canevari has calculated that it would require ninety millions of cubic metres of earth for this purpose. A notion of the gigantic nature of such an enterprise may be formed from the fact that this mass would be equivalent to fifty-five mountains of earth, each of them as large as the Vatican Basilica. But whence is it all to

come? Here is the difficulty. One way would be to turn the Tiber into these pools, which would gradually fill them up by its deposits. That is, after all the great antecedent hydraulic preparations have been made, it is computed that fifty years would be required for the process itself. The other idea, which was originally that of P. Secchi, is to transport the soil from hills levelled for the purpose. This could only be done by the aid of steam carriage, which would involve an enormous outlay; but without this it would be folly to think of it. Granting that one or other of these plans would be feasible—and that would be to grant far too much, considering the doubtful language of scientific men, not to speak of the many practical difficulties which would beset its execution, and render its completion extremely problematic—what accusation can be grounded on these hypothetical projects against the Pope-kings for not having hitherto accomplished a work, the very idea of which would be chimerical but for the progress which science has made in our days, both in mechanical and in hydraulic departments, and the discovery of steam power for its application? But such is the common way of dealing with matters where the Popes are concerned; no account is taken of times and seasons, of the circumstances amidst which their lives were cast, or the knowledge and means at their disposal! It appears, moreover, that one or more of the Commissioners regard the project of rendering the Agro Romano salubrious as any way a sheer Utopia, because the malaria exhales, not from these stagnant basins alone, but from many neighbouring marshes—the whole coast from Gaeta to Spezia being of that character more or less. For further reasons of an adverse nature to the successful realization of the work in question, we must refer the reader to the article itself. We think he will conclude that it is rather premature, not to say altogether absurd, to raise a shout of triumph as to the contrast presented between the achievements of revolutionary Italy and those of the preceding Pontifical rule.

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2. *The Right of Asylum for Regicides, and the Impotence of Modern Society.* 30 Aprile, 1881.

SINCE the commencement of this century there have been not less than sixty-seven cases of regicide attempted or accomplished. Have these crimes been brought upon sovereigns through their fault, or are they imputable to the wickedness and lawlessness of subjects? Whatever answer may be given to this question—and probably the blame is divisible between the two—certain it is, that regicide in its present form and frequency is a dark product of modern society under the fatal influence of Liberalism. Our European statesmen, moved by the late assassination of the Russian Czar, have been led to a conclusion, long ago obvious to Catholics, viz., that one of the causes of this crime is the abuse of the right of asylum. How, indeed, can any check be put upon it if the culprit finds everywhere a place of refuge? He has not far to go. Belgium and France are often at his service, England always, while Switzerland, occupying a central situation with



respect to the nations which are most disquieted, not only offers a secure retreat, but is itself an active focus of conspiracy. Now, it is in contemplation to agree upon some international law which shall restrict this right of asylum. Will these statesmen succeed? The writer thinks that they will not, and even cannot. Impotence, both political and moral, is against their project. For agreement there must be union. Now the union, if such it can be called, which subsists among the European States is not one of organism, but is the offspring of their mutual jealousy. Suspicious watchfulness of each other is their habitual attitude; there is no uniting bond between them, nothing to form the ground of a common agreement or common action. In this essentially discordant state of things who is to define the right of asylum, and get its limitations accepted? And, above all, where is the sanction of a decision to be sought, without which no stipulation is worth more than the parchment on which it is written? When civil society was not, as now, the society of "progress," but a Christian republic, a common bond of union did exist. There was a law—that of the Church—which commanded universal respect, and there was a common Father of all, a living interpreter and judge of that law, whose sentence often terminated the gravest differences, and was successful in obtaining a homage to justice and right from both prince and people. The so-called Holy Alliance was an abortive attempt at a substitute for the Christian unity of past times with its venerated court of appeal. This device proved an utter failure in either stemming the revolution or preserving the peace of Europe. In the present day the only means of coming to an agreement which the European States possess is diplomacy, with all its arts, its subterfuges, its jealous espionage and duplicity. Regicides will be able to continue their atrocious plots against princes long before diplomacy will be able to lay the first foundation stone of a new international legislation for their protection and that of society.

There might be one way of escape from this political impotence if each State would consent to accept the judicial sentences of the others, so that, when any individual was condemned as a regicide, it would suffice to give authentic notice thereof in order to the delinquent being handed over by the State in which he had sought refuge; in other words, that regicides should be universally condemned, so that the right of asylum should no longer shield from justice a crime so menacing to public peace. But can the modern powers be brought to agree in such a measure? Their moral impotence, which is substantially the root of their political impotence, forbids this agreement. Regicide is, in fact, practically regarded in many of the States as simply a political offence, and under this head it is not considered to come under the conditions of extradition. The writer is, therefore, of opinion that the prevailing corruption of principles will hinder modern society from pronouncing a decision which would place it in the category of murder. Amongst Catholics, of course, there is no question as to the criminality of regicide. No one, be he prince or subject, can be lawfully put to death by private authority; neither is it lawful to kill even

a manifest tyrant, because of the peril of the consequences which ensue to states from such an act. Hence Catholics reckon the murder of a sovereign as a worse crime than an ordinary murder. If, therefore, the European governments were Catholic, all could be satisfactorily provided for, and nothing would be easier than to apprehend the regicide wherever he had taken refuge. Princes may accordingly thank themselves if their death is so often compassed, for it is they who have headed the wicked war against the Church, the only instructor of true principles and the fountain of just laws. But the logic of Liberalism, which they have favoured, leads inexorably to the present appalling state of things. This the writer proceeds ably to demonstrate, but space forbids our following his argument in detail. As an instance of the extreme but logical result of the doctrine of the people's sovereignty, and their indefeasible right, as expressed by a majority—a principle accepted with more or less prominence in all European States except Russia and Turkey—he reminds us of the late amnesty accorded in France to the deported Communists, who had been guilty of the most flagrant and sanguinary deeds, from which measure we are led to deduce that murder, arson, and robbery are no longer judged to be crimes by the French nation if committed during a sedition. But what is to hinder the sovereign people, by the mouth of its representatives, from deciding to-morrow that even that condition is not needed? Regicides are as yet in the minority, but they call themselves the leaders of progress, and confidently assert that the future is theirs. You hang us to-day, they say, but to-morrow we shall have statues erected to us. All Liberal Europe is treading the same path in which France has made such advanced progress, and, had it been possible that the Nihilists should have succeeded and attained to power in Russia, there can be little doubt but that the other governments would have made up their minds to enter into amicable relation with the new administration.

But even as matters stand, and supposing that all were agreed in reckoning regicide to be a crime, our statesmen would have to renounce many other principles beside the indefeasible right of majorities to rule all points, principles which, thanks to them, widely prevail in modern society, before they could succeed in limiting the right of asylum. For instance, the doctrine which they have so largely acted upon, of the end justifying the means, that of accepting accomplished facts; the imposture called non-intervention, devised by Napoleon III., who never acted upon it when it suited his policy to disregard it; but, above all, the intense selfishness and egotism erected into a system under the name of utilitarianism, which makes states regard only their own immediate and narrow interests, would have to be given up. The useful and the expedient have supplanted God and His law. The treaty of Westphalia, which dethroned religion, sanctioned utilitarianism in politics. Crimes had been committed in all ages, but henceforth they were committed on system.

After noticing several other influences at work which would defeat the proposed object, the writer finally alludes to the physical impotence,

as he styles it, which would render its success utterly nugatory, so long as it shall continue to exist. What avails to prosecute the regicide while you train up regicides in your bosom? Take away the causes which form them, or you will be physically impotent against this crime. In one word, it is indispensable to return to God, to Christianity—that is, to true Christianity, which is Catholicism. Society has need of a complete system, and that is to be found only in Catholicism. But if you do not will the means, you never can attain the end; therefore is modern society, in spite of its pride and its boasting, impotent against the crime which dismays it—such is the sentence which it has merited by its many iniquities.

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### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Avril, 1881. Paris.

POPE ALEXANDER VI. is the subject of a long and careful article from the pen of M. Henri de l'Épinois. The subject is a sadly familiar one in controversial and anti-Catholic literature, but the Article is noteworthy in one or two ways. It is a compendious *résumé* of the most recent works, whether expressly on the career of this Pope, or in which it has received any special treatment. Also, it is marked in its tone by great discrimination and freedom from prejudice. Though the writer would rejoice to be called Ultramontane, his Article deliberately lends confirmation to the popular bad opinion of Alexander VI., quite as frequently as it seeks to soften that opinion towards the more favourable, truth. Impartiality, not bias, and zeal entirely guided by respect for historical truth—these qualities marking a truly Catholic study of the life of such a Pontiff, recommend it very powerfully, as likely to promote the cause of our holy religion with earnest enquirers. The saying of Count Joseph de Maistre: “*Les Papes n'ont besoin que de la vérité,*” is gladly accepted by M. de l'Épinois as a motto—it is, indeed, he says, a first principle of their history.

The first thing that may strike a reader who has been accustomed to hear modern Catholic historical writing condemned as one-sided, is, that for unflinching condemnation of this unworthy Pope, and for judgment characterized by what he may have fancied was “Protestant honesty,” there is no need to travel beyond the pages of some of our standard Ultramontane authors. The present Cardinal Hergenröther calls him an “immoral and wicked Cardinal,” and an “unworthy Pope,” whose death “freed Christianity of a great scandal.” Only, of course, neither Cardinal Hergenröther nor any other Catholic author argues for the need of impeccability because of infallibility, or confounds the morals of a Pope with his office, or fancies that the Pontiffs of Christ's Church need show otherwise than His apostles did, among whom the crime of Judas in no wise dimmed the glory of the faithful eleven. “The faults” of Alexander VI., writes M. de l'Épinois,

“will not trouble the faith of a Christian. . . . The Church lives in the world, and is served by men subject to all the weaknesses of their time, but the Divine element in her continues unassailable, indefectible; the worst Popes have never opposed to the Faith any decree that could change it. . . . It would seem that the character of infallible vicars of Jesus Christ is resplendent *in them* with new brilliance. It would appear *natural* that a Pius V. or a Pius IX. should never decree anything contrary to faith or morals, because they would have simply to transfer into words the working of their own pure lives and chaste thoughts; but if a Pope who is the victim of human passions has never altered the truth, in that we have a fact *not* natural, but clearly bespeaking a divine guidance.” Thus, whilst the human personality of the Popes may fall a victim, the Divine character stands out the more clearly from the darkness. But, alas, the evil lives of her priests and children is often chastised in their successors. Alexander VI. explains Luther. “History properly studied—the history of Alexander VI. more than any other—is the justification of Divine Providence.”

One point to be carefully observed, however, and it is distinctly shown from the best authorities in M. de L’Epinois’s article—is that the life of Alexander VI. was by no means so black as it has been painted. “It would appear,” says Mr. Rawdon Brown, quoted by the writer, “that history took the Borgia family as a canvas on which to bring together *en tableau* the debaucheries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.” And Alexander VI., culpable doubtless, was made a scapegoat; the passions and spite of his numerous enemies have exaggerated, insinuated, invented against him. Much of the documentary evidence, the writer warns us, contains trustworthy details mixed up with anecdotes exaggerated, or altered, or gratuitously invented. It must not be forgotten how much political rancour mixed itself at that time with religious feeling and judgments, and how unworthy were the lives of the men who grew indignant about a Pope whose fault was to be too much of their own description. So far may this characteristic of society at that time impair the weight of its testimony, so uncertain and difficult of explanation is much of that testimony, that it is by no means impossible to undertake a defence of even Alexander VI. This task, two recent authors, Fathers Ollivier and Leonetti, have confidently attempted. In the dedication of his book to St. Peter, Father Leonetti calls Alexander the “*piu oltraggiato*” of the Apostle’s successors. In summing up the result of his long article, M. de l’Epinois says that he cannot accept the conclusions of those—as M. Cerri, Dandolo, Father Ollivier—who have tried to prove that Rodriguez Borgia was legitimately married before he received Orders, or of Father Leonetti, who has transformed the sons of that Cardinal into his nephews; on these points he is of the opinion, which he quotes, of the learned Jesuit editors of the *Civiltà*, that Alexander cannot be justified; “he had several children, four or five after he was bishop and cardinal, one whilst he was Pope.” The second and third section of the article where these points are discussed are manifestly the result of wide and

careful reading. But the *public* life of Cardinal Borgia was marked by prudence, zeal, tact, success in the missions confided to him: "Sa vie publique n'a guère mérité que des éloges." The question whether or not his election was simoniacal is fully discussed in Section V. of this Article.

That Cardinal Borgia expended large sums of money, and promised benefices to the Cardinal electors, and that he promised reforms which he never attempted, appears too true; "but he has been accused, without proof, of nameless debaucheries, and of having turned the Vatican into a theatre of horrible orgies." He vigorously pursued the turbulent feudatories of the States of the Church, assuring to the States their modern constitution, a work which Julius II. only completed; but he has been accused without proof of premeditated treasons, and of being the accomplice of assassins. The summary justice of Cæsar Borgia was unfortunately the custom of the time. That which is not doubtful, which was public in the conduct of Alexander VI., truly his *grande passion*, was his desire to aggrandize his children, his nepotism. The accusation that Alexander VI. poisoned the Sultan Djemm, is far from being proved—"n'est nullement prouvée;" neither did he poison Cardinal Orsini, as may be learned from the express testimony of witnesses friendly to the Orsini family. He did much for the spiritual interests of the Church, detailed in section X. M. de l'Épinois promises in a future study to consider the question why, if Alexander was zealous for the reform of the Church, he did not second the efforts of Savonarola. Lastly, was the death of this unfortunate Pope due to poison intended for others? Muratori rejected this as a fable, and new documents have confirmed the justice of his rejection. Alexander died of fever. The suspicions of poison, from the rapid decomposition of his body, point only to effects natural enough in the month of August. These are only assertions—the reader will find in the able article itself seventy pages of proofs and authorities.

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## Notices of Books.

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*The Cat; an Introduction to the Study of Backboned Animals, especially Mammals.* By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., F.R.S. London: John Murray. 1881.

THE cat may be studied from various points of view; but Professor Mivart's large and admirably brought out volume of some 600 pages, is calculated to invest that animal with a respectability which it was hardly suspected to possess. The writer's object, in this monograph, seems to be, to enable those who are not going to be doctors to attain to a thorough acquaintance with anatomy and physiology. That there are many such persons anxious to learn cannot be doubted for a moment. There are numbers of priests, for example, who are well

aware that the more completely they know these two sciences, the more easily and safely do they walk in their professional duties; and no student of metaphysics, whether priest or layman, can afford to overlook the questions raised by materialistic writers in reference to brain, nerve and tissue, or to despise the assistance which modern investigations offer in determining the relations between spirit and body. Non-professional students of man's anatomy—that is to say, all but those who are studying for the medical profession—have hitherto been too effectually deterred by the supposed necessity of attending dissections of the human subject in a public dissecting room. Priests, especially, have naturally found it to be out of the question to mix with medical students and attend demonstrations in a public hall. This is the reason why Professor Mivart has chosen the Cat.

A fresh description of human anatomy is not required, and would be comparatively useless for those for whom the work is especially intended. For a satisfactory study of animals (or of plants) can only be carried on by their direct examination—the knowledge to be obtained from reading being supplemented by dissection. This, however, as regards man, can only be practised in medical schools. Moreover, the human body is so large that its dissection is very laborious, and it is a task, generally at first unpleasing, to those who have no special reason for undertaking it. But this work is intended for persons who are interested in zoology, and especially in the zoology of beasts, birds, reptiles and fishes, and not merely for those concerned in studies proper to the medical profession (Pref. viii.).

Cats are easily to be had; they are not too large; and they are so sufficiently like man, as to limbs and other larger portions of the frame, that almost all the advantages to be gained from human dissection may be obtained by the dissection of the cat. This volume, indeed, is intended as an introduction to the natural history of the whole group of backboned animals; we have definitions of all needful terms, and all those explanations which an introductory handbook is expected to afford, combined with that vividness of illustration which results from studying these things in a concrete example.

With the technical part of this most opportune book we shall not be expected to concern ourselves deeply. We have chapters on form, skin, skeleton, muscles, on the alimentary and nervous systems, the organs of respiration and circulation, and all the other subjects connected with physiology proper as exemplified in the cat. It may be observed, however, that Professor Mivart has dealt with the technicalities of his subject in so clear and intelligible a fashion that the non-professional reader will not find it difficult to follow him. If we turn, for instance, to chapter vii., on the cat's organs of circulation, we find a readable and useful account of the blood, the arteries, the veins, the heart, &c. In the chapter on respiration we find it easy to understand all about the voice and its production. Under the nervous system we learn the structure of the eye, and so on. But this book, besides being an excellent hand-book for a student of physiology, is also the production of a philosophic writer who has thought much on

most of those higher problems which are now being discussed on all sides under the heads of psychology, descent and development. It will be recognized by all instructors of Catholic youth, and by students themselves, that it is no common advantage to have a first-class textbook of physiology, written by a Catholic writer who has already won from the public the privilege of being listened to even on questions of far higher import. The chapter entitled, the Psychology of the Cat, contains, under a title which may astonish some and amuse a few, a most valuable and original lesson on the distinction between the mental powers of even the highest animals and the intellectual gifts of man. The author had already treated the subject at length in his "Lessons from Nature," from the fourth chapter to the seventh; and to those who have read that thoughtful work there is not so much in this chapter which is new. The list of the different kinds of language is repeated; but, on the other hand, we have a much more extended list of the various "powers" which exist in man and in the brutes. Professor Mivart sums up the cat's active powers under eighteen heads, among which he includes what he terms "organic inference" and "organic volition." "Organic inference," he defines as the power "of so reviving complex imaginations, upon the occurrence of sensations and images, as to draw practical consequences." It is obvious that it is the use of the words "inference" and "drawing of consequences" which has to be guarded and explained. The problem is, to admit that the animal sees a *consequent* without seeing the *consequence*. As there is, without doubt, an insuperable difficulty in forcing new terms into the language, we presume no attempt can be made to establish a double set of terms for "knowledge," the one expressing what is known by sense without intellect, the other by intellect making use of sense. Under these circumstances, perhaps, Professor Mivart's expression "organic inference," or "drawing practical inferences"—though the phrases somewhat startle a scholastic—need not be objected to. His explanation is extremely clear and well put. He says:---

All the actions performed by the cat are such as may be understood to take place without deliberation or self-consciousness. For such action it is necessary, indeed, that the animal should sensibly cognize external things, but it is not necessary that it should intellectually perceive their being; that it should feel itself existing, but not recognize that existence; that it should feel relations between objects, but not that it should apprehend them as relations; that it should remember, but not intentionally seek to recollect; that it should feel and express emotions, but not itself advert to them; that it should seek the pleasurable, but not that it should make the pleasurable its deliberate aim (p. 373).

In fact, as he adds, all the mental phenomena displayed by the cat are capable of explanation without drawing at all upon that list of peculiarly "human" gifts which Professor Mivart gives on the preceding page. This, we consider, is the true way in which to meet the men who are always bringing up cases of miraculous dogs and reasoning cats. The question is, can these actions, which every one admits

to have an outward resemblance to actions which man would do under similar circumstances, be explained without calling in reason proper, or the abstractive and universalizing power? If they can—and we maintain they can—then they are of no weight whatever in proving that the mental powers of man and brute differ only in degree, and not in kind. Professor Mivart enforces his views by the consideration of the question of language. He enters at some length into the question of what the soul of an animal is. He considers that there is innate in every living organism below man, a distinct, substantial, immaterial entity, subsisting (of course) indivisibly. This he calls the Psyche—soul, or form. The animal soul has no actual existence apart from the matter which it vivifies. Yet it is the animal, *par excellence*; the matter of which the animal is composed being but “the subordinate part” of that compound but indissoluble unity—the living animal. And as the soul of the living creature has no separate existence from the matter in which it energizes, so when that material envelope, or rather, sphere of occupancy, is dissolved (by death) the “soul” ceases to exist at all. This is Thomistic teaching pure and simple. Professor Mivart even uses the word “form;” though it will be observed how skilfully he translates scholastic technicalities into modern English. He does not pursue the subject as far as some of his readers would have desired; he does not inquire whence comes the “psyche” of an animal, and whither it goes. The distinguished Dominican Professor, Dr. A. Lepidi, of Louvain, is of opinion that the souls of animals are produced immediately by divine interference in each case, either having been created all simultaneously, when the world was made, or being provided at conception, as soon as the body is sufficiently organized to receive them. His reason for this supposition appears to be the difficulty of every other hypothesis. “Matter,” he says, quoting St. Thomas of Aquin, “cannot produce the immaterial.” This idea of perpetual creation will, to many, appear unnatural. Does God interfere with his creative power whenever a fly is born, or an insect of an hour begins its brief existence? But the truth is, that this “interference” is universal, and is not exceptional or miraculous, but law and Nature. Everything that exists—presuming everything to be a composite—seems (to judge by effects) to have a “form” quite different from the resultant of its mechanical elements. Men of science deny this; but we are coming back to it again. These “forms” do not exist in Nature, apart or tangible. They seem to come in, to spring out, to be set up, at the moment matter is organized or prepared in a certain fashion. Similarly, at a certain step in the process of dissolution, they disappear and recede into non-existence. If it be thus with chemical forces, and with plants, much more truly is it so with beings whose operations, being immaterial, demand an immaterial “form” or principle. So that animals, plants, and even the rocks and the water, begin to be by a sort of “creation”—the sudden bursting into being of a potent energy which was waiting undeveloped in those same recesses whence came the world itself. These energies die out as they come. In spite of the ingenious speculation of



Balmez, that the souls of animals are not destroyed, but are used again and again for the "information" of fresh materials, it seems more true to the scheme of Nature to say they disappear. Their production is not creation proper, if we reserve the word creation either for the production of things without pre-existing conditions, or for the production of the image and likeness of the Maker; and neither is their dissolution annihilation.

In his concluding chapter on the "Pedigree and Origin of the Cat," Professor Mivart repeats and enforces those views on Natural Selection and on Origin which he has so ably developed in his "Genesis of Species." His conclusion is well known. He admits that "environment," and "surrounding agencies," and "indefinite tendencies," have had much to do with development; but he insists that an *internal force* or "form," or soul, has played the chief part in the world's transformations.

The idea of an *internal force* is a conception which we cannot escape if we would adhere to the teaching of Nature. If, in order to escape it, we were to consent to regard the instincts of animals as exclusively due to the conjoint action of their environment and their physical needs, to what should we attribute the origin of their physical needs—their desire for food and safety, and their sexual instincts? If, for argument's sake, we were to grant that these needs were the mere result of the active powers of the cells which compose their tissues, the question but returns—Whence had these cells their active powers, their aptitudes and needs? And, if by a still more absurd concession, we should grant that these needs and aptitudes are the mere outcome of the physical properties of their ultimate material constituents, the question still again returns, and with redoubled force. That the actual world we see about us should ever have been possible, its very first elements must have possessed those definite essential natures, and have had implanted in them those internal laws and innate powers which reason declares to be necessary to account for the subsequent outcome. We must then, after all, concede at the end as much as we need have conceded at the outset of the inquiry (p. 525).

The book may be earnestly recommended, both as an admirable textbook and as a clear, sound, and courageous exposition of philosophical principle on matters regarding which every educated Catholic is bound to be fairly informed.

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*The Pulpit Commentary.* Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCER, M.A., and the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL. Genesis and 1 Samuel, 2 vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

WE presume that by a "Pulpit Commentary" is meant a commentary intended especially for the use of preachers. Now preachers do not want long dissertations on roots and readings; they want the results rather than the processes of critical discussion. They look for a concise explanation of the Scripture text, with such comments as may best help them to adapt it to popular instruction. Suggestive thoughts, spiritual maxims, apt illustrations, pithy sayings of the Fathers, telling anecdotes—these form the concentrated food for which the preacher yearns; the milk and water can be easily obtained.

Judging of the present work by the volumes which have yet appeared, it fails to fulfil the special requirements of a Preacher's Commentary. The exposition of the text is certainly the best part. A great deal of matter is there condensed into a very small compass. But the greater part of the work is made up of what are called homiletics and homilies, a distinction by no means clear, or uniformly understood by the various contributors. These consist mainly of sermon notes and plans of sermons; in other words, of homiletical matter in different stages of preparation, from the highly wrought period to the merest outline. Of solid dogmatic teaching there is scarcely a trace; but of vague Christianity, and virtue in general, there is more than enough. Platitude is heaped on platitude, and the whole mass endlessly divided and sub-divided. Let any one read but a few pages of these bulky volumes and he will understand what Sydney Smith meant by "being preached to death." There is more real suggestiveness in one chapter of "Cornelius à Lapide" than in a whole volume of the "Pulpit Commentary." Then, owing to its defective plan, the work when completed will be too large and too dear for any but the benefited preachers of a well-endowed Church. There is not much of the old "No Popery" style, once so dear to Protestant preachers. Perhaps this may explain the intellectual poverty of the homiletical portion, for it used to be said of most Protestant preachers that unless they denounced the Pope they would have nothing to say. Still the old feeling must find expression, be it ever so feeble. Catholic commentators are called Popish writers. One homilist, *à propos* of Saul's kingship, exclaims—

What a calamity it has been to the Latin Church to have an alleged vicar of Christ on earth! The arrangement quite falls in with the craving for a spiritual ruler who may be seen, and the uneasiness of really unspiritual men under the control of One who is invisible. So there is a Popedom, which began indeed with good intentions and impulses, as did the monarchy of Saul, but has long ago fallen under God's displeasure through arrogance, and brought nothing but confusion and oppression on Christendom. We are a hundred times better without such a vicegerent. Enough in the spiritual sphere that the Lord is king (1 Samuel, p. 243).

But perhaps the most offensive thing to Catholics is the constant iteration of the heresy of justification by faith only, in passages which look as if they had been borrowed from the Tract Society. For instance,—

The root of a Christian life is belief in a finished redemption; not belief that the doctrine is true, but trust in the fact as the one ground of hope. Hast thou entered on God's call; entered the ark; trusted Christ; none else, nothing else? Waitest thou for something in thyself? Noah did not think of fitness when told to enter. God calleth thee as unfit. Try to believe; make a real effort (Genesis, p. 147).

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*The Book of Job: a Metrical Translation, with Introduction and Notes.*

By H. J. CLARKE, A.K.C. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

**T**HIS is a devout and painstaking effort to make the full beauty of this divine poem more apparent to English readers. The translation is made directly from the Hebrew, and the rhythmical parts

are set in blank verse. Whether this is any real advantage is doubtful. In metrical translations, gain in rhythm is often compensated by loss in accuracy. Nor is Mr. Clarke's blank verse very poetical. He is too fond of long words and stilted phrases—*e.g.*, "vociferate thy plaint," "adumbrates," &c. The prose of the authorized version is sometimes more poetical than Mr. Clarke's verse; as for instance, in the oft-quoted description of death,—“Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest,” (ch. iii. v. 17)—rendered by Mr. Clarke thus,—“The wicked there desist from raging, and the weary rest.” On the other hand it must be admitted that through the help of modern scholarship a more intelligible rendering is given to some of the obscurer passages. The work of the miner in the twenty-eighth chapter is thus described,—

Thus man has put  
An end to darkness, and extends his search  
Far down to depths remote, in quest of stone,  
In gloom enshrouded and death's shade concealed.  
Down from the region where abodes are found  
He digs a shaft. Forgotten by the foot  
That treads above them, there the miners swing:  
Remote from men, they dangle to and fro.  
From out the earth then comes forth sustenance (pp. 67, 68).

One great fault in Mr. Clarke's translation is that he spoils Job's prophecy of the Bodily Resurrection by rendering the twenty-sixth verse (ch. xix.) “and, from my flesh *released*, shall I see God.” In a note he defends himself, on the ground that the literal translation is “from my flesh.” Yet the context shows that this phrase, though ambiguous in itself, must here mean “in my flesh,” for it goes on to speak of the eyes of his flesh. And as Dr. Pusey says, “unless he had meant emphatically to assert that he should *from his flesh behold God* after his body had been dissolved, the addition of ‘from my flesh’ had been not merely superfluous but misleading. For the obvious meaning is ‘from out of my flesh,’ as the versions show.”\* Nor is it satisfactory to find that Mr. Clarke thinks that the author was Hesron, the Ezrahite, in the time of Solomon, thus ignoring all that Prof. Lee has done to prove the extreme antiquity of the book.

*A Handbook to Political Questions of the Day. Being the Arguments on Either Side.* By SIDNEY C. BUXTON. London: J. Murray. 1880.

THE author has ranged under such headings as “Disestablishment,” “Compulsory Education,” “Ballot,” “Permissive Bill,” the main arguments that have been advanced *pro* or *con*. By argument he understands what logicians call middle-term; his book is, in fact, a repertory of middle terms to which the statesman may refer when composing his speech, or by help of which the student may see at a glance the pith of the contention on either side, and thus more

\* “Lectures on Daniel,” p. 509.

effectually form an estimate of the merits of the question. No opinion is expressed on the merits of any question; nothing is given but the bare argument of advocate and opponent, evidently stated with the utmost brevity; a short introduction, giving statistical or historical information necessary to a proper understanding of the topics, is all the author allows himself in addition. There can be little doubt that the book will be useful; it will save much hurried searching through past parliamentary and other speeches, and it supplies as much explanatory matter as will perhaps just save a speaker, pressed for time and forgetful or ignorant, from betraying in his speech either ignorance or a bad memory. But the information is too scant to put one *au courant* on the questions it treats, and even the arguments are most often stated so briefly that to see their full bearing on the point requires special knowledge and trained habits of reasoning. A quotation of one or two arguments, as they are here stated, will readily and sufficiently acquaint the reader with the character of this volume.

The proposal [to withdraw all religious teaching from Board Schools] is supported on the grounds:—1. (By some) that it is beyond the province of the State to recognize any religious teaching. 2. (By others) that, though the State may recognize religious teaching, it may not use the nation's money in encouraging the teaching of that which part of the nation objects to or disbelieves. 3. That the necessary religious teaching can be given out of school hours, and in Sunday schools,

Some other reasons follow, and then the grounds are stated on which the present permissive power of giving unsectarian religious teaching is upheld. Three of these are given, chosen not consecutively but chiefly for their brevity.

3. That the State ought not to hold aloof from all recognition of religious teaching.

5. That the religious scruples of all are protected by the Conscience Clause.

7. That religious hatreds are softened by the system of bringing children of different denominations under one common religious teaching.

The aim of the author, to be perfectly impartial in the statement of opposite views, has apparently been kept in view throughout; on this score little fault can be found. But there is not, as has been said, sufficient fulness of detail and explanation—only, in fact, enough to make one conscious how extremely valuable a fuller “Handbook” on the same lines would really be.

Since this notice was written we observe that a second, and now a third, edition of this Handbook have been published, each containing an addition of “subjects” that have successively risen into importance—among those of the third edition being the “three F’s.” There is evidently a greater demand for such a book than the brief and undeveloped character of its contents would have led us to anticipate. At the same time, if such a Handbook is to keep abreast of the pressing need there should be at least a yearly edition.

*A Bygone Oxford.* By FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. London: Burns and Oates. Oxford: Thomas Shrimpton and Son. 1881.

TO many persons a period spent in Oxford has supplied all the remainder of their lives with, at least, a perception of what is elevated and romantic, in which they might otherwise have been deficient. There are, of course, those to whom their prospects in the schools, as there are others to whom the sports of their age and of the place, are so simply absorbing, that the noble objects by which they are surrounded are passed by unheeded. But this must surely be a rare case, and, if we may judge of the amount of the appetite by the amount of the *pabulum* provided, interest in material Oxford has not been wanting since the beginning of this century, and is now fairly at its height. That in the regard paid to Oxford, as in all attempts at art appreciation by so inartistic a people as ourselves, there should be much blundering, was to be expected. What with the neo-Classic and the neo-Gothic, the Oxford of William of Wykeham and William of Waynflete is sadly overlaid, and the literary expositors of Oxford constrain themselves to speak with respect of such very dissimilar structures as the venerable fame of St. Frideswide, the tower of Magdalen, the spire of All Saints, the library of Oriel, the Taylor building, and the University Museum. With some, Oxford is enveloped in a sort of nebulous haze with a landscape fore-ground, and the salient features of the place are dissolved into some such chance-medley as the poet's *mise-en-scène* :—

A Gothic ruin and a Grecian house,  
A talk of college and of ladies' rights,  
A feudal knight in silken masquerade!

We have often pleased ourselves by fancying what form a work on Catholic Oxford would assume—a work that should by its very nature exclude the pedantry and mannerism with which the worshippers of Laud on the one hand, and of Arnold on the other, have surrounded the subject of this far-famed university, and that should moreover be free from the dilly-dallying of the merely Picturesque school. It was therefore with much interest that we met in a room in Oxford some two years back the very persons who seemed best fitted for the execution of such a task, and the hope sprang up in our mind that the desire we had long entertained was about to find its fulfilment. An important instalment is presented in Father Goldie's work entitled "A Bygone Oxford," which is full and satisfactory for the ground it covers—the history and antiquities of the monastic foundations. Even upon the theme of the existing establishments, Father Goldie's work enters. St. Frideswide's is now Christ Church; the Benedictine Gloucester Hall, Worcester College; the Cistercian St. Bernard's, St. John's College. Durham College, the feeder in Oxford of the great northern monastery, as re-founded in Queen Mary's time by Sir Thomas Pope, of Tittenhanger, under the name of Trinity, is a very interesting link between the ancient and modern colleges, and as the first home of Cardinal Newman in the university, has in the present century esta-

blished a fresh title to fame. On the other hand, Osney Abbey, which belonged—as did St. Frideswide's—to the Canons Regular, has utterly perished; so has Cistercian Rewley, to the indignation of good old Dr. Johnson, as recorded by the faithful Boswell, who also witnessed the displeasure of the Sage at the wreck of the cathedral and monasteries of St. Andrews. The great French Dominican, Lacordaire, speaks finely of the preservation of the reliques of antiquity at Oxford. But Father Goldie leads us, where we have often trod unbidden, through sordid St. Ebbe's, to view the site of the Dominican monastery, which, like its Franciscan neighbour, has altogether disappeared. We see that a contemporary twits Father Goldie with bringing Henry the Eighth upon the stage as a modern Philistine. So far is he from doing so, that the only comparisons he institutes are with Herod and Nero, the ancient monarchs whom he resembled, except, indeed, as he out-Heroded them in the number of his victims. Father Goldie's work is an excellent one, and will, we hope, meet with the success it deserves. One or two minor points we have noted for correction. The stained glass window, with a figure of Bp. King, and a representation of Osney, is not in the north but in the south aisle of Christ Church. The "Thomas" in the last line of page 16 is a very evident misprint for "William." It is awkwardly said on page 11, that the Lady Chapel of Osney "was projected at the east end" where "projected" (simply) is the meaning. Father Goldie says in his concluding sentence, that sorrow must come uppermost in the mind of his readers. St. Augustine speaks in his Confessions of the worthlessness and mischief of theatrical representations that excite to sorrow merely, and not to the relief of the suffering portrayed. But as the disastrous spoliation and confiscation and destruction recorded by Father Goldie really happened, we trust that his readers may be stirred up to aid, by every means in their power, the cause of the Church in Oxford, as the proper reparation for the outrages of the kings and nobles, and consenting Commons, of former days. Thus it shall not be said of them: "Non . . . ad subveniendum provocatur auditor, sed tantum ad dolendum incitatur."

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*Della Vita di Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì.* Memorie di Francesco Paoli, Ditta G. B. Paravia e Comp. Roma, Torino, &c. 1880.

**A** LIFE of the eminent servant of God and great genius, Father Antonio Rosmini, was absolutely required. We have one here, at last, though it is still in a foreign idiom. Rosmini was a man who feared God alone, and who lived at a time when there was much to stir up the wrath of an honest heart in the land of his birth. He has spoken many bold and remarkable words, and it is no wonder if he, and his philosophy, and his Institute, have had much to contend against. This Life, and the important and elaborate work "*Degli Universale secondo la teoria Rosminiana*," by Bishop Ferré, of which we have received three volumes, and an interesting volume of "*Conferenze sui doveri ecclesiastici*," by the founder himself (Speirani

e figli, Torino, 1880), will make it more easy to estimate his work, his character, and his teaching. To this we hope to return at no distant date. Meanwhile the *Life* before us is modestly and elegantly written, is very complete, and very well put together. We hope it may find a translator.

*The Lusiad of Camoens.* Translated into English Spenserian Verse by ROBERT FFRENCH DUFF. Lisbon : Lewtas. London : Chatto and Windus. 1880.

MR. FFRENCH DUFF'S translation was begun, he tells us, when he was "fast approaching his seventieth year" as a solace and occupation in hours of leisure from business. Under these singular circumstances it is impossible not to admire the writer's literary taste and perseverance, and it is difficult not to speak leniently of shortcomings in a work thus accomplished. If we state that Mr. Ffrench Duff's translation has little chance of superseding in public estimation that of Mr. Aubertin, or even that of Mr. Mickle, we are encouraged to be thus outspoken by the writer's own courageous assertion: "Should my labours meet with a cold reception from the public (and I am very far from entertaining any great expectation), I shall be amply rewarded and consoled by the pleasure which they have afforded me." The Spenserian form of verse is what distinguishes this translation of the "*Lusiad*;" but it appears to us that just because of the choice of this form, the translation is not so successful as it might otherwise have been. The unity of the stanza has apparently led the writer into frequent verbiage and weakening prolixity, whilst a want of care about grammatical construction often adds obscurity thereto. There are frequent changes of nominative and of tense, with the object doubtless of securing rhymes, but often to the detriment of clearness. A short extract will afford one example of where Mr. Ffrench Duff, who professes to be more literal in his translation than was Mr. Mickle, has failed to bring out the image (an image taken from the favourite bull-fight) of the original with nearly Mickle's success. But the real poetic fire, the terseness and vigour of the latter translator more than compensate for the drawback that he is not very faithful. We set his translation in juxta-position rather than any other, because it is likely long and deservedly to remain the popular one. His additions, too, are no great offence, when they are distinguished, as they are in the excellent edition in Bohn's library, by being set in italics.

So when a joyful lover, from the ring  
 All stained with blood, espies a lovely dame  
 To whom his ardent hopes and wishes cling,  
 And the rage of the bull has for his aim  
 With runs, signs, jumps and shouting to inflame;  
 At bay, the furious brute looks proudly round,  
 With eyelids closed by wrath, and quivering frame,  
 He clears the space, at one tremendous bound,  
 His foe he wounds, gores, slays and tramples on the ground.

The gunners in the boats now open fire  
 With steady aim from all their dreadful guns,  
 The leaden bullets scatter ruin dire,  
 The cannon's loud report rebounds, and stuns ;  
 Throughout the Moorish ranks cold terror runs,  
 And chills the blood, for well they know the die  
 Is cast for all, but each the danger shuns ;  
 From certain death the men in ambush fly  
 Whilst those who show themselves remain to fight and die.

(Duff's Translation, Canto I., p. 32.)

Thus, when to gain his beauteous charmer's smile,  
 The youthful lover dares the bloody toil,  
 Before the nodding bull's stern front he stands,  
 He leaps, he wheels, he shouts, and waves his hands :  
 The lordly brute disdains the stripling's rage,  
 His nostrils smoke, and, eager to engage,  
 His hornèd brows he levels with the ground,  
 And shuts his flaming eyes, and wheeling round  
 With dreadful bellowing rushes on the foe,  
 And lays the boastful gaudy champion low.  
 Thus to the sight the sons of Lusus sprung,  
 Nor slow to fall their ample vengeance hung :  
 With sudden roar the carabines resound,  
 And bursting echoes from the hills rebound ;  
 The lead flies hissing through the trembling air,  
 And death's fell dæmons through the flashes glare, &c.

(Mickle's Translation, Book I. p. 23. Edit. Bell & Sons, 1877.)

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*Politicians of To-day ; a Series of Personal Sketches.* By T. WEMYSS REID. In Two Volumes. London : Griffith & Farran. 1880.

THESE Sketches are somewhat too sketchy for the dignity of a two-volume book. They were written originally for the columns of a provincial newspaper, to supply that "personal" information that curiosity now so urgently asks about great or notorious people ; and this fact explains the thinness of style. Mr. Reid professes that he writes as a Liberal, but with an endeavour "to be just to all, and ungenerous to none." This is no doubt the case ; but in such chatty sketches as these, where there is a large quantity of sentiment and rhetoric, and comparatively little acute criticism or fact, and the latter entirely as seen from a special point of view, there is as much that we dissent from as that we agree with. But of the writer's honesty and desire to be fair we have proof enough. His sketch of Prince Bismarck is far more reserved than that of M. Gambetta, the latter being, indeed, a picture of effulgent brightness, in which the recognition of errors is only as the recognition of spots on the sun. Of course the sketches of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield stand in sharp contrast, but even the latter is measured and fair in comparison with such "liberal" estimates as the biography by Mr. T. P. O'Connor. On what principle of selection the subjects of these sketches have been chosen is not apparent. They contain the Prince of Wales,



"Punch," and "The Speaker" of the House, and a score of English politicians, from the Prime Minister down to such men as Mr. Edward Jenkins and Mr. Parnell; but of notable foreign names we have only Gambetta, Bismarck, and Gortschakoff. In the sketch of Mr. Parnell there is an estimate of Obstructionism that we have not seen before, and our readers will doubtless forgive the length of the extract. Mr. Reid wrote, it should be remembered, in October, 1879, but even then he regarded "systematic obstruction as one of the gravest of all offences," warned Mr. Parnell that his is "a game at which two can play," and severely censured his extra-Parliamentary utterances.

It must be something of a shock to the stranger who enters the House of Commons imbued with these ideas, to find that these redoubtable Obstructives, in outward manner and appearance, do not differ very greatly from their most respectable colleagues on the Conservative benches. They are not armed either with the national shillelagh or the transatlantic revolver; they do not wear their hats akimbo, like some worthy gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House; and if you have occasion to speak to them, you need not tremble for your safety. There is not one among them who will not give you a very civil answer to any legitimate inquiry you may address to him. The stranger therefore, need not feel nervous if fortune should bring him into close proximity to Mr. Parnell or Mr. O'Donnell. They are by no means so black as they have been painted. They may bark, it is true, but they never bite—except in a strictly Parliamentary or Pickwickian fashion. Having got rid of his fears on this point, the visitor, whose mind has been filled with pictures derived from the London correspondence of Tory newspapers, probably finds himself greatly bewildered by what he sees and hears during a debate. It is an Obstructive debate, and to-morrow morning it will be described in the Parliamentary reports as "Another Scene," whilst able editors and indignant descriptive writers in the Reporters' Gallery will enlarge upon the enormity of the conduct of Messrs. Parnell and Co. Yet this is what the intelligent stranger actually sees of the "scene" in question:—A gentleman rises from his seat below the gangway on the Opposition side of the House, and in mild and measured accents, slightly flavoured with the suspicion of a brogue, calls attention to an undoubted defect in a clause of the Bill under discussion. It is, let us suppose, a measure affecting the colonies. "Will the Right Hon. Baronet, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, kindly explain to me the meaning of this clause, which appears to be drawn in very vague and ambiguous language?" There is nothing in this simple question that seems calculated to provoke anybody to anger; yet no sooner has it fallen from the lips of the speaker, than a prolonged shout of "Oh!" rises from a hundred throats on the Tory side of the House. Amid this shout, a tall gentleman rises from the Treasury Bench, and in a very testy, if not positively insulting, fashion, tells his interrogator that he cannot answer his question. His manner, if not his words, conveys the idea that none but a fool could have put such an inquiry, and that it is beneath the dignity of a Minister to pay any attention to it. There is a roar of cheering from the Conservative side, amidst which the Colonial Secretary drops into his seat with a supercilious smile upon his face. The cheers change into howls when the gentleman who asked the question gets up again. For a few moments the disorder is so great that he cannot be heard. "Order, order!" cries the Chairman, in measured tones; and there is a slight diminution in the noise, during which the

Obstructionist—for this bland, gentlemanly personage positively belongs to that terrible body—manages to utter a single sentence. “Order, order!” again cries the Chairman, and he follows up the words by rising to his feet. Instantly, according to the rules of the House, the person who is speaking must sit down and wait the presidential deliverance. “I must point out to the hon. Member,” says Mr. Raikes, in his most dignified manner, “that he is not in order in referring to a question which is not at this moment before the Committee.” Loud Ministerial cheering greets this declaration. Again the Obstructionist rises, and essays to speak. “But, sir—” he says, and then such a storm of jibes, yells, and groans burst forth from the crowded benches opposite to him, that there is no possibility of the rest of his sentence being heard. “Sir, I rise to order,” cries a Tory, who springs to his feet evidently in a state of suppressed fury, and again the unfortunate Obstructive has to sit down. “I wish to know, sir,” pursues the new comer, “whether the hon. gentleman has accepted your ruling, sir?” And again the war-cry goes forth from the Conservative side. Now, however, it is caught up by answering cheers from the Home Rulers. Amid the tumult, the Obstructive once more rises. “Sir, I am not aware that I have disputed your ruling, but I wish to observe——” It is all in vain. Yells of “Withdraw, withdraw,” ring through the House. The unfortunate speaker grows red in the face, and at last shouts out a demand to know whether he may not be allowed to finish his sentence. “No!” comes in a stentorian voice from a seat immediately behind the Ministerial bench. Then up springs another Obstructive, who has been infected by the general excitement, and who, in a voice tremulous with passion, calls upon the Chairman to protect the speaker from unparliamentary interruptions. And so the scene goes on for five or ten or even twenty minutes, until the storm ceases as suddenly as it began, and it is found that it has all been based upon a misunderstanding; that the Obstructive never used the words which the Chairman thought he heard him use, and that consequently he has never been out of order at all.

This is scarcely an exaggerated description of one of these so-called “scenes” with the Obstructives. That those Members who belong to the little party, have been guilty of many most foolish and unjustifiable actions, cannot, I think, be denied; but nothing is more certain than that the manner in which they are habitually treated by Conservative Members is the cause of no small part of that obstruction of business, the whole responsibility for which is laid upon their shoulders. I have no call to defend Mr. Parnell and his comrades (vol. ii. p. 253).

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*Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor.* By the Rev. HENRY FANSHAW TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1881.

THIS very interesting volume of travels has a double claim to notice: it is from the pen of a scholar and an experienced traveller—one who has learned to observe and to write down of his observations just what gives interest and profit to the general reader. And further, Mr. Tozer sailed from Constantinople for Asiatic Turkey in July, 1879, little more than a year after England had undertaken the “Eastern Protectorate.” A report, therefore, from such an observer concerning the state of the country itself, and of the peoples inhabiting Asia Minor and Armenia, made at such a moment, must excite interest.

How far is the rule of Turkey over those once historical nations of Asia Minor "oppressive and corrupt?" What do the peoples themselves think—if they care at all—about English protection? But there is still another cause of interest attaching to the localities over which Mr. Tozer travelled—that of religion. At the present day, what is the condition of Mahometanism and of Christianity among Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, and other intermixed nationalities? On all these topics the author has something to say that is worth hearing; and on the subject of religion is fair, and free from the stupid bias and the unquestioning assumption of superiority that characterize too many English travellers.

It would appear that no small amount of courage, or at least of determination, was needful to carry Mr. Tozer beyond the merely first step in his projected tour. The French Consul, then acting for England, at Samsoun assured him that the roads were "thoroughly unsafe, owing to the Circassians and other brigands." The same story met him in nearly every place, whilst a former traveller through Asiatic Turkey told him before he started, "You will find less to eat than in European Turkey, and more things that will eat you." Mr. Tozer, however, was neither robbed nor eaten, and returned to give his readers a trip scarcely less pleasant than his own.

At Amasia the pasha told Mr. Tozer that out of 15,000 men of that district who had gone to the Russo-Turkish war, only one in ten had returned. The same story was told him elsewhere. From the same pasha he first heard that representatives of England were coming to all great towns of the interior in Asia Minor and Armenia. Many of these he met—military men always—and he thus expresses in clear terms his conviction concerning them:—

Such men must always be of service in a country like Turkey, for their presence is a protest against wrongdoing, and they are feared for their uprightness and their power of reporting misdeeds at head-quarters. The only misfortune connected with their appointment was the circumstance under which it was made, for, following as it did in the wake of the assumption by England of a protectorate of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, it gave rise to the most exaggerated expectations on the part of the natives. . . . Abuses it was thought were soon to come to an end and a period of prosperity to begin. Of course these hopes were doomed to disappointment as soon as it was found that the English officials had no administrative functions whatsoever (p. 31).

Anatolia is described as a "very rich and productive land," fine crops, necessaries of life cheap; "almost anything might be made of it under a good Government." Government far from good, however; justice venal—decisions going to highest bidders; taxes heavy; pashas usually corrupt, often ignorant, buying their office of the Grand Vizier, and often changed—three of them in the year, some years, in Amasia (one of the most important *sandjaks* in Turkey), each comer having ousted his predecessor by overbidding.

The whole population was now thoroughly disgusted with the Government, so much so that all of them, the Turks included, would gladly

welcome any European Power that would step in. Towards Russia especially there was an excellent feeling, mainly owing to the favourable treatment of the Turkish prisoners during their detention in that country. Those who returned said: "The Russians fed us well, and gave us good clothes and boots; they are the very people to suit us as governors." Were it not for the long-standing feeling of goodwill towards England, they would all go over to the side of Russia. I give this information as the result of the observation of intelligent residents. Part of it we had afterwards, in some degree, to correct, and the condition of the people was certainly represented in too favourable colours; but, on the other hand, some of its most startling statements we had occasion ourselves to verify (p. 42).

This leaning towards Russia is several times manifested to Mr. Tozer in villages and towns of Asia Minor: in Armenia he was frequently told "the hopes of the Armenians are now fixed on England." We must be content to merely indicate Mr. Tozer's excellent descriptions of Kaiserieh; of his ascent and circuit of Mount Argæus; of the monastic rock-dwellings and rock-hewn churches of Gueremeh, where "the whole valley had once been the abode of a vast monastic community;" of the Armenian monasteries of Surp Garabed (St. John the Baptist), near Kaiserieh at one end of his route, and near Mush at the other. The latter, named also Changeli, or "the place of bells," "occupies a small table of ground, with steep slopes both above and below it, at a height of 6,000 feet above the sea." We had intended to quote his glowing descriptions of Mount Ararat, as seen by him some thirty miles off from a ridge, itself eight or nine thousand feet high; his account of the Kurds, their villages and religion; and finally his visit to the monastery of Sumelas, of which there is a very suggestive wood engraving—but readers will not regret going to Mr. Tozer's volume for them.

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*Demonology and Devil-Lore.* By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY, M.A.  
Second Edition. Two Vols. London: Chatto and Windus. 1880.

UNLESS it were for the purpose of airing his large acquaintance with Sanskrit and Oriental literatures, or of both puzzling and tiring his readers, we cannot see why Mr. Conway has devoted two large volumes to prove his thesis.

It has been my purpose (he says) to follow the phantasms which man has conjured up from obstacles encountered in his progressive adaptation to the conditions of existence on his planet. These obstacles, at first mainly physical, have been imaginatively associated with preternatural powers so long as they were not comprehended by intelligence or mastered by skill. In the proportion in which they have been so understood and mastered, their preternatural vestments have to some extent been reduced to shreds, preserved among the more ignorant as "survivals," while in other cases they have been inherited and worn by the next series of unmastered obstructions or uncomprehended phenomena. The adaptation of man to his physical environment antedates his social, moral, and religious evolutions; consequently the phantasms that fade from his outer world have a tendency to pass into his inner world, undergoing

such modifications as enable them to describe the pains and perils which beset his progress beyond mere animal needs and aims.

There is as much real reasoning in this *ex cathedra* utterance as in any part of the book; rationalistic hypotheses fitting wonderfully into evolutionist prejudices are elevated into fact because of their appropriateness; all accounts of the origin of evil, whether Indian, Scandinavian, or Hebrew, are myths, the proof that they are myths being the sufficient one that they *can* be translated into mythical form by modern ingenuity. Our author is in this last respect a victim of a mania that is, we hope, already beginning to be laughed at. In this month's *Frazer* (March) there is an article entitled "John Gilpin as a Solar Hero," in which the author assumes as a premiss that every cultured reader knows that all our legends and fables are forms of the solar myth, and he then proceeds to show how "John Gilpin" is only yet another description of what the ancients called "solis iter." However learned and however ingenious Mr. Conway's explanations may be, there are few of them that are not properly replied to in the old school form, "quod gratis asseritur, gratis negatur." There are two things that deter us from entering any further into a criticism of this long and complex statement of a case—it would only offend Catholic ears to quote any of the passages in which such sacred subjects as our Lord's Incarnation, or His Holy Mother's Immaculate Conception are spoken of, and of course they are necessarily included in a discussion of the Fall. Next, the author either takes for granted that the supernatural does not exist; and then, as we fancy, he ought first to give a sufficient reason for the persistent and similar recourse of all ages and nations to the supernatural; or, if he admits some supernatural element in the history of the world, his method is too wanting in critical appreciation to let us see when he is seriously repeating a story as probable and when ridiculing it: just as in Mark Twain's volumes of travels, we can never draw the hard-and-fast line between description and grotesque fun. Can the author, for example, be serious when he says, "In Russia the pigeon, from being anciently consecrated to the thunder-god, has become the emblem of the Holy Ghost, or Celestial fire," &c.? Is St. John's *ὡς περιστερὰν*, then, a Russian or other myth? It may be highly scientific (certainly highly soothing) to have reduced the devil to a phantom; but there may be a weakness for myths as childish as the weakness for preternatural explanations of obstacles to progressive adaptation.

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*The Intermediate Education History of England.* Part I. to A.D. 1485. By EDMOND WREN, M.A. London. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Sons. 1881.

THE main object of this English History is, the author tells us, to supply Irish schools with a manual "free from all passages of offence and misstatement," and at the same time "fully abreast with the knowledge and requirements of the time"—a truly noble object for a Catholic author at the present day. Such a work need not demand original research; the present one professes to be based on the best

authorities, and conspicuous use has been made of Lingard, Freeman, and Stubbs. Two main requirements should be paramount with the writer of such a work; absolute soundness of statement, and next, such an exposition of safe information as will easily live in the memory of the scholar, and help to the formation of a *taste* for history. It is beyond doubt that the needs of "cramming" cannot be consulted, if the latter requirement is to be met. Cramming demands an accumulation of dates, facts, names, tersely worded reflections; in the acquirement of which dry bones little leisure remains for thought of the growing, living form of history proper. Even in the choice of details, a skilful historian will by choosing those that are characteristic, or by grouping together seemingly diverse tendencies, give them unity in the young mind and consequent influence over his further studies. Mr. Wren's book, therefore—highly condensed foreign and domestic, legislative and constitutional history; formulated, dated, amply supplied with tables, chronological and genealogical, and extending in 340 octavo pages only to A.D. 1485—being tested as a "handbook to students preparing for the annual examinations of the Board of Intermediate Education," may be no other than it ought to be, the said examination being surely a cruelty to young minds, and a parody on the qualifying "intermediate." The boy or girl who has mastered this handbook, and passed in it, ought forthwith to be presented with a professorship. Histories used to be read in schools. This one, in many parts, would be nearly as unreadable as a dictionary, from the compression into a page of so much heterogenous matter—the stringing together of desultory events. Let it be added, however, that this character of the book will be considered generally at the present moment a great advantage, and that it has apparently been assumed from conviction of the author that he should meet a demand rather than guide practice into another channel. It is a result of dire necessity therefore that there is little dramatic grouping in Mr. Wren's pages, and that many of those vivid pictures of an event that characterizes a period or person once and for ever to the young reader, are abbreviated to baldness, or omitted to make way for names and figures. In a Catholic history one would have liked to meet St. Gregory and the Saxon slaves, an incident not beneath one of Mr. Green's best descriptive efforts; we miss, too, such striking passages as the old Ealdorman's speech to Eadwine on the Gospel of Paulinus—passages worth (for "education" in remote history) any amount of monotonous lists of names and dates of battles—too often petty fights, mere robber maraudings—or of such details as the table of Egbert's descent from Woden.

These exceptions having been taken, not to Mr. Wren's book, but to the present method of teaching history, we may pass to the other requirement for a textbook for Catholics, soundness of statement. We mean not correctness only, but "sound"-ness—the true ring of both words and expressions. We should have liked this book better if there had been a perceptible Catholicity about its style: less of the complexionless character of Lingard:

*Thomæ Vallavrii Inscriptiones. Accedit OSVALDI BERRINII. Appendix de Stilo Inscriptionum. Augustæ Tavrinatorvm; Lavrentivs Romanvs. 1880.*

THIS is not a book for the general reader. Even if we restrict the term general to those who have received a liberal education; how few of these will ever feel tempted or constrained to write a Latin inscription? But, again, even if a Latin inscription had to be composed, how few scholars would fancy they needed for the task in addition to their classical knowledge a special treatise "De stilo inscriptionum" and a large collection of examples occupying five hundred quarto pages? Would they not be tempted to say, forcibly but not very originally, with erudite Oswald Berrinius, beginning his ninth chapter "De Scriptura Inscriptionum," "Parvis sane de rebus hoc (caput) est?" It will readily be admitted, however, by classical scholars, that not a few inscriptions are written year by year which have little flavour of Livy or the Appian Way about them, and that consequently concerning these chapters and examples we may add—again with Berrinius—"sed quas nosse non parvi interest." The large number of works on inscriptions—many of them of considerable size, as, *e.g.*, the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum"—show how much the subject engages the attention of scholars. There is a certain art in writing an epitaph or "inscription," as truly as there is special poetic art in the construction of a sonnet. There is a choice of names of words and of things; a dignity of style; a subtle combination of brevity and clearness; a significant rhythm and measure of lines; certain forms of abbreviation—in an inscription that is artfully constructed. To teach these is the object of the treatise "De Stilo," which forms a solid appendix to this book, of nearly a hundred and fifty pages quarto. To illustrate these by examples of singular grace and art, the publisher has issued this collection—in all, seven hundred and fifty in number—of Thomas Vallaurius. These are arranged under various headings, *Inscriptiones Sacræ, Honorariæ, Funerum Publicorum, &c.* Each class presents features peculiar to itself. Perhaps we shall do best to quote an example (pp. 478, 9) from the last division of this collection, in which a few existing inscriptions "*vitiis deformatæ*" are rewritten according to the requirements of art.

*In fronte ædis S. Caroli.*

D . CAROLI . TEMPLO  
 REX . CAROLVS . ALBERTVS . P . F . A .  
 LAPIDEVM . FRONTEM . ADDIDIT  
 MARIA . CHRISTINA . BORB . AVGVSTA  
 STATVIS . EXORNAVIT  
 ORDINE . DECVRIONVM . ET . PIORVM  
 OPERIS . ADIVTORE

Thus corrected :

TEMPLVM . CAROLINIANVM  
 REX . CAROLUS . ALBERTVS . P . F . A  
 LAPIDEO . FRONTE . VESTITIV

MARIA . CHRISTINA . BORBONIA . AVG .  
 STATVIS . EXORNAVIT  
 ORDINE . DECVRIONVM . ET . CIVIVM . PIETATE  
 SVFFRAGANTIBVS

We cannot too highly commend the treatise of O. Berrinius to all scholars; the amount of information not easily to be found elsewhere here methodically arranged—on such points as modes of spelling proper names, &c.—will be very useful beyond the mere needs of inscription writing.

We must briefly refer to one section of Vallaurius' collection that will have an interest to Catholics quite different from the technical one, and recalling perhaps the Catacomb inscriptions of Pope Damasus. It is headed "Fasti Rerum Gestarum a Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo ab an. 1846 ad an. 1868," and the inscriptions commemorate the most salient events in the life of the great pontiff; forming a pithy but clear outline of his public life. Then follows a section containing nearly one hundred and fifty inscriptions, "pro incolumitate Pii IX. P. P. Italarum vota," from various cities, towns, societies and even individuals: earlier ones wishing for him the years of Peter, later ones rejoicing that he had lived beyond them. Lastly we must notice a third section relating to the same subject: "Album Italarum Pio IX. Pont. Max. oblatum an. millesimo octingentesimo ex quo Petrus et Paulus Apostoli martyrium Romæ fecerunt," and containing more than eighty inscriptions from Rome, Milan, Terracina, Corneto and other Italian cities and towns. We are greatly tempted to quote examples, but must resist. The book is dedicated to the present Holy Father, "cultori et vindici studiorum optimorum," and is elegantly printed and very carefully edited.

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*The Life of Father John Gerard, of the Society of Jesus.* By JOHN MORRIS of the same Society. Third Edition, rewritten and enlarged. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

THE quick demand for a new edition of such a book as this, is, we take it, a very good sign of the times. The perusal of it can scarcely fail of some distinct measure of good result with both Catholic and other readers. The one will feel fresh love and enthusiasm for their faith at sight of the heroism and sufferings of such men as Father Gerard; the other will, we fancy, esteem less a cause that struggled so pertinaciously, in close imitation of pagan persecution, against the meek and the unoffending, and that has survived to see them in its decay returning to take new root in the land.

Those who already know Father Morris's work in either of the former editions will only need to be told that this one has been written and very much enlarged. Every step of the work, as it proceeds, is supported by contemporary documents or testimony; and it is just this character which gives the book its great charm. Documents surviving—one often marvels how—in State Paper or other offices, and



in Colleges of the Society abroad, have been consulted, and collated with a patience that excites surprise;—everywhere notes of authorities bear evidence to the stability of the text, whilst this latter is frequently interrupted to make way for letters written by the actors in the scene, the quaint old spelling adding to their value. When we add that the autobiography of Father Gerald enters largely into the narrative, it will be easy to believe that this volume is redolent in numerous ways of the period it covers, and revives a most instructive picture of the habits, the home-life, and the feelings of Englishmen during the quarter of a century from 1580 to 1606.

It is not, however a mere collection of documents—far from it. Father Morris has, with great skill and mastery of his materials, woven them into a narrative that is at once clear, interesting and authentic. Notes at the conclusion of some of the chapters go more into details in the elucidation of difficult or obscure points; they may thus, if the reader choose, be passed by, and the narrative pursued in pleasant quietude. We shall not refer to the long-disputed knowledge of the Gunpowder Plot by Fathers Garnet and Gerard further than to say that chapter the thirty-first gives ample evidence as to Father Gerard's own innocence, and that the notes to that chapter, dealing with some assertions of Canon Tierney and Dr. Lingard, ought to be read by all history students of that event.

A word ought in justice to be said of the publishers' part in this excellent book; its outward appearance is elegant—a style of binding that is new to us. Not only are paper and type excellent, but, what is vastly more important, the text is wonderfully free from typographical errors. The clearly printed copies—by the Woodbury process—of old prints; one a chart of the Tower of London; the others views of Louvain and Liège, are very interesting; the one of the Tower especially so. We sincerely wish Father Morris's book, the result doubtless of long and assiduous labour, all the success it deserves.

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*Erin. Verses, Irish and Catholic.* By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.  
Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1881.

THE many admirers of Father Russell's former volumes, "Emmanuel" and "Madonna," will not be disappointed with this one, although the pieces of which it is composed are short and less pretentious. The character of the verses is very varied, but, as a rule, rather secular than sacred, and this fact is accounted for (no "excuse" is needed) by their having been written, in great part, before the author was a priest. Most of the poems, too, are Irish in subject, and are characterized by illustration and incident drawn from Irish life at home—this gives them a charm that we are sure numerous children of Ireland in distant countries will appreciate. We can find space for only one short quotation (p. 11); a stanza from the pleasant descriptive piece: "The Irish Farmer's Sunday Morning." The family have just sat down to Sunday's breakfast:

Before the sire an egg, one only, lies,  
 Laid by as good a duck as ever swam ;\*  
 Whereof the top, removed 'neath wistful eyes,  
 Regales his little pet, his youngest lamb—  
 Her with the flaxen curls and eyes so calm.  
 Before the sire the loaf-bread† too, is laid  
 To be dispensed in slices thin, like ham :  
 For it, alas ! the hard-earned pence were paid ;  
 The gulf still left is filled with coarser sort, home-made.

A little prose poem, "The Sleepy Carthusian," appears at the end of the volume, and would be, even if alone, worth the purchase of the book. It has already appeared in the pages of the *Irish Monthly*, and is a very happy translation from the French : those who duly appreciate the lesson shining through the quaint story, will, with the *Spectator*, pronounce the piece "a veritable gem."

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*Les Registres d'Innocent IV., Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape.* Publiées ou analysées d'après les Manuscrits Originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Par ELIE BERGER. Paris : E. Thorin.

**M.** THORIN, the enterprising publisher to whom we are indebted for so many useful works, has just undertaken to bring out a complete edition of the Bulls issued by Pope Innocent IV. The collection, when it is completed, will be of the most valuable character as a source of information on the history of the Middle Ages. Created Pope on the 24th of June, 1243, after the death of Celestine IV., who had occupied the Holy See for a space of only sixteen days, Innocent IV. may be regarded almost as the successor of Gregory IX., whose policy he continued in his relations with the Empire. He reigned during eleven years and a half, and the acts of his administration are of so important a nature that they fully deserved a separate and carefully annotated publication. The *ensemble* of the Papal Bulls connected with Innocent IV. amounts to about eight thousand six hundred ; the first five years of the original *regesta*, the eighth, and all the following ones are preserved in the Vatican archives ; the sixth forms part of the treasures belonging to the Paris National Library ; the seventh is lost. M. Berger, already known by several scholarly publications, is the editor of the work we are announcing here ; and although the preface is not to be issued till the last fasciculus of the first volume, we can form, to a certain extent, a tolerably correct idea of the nature and plan of the publication from the introductory part now before us. Each Bull is preceded by a short *résumé*, and represented by one or more quotations of various lengths, according to the character and importance of the document ; sometimes the entire Bull is given.

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\* Ducks' eggs commend themselves more to the rustic palate than eggs of a milder flavour.

† As contra-distinguished from griddle-bread.

Between the years 1243 and 1254, several Bulls were not registered; these are omitted by M. Berger, who has merely reprinted the documents forming part of the *regesta*. The pieces which have been already included in Potthast's well-known collection are analysed from that work, and the present editor has consulted the disquisition or memoir published some time ago by M. Hauréau in the "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits," tome xxiv. part 2, under the following title: *Quelques Lettres d'Innocent IV. : Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. It is well known also that La Torte du Keis had caused copies to be made of certain of the original Bulls; these copies are at the Bibliothèque Nationale (*fonds Moreau*), and have been collated by M. Berger; they are comprised in the following volumes: No. 1194 (1st and 2nd years of the Pontificate); No. 1195 (3rd year); No. 1196 (6th year); No. 1197 (5th year); No. 1198-1200 (6th year); No. 1201 (8th and 9th years); No. 1202 (10th year); No. 1203 (11th and 12th years).

The best way, perhaps, of giving to our readers an idea of M. Berger's work will be to transcribe one of the entries, and for that purpose we have selected a short document printed on page 68:—

384                      au Latran, 4 Décembre, 1243.

Causam Dominici, Ulixbonensis canonici, quem Burgensis episcopus, tunc Oxoniensis episcopus, ab Ecclesia de Marvilla amoverat, et postea excommunicaverat, infrascriptis committit (Reg. an. 1, No. 382, fol. 64 verso.)

"*Petro Gondisalvi archidiacono, . . . cantori et magistro Bart [olomeo] canonico, Colimbricensibus* Constitutus in præsentia—Dat. Laterani, ii. Nonas Decembris, anno primo.

Exposuit Dominicus, canonicus Ulixbonensis, quod Burgensis tunc Oxoniensis Episcopus, receptis a Gregorio IX. literis in, quibus mandabatur ei ut ipsum et quosdam alios a rege Portugaliæ beneficiis ornatos spoliaret, ipsum sine iudicio nec ostensis papæ litteris ab ecclesia de Marvilla amovisse, de qua quidem Dominicus se vreecem appellationis ad Sedem Apostolicam emisisse contendit; episcopus vero appellatione spreta executionis sententiam promulgavit. Dominico ad ultimum excommunicato et iubente Innocentio per Reinardum pœnitentiarium pontificium a prædicta sententia ad cautelam jam antea absoluto, mandat suprascriptis papa ut processus contra eum intentos, si corvenerit, irritos denuntient, si autem bene iudicatum fuerit, confirmet.

In the original *regesta* the names of certain persons are almost universally omitted, and two dots inserted instead, thus: ". . . *Archiepiscopo Terraconensi*," ". . . *abbati sancti Johannis Parmensis*," etc. The index, which is to complete the work, will give, as much as possible, the names thus left out purposely by the *Registratores*. M. Berger has enjoyed the great advantage, during a residence of four years at Rome, of the assistance and encouragement of several eminent *savants* connected with the Vatican library and the archives; he thanks especially in his introductory note the Cardinals Pitra and Hergenröther, Professor Balan and Monsignor Ciccolini. The fasciculus we have thus been noticing, printed on fine paper and in bold type, in two columns quarto, gives us sheets 1-16 of the first volume, and includes Bulls 1-747; the first document is dated Anayni, July 2, 1243; the last, Cività Castellana, June 21, 1244.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

*Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris, avec le Journal de ses Actes.* Vol. III. Paris: Hachette.

IN our last number we reviewed briefly the first two volumes of M. Wallon's "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire," promising to return to it as soon as the next instalment was published; we have now to notice the third volume, and to draw the attention of our readers once more to the horrors of *sans-culottism* let loose upon society. Two months only, Germinal and Floréal, of the year II., have sufficed to supply the contents of a thick octavo, but at that epoch both the tribunals and the guillotine were hard at work, and the trial of the obscurest individual, however quietly it was despatched, necessitated a number of questions, reports, evidence and documents of various kinds which represented an enormous amount of paper. In M. Wallon's third volume the trials refer to incriminated persons belonging to every class of society, clerks, soldiers, clergymen—both *assermentés* and *insermentés*—noblemen, ladies, &c.; Lavoisier and the farmers-general of the taxes; Malesherbes; the victims of Verdun, whom Victor Hugo immortalized in one of his most beautiful odes, at a time when he had not joined the clique of Messrs. Paul Bert, Spuller, Gambetta & Co.; last, but not least, Madame Elisabeth, the sainted sister of Louis XVI. Whilst examining these melancholy remains of an epoch of madness, one thing strikes us very forcibly—namely, the attitude and the fate of the wretched creatures who, forswearing their principles, in order to save their lives, and endeavouring to prove the genuineness of their new-fledged republicanism by exaggerated zeal, found that cowardice was generally a brand of reprobation, even at the bar of the committee of public safety, and that neither Fouquier-Tinville, nor Saint-Just, set any value on the support of men who had lost all feeling of decency and honour.

The trial and death of Madame Elisabeth belong to the period in the Reign of Terror when Robespierre had got rid, as he supposed, of all his rivals, and was exercising unlimited power throughout France; the festival of the *Supreme Being* had just been decreed, the existence of God and the immortality of the soul were proclaimed as the faith of regenerated France, and with his hands still reddened by the blood of the Girondists and the Hébertists, Barnave, Danton and Camille Desmoulins, the new dictator was setting fire to the "hydra of atheism." Many people, as M. Wallon remarks, might have supposed, and probably did suppose, that the time had come at last for closing the era of terrorism, and stopping the monotonous work of the guillotine; the preamble to the decree of Floreal proved, alas! that more blood was about to be shed, and that Robespierre did not yet feel quite secure in the enjoyment of his power. The existence of Madame Elisabeth was an insult to the Republic, under the *régime* then prevailing; it was the easiest thing in the world to find against any person already condemned beforehand, charges, witnesses, proofs of guilt. Chauvrau-Lagarde, who had been appointed counsel for the princess, had barely time allowed him to collect his thoughts, and to settle the succession of his arguments; he knew that the task

entrusted to him was hopeless, but he did his duty and did it nobly, regardless of the frightful consequences it necessarily entailed. The episode which M. Wallon has chiefly dwelt upon in his volume is the trial of Danton and his co-accused; it is undoubtedly one of the most interesting in the whole history of the Revolution, because it marks the beginning of a reaction towards more moderate views, reaction which Danton and Camille Desmoulins especially would have brought to a successful issue, had they displayed greater energy in their opposition to Robespierre. Public opinion was expressing itself with considerable frankness as to the real character of the ultra-radicals: Marat's reputation had lost much in the imagination of the people; the groups of citizens in the boulevards, and the other places of resort, discussed freely the probable destiny of Santerre, Henriot, Chaumette, and the other acolytes of Robespierre and Saint-Just; immediate action became indispensable, the *enragés*, as they were called, did not lose a minute, and the result was the adjournment till the 9th Thermidor of the downfall of Jacobinism. M. Wallon has now to relate to us the last acts of the revolutionary tribunal, and we have no doubt that his concluding volume will more than realize the promise given in those we have already reviewed. GUSTAVE MASSON.

*Études Sociales et Économiques.* Par AUGUSTIN COCHIN, précédées d'une Notice par M. le Duc de BROGLIE, de l'Académie Française. 8vo. Paris: Didier.

LIKE Frédéric Ozanam and Count de Melun, M. Augustin Cochin belonged to the band of noble thinkers who saw in Christianity alone the means of rescuing society, and French society more especially, from the destruction which threatened it, and who opposed to the arrogant pretensions of modern radicalism the wholesome doctrines of the Word of God. He occupied several important posts during the Second Empire, and rendered signal services to his country after the disaster of Sedan and the downfall of Napoleon III.; the touching and eloquent letter addressed by him to M. Thiers is one of the most interesting *pièces justificatives* in the biographical memoir for which we are indebted to Count de Falloux.

M. Cochin had written much, not from any desire of obtaining literary distinction, but because as president or secretary of industrial and charitable societies, he found himself obliged to draw up reports, compose lectures, and avail himself generally of the press to vulgarize sound notions on political economy and other kindred subjects. These various pamphlets and brochures will, we are glad to see, be collected and reprinted, the first volume being the one we are now noticing, introduced by an excellent notice, the author of which, the Duc de Broglie, was one of M. Cochin's most intimate friends, and his colleague and collaborateur in many associations. To a large proportion of our readers the very name of this gentleman may not be even known; we shall therefore venture, without any apology, to translate a portion of the Duc de Broglie's preface, for it is useful to see how, in the most difficult times, God raises witnesses for himself, and men who make

it the business of their lives to direct society into the only path which leads to real happiness.

. . . He was a consummate master of the art of bringing near one another in sympathetic communion an orator and hearers who are separated by their habits of life and their early education. No one, I believe, has ever equalled him on that ground. Familiar without being trivial, always raising the thoughts of his audience without soaring above their intellectual capacity, knowing how to move them, and yet never appealing to any unwholesome passion, he dismissed them proud of having enjoyed the noblest of pleasures, never regretting the modesty of their social condition.

But it was necessary for him to throw a great deal of variety into his address, whilst discussing the same ideas and treating the same principles: on one occasion, the theatre of these short and urgent allocutions was one of those societies of Christian apprentices or workmen, abodes of quiet where young men, inspired by a courageous faith, came to seek fresh strength for the purpose of resisting the more efficaciously against corrupt surroundings; the next day, at a railway terminus, or a workshop, he had to speak to one of those motley crowds gathered together by the nature of their toil, and who only put in common their material wants. To the former class, to the young Christians who constituted his chosen family, M. Cochin used to say that it is not enough to feel honoured by the name of Christian; believers should grace their profession, not merely by being better than others, but by showing themselves more skilful. The best way, he used to say, of putting to silence the taunts of false or half-science, was to be in their lives more eager to realize the progress which science has introduced even in the sphere of manual arts. With the others he followed a different course; by showing to them a warm and intelligent sympathy, by sharing their ambition, and above all their legitimate affections, he tried to make them appreciate the holy principle which animated him, and to show to them the amount of charm, of purity, and peace, which religion would bring to their fireside. Thus, by a discrimination no one would have expected, he spoke more especially to some of the necessity of intellectual development, whilst with the others he appealed chiefly to the heart. But if the means differed, the result was always the same: to make of good Christians the best workmen, and to transform into Christians all good workmen.

Such being the character of M. Cochin, we may easily imagine what a loss French society suffered, when, in 1872, it pleased God to take him to Himself. The essays collected in this volume are five in number: they treat respectively of, 1st, The Condition of French Workmen; 2nd, Social Reform in France; 3rd, Co-operative Societies; 4th, Provident Institutions; 5, The History of the Looking-Glass Manufacture of Saint Gobain from its Origin (1665) to the Year 1865. An appendix of illustrative notes terminates the work.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

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*Étude sur le Traité du Libre Arbitre de Vauvenargues.* Par L'Abbé M MORLAIS.. Paris: Thorin.

V AUVENARGUES has obtained as a moralist, and especially as a writer, a celebrity which is universally acknowledged, even by those who are the least disposed to endorse his opinions; and in the list which includes the names of Montaigne, Pascal, La Bruyère and L:

Rochefoucauld, he holds a place so much the more eminent because he stands alone in his views of human nature; and, by a strange combination of Jansenist notions with the philanthropy so fashionable during the last century, he endeavours to rehabilitate us in our own opinion. Montaigne was a sceptic; the great Port Royal thinker, the hero of the Fronde, and the author of the "Caractères," are strong pessimists, each one, it is true, from a different point of view; Vauvenargues, on the contrary, places himself at the standpoint of optimism, and his great aim is to find a motive for our actions, a golden rule, if we may so say, without being obliged to have recourse to Christianity. The most extraordinary thing, however, is that, after all, his doctrine is a kind of fatalism tempered by important concessions made to the naturalist views and *humanitarian* (we beg pardon for this word) aspirations of his contemporaries. Man, he says to his opponents, is born in sin; he is incapable of knowing the truth and of doing good; he is a fallen creature, deserving nothing but maledictions. Why then crush him under this terrible weight? Why make his weakness a cause of accusation? Why call him to account for crimes of which he is not responsible? He is a mere instrument in the hands of God, true; but this very fact is his title of glory. Far, then, from cursing him we should encourage him, and admire the great things which God accomplishes by him. God, we are often told, abandons to evil those whom He has not predestinated, and condemns those whom He does not draw to Himself; but His justice is not ours, He is an incomprehensible God, *Deus absconditus*. It has pleased Him to enlighten some and to blind others. This last clause, we see, is as thoroughly fatalist as the most express declarations of Saint Cyran and Singlin, but Vauvenargues finds in it a motive, not of depreciating man, but rather of exalting him, because he looks upon him as commissioned by the Almighty to carry out His will and realize His purposes.

If we study carefully the writings of Vauvenargues, we find in him a strong resemblance, on the one hand with Pascal, and on the other with Descartes; this circumstance has been very well brought out by M. l'Abbé Morlais. Like Pascal, he is chiefly anxious about moral and religious truth; like him he deems scientific acquirements and mere erudition as very worthless compared with the knowledge of man and of man's destiny. "We apply ourselves," he says, "to the study of chemistry, of astronomy, to erudition, as if the sciences were the most important. O blind madness! Is glory a name? Is virtue an error? Is faith a mere phantom? What do I want to know? What does it behove me to be acquainted with? ("Discours Préliminaire," 1st partie.) The point of similarity which we find between Vauvenargues and Descartes is an intense longing for certainty, an irresistible anxiety to throw off the bondage of scepticism and to find a safe substratum for the elements of our knowledge. He would fain eliminate Christianity, but he cannot do so, and although he never expressed himself on the truth of revealed religion with the decision and the explicit frankness of a believer, still he managed to bring down upon his devoted head the wrath of Voltaire, who would not admit that

Christianity and *philosophy* had anything in common. "Ne peut on pas admirer l'Être suprême," exclaimed the Ferney deist, "sans être capiscin?"

M. l'Abbé Morlais has, we think, done excellent work by the publication of his essay; it is divided into two parts. The author begins by a short account of Vauvenargues, considered as a moralist, showing what was the original side of his character, and how far he yielded to the influence both of the writers of the seventeenth century, and of his own contemporaries; a complete analysis of the "Traité du libre arbitre" terminates this portion of the work. The second is devoted to a discussion of principles; it deals with the question of determinism examined in all its bearings, and concludes by asserting the principle of the freedom of the will against the predestinarian errors of certain theologians on the one side, and the sophistries, on the other, of modern scientists who would reduce man to the degrading position of a mere machine, irresponsible, destitute therefore of merit, and no more accountable for his acts than a stone or a cunningly devised piece of machinery.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

*Cloister Songs and Hymns for Children.* By Sister MARY FRANCE CLARE. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1881

THIS volume of songs, hymns, and translations is from the active pen of the "Nun of Kenmare," and will find a ready welcome wherever her numerous works are known and admired. Although the pieces are over eighty in number and on a great variety of themes, there is a distinct bond of union in the religious tone pervading them, and in the object they share in common, of exciting or fostering sentiments of piety. Some of the hymns have already been indulged—one to S. Brendan by the Bishop of Kerry, and two others, to SS. Patrick and Brigid, by the Archbishop of Westminster. The hymn portion of the book, therefore, scarcely comes within the province of criticism. Let it suffice that, although all the pieces are not of equal merit—although in a few of them an impassioned reading might reveal piety rather than poetry—yet on the whole they are both poetical and good. Some of the small faults that might be found in construction, metre, &c., would, it can scarcely be doubted, have been found by the talented authoress herself if she had cared for the *labæ limæ*. Or, perhaps, she feared to mar by artful processes the effect of spontaneous effusions that she intended should speak to, as the sprang from, the heart. Of the lighter songs, if that may be said the best is, "The Bell-Tower;" but it is too long for quotation. "The Bells of Kenmare," suits better our limited space.

THE BELLS OF KENMARE.

I.

The bells in the steeple  
Are calling the people.  
Are calling the people to prayer.



From the mountains rebounding,  
The echo resounding  
Fills all the sweet vale of Kenmare.

II.

Up where the heather  
And furze grow together,  
Where the gold-crested wren and the plover are found,  
The shepherd boy listens,  
While his bright grey eye glistens,  
As their melody falleth and ringeth around.

III.

And the old men, amazed,  
Say the great God be praised,  
Who maketh such music resound through the air ;  
And the women, upraising  
Their hands, are all praising  
The good priest who gave them the Bells of Kenmare.

IV.

Now clanging and clashing.  
Now thundering and dashing,  
And waking the echoes for miles far away ;  
Now stealing and pealing,  
'Their sweet notes revealing,  
Like the murmur of song, heard by sunset's last ray.

V.

Far out on the ocean,  
With tremulous motion,  
Their jubilant clamour they bear.  
From the topmast, the sailor  
Shouts Home is near, hail her,  
For I hear the sweet Bells of Kenmare.

VI.

So glad is the gladness,  
So sad is the sadness  
Of these musical bells as they swing through the air,  
You know not if weeping  
Or joy is in keeping  
With the music that rings from the Bells of Kenmare.

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*The Prophecies of Isaiah: a New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices.* By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford, and Member of the Old Testament Revision Company. Vol. II. London: C. Kegan, Paul & Co. 1881.

WE have already expressed a very strong opinion on the high merits of this commentary in reviewing the first volume. The second and concluding volume is in every way worthy of that

which preceded it. It carries to the end an exposition marked by the same fulness of learning; learning which is never ostentatiously displayed, but is always subservient to the illustration of the text. But, besides this, the second volume contains essays of extreme interest on Messianic prophecy in general, and the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah in particular. They will well repay the study of the theologian, for they are theological, and not merely critical and philological; though, of course, Biblical theology, if it deserves the name, must be founded on a careful study of the text in its grammatical and historical sense. It is about this part of Mr. Cheyne's book that we now desire to speak.

We are convinced that he has given very valuable help to the student of Christian evidences, and, as Catholics, we feel bound to welcome such good work done in so Christian a spirit. On many other subjects treated of we should like to say something; and on a few of these we shall touch briefly. But we are writing a notice, not an article, and we must make a selection.

The Christian argument from prophecy is most certainly one of the "things that cannot be shaken," but, like other arguments, it needs, and it will repay, careful study. We have long thought that when a student has made himself familiar with the text of the Hebrew Bible he should begin with the minute investigation of the prophetic writings, and that for the following reason. The study of the historical books is encumbered with numberless questions as to date and authenticity; we cannot, of course, assume the traditional theory as to their origin in controversy with many of those who differ from us, and complicated theories must be mastered and examined before even the present position of the question can be understood. With the prophets it is otherwise. Here, too, controversy as to date and authenticity does exist, and very important questions are raised, *e.g.*, on the unity of the books ascribed to Isaiah, Micheas, and Zacharias, or on the date at which Joel's prophecy was written. Still, the ground occupied by controversy of this sort is comparatively narrow, and the questions raised, momentous as they are, are not nearly so momentous as those on, *e.g.*, the origin of the Levitical legislation. It is easier, then, with regard to the prophets, to be sure that we are reasoning from admitted premises, and to secure sure footing for subsequent historical enquiry. Still, putting aside all questions of date and authorship; putting aside even the grammatical difficulties, which in the early prophets are often very serious, much toil must be undergone before we can really understand the "Christian element" in the prophets. Different aspects of revelation are seized by different prophets; the revelation itself was developed in many portions; and from many sides. There is a development of doctrine in the Old Testament, and nothing can be more unscientific than to look on prophetic writings as one book, because the same Spirit spoke in all the writers. Moreover, it may well happen that when we have been accustomed from childhood to the prophecies of Christ, we feel as if the words had lost their edge when we come to study them for the first time in their context and connection. We find the words which

we used to refer to Christ, scarcely imagining that they admitted of another reference, embedded in a context which seems to contradict the Messianic interpretation. Look, for example, at some of the Psalms expressly referred to Christ in the New Testament. In Psalm lxix. we have the prophecy of the reproaches which fell on Christ, the vinegar given Him for His thirst, the "familiar friend" who turned against Him. But, on the other hand, verse vi. runs, "Thou knowest my folly, and my transgressions are not hid from Thee," and the imprecations in the latter part of the Psalm seem to jar with the Messianic interpretation. So, again, in Psalm xli., we have, on the one hand, the striking words applied to our Lord Himself, in John xiii. 18, to the treachery of Judas: "The man with whom I was at peace, in whom I trusted, who eat My bread, hath lifted up his heel against Me;" and, on the other hand, the sufferer depicted in the Psalm confesses his own sin ("heal my soul for I have sinned against Thee,") and asks God's help to "repay" his enemies. In Psalm lxxii. we have the promise of a king who is to be feared and honoured while sun and moon endure; but still, although this description will not suit a mere mortal, it might be argued that many other details—such as the prayer which is to be continually made for him, his rule from "sea to sea," &c., fit in better with an idealized description of the Jewish monarchy than with the spiritual reign of Christ. Just the same difficulties meet us in the writings of the prophets. Thus, in Isaiah, the child to be born of the Virgin (apart from all difficulties as to the translation of the most important word) seems to be promised, not for the distant future, but for the exigencies of the time in which the prophet lived. The "servant of the Lord," so prominent in the later chapters, and who answers so wonderfully to the picture which the Gospels give of the teaching and suffering Christ, is yet undoubtedly identified with the people in xlii. 19, xliii. 10; while in xli. 8, 9, xliv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4, and xlviii. 20, it is "the kernel of the nation, the spiritual Israel."

A deeper study removes those difficulties, confirms belief in the argument from prophecy, and, more than this, convinces us that there is a fuller and deeper meaning than we had imagined before in the ancient saying, "The New Testament is latent in the Old." We find that the whole history of Israel is regarded by the prophets as a preparation for the Messianic blessings of the future. Because the Messiah was to spring from the seed of Abraham, because he was to spring from the tribe of Juda, therefore it was impossible to separate altogether the ideas of salvation through Christ from salvation through Israel and through the royal line of Juda; nor need we wonder if the prophets sometimes do not separate the ideas at all. There is an organic connection, as Hupfield puts it (though the theory so put is not adopted by him) between type and anti-type; and the history of Israel has been compared to a pyramid which culminates in Christ. We have (1) the general promise that Israel is to be the salvation and the light of nations; (2) this promise is limited to a chosen and spiritual seed, to the Israel according to the spirit, which Israel

is the servant of the Lord, and is often personified as a suffering individual; (3) the conception of the spiritual and suffering Israel is specially, in Psalm xxii. and Isaiah liii., narrowed still further, and a single person is pointed out. His deliverance is a cause of more than national blessings (see the latter part of Psalm xxii.); his soul is offered as a trespass-offering (see Isaiah liii.); and in minute details the history of his sufferings corresponds to the Passion of Christ. Following out another (we may say the other) line of prophecy, we find promises made to David and his seed, and a universal dominion promised to them (as in Psalm ii.); one future king is pointed out, and (as in Psalm lxxii.) superhuman attributes are ascribed to him, while in Isaiah he is distinctly said to be "the mighty God." In that familiar Psalm—so familiar to us from its constant recurrence in the Vesper Office—"Dixit Dominus Domino meo," the two lines of prophecy meet together, and the Messiah is portrayed at once in his regal and in his priestly dignity.\*

We may notice three points in which Isaiah illustrates the supernatural character of, and rises to the sublimest height of, Hebrew prophecy.

More clearly than any other writer in the Old Testament he limits the promise to the spiritual Israel. Abraham is the source of blessing, but it is the few genuine believers who are Abraham's representatives. "There is no peace to the wicked." "A redeemer shall come to Sion, and to those that have turned from rebellion in Jacob: it is the utterance of the Lord" (lix. 20). This is well brought out by Mr. Cheyne, and shews how thoroughly the exegesis of St. Paul in its central point is justified by a careful reading of Isaiah. It would be interesting, if space allowed, to compare the doctrine of election (so Ewald, if we remember right, ventures to call it), as it appears in Joel.

Next, as to the divinity of the Messiah, we have the remarkable prophecies, ch. viii.—x. The maiden whom the prophet sees is already with child, and the infant is to be called Immanuel, "God with us." When the announcement of the mysterious birth takes place, the first streak of light is seen in the heavens. The kings of Damascus and Israel are leagued against Judah, but before the infant who is to be born comes to the age when an ordinary child knows the difference between good and evil, the power of these kings will be broken, and Ahaz will see that he had no cause to fear them. But worse evils are in store. The Assyrians are to replace the Israelites and the Syrians. "The stretching of his wings (*i.e.*, the Assyrian host), will fill thy land, O Immanuel" (viii. 6). Immanuel Himself is to share in the troubles of His people. His food is to be "milk and honey," *i.e.*, as is plain from the end of chapter vii., He

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\* Observe that, even if we assume the existence of Maccabean Psalms, Ps. cx. cannot apply to a Maccabean prince. Their proper dignity was a priestly one—and so Jonathan took the *title* of high-priest, and *acted* as king. But the hero of Ps. cx. is first a king, then a priest. The priesthood is attributed to a king, not *vice versa*. Besides, the Maccabees were in no sense princes "after the order of Melchisedeck."

will feed on such fare because Assyrian devastation has put an end to agriculture.\* But the Assyrian might can avail nothing against the design of God. The counsels of the people shall be broken, for "God is with us" (viii. 10). Then the prophet connects the coming deliverance with Galilee of the Gentiles, the very district which had fallen into the rapacious hands of the Assyrian king, Tiglath Pileser, and the prophet breaks into the rapturous strain of prophecy: "A Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and the government is on His shoulder, and His name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace."

This is a fair account; at least we have done our best to conceal and to exaggerate nothing. Surely, no unprejudiced reader can fail to see the marvellous nature of the prophecy, and its more marvellous fulfilment in Christ. His mysterious birth, His perpetual care for His people, the peaceful character of His dominion, His Divinity, are clearly set forth. Moreover, apart from the exegetical authority of the New Testament, the connecting of the Messiah with Galilee, and Christ's actual life there, furnish, to say the least, an extraordinary coincidence; and Mr. Cheyne points out the interesting fact that the Jews, in consequence of this prediction, expected the Messiah to appear there. Difficulties there certainly are. The child's birth seems to synchronize with the overthrow of Syria, His youth with the Assyrian invasion, and His manhood with the triumph of God's people. We should think it perfectly reasonable, supposing these difficulties to be insuperable, for a man to say: "I cannot resist the strong grounds for acknowledging a true prediction here, and I accept the fact in spite of minor difficulties." But we believe that the difficulties can be explained. The prophet sees the mother, who is already with child, but he sees her in vision. Nowhere does he fix the historical epoch at which the child is to reach the ordinary age of reason. Only *before* that date, he tells Achaz, "The land shall be forsaken, the land at the two kings of which thou art horribly afraid." True, it is Immanuel's land which is to be overshadowed by the Assyrian. But then, in the counsel which God revealed to His servant the prophet, Israel existed chiefly as a preparation for Immanuel; and just because Immanuel was to be born of Judah, all the devices of the nations against the latter were to be shattered and broken. True, Immanuel was to share in the oppression of His people (for we may fairly take the "milk and honey," the only food to be obtained when vineyards and cornfields were wasted, as a poetical description of humiliation under the hands of a foreign foe). But our Lord did, in a special degree, experience deprivation of regal splendour, and actual injustice from foreign enemies; and the Assyrian invasion was the beginning and the type of all subsequent oppression. We advance this interpretation with some diffidence.

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\* We are convinced that "milk and honey" here can have no other meaning, and we will only ask the reader averse to this interpretation carefully to examine the context.

No doubt the words of Isaiah would naturally convey a different impression as to the date of the Messianic deliverance when addressed to his contemporaries. But they would understand the deliverance itself very imperfectly: and there is nothing extravagant in supposing that the full light of Christian revelation, which has enabled us to understand the substance, also clears up the details of the prophecy.

On the third point, the suffering Messias, we must not linger long. Mr. Cheyne traces with admirable precision the way in which, in various parts of the Old Testament, notably in the Book of Job, the Jewish mind was habituated to the idea of an innocent sufferer; how the sufferings of the just were connected, in Psalm xxii., with general deliverance; and how, lastly, in Isaiah liii., the riddle is solved, since the servant of the Lord is afflicted for our peace, and actually lays down His soul as a "trespass-offering." There can be no reasonable doubt that it is an individual sufferer who is before the prophet's mind; so much so that Ewald is driven to the theory that chapter liii. is a fragment incorporated in his work by the author of Isaiah xl.-lxvi., describing a martyr who died, in the persecution of Manasses. But where in the Old Testament theology can we find any trace of the belief that a martyr could (1) offer his soul in sacrifice, (2) justify many, (3) live after death, and see the work of the Lord prosper in his hands?

We will only call the reader's attention to excellent notes on the personality of the Holy Ghost, and on the Fatherhood of God, in Isaiah, and proceed to make a brief suggestion on a matter connected with the question on the unity of authorship. The new "covenant," Mr. Cheyne says, is mentioned seven times in Isaiah xi.—nowhere in the rest of the book, as in Amos and Hosea. "The idea of the original covenant, broken by Israel, and renewed by Jehovah, is specially characteristic of Jeremiah. . . . The occurrence of the phrase in Isaiah xl.-lxvi., is certainly difficult to explain on the assumption that Isaiah was the author of these chapters." It may, perhaps, be worth while to remember, on the other side (1) that the "eternal covenant" is a phrase of frequent occurrence in the Pentateuch, where it is used, *e.g.*, in Genesis ix. 10—one of the so-called Elohist portions of the covenant with Noe; it is also used of the Sabbath in Exodus xxxi. 16. In Isaiah xxiv. 5, when the writer transports himself in spirit to the time of the exile, the phrase is used probably as in Genesis ix. 16. (2) In Isaiah xl.-lxvi., the "perpetual covenant" is employed (lv. 3, lxi. 8), to indicate a Messianic covenant really perpetual. This covenant was also-really new; but in the latter Isaias it is never so called. (3) In Jeremiah (xxxii. 31) this covenant is expressly called "new," and the marks which distinguish it from the old are fully stated. It is at least conceivable that this was the course in which the idea and the terminology were developed.

In conclusion, we have only to thank Mr. Cheyne for the kind way in which, at the beginning of this, he speaks of our criticism on his former volume.

*Hindū Philosophy: The Sāṅkhya Kārikā of Is Wara Krishna*; an Exposition of the System of Kapila. By JOHN DAVIES, M.A. (Cantab.)

*Hindu Poetry*. Containing a new edition of "the Indian Song of Songs," from the Sanskrit of the Gīta Govinda of Jayade Va. Two books from "the Iliad of India" (Mahābhārata). "Proverbial Wisdom," from the Shlokas of the "Hitopadésa," and other Oriental Poems. By EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A.

*Eastern Proverbs and Emblems illustrating old Truths*. By the Rev. J. LONG, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, F.R.S. London: Trübner. 1881.

WE have received from Messrs. Trübner these three new volumes of their Oriental Series. The first is the most important of them, and is of the utmost value to students of Hindu metaphysics. It is a translation, carefully executed, and illustrated by very learned and thoughtful annotations of Iswara Krishna's exposition of Kapila's system, regarding which we may here present the following extract from Mr. Davies's Preface.

The system of Kapila may be said to have only an historical value; but on this account alone it is interesting as a chapter in the history of the human mind. It is the earliest attempt on record to give an answer, from reason alone, to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful mind about the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man, and his future destiny. It is interesting, also, and instructive to note how often the human mind moves in a circle. The latest German philosophy, the system of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, is mainly a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborate form, but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognized fully the existence of a soul in man, forming, indeed, his proper nature—the absolute Ego of Fichte—distinct from matter and immortal; but our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organization. "All external things," says Kapila, "were formed that the soul might know itself and be free." "The study of psychology is vain," says Schopenhauer, "for there is no Psyche."

Mr. Arnold's beautiful translation of the "Indian Song of Songs," is so well known to, and so highly appreciated by, all who are interested in Indian literature, that we need no more here than express our satisfaction at its reappearance in its present form. The two books from the "Iliad of India," now for the first time translated, by which it is accompanied, will doubtless experience, as they deserve, a like favourable reception.

Mr. Long's collection of "Eastern Proverbs and Emblems," though evidently well intentioned, and the fruit of much learning, must be pronounced to be a dull book upon an interesting subject.

*The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister*. Edited by his friend, REUBEN SHAPCOTT. London: Trübner. 1881.

THIS is a melancholy book; all the more melancholy for the power both of literary expression and of human feeling with which it is

written. We do not know how far the story it tells is real. It is by way of being the autobiography of a man who is educated (the word is hardly applicable, but it may pass) for the ministry of some dissenting sect, and who, as his intellectual horizon widens, gradually loses, one by one, those incoherent beliefs in which he had grown up, and, finding nothing better to replace them—the Catholic Church, with her large and scientific theology, and the marvellous adaptation of her worship to the needs of the human heart, he seems not even to have heard of—passes into the blackness and desolation of utter scepticism. The following passage may serve as a specimen of the volume :

Naked and nakeder had I become with the passage of every year, and I trembled to anticipate the complete emptiness to which, before long, I should be reduced. What the dogma of immortality was to me I have already described, and with regard to God I was no better. God was obviously not a person in the clouds, and what more was really firm under my feet than this—that the universe was governed by immutable laws? These laws were not what is commonly understood as God, nor could I discern any ultimate tendency in them. Everything was full of contradiction; on the one hand was infinite misery; on the other there were exquisite adaptations producing the highest pleasure; on the one hand the mystery of a life-long disease, and on the other the equal mystery of the unspeakable glory of the sunrise on a summer's morning over a quiet summer sea. I happened to hear once an atheist discoursing on the follies of theism. If he had made the world he would have made it much better. He would not have racked innocent souls with years of torture, that tyrants might live in splendour. He would not have permitted the earthquake to swallow up thousands of harmless mortals, and so forth. But, putting aside all dependence upon the theory of a coming rectification of such wrongs as these, the atheist's argument was shallow enough. It would have been easy to show that a world such as he imagines is unthinkable, directly we are serious with our conception of it. On whatever lines the world may be framed, there must be *distinction, difference*; a higher and a lower; and the lower, relatively to the higher, must always be an evil. The *scale* upon which the higher and lower both are makes no difference. The supremest bliss would not be bliss if it were not *definable* bliss, that is to say, in the sense that it has limits marking it out from something else not so supreme. Perfectly uninterrupted infinite light, without shadow, is a physical absurdity; I see a thing because it is lighted, but also because of the differences of light, or, in other words, because of shade; and without shade the universe would be objectless, and, in fact, invisible. The atheist was dreaming of shadowless light—a contradiction in terms. Mankind may be improved, and the improvement may be infinite, and yet good and evil must exist. So! with death and life. Life without death is not life, and death without life is equally impossible."—(p. 109.)

*The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.* By F. E. WARREN, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. London: Henry Frowde. 1881.

THIS volume contains many choice morsels, and a good deal of general information which, though not new, will fully repay perusal. Its main interest, however, lies in a Mass taken from the "Stowe" Irish Missal.



We have at once to observe that Mr. Warren would have been more of a historian had he been less of a polemic. Throughout his book he seeks an opportunity for stating that the Celtic practices point to an Eastern rather than a Roman origin, and that the Celtic churches were strangers to Papal Supremacy. He maintains that the discipline in these churches was introduced from the East, only indirectly through France. But he ought to have asked himself how it is that the Gallican Church never dreamed of doing, on the alleged difference of discipline, what others do—viz., disputing Roman Supremacy. The river ought not to rise higher than its source. The Celtic Churches have not more solid grounds to go on than the Gallican Church.

Apart from the doctrinal aspect, we hasten to notice some of the historical mistakes in Mr. Warren's volume. 1. It is stated in page 127, that "no passage is discovered referring to the use of incense." Now, we maintain that its use is prescribed in a very old form for consecration of a church. O'Donovan, in his "Irish Grammar," alludes to its archaic turns, and O'Curry states that its Irish is beyond the reach of all printed dictionaries. This tract taken from the Irish Pontifical is found in the "Leabhar Breac." The passage runs thus:—"And the incense is offered in the small vessel in front of the altar while they sing 'Let my prayer be directed as incense,' &c."\* I may observe that the form of consecration not alluded to by Mr. Warren is perfect, except one or two chasms which can be filled in from the context. 2. In page 23 it is stated, that "the reception of a nun into a Celtic monastery included, in addition to the ceremony of crowning, the formal presentation of a white dress, which is not in the present Pontifical." We are surprised how it could be said that mention of a crown and dress is not made in the Pontifical in connection with the veiling of a nun, as the rubric and prayer speak of the *corona*, or *torques*, and of the dress which she is to put on after having received it and a veil blessed by the bishop. 3. It is not correct to state in page 146, that "there is no direct evidence of the practice of fasting for communion." In a very old tract in the "Leabhar Breac," fasting is enjoined, *Nullus cantet nisi jejunos*.† Nor was the injunction confined to the celebrant. A writer, who had objected that it was not so at the first institution of the Eucharist, as the apostles partook of it after eating the paschal lamb, goes on to defend and account for the opposite practice in his day.‡ 4. It is stated in pp. 148-9, that "confession of sins was public rather than private, optional rather than compulsory." Now, in an eighth century tract it is stated that "one of the four things not admitted to penance in the Church of Erin is the disclosing the confession."§ It is plain that if the confession were public there would have been no need of enjoining secrecy under such a terrible sanction. It is equally obvious that confession was not optional; for it was laid down that "every one desirous of a cure for

\* "Leabhar Breac," p. 277, col. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 50, col. 2.

† *Ibid* R I.A. copy, p. 248, col. 1.

§ *Ibid.* p. 10, col. 2.

his soul must make a humble and sorrowful confession, and that, as the wounds of the body are shown to a physician, so, too, the sores of the soul must be exposed; and as he who takes poison is saved by vomit, so the soul is healed by confession.\* 5. It is stated in page 108, that "there is no instance recorded of the modern practice of praying to departed saints." What becomes of the famous eighth-century litany to the Immaculate Virgin? Why, in the Stowe Missal which was under Mr. Warren's eye when writing, there are prayers to the saints. Their intercession is asked in folio 28*b*: "Omnium quoque sanctorum pro nobis Dominum Deum nostrum exorare dignentur." Again, in folio 39*a*, the prayers of the martyrs are asked for the living and dead: "Orent pro nobis sancti martyres et pro defunctis." 6. In page 6 it is stated, that "customs and ritual peculiar to the ancient Church of the country existed long after the eighth century, namely, the commencement of Lent, on the first Monday of Lent." With all respect, this was not peculiar to any of the Celtic churches. We learn on the authority of Dom. Mabillon that for centuries Lent began on a Monday in the Roman Church.† 7. It is asserted, in page 140, that "there does not appear to have been a daily Eucharist in the Celtic Church, but only on Sundays," &c. Now, the contradictory is established by Celtic documents. Thus, in the "Leabhar Breac" we read, "As it was profitable formerly to believe in the Divinity under the lowly form of humanity, so is it now to believe in it under the appearance of bread. Jesus Christ blesses and sanctifies the poor elements every day."‡ So again, an Irish writer, commenting on the Lord's Prayer, after giving several explanations of the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," says that "it could signify the body and blood of Christ, which the faithful receive in the Sacrament every day from the dish of the Lord—that is, from the holy altar."§

Facts relied on by Mr. Warren for opposition to Rome, when properly understood, lead up to connection with it, and dependence on it. In good truth a volume might be filled with evidence in favour of a direct connection between Roman and Celtic practices. At the same time, it may be admitted that many practices in the Latin Church had an Eastern origin. Even traces of an Eastern origin may be seen in parts of the Mass; and there was a time when, previous to the Eastern schism, as a mark of union and affection, the lessons and canticles were from time to time read in Greek in the Western Church. But though every bit of discipline in the Western Church were to have come from the East to us, as did come Christianity and the first Roman pope, still it would not affect in the least the belief of catholics in the Papal Supremacy.

S. M.

\* "Leabhar Breac," p. 257, col. 2.

† "Mus. Ital." vol. ii. p. 127.

‡ "Leabhar Breac," p. 257, col. 1.

§ *Ibid.* p. 249, col. 1.

*Sancti Bonaventuræ Ord. Minor. Episc. Card. et Eccl. Doct. Seraph. Breviloquium, adjectis illustrationibus ex aliis operibus ejusd. doct. depromptis, &c.* Opera et studio P. ANTONII MARIAE A VICETIA, Refor. Prov. Venetæ Lector. Theol. et Ministri Provincialis. Editio altera ab auctore recognita. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder. 1881.

*Lexicon Bonaventurianum Philosophico-Theologicum, in quo termini theologici, distinctiones et effata præcipua Scholasticorum a Seraphico Doctore declarantur.* Opera et studio P.P. ANTONII MARIAE A VICETIA et JOANNIS A RUBINO. Venetiis: Typographia Æmiliana. 1880.

ALTHOUGH the Franciscan Fathers of the Convent of Onarachi, near Florence, are busily occupied in the preparation of a new and critical edition of Saint Bonaventure's Works, we are, nevertheless, deeply indebted to Father Antonio of Vicenza for his new edition of the immortal "Breviloquium." Catholics, and I may add, Protestants of the old orthodox party, are unanimous in praise of this theological compend.

The judgment passed on it by Professor Baumgarten-Crusius is well known in Germany. The "Breviloquium," he said, is the "all but best theology of the middle ages." Indeed, it seems as if the Seraphic doctor had concentrated into this small volume the most sublime theology of all his other works. Hence his style is sometimes not without difficulty for the student, whilst every page contains a world of the deepest ideas, which he, in a masterly manner, deduces from first principles of philosophy and theology. The treasures of the "Breviloquium" require, therefore, a solid commentary and elucidatory notes. Commentaries drawn from other works of the saint will, beyond any doubt, be all the more acceptable, as they show his theological system and terminology, and make the author supply his own key to the difficulties of the "Breviloquium." Father Maria Antonio has done his work in a manner that will commend itself to all Catholic divines. In the first place, the accuracy of the text deserves a special mention. It was not printed until the best editions of the European libraries had been consulted. Every page of this edition testifies to the learned Father's ability and diligence. Secondly, the editor has accompanied the text by foot notes gathered from the Councils of Trent and the Vatican, from decrees of Popes, and decisions of Roman congregations. The important letters of Leo XIII., commenting on the sacrament of matrimony, the disastrous theories of socialism, and the value of the study of philosophy are largely quoted. In explaining St. Bonaventure's treatise on the creation of the world, our editor very appropriately shows the impossibility of reconciling the Seraphic doctor's opinion with Mr. Darwin's system.

The reader will be aware of the fact that, during the contests of some Catholic scholars in our century, St. Bonaventure has been brought forward as a champion of Ontologism; but very wrongly, as everybody may learn from the comments, pp. 126-128, taken from

2 dist. 3, p. 2, a. 2, q. 2, where our saint formally lays down the principle that our natural cognition of God starts from the contemplation of the world surrounding us: "Deus cognoscitur per creaturas tantum a viatoribus." Each chapter of this edition is followed by copious quotations from other works of the saint; and each of the seven parts of the "Breviloquium" is enriched with special "tables," giving at a glance the whole of the subjects treated. Elaborate indices are also added, and much facilitate the use of the volume.

The same editor, in conjunction with Father Rubino, gives us the "Lexicon Bonaventurianum," the value of which will be fully appreciated after the publication of the new edition of the saint's works. It is composed of three parts: the first explains philosophical terms; the second, "distinctions;" the third, "effata," or "theoremata." Any one wishing to study St. Bonaventure successfully, could scarcely find more trustworthy guides than these two volumes.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Die geheimen Gesellschaften in Spanien und ihre Stellung zur Kirche und Staat; von ihrem Eindringen in das Königreich bis zum Tode Ferdinand's VII.* Von Dr. HEINRICH BRÜCK, Professor der Theologie am bischöflichen Seminar zu Mainz. Mainz: Kirchheim. 1881. (History of the Secret Societies in Spain, and their position towards Church and State.)

CATHOLICS, not only in Germany, but all over the world, will read this book with great interest. It affords plenty of information about the destructive agency of secret societies, and clearly shows what sort of fate is reserved for Governments that despise the teachings of the Catholic Church, and trust to the counsels and guidance of her most bitter enemies. In the introduction our author gives most accurate details about the first arrival and propagation of the secret societies in Spain; afterwards he treats, in four chapters: (1), the struggles of those societies to obtain influence (pp. 14-74); (2), the dominion of the secret societies (pp. 74-124); (3), persecution and suppression of the Church by means of the secret societies (pp. 125-261); (4), the secret societies after the re-establishment of the Government, to the death of Ferdinand VII. Professor Brück, as a true historian, never brings forward his own opinion, but he makes the leading Spanish statesmen and the freemasons themselves the *dramatis personæ* of his work. That work is the more valuable because of a most rare collection of Spanish books referring to the period, which he has had the good fortune to employ in its composition. I may mention the "Biblioteca de Religion ó sea Coleccion de obras contra la incredulidad y errores de estos ultimos tiempos," which comprises not less than twenty-five volumes. Also, the "Historias de las Sociedades Secretas, antiguas y modernas en España y especialmente de la Franc Masoneria, por Vincente de la Fuente;" and the "Coleccion eclesiastica Española comprensiva de los Breves de N. S., notas del Nuncio, representaciones de los Obispos." The results of the author's able

quiry are : (1), that the Spanish revolutions under Ferdinand VII. were the work of the secret societies, who employed for their anti-religious purposes high officers of the army ; and that the bulk of the Catholic people did not consent in the least ; (2), that what the societies aimed at was the oppression of the Catholic Church ; (3), inquiring into the causes which most helped the revolutionary agency of the secret societies, we find that, besides the great irregularities in the public administration, it was the *English Government* which unremittingly protected the revolution in Spain. But the more cruel the hardships which the Church and priests had to undergo, the more do the zeal, doctrine, and apostolic patience of the defenders whom God raised up to her claim our admiration. The bishops were ably supported by the Nuncio Giustiniani, who, as a clever canonist, unveiled the sophisms resorted to by the Government in their decrees against the liberties of the Church. It is curious that in the Church politics of Spain, as originated by Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Napoleonism, no attempt was made to introduce civil marriage ; this gloomy institution, however, is to be obtruded on the Spanish Church of our own day. We cannot but earnestly recommend this excellent historical work.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Lex Salica : The Ten Texts with The Glosses, and The Lex Emendata.* Synoptically Edited by J. H. HESSELS. With Notes on the Frankish words in the "Lex Salica," by H. KERN, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Leiden. London : John Murray. 1880.

FEW historical materials have remained in a more unsatisfactory condition than the laws of the barbarian nations which occupied the various members of the ruined Western Empire. There has been no lack of editions, and there is generally no lack of manuscripts ; but the very multitude and dispersion of these latter have made it, until quite recent times, a difficult, if not impossible task for an editor not merely to master, but even to ascertain, the extant material. Though numerous and ancient, the manuscripts not infrequently come from the hands of scribes who did not understand what they were copying, whilst the legal texts themselves varied in the course of time to meet changed conditions.

The "Lex Salica," to facilitate the study of which the volume under notice has been issued, is amongst the most important of these popular laws. An eminent jurist has not hesitated, indeed, to assert that its principles pervaded all the legal systems of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, found their way with the Normans into England, and hereby, in the length of centuries have penetrated, through the colonial empire of Britain, into every part of the world. There may be sceptics who will not credit the seer in so far reaching a vision. But the importance of the document is incontestable as presenting the liveliest picture of the social and political state of those Franks

designated Salian, in contradistinction to their riverain brethren, who conquered, made themselves a home in, and gave their name to, ancient Gaul.

When it is said that (setting aside Hubé's print of a single MS. of no very special value, and one or two reprints of less account) within the last forty years four editions of the "*Lex Salica*" have appeared (those of Pardessus, Waitz, Merkel and Behrend); that a fifth by Dr. Alfred Holder, of Carlsruhe, is in course of publication; and that a sixth has been for some time in preparation for the "*Monumenta Germaniæ*," the appearance of Mr. Hessels' volume may seem to require a justification, which is to be sought,—and, we venture to think, will be amply found—in a review of the aims of the various editors, and the different means adopted to meet the difficulties which an editor of the "*Lex*" has to contend with. These difficulties are twofold: First, the varying divisions of the subject matter in the various "*families*" of manuscripts, and in the different manuscripts of the same family; secondly—and this is much more serious—the great and continual discrepancy between the several texts of the same passage, complicated again by almost incredible blunders of the scribes to an extent which, at times, necessitates a patient comparison one with another of half-a-dozen corrupt texts before a tolerable, not to say probable, meaning can be extracted from them.

The adoption of ordinary editorial methods in a case like this must result in the constitution of a text more or less arbitrary, supported by an array of various readings so intricate as to be unintelligible. This very practical consideration induced Pardessus, who was the first to undertake, or rather publish the results of, an examination of the manuscripts themselves on an extensive scale, to select eight texts which he printed in full, one after another, in a quarto volume in 1843. Waitz had regard in his edition to the four manuscripts only which are agreed to represent the earliest extant redaction, and attempted to construct therefrom a text which should come, as near as possible, to the lost original. Merkel's and Behrend's editions, though hardly exceeding the size of a pamphlet, are not restricted like that of Waitz to a single class of manuscripts, but are intended in the smallest possible space to take account of the various families, and include as appendices later edicts and capitulars and other relative documents. Both are meant primarily for the use of the professor and his pupils in the schools. Merkel adopted in general Pardessus's first text for his print of the "*Lex*" as a whole. This was followed by the additions and most important variants of the other texts, each text being taken separately by itself. Behrend's edition avoided the defects of this faulty and very inconvenient arrangement by bringing together the additions and a selection of various readings in their proper place under each *titulus* and section to which they belong. Holder, whose work is not completed, has reverted to the method of Pardessus, inasmuch as he prints the text of each important manuscript in full; but instead of binding up all in a single volume, he devotes a separate fasciculus to every one (sometimes to two), and his exactitude in detail goes to

the point of giving what is equivalent to a facsimile reproduction of the MSS.

The drawbacks of each of these plans for minute and independent examination and study are evident. Pardessus and Holder do, indeed, contemplate affording the material itself sufficiently full and complete; but in neither case is the essential condition fulfilled of presenting in one view all the various forms in which each passage of the "Lex" has come down to us. Mr. Hessels has carried out what others have desired to do, but despaired of doing, on account of typographical (among other) difficulties. His quarto gives (every two pages being divided into nine columns) in one view the eight texts in full of Pardessus, on a recollection of the manuscripts, with the necessary various readings,—the whole reduced to the order of the texts of the oldest redaction. The ninth column is devoted to "observations,"—in the main, a series of useful references to parallel passages of other of the popular laws. To state so much gives an altogether inadequate idea of the pains taken by the editor to bring something of clearness into an intricate document, which cannot but be troublesome to deal with. The general disposition, and the particular arrangements of the volume, betoken a nice consideration of the best means of easing the labours of the scholar who would undertake a study of the "Lex Salica." The type is small, but admirably clear; the various readings are conveniently distributed. The general introduction, and the preliminary observations to the prologues and various appendices, whilst studiously concise and business like, say all that is necessary for the immediate purpose. The reproduction of the MSS. is not so minute as that of Dr. Holder; that it is reasonably sufficient for all possible purposes may appear from the fact that the letters represented in the manuscripts by contractions are given in the print in italics; whilst the texts issued contemporaneously by Holder afford a proof, which cannot but be gratifying to Hessels, of his own general exactitude. Reference is facilitated by the numbering of each *column* of text; the index is remarkably full (125 small print quarto columns, as compared with 27 octavo pages in Behrend's edition) and is not the least useful part of the volume; though called glossarial, it is not an index of meanings, but rather a index of reference to the passages in the "Lex" where each word is to be found, in fact a verbal concordance. Lastly, the notes of Professor Kern on the so-called "Malberg Glosses," occupying about a third part of the book, form a sort of perpetual commentary on these, almost the only extant, remains of ancient dialect of the Salian Franks, and carry forward the investigations of which the first fruits were recorded in his work on the subject published in 1869.

Mr. Hessels professedly limits himself to the task of supplying materials and facilities for a thorough study of the "Lex Salica," and disclaims all intention of giving "what is usually called a 'critical' edition." This latter, in fact, he does not give. For such an edition we must doubtless look to that which is now preparing for the "Monumenta." Without presuming to detract beforehand from the value of

this future edition, we yet cannot but express a conviction that the utility of Mr. Hessels' volume to those who have occasion to occupy themselves seriously with this most important of the barbarian laws, will outlast the appearance of any edition, however critical and however extensive the apparatus on which it may be based.

*Poems: Patriotic, Religious, Miscellaneous.* By ABRAM J. RYAN ("Father Ryan"). Baltimore: John B. Piet. 1880.

THIS handsome volume of "Poems" is introduced to us by two "Prefaces"—one by the author, the other by the publisher. The publisher may not, possibly, be a critic; one would hardly think he is. His preface is extremely laudatory, and would lead us to think that Father Ryan has already taken a high place among the Immortals. The writer says that "for years the name of Father Ryan has been a household word; it is known wherever the English language is spoken, and everywhere it is revered as the appellation of a true child of song." "These Poems," he says, "have moved multitudes; they have thrilled the soldier on the eve of battle, and quickened the martial impulses of a chivalric race; they have soothed the soul-wounds of the suffering; and they have raised the hearts of men in adoration and benediction to the great Father of all." This is enthusiastic language, and it makes one feel that, if it is all true, one is not quite *au niveau* with the poetical literature of the day. But when we turn to Father Ryan's "Preface," the honest, outspoken estimate he makes of himself rather re-assures us. "These Verses," he says ("which some friends call by the higher title of Poems—to which appellation the author objects), were written at random—off and on, here, there, anywhere—just when the mood came, with little study, and less of art, and always in a hurry." These words give us a true insight into these Poems. They are the thoughts of a poetical nature thrown off at random, and without much labour. But perhaps it is for this reason that there is more soul and fire in many of them, and that they drop sparks that kindle and glow into the hearts of those who read. We may say, without fear of exaggeration, of Father Ryan, what a brilliant poet of our day says of Collins, that he has in him "a pulse of inborn music, irresistible and indubitable;" and we can understand why, in a time of excitement and under the thrill of the trumpet-blast of war, the people of South America should feel that Father Ryan's verses gave expression to their heart-throbs.

We give a specimen of his patriotic verses, entitled

"THE SWORD OF ROBERT LEE."

Forth from its scabbard, pure and bright,  
 Flashed the sword of Lee!  
 Far in the front of the deadly fight,  
 High o'er the brave in the cause of Right,  
 Its stainless sheen, like a beacon light,  
 Led us to victory.



Out of its scabbard, where, full long,  
 It slumbered peacefully,  
 Roused from its rest by the battle's song,  
 Shielding the feeble, smiting the strong,  
 Guarding the right, avenging the wrong,  
 Gleamed the sword of Lee.

Forth from its scabbard, high in air  
 Beneath Virginia's sky—  
 And they who saw it gleaming there,  
 And knew who bore it, knelt to swear  
 That where that sword led, they would dare  
 To follow—and to die.

Out of its scabbard! Never hand  
 Waved sword from stain as free,  
 Nor purer sword led braver band,  
 Nor heroes bled for a brighter land,  
 Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,  
 Nor cause a chief like Lee!

Forth from its scabbard! How we prayed  
 That sword might victor be;  
 And when our triumph was delayed,  
 And many a heart grew sore afraid,  
 We still hoped on while gleamed the blade  
 Of noble Robert Lee.

Forth from its scabbard all in vain  
 Bright flashed the sword of Lee;  
 'Tis shrouded now in its sheath again.  
 It sleeps the sleep of our noble slain,  
 Defeated, yet without a stain,  
 Proudly and peacefully.

Some of the "religious" verses have a vividness, and a warmth of devotion, and a beauty about them that have come straight out of the heart of the *priest*. We may venture to say, without fear of error, that these "Poems" of the Priest-Poet of America will be very acceptable to many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

*Catholic Controversy: a Reply to Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons."*

By H. I. D. RYDER, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.  
 1881.

"IT is much more easy," as Fr. Ryder justly remarks, "to catch popular approval by the brilliancy of an assault, than to command it by the steady virtues of a defence." The work which he had before him was one of extreme difficulty, and we must frankly confess that we thought it well-nigh impossible for anyone to execute it in a satisfactory way. Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons" is a repertory of almost every charge that can be made against the Catholic Church. The charges are made with a coarseness and exaggeration which often overshoots its mark; and, as Fr. Ryder shows, Dr. Littledale displays a reckless disregard for accuracy. Still, it needed no small skill to say so much ill of the Church in so small a compass. Dr. Littledale's style,

if coarse, is not without incisiveness and nervous force; there is an affectation of learning and a tone of confidence in his book which cannot have failed to influence many of his readers. He wished to leave on the minds of the general Protestant public an impression very damaging to the Catholic Church, and in this no doubt he has succeeded. Ἀπέχει τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. He has his reward *out*.

We repeat, it seemed an impossible thing to write an effective answer. It is a wearisome affair to expose a long series of exaggerations, suppressions of the truth, historical blunders, and the like. The accusation is usually short and stinging, the answer is apt to be long and dull. However, Fr. Ryder has succeeded in a task which might well have been judged desperate, and no competent person will doubt that he deserves the warmest thanks of educated Catholics. He has done an enduring service to the Church in England, and a translation of his little book would prove of signal utility in Germany, and perhaps in France.

To begin with, he has entirely demolished Dr. Littledale's credit. This, in our opinion, is the least important of the services he has rendered. Still, it was well worth doing, for the "Plain Reasons" have been issued in a stereotyped edition by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; they have been used against us freely enough already, and promised to become the favourite manual of Protestant controversy. The demolition is as thorough as any demolition can be. Fr. Ryder has tracked his adversary through garbled quotations, exposed his ignorance on points of Catholic theology which he presumes to discuss, and his recklessness in inventing and repeating baseless calumnies. We need not say how much labour it must have cost to do this; and while thanking Fr. Ryder for the laborious learning which he has brought to bear on his opponent, we cannot help congratulating the former on the good fortune which has attended him. It was not possible for Dr. Littledale to produce sound arguments against joining the Church; still, he might of course have succeeded in raking up cases of real scandal, and so contrived to help Protestant prejudice, without sinning against historical truth. As it is, a strange fatality appears to have attended Dr. Littledale. He collects his materials from Fathers, mediæval writers, modern newspapers; but from whatever source his statements profess to come, he seldom fails to blunder ludicrously.

Besides this, "Catholic Controversy" is one of the most interesting books we ever opened. It cannot fail to absorb the attention of the reader, and no intelligent person with a slight interest in such matters will be able to lay it down till he has perused it from end to end. This extraordinary fascination—for we can call it nothing else—is due partly to the charm of style, which is at least as trenchant as Dr. Littledale's; while it has a grace, a fertility of happy illustration, and an unflinching urbanity of tone, to none of which qualities Dr. Littledale can make any claim. It must also be attributed to the fact that, whereas the "Plain Reasons" is a mere heap of accusations thrown together without system or order, Fr. Ryder begins with a luminous treatise on the Papal prerogative as exhibited in Scripture and tradition; and even when he is obliged to answer a great number of

detailed charges, he cleverly contrives to write a series of short essays on the devotions, casuistry, &c., of the Church. It is marvellous how much matter is packed into these little tractates, how fully and how profoundly each subject is examined. Indeed, in many instances the matters are put in a new light, and valuable contributions are made to theological inquiry. Nothing can be better than the little essay on the use of the Holy Scriptures, image-worship, or the Catholic idea of sanctity. It is a triumph of art to have raised controversy to so high a level, and to have made defence so much more brilliant than attack.

But the reason which gives the highest value to Fr. Ryder's book is that it is the best manual of controversy which has appeared in England (or elsewhere, for what we know). It is well called "Catholic Controversy," for it contains an answer, plain, accurate, and decisive, to most of the charges current against the Church. Nearly every priest (and many a layman, now-a-days) is constantly questioned about the false decretals, anti-popes, the independence of the British Church, &c. &c. Often, even, a well-read man does not know where to turn for the answer he needs. Fr. Ryder has supplied the desideratum. His book ought to be in the hands of every priest and of every educated convert. "Good wine needs no bush," and to commend Fr. Ryder's book to those who have seen it would be waste of words. But we write in the hope of inducing our readers to look at it for themselves. If the book is not bought up with avidity and enthusiasm, it speaks little either for the discernment or the gratitude of English Catholics. Protestants have made the most of a bad cause, still more badly argued. We ought to see that we make the most of a first-rate manual of controversy written in defence of our faith, and evidently the result of long and self-denying toil. We ought to add, that the publishers have done their part of the work admirably.

It is perhaps a clumsy addition to this notice, still we wish to take this opportunity of adding two remarks of our own on Dr. Littledale's scholarship—the first relating to the meaning of the word Peter, the second to the division of the Decalogue.

Dr. Littledale writing, we think, in the *Contemporary*, charged Mr. Arnold with Ultramontane audacity, and, indeed, with dishonesty, for asserting that *πέτρος* meant "rock," whereas it signifies "stone," *πέτρα* being the word for rock. It may be worth while to make an extract from Meyer's "Commentary," not only because Meyer's reputation for scholarship is of the highest, but because he gives proof: "*πέτρος*—*appellativum*—thou art a rock. The form *πέτρος* occurs also in classical writers, and that not only in the signification stone (whatever the distinction between *πέτρος* and *πέτρα* may be in Homer), but also in that of rock. (Plato, Ax. 371, E.—*Σισύφου πέτρος*, Soph., Phil. 272. O. C. 19. 1591. Pind., Nem. 4, 46. 10, 126.) Jesus declares Peter to be a rock," &c. &c. We don't think Meyer can be accused of audacity for stating the plain facts of the Greek language. At all events, he cannot be accused of Ultramontane audacity.

"The English division of the Ten Commandments," says Dr. Littledale ("Plain Reasons," p. 122), "according to which polytheism is for-

bidden in the First Commandment, and idolatry in the Second, is that of the Jews." If Dr. Littledale had studied the criticism of the Old Testament even superficially, he would have been aware that it is nothing of the kind. Perhaps it once *was* that of the Jews, for it is recognized by Philo and Josephus, though there is no proof that this mode of division was ever universally received in the Jewish Church. But (1) the Talmud, the Targum of Jonathan, and the Rabbinical commentators generally, reckon "ten words" of which the first is the preface—"I am the Lord thy God," &c., the second the prohibition of polytheism and idolatry. This division is maintained by the Jews at the present day, so that on the point at issue the Jews agree, and have for anyhow over 1200 years, agreed with us, not, as Dr. Littledale says, with Calvinists and Anglicans. Moreover, the modern Catholic division is the only one consistent with the Hebrew text, as usually found in MSS. and printed copies. The text of the Decalogue is divided into ten sections, each parted off by a setuma, and these sections correspond precisely with our Catholic division. These sections are admitted to be very ancient, to be older even than the Masoretic text, and the Protestant scholar, Kennicott, found them so marked in 460 out of 694 MSS. which he collated. The facts as here given are familiar to Hebrew scholars. They will be found in the Commentaries of Kalisch, Ruohl, and Keil. The first is a very learned Jew, the second a learned Rationalist, the third a learned Protestant of the Conservative school. All of them are opposed to the Catholic mode of division, but they know their business, and most assuredly would decline to go to work like Dr. Littledale.

W. E. ADDIS.

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*The Life of Christ.* By S. BONAVENTURE. Translated and Edited by the Rev. W. W. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Sub-warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. London: Rivingtons, 1881.

WE regard with mixed feelings the dealings of Anglican editors with the writings of Catholics. We are, of course, very glad that such writings should be made accessible in any degree "to those who are without." On the other hand, in their passage through heretical intellects they invariably suffer, even if they escape the distortion and perversion which are euphemistically called "adaptation." Mr. Hutchings' version seems to have been executed with care and with honesty of purpose. But the spirit in which he has approached his task may be sufficiently inferred from the following sentence in his Preface: "Here and there," he tells us, "an expression has been slightly modified, or left out, with regard to the Mother of our Lord. Even the title, 'Mother of God,' though it has the authority of a General Council, has not been inserted. . . . It cannot be denied that the warmth of S. Bonaventure's character, and his passion for mysticism, betrayed him into expressions of excessive devotion towards the Blessed Virgin in some of his works" (Int., p. xvi.). Now we put it to Mr. Hutchings—we trust we may do so without offence—who is he that he should presume to sit in judgment upon a Saint and Doctor of the Church? and lay to the charge of God's elect either "excess" or "deficiency" of devotion?

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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OCTOBER, 1881.

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ART. I.—THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

PART. IV.

1. *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* By LESLIE STEPHEN. In Two Volumes. London: 1876.
2. *History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Vols. I. and II. London: 1878.
3. *The Works of Lord Macaulay.* In Eight Volumes. Edited by Lady TREVELYAN. London: 1873.
4. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. TAINÉ. Five Volumes. Second Edition. Paris: 1869.
5. *Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to 1803.* By COBBETT, WRIGHT, and others. In Thirty-six Volumes. London: 1806—1836.
6. *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley.* In Fourteen Volumes. London: 1829.
7. *The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.* By HENRY HALLAM. In Three Volumes. Eighth Edition. London: 1855.
8. *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III. 1760—1860.* By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B. In Three Volumes. Sixth Edition. London: 1878.

I APPROACH in this paper the last portion of a task to which I set myself two years ago. I shall now endeavour to complete, in such rough outline as is possible to me here, the survey upon which I then entered of the political and

spiritual history of Europe during the hundred years between the English and the French Revolutions—that is to say, between 1688 and 1788. It is not one of the least of the disadvantages of dealing with so large a subject in a periodical publication, that a writer is obliged either to repeat himself, or to impose upon his readers references to what he has previously written—references which, from lack of leisure or patience, are seldom, in fact, made. I prefer the first of these alternatives, and choose rather to risk the reproach of wearying by “a twice-told tale” than to present the several instalments of my essay without the elucidations which may be necessary for rightly judging of my argument. My general principle is this: that in looking at history large views alone are safe and scientific. A great writer has well remarked that much which passes current under that name is “a tissue of dry and repulsive nomenclature.” It is not too much to say that the matter which forms the staple of the older annalists and chroniclers is really the portion of the past which is of the least importance to us. Wars, treaties, dynasties, are not the most noteworthy phenomena of the public order. Not only religion, laws, literature, manners, but even trade, agriculture, and the inventions and discoveries of the physical sciences, are of more account than the battles, the diplomacy, the generation of monarchs. It has been the work of the last hundred years to revolutionize, among much else, the writing of history; to turn it from a mere narrative into a science. One effect of this change has been greatly to enlarge the task of the historian. It is not enough that he should present correctly the facts—the salient facts, that is—of the epoch with which he concerns himself. He must present them in their due proportion and proper collocation, and point to their significance. The civilization of a people is but its history expressed in its manners. The phenomena of national life are but the visible manifestations of the spirit which animates society. To pass from phenomena to ideas, beneath “the garment of time” to find the “time spirit”—such is now the high argument to which the historian must address himself. This has been well pointed out by one who had a peculiar right to be heard upon such a subject, and whose words I gladly borrow to supplement and authorize my own.

When you have the facts which history furnishes [writes the late Mr. Brewer] there is yet something more required, a power of insight into these facts and their meaning which, if not native, is only to be acquired by patient and humble study. History is thus a part of that great revelation which all arts, all science, and all literature is gradually unfolding before our eyes. It is helping us, like these other branches of philosophy, to see things as they are; it is help-

ing to disencumber us of those images and delusions—that slavery to present sense and present objects—which stand between us and the truth. Nay, more, it is bringing us to the knowledge of what is true, permanent and substantial, apart from the mere outward forms and phantoms we are so apt to mistake for it; enabling us to disengage the errors, dogmas, and systems of men from the truths which they sought to maintain; to see a light in the thickest darkness, an order, not of human but divine appointment, vindicating itself among the loudest clamours and deepest confusions of our race.\*

Such were some of the thoughts present to my mind when I began to write about the Eighteenth Century. "To grasp its dominant ideas, and to view its transactions in the light of them," was, as it seemed to me, the only way of forming a true conception of its history. And throughout the continent of Europe the ideas dominant appeared to be those introduced or rather reaffirmed four hundred years ago. "I regard the eighteenth century," I wrote, "as the closing years of a period in the history of Europe; as the years in which the ideas animating that period are to be seen in their ultimate development and final resolution. I speak of the period which began with the movement known, according as one or another of its aspects is contemplated, as the Protestant Reformation, the Revival of Letters, the Rise of the New Monarchy, and which ended with the French Revolution—a period which may, with much propriety, be designated the Renaissance Epoch. For this movement was essentially a re-birth, and what was re-born was Materialism." I went on to observe how this character is written upon it, as in every other department of human life, so especially upon its politics and its philosophy, and how in the public order its most perfect type is presented to us in its Absolutist Monarchies, modelled upon the Louis Quatorze pattern, and in the intellectual province in the teaching of the French Encyclopædists. The Eighteenth Century, I remarked, was emphatically *le siècle Français*. "Everywhere, throughout the continent of Europe, while the monarchs of the age, following the example of Louis the Fourteenth, were triumphing over the last remains of mediæval liberty, and carrying to its complete development the Cæsarism which is the political idea of the Renaissance, its intellectual idea, embodied in the doctrines of the *philosophes*, issued in ferocious animalism." So much must suffice here as to the nature and scope of my argument. Those who would follow it in detail I must refer to the papers in which I have traced the progress of the Renaissance idea, first in the public order, and then

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\* "English Studies," p. 381.

in the philosophical, throughout continental Europe during the last century. I now turn to our country. I shall in the first place point out how remarkable a contrast it presents to the general course of European development; and secondly, I shall inquire to what cause our happiness in this respect is due.

Lord Stanhope introduces his well-known historical work\* by instituting a comparison between the era of the Georges in England and the era of the Antonines in Rome. I do not know whether the analogy is very felicitous; but certainly we may say that the whole period of our history with which I am here concerned—the century between 1688 and 1788—and not merely that portion of it with which Lord Stanhope deals, has, in common with the age of the philosophic Cæsars, the notes of material greatness and successful war. And we may yield full assent, too, to his proposition, that with us this prosperity did not depend upon the character of a single man. Rome, so long accustomed to conquer others, had made “a shameful conquest of herself” long before the time of the Antonines; and underneath the fallacious glories of a benevolent despotism, the bases of the public order were swiftly and irretrievably decaying. The foundations whereon the greatness of our country rested in the last century, were ancient free institutions, which as it advanced were continuously strengthened, consolidated, and developed. From 1688 to 1788 the history of England is essentially the history of the sure growth of constitutional freedom, of civil and religious liberty. It is indeed a general law that

checks and disasters

Live in the veins of actions highest reared;

and the progress of our country in the epoch of which I am writing is no exception to this law. Thus the age of Anne was in few particulars a period of improvement: in not a few it was certainly a period of retrogression. Mr. Lecky reckons, and I think with justice, the Schism Act passed in 1714 to crush the seminaries of Dissenters, and to deprive them of the means of educating their children in their own religious opinions, “one of the most tyrannical measures enacted in the Eighteenth Century.”† And he added, what is undoubtedly true, that during the latter years of the Queen’s reign, political and religious liberty were in extreme danger. So, too, the first twenty years of George III.’s reign were full of the struggles of that monarch to increase his prerogative, struggles which, as Sir

\* “The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713-1783.” By Lord Mahon. In seven volumes. Third edition. 1853.

† “History of England in the Eighteenth Century,” vol. i. p. 95.



Erskine May judiciously observes, produced "the fiercest turbulence and discontent amongst the people, the most signal failures in the measures of the government, and the heaviest disasters to the state,"\* and which had scarcely any other result. But these and other checks in the development of constitutional freedom were but transient. As the century goes on, we find the general effect of legislation to be the better assurance and more complete development of the freedom which is the immemorial heritage of the English people. It opens with the famous Act for Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject (1 W. & M. c. 2), commonly known as the Declaration of Right. It closes with the solemn acknowledgment made to the Peers on behalf of the Prince of Wales in the debates upon the Regency Bill, that "he understood too well the sacred principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in Parliament assembled."† And throughout it we find the same homage paid to those "sacred principles," not merely as a rhetorical flourish, but as a reality, expressed in legislation, embodied in institutions, permeating the political life of the country. The Act of Settlement of 1701 was the supplement to the Declaration of Right, which established the Crown upon a strictly Parliamentary tenure, and effectually disposed of the superstition that the nation was the property of a particular family by virtue of an immediate divine right; while the kindred figment of passive obedience received a mortal wound by the excision from the oath of allegiance of the clause asserting, in direct opposition to the Great Charter, that the subject might in no case take up arms against the sovereign. The practice of strictly appropriating the revenue according to annual votes of supply, begun in 1689, and ever since continued, has, in Mr. Hallam's phrase, secured "the transference of the executive authority from the Crown to the two Houses of Parliament, and especially the Commons;" the "body which prescribes the application of the revenue, as well as investigates at its pleasure every act of the administration."‡ Hardly a less effective guarantee of constitutional government was afforded by the legislation of 1689 regarding the military forces of the Crown. By the Bill of Rights it is declared unlawful to keep any forces in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. This consent, by an invariable and wholesome usage, is given only from

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\* "Constitutional History," c. i. p. 59.

† Quoted in Sir Erskine May's "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 180.

‡ "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 117.

year to year in the Mutiny Act. "These are the two effectual securities against military power: that no pay can be issued to the troops without a previous authorization by the Commons in Committee of Supply, and by both Houses in an Act of Appropriation, and that no officer or soldier can be punished for disobedience, nor any court-martial held, without the annual enactment of the Mutiny Bill. Thus it is strictly true that if the King were not to summon Parliament every year, his army would cease to have a legal existence, and the refusal of either House to concur in the Mutiny Bill would at once wrest the sword out of his grasp."\* Nor has the great guarantee for a pure administration of justice—the complete independence of its dispensers—been less carefully and effectually secured. In 1701 the judges ceased to be removable, even in theory, at the pleasure of the Crown. An Act was passed in that year providing that they should hold office during good behaviour, subject only to removal upon the joint address of both Houses of Parliament: while in 1760 it was further enacted that their commissions should no longer be determined by the demise of the Crown. Of the ameliorations introduced into our jurisprudence I can here notice only two: the abolition by the Bill of Rights of the dispensing power—the favourite instrument whereby monarchical absolutism made void the law; and the regulation of the law regarding treason, by a statute passed in 1695, the effect of which, and of the complementary Act of Queen Anne, was to put an end for ever to the shedding of innocent blood in political trials. The institution of cabinet government, and the existing method of ministerial responsibility, must in strictness be dated from the reign of George I., although homogeneous administrations had been the rule since 1708. And if we consider the Parliamentary constitution of the country, while there can be no question that the composition of the Lower Chamber was theoretically indefensible, there can be as little question that it practically worked well. "This House," remarked Pitt, in his Reform speech in 1783, "is not the representative of the people of Great Britain. It is the representative of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."† True. But let us hear Mr. Gladstone on the other side:—

"Before 1832 the Parliamentary constitution of our fathers," he writes, "was full of flaws in theory, and blots in practice, that could not bear the light. But it was, notwithstanding, one of the wonders

\* "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 149.

† An allusion to the Indian princes, whose agents bought boroughs at their employers' cost. The Nawaub is said to have had, at one time, eight nominees in the House of Commons.

of the world. . . . It was a mosaic, like that cabinet, the cabinet of Lord Chatham, the composition of which has been embedded by the eloquence of Mr. Burke in the permanent literature of the country. The forms and colours of the bits that made it up were, indeed, yet more curious. It included every variety of franchise, from pure nomination by an individual, down or up to household suffrage, say from zero to what is deemed infinity. It gave to the aristocracy and to landed wealth the preponderance, of which the larger part has now been practically handed over to wealth at large. Subject always to this confession, it made an admirable provision for diversity of elements, for the representation of mind, for the political training (from youth upwards) of the most capable material of the country."—*The Nineteenth Century*, November, 1877, p. 540.

But above and beyond all this, the people of England breathed the air and were filled with the spirit of political freedom. A limited monarchy, an independent magistracy, responsible ministers, Parliamentary control of the finances and of the army, are after all but the guarantees and instruments of liberty. They secure it if it exists; they provide for its systematic exercise. But they do not create it; they do not even restore it when it has become extinct. As Goethe somewhere remarks, "free government is only possible where men have learnt to govern themselves." A rising chain of corporate energies pervading the body politic is the true training ground for the development of individuality and for the acquisition of the aptitudes and habits of civic freedom, while it supplies the best check upon the domination of the central power. Liberty is impossible in any country when you have nothing but the State on the one hand and the individual on the other—even if it should rain ballot boxes. It may exist in its plenitude among a people where universal suffrage has never been heard of, and the electoral franchise is in the hands of a few. In England, at the middle of the last century, out of a population estimated at eight millions, only some hundred and fifty thousand voted in the elections for members of Parliament. But throughout the kingdom there reigned that general political sense, engendered by ages of local self government and unfettered discussion of public affairs, which make the true difference between a free and servile people, and without which what it is the fashion to call a plébiscite is merely a gigantic hypocrisy, the expression of millions of perjuries. In 1695 the Act subjecting the Press to a censorship expired and was not renewed, and thenceforth that "liberty of unlicensed printing," for which the lofty eloquence of Milton had pleaded in vain, took its place among the rights of the subject, and was soon discerned by our statesmen to be "the greatest engine of public safety," "the safeguard of all other liberties."

It was the special and unique glory of England in the last century that her sons enjoyed freedom of thought and speech upon the most important concerns of society. Then, as now, our country was "dear for her reputation through the world," as

The land where, girt by friend or foe,  
A man may speak the thing he will.

And this was and is the very life of British liberty.\*

"English freedom," as Charles James Fox told the House of Commons with equal eloquence and truth, "does not depend upon the executive government, nor upon the administration of justice, nor upon any one particular or distinct part [of our institutions], nor even upon [constitutional] forms, so much as it does on the general freedom of speech and of writing. Speech ought to be completely free, the press ought to be completely free. What I mean is that any man may write and print what he pleases, though he is liable to be punished if he abuses that freedom. This is perfect freedom. For my own part, I have never heard of any danger arising to a free state from the freedom of the press or freedom of speech; so far from it, I am perfectly clear, that a free state cannot exist without both. It is not the law that is to be found in books that has constituted the true principle of freedom in any country at any time. No! it is the energy, the boldness of a man's mind, which prompts him to speak not in private, but in large and popular assemblies, that constitutes, that creates in a state the spirit of freedom. This is the principle which gives life to liberty; without it the human character is a stranger to freedom. As a tree that is injured at the root, and the bark taken off the branches, may live for a while—some sort of blossom may still remain—but will soon wither, decay, and perish; so take away the freedom of speech or of writing, and the foundation of all your freedom is gone. You will then fall, and be degraded and despised by all the world for your weakness and your folly, in not taking care of that which conducted you to all your fame, your greatness, your opulence, and prosperity."†

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\* I am, of course, writing in view of the real and actual. I am by no means asserting that in a bygone or an ideal society, recognizing the restraints of the supernatural order in its primary laws and with its religious unity unbroken, the truest liberty of the press might not be best secured by an ecclesiastical *imprimatur*. But it is idle to discuss such a point in an age when those restraints find no place in civil polity, and that unity exists only as a recollection or a dream. As Bishop Von Ketteler has admirably observed, "The world may arrange its relations with the Church once more in mediæval fashion, if through the mercy of God it returns once more to the unity of religious conviction. Till then another foundation is necessary." ("Soll die Kirche allein rechtlos sein?" p. 30.) Catholics, of all men, cannot afford to mistake the hour of the political clock, or to forget that they are living in the nineteenth century—not in the thirteenth or the twenty-sixth.

† "Parl. Hist.," vol. xxxii. p. 419. I have taken the liberty to condense a good deal: in fact, I have presented rather a mosaic than an extract from the speech.

There is, it is true, one department of human liberty in which, during the last century, we find most grievous restrictions still existing in this country, and that the most precious department, for as Milton well asks, "Who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God and save his soul"? In 1688, indeed, the Toleration Act was passed, which relieved from the penalties of Elizabethan and Stuart legislation persons dissenting from the Established Church, provided they took certain oaths and made certain declarations as to the Trinity, the Sacred Scriptures, Supremacy and Allegiance, and subscribed a denial of Transubstantiation. But this measure left intact the Test and Corporation Acts, whereby dissidents from the State religion were disqualified for public life. Nor did it extend any relief to Catholics. Still, crude and unsatisfactory as this measure now seems to us, it was supremely distasteful to the High Tories of the last century, and was in great danger of being repealed during the closing years of Queen Anne, when the spirit which found expression in the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts was rampant. "The effect of these measures," Lord Stanhope writes, "was to reduce the Protestant Dissenters to great humiliation and depression," and it was not until 1718 that the measure introduced by the ancestor of that peer brought them relief from the worst of their grievances. "The Test and Corporation Acts, however, remained upon the Statute Book a hundred and nine years more, but remained only like rusty weapons hung in an armoury, trophies of past power, not instruments of further aggression or defence. An Indemnity Bill passed every year from the first of George II. (there were some, but very few exceptions) threw open the gates of all offices to Protestant Dissenters, as fully as if the law had been repealed, and if they still wished its repeal it was because they thought it an insult, not because they felt it as an injury."\* Catholics were in a far worse case. Not only was the persecuting legislation of the Tudors and Stuarts retained in the Statute Book, but fresh laws were enacted against us: laws which, as Mr. Lecky well observes, "constitute the foulest blot upon the Revolution." It may suffice here to cite the account of them given by that able and impartial writer:—

To omit minor details, an Act was passed in 1699 by which any Catholic priest convicted of celebrating Mass, or discharging any sacerdotal function in England (except in the house of an ambassador), was made liable to perpetual imprisonment; and, in order that this law might not become a dead letter, a reward of £100 was offered for conviction. Perpetual imprisonment was likewise the punishment to which any Papist became liable who was found guilty of keeping a

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\* "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht," vol. i. p. 330.

school, or otherwise undertaking the education of the young. No parent might send a child abroad to be educated in the Catholic faith, under penalty of a fine of £100, which was bestowed upon the informer. All persons who did not, within six months of attaining the age of eighteen, take the oath, not only of allegiance but also of supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, became incapable of either inheriting or purchasing land, and the property they would otherwise have inherited passed to the next Protestant heir. By a law which was enacted in the first year of George I., all persons in any civil or military office, all members of colleges, teachers, preachers, and lawyers of every grade, were compelled to take the oath of supremacy, which was distinctly anti-Catholic as well as the oath of allegiance, and the declaration against the Stuarts. By the same law, any two Justices of the Peace might, at any time, tender to any Catholic the oaths of allegiance and supremacy if they regarded him as disaffected. They might do this without any previous complaint, or any evidence of his disaffection; and if he refused to take them he was liable to all the penalties of recusancy, which reduced him to a condition of absolute servitude. A popish recusant was debarred from appearing at court, or even coming within ten miles of London, from holding any office or employment, from keeping arms in his house, from travelling more than five miles from home unless by licence, under pain of forfeiting all his goods, and from bringing any action at law or suit in equity. A married woman recusant forfeited two-thirds of her jointure or dower, was disabled from being executrix or administratrix to her husband, or obtaining any part of his goods, and was liable to imprisonment, unless her husband redeemed her by a ruinous fine. All Popish recusants, within three months of conviction, might be called upon by four Justices of the Peace to renounce their errors, or to abandon the kingdom; and if they did not depart, or if they returned without the king's licence, they were liable to the penalty of death. By this Act the position of the Catholics became one of perpetual insecurity. It furnished a ready handle to private malevolence, and often restrained the Catholics from exercising even their legal rights. Catholics who succeeded in keeping their land were compelled to register their estates, and all future conveyances and wills relating to them. They were subjected by an annual law to a double land-tax, and in 1722 a special tax was levied upon their property.\*

It is melancholy to consider how little, during the period with which I am concerned, was done for our relief. The only two measures of redress, indeed, which are worthy of mention, are an Act of 1716, which partially prevented sales by Catholics of their real estate from being questioned, and an Act of 1778, whereby a new oath was devised for our benefit. It made no reference to the Pope's spiritual authority, but only denied to his Holiness temporal or civil jurisdiction in this realm. And upon taking

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\* "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. p. 275.

it, Catholics were allowed to inherit or purchase land, and to say or hear Mass without a penalty. It must not be supposed, however, that there were wanting among our rulers men of large and generous views, who, long before 1778, would have extended to us this or a greater measure of relief. Thus, in 1718, a scheme for greatly mitigating the severity of the penal laws against us, was proposed by Lord Stanhope; and, to go back still further, it is certain that nothing would have been more agreeable to William III., both as consonant with his own wise principles of polity, and as acceptable to the Pope and Emperor, to whom he was under such great obligations, than the extension to his Catholic subjects of the same measure of religious freedom which he was able, in spite of Tory opposition, to secure to Protestant Nonconformists. "No measure," as Hallam justly observés, "would have been more politic, for it would have dealt to the Jacobite cause a more deadly wound than any which double taxation or penal laws were able to effect." And that was, probably, one of the main reasons why the High Tories persistently opposed it. So far as the Whigs were concerned, it is quite certain that their hatred of Catholicism was rather political than religious. They saw it, not as it had existed in the middle ages—the mother and nurse of civil freedom—but as it was presented to them in contemporary France, Italy and Spain, the accomplice and instrument of despotism: they saw it in the light in which James II. had exhibited it, as the object for which he had sought to overthrow the ancient liberties of England. The worst foes of Catholics at that period, as indeed, often before and since, have been those of their own household. Their cause was identified in the popular mind—and not unreasonably—with that of the worst of kings; the shepherd of the people whose favourite under-shepherds were Jeffreys and Kirke: the vassal of the tyrant who had revoked the Edict of Nantes and ordered the dragonades. Still, as a matter of fact, terrible as is the show which the anti-Catholic legislation in force up to 1778 makes in the Statute Book, there can be no question that the position of the small and unpopular remnant that adhered to the ancient faith in this country, was far better than that of their brethren in any foreign Protestant land, except Holland and the dominions of the Hohenzollerns, and infinitely superior to that of the Protestant minority in any Catholic State. "It is certain," writes Mr. Lecky—and the facts well warrant his assertion—"that during the greater part of the reigns of Anne, George I., and George II., the Catholic worship in private houses and chapels was undisturbed, that the estates of Catholics were regularly transmitted from father to son, and that they had no serious difficulty in educating their children. The Govern-

ment refused to put the laws against the priests into execution, and legal evasions were employed and connived at.\* In Ireland it was very different, as we all know too well, and are likely to know even better by the teachings of bitterest experience. For the stern law holds good of nations as of individuals, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap :—" and the full harvest of the Irish penal laws is by no means gathered in as yet. There is absolutely no parallel to them in the annals of religious persecution. For the object with which they were devised was not to crush a sect, but to deprive a nation of the most sacred rights of human nature, and to condemn it to spiritual death by a prolonged agony of torture. It is not necessary that I should dwell upon the details of this horrible legislation. William III., there is good ground to believe, contemplated, and would gladly have carried out, a very different policy. "Touched by the fate of a gallant nation that had made itself the victim to French promises," writes an authority† whom there is no reason for suspecting, "the Prince of Orange, before the decisive battle of Aghrim, offered to Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion, half the churches of the kingdom, half the employments, civil and military too, and the moiety of their ancient properties." The offer was not accepted; could not, indeed, have been accepted in the circumstances of the time; and such terms, which, favourable as they were, fall far short of the requirements of justice, have never again been tendered to the Irish nation. "The victorious party," as Hallam writes, "saw no security but in a system of oppression." It was, however, under the last of the Stuarts that this system attained its complete proportions, and was developed in its full ferocity. The accession of Anne was followed by the enactment of the abominable Statute, which, under the pretence of preventing "the further growth of popery," reduced the people of Ireland to a condition in many respects worse than that of Muscovite serfs. From the accession of the House of Hanover their position improved; slowly and intermittently indeed, but surely. The Statute of the sixth year of George I., asserting the right of the English Parliament to bind the people and kingdom of Ireland, was, it is true, an odious mark of degradation; but it certainly did not affect for the worse the actual government of the country. It is certain, too, that under George II. there was a considerable revival of Irish manufactures and commerce. By the middle of the century Catholic worship was practically tolerated. In 1778 an Act was carried the value of which is

\* "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. p. 304.

† Swift's Works. Scott's edition, vol. xviii. p. 13. The authority is Sir Charles Wogan, in a letter addressed to Swift, where he relates this offer to have been made to his uncle Tyrconnel, by William.



sufficiently evidenced by Mr. Froude's complaint, that it "is the first in the series of measures, yet perhaps unended, which are called justice to Ireland."\* It enabled Irish Catholics once again to acquire an interest in the lands of their fathers, although only "for a term of 999 years." It was followed in 1782 by the Catholic Relief Act, by which the Catholic people of Ireland were enabled to buy, sell, and bequeath, like anyone else, and so recovered their civil rights, although still excluded from political life. In the same year the Act of George I. was repealed, and the Irish Parliament—not, it must be owned, a body which awakens much enthusiasm—obtained the sole right to make laws for their country.

Such, in brief outline, is the constitutional progress achieved in these islands during the hundred years which preceded the French Revolution. Rough and imperfect as the sketch is, it is enough to indicate that England was treading, in the political order, a path diametrically opposite to that of continental Europe. And whatever blots there may have been upon our polity, it shows like utter whiteness beside the darkness of the house of bondage in which the rest of mankind languished. We can easily understand the enthusiasm which English freedom awakened in the breasts of the most accomplished and clear-sighted of foreign observers. It is no wonder that Voltaire, superficial as was his acquaintance with the actual working of our Constitution, found our country the only one in the world where the monarch was powerful for good and impotent for evil, where the nobles lacked alike vassals and insolence, and the people shared in the government without prejudice to order.† It is no wonder that Montesquieu, who visited England in 1729, described our system as the "living incarnation of the spirit of liberty."‡ It is no wonder that d'Argenton, writing some years later,§ discerned in the influence and example of England a formidable danger to French absolutism. "Il souffle d'Angleterre," he observes, "un vent philosophique : on entend murmurer ces mots de liberté, de républicanisme ; déjà les esprits en sont pénétrés : et l'on sait à quel point l'opinion gouverne le monde."

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\* "The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," book vi. c. i.

† "Lettres sur les Anglais," Lettre viii.

‡ "Esprit des Lois," Book xix. c. 27; and he elsewhere writes:—"L'Angleterre est à présent le plus libre pays qui soit au monde, je n'en excepte aucune république; je l'appelle libre, parceque le prince n'a le pouvoir de faire aucun tort imaginable à qui que ce soit, par la raison que son pouvoir est contrôlé et borné par un acte . . . . Quand un homme en Angleterre aurait autant d'ennemis qu'il a de cheveux sur la tête, il ne lui en arriverait rien. C'est beaucoup, car la santé de l'âme est aussi nécessaire que celle du corps."

§ In Jan. 1754.

And now let us turn to the intellectual order. It was in 1688 that Locke first published his famous essay,\* which, as I have shown in previous papers,† did more than anything else to shape the course of continental thought. Here I may, perhaps, be allowed to cite the following passage from one of them :

No doubt earlier thinkers held many or all of the opinions which were most distinctive of him. But Locke was the first to formulate, systematize, and popularize the theory which we find in the "Essay on the Human Understanding." His system is the logical embodiment of the principle of self; of that doctrine of the independence and all sufficiency of the human reason which is the *raison d'être*, the soul of Protestantism. He claims that the individual—the centre of his system—shall comprehend and explain everything, and accept no principles until "fully convinced of their certainty;" and in this, as he judges, "consists the freedom of the understanding." With him the senses are all in all. They are not merely the windows through which the soul looks out on the external world, but the actual sources of cognition. The mind is not the active judge, but the passive recipient of their impressions. The will is not, in truth, free‡ for him, nor is it an instrument of knowledge; neither is faith an intellectual act, its object truth, its result certitude. His method is purely physical, and everything in our compound nature which does not come within its scope—the immaterial, the supersensual, the mysterious—he ignores. That there is any sentient power in man, inherent and independent of sensation, any *αισθησις τῆς ψυχῆς*, any *sensus intimus*, our first and surest source of knowledge, he does not understand. He puts aside those "prima principia quorum cognitio est nobis innata,"§ of which St. Thomas speaks; he knows nothing of what a grave author of his own age denominates "rational instincts, anticipations, prenotions, or sentiments, characterized and engraven in the soul, born with it, and growing up with it."|| These things belong to a region of our nature which he did not frequent, and he dismisses them as dreams, not understanding that, in truth—

we are such stuff  
As dreams are made of :

and thus, the ideal and spiritual world shut off, he conceives of man (to use Coleridge's words) "as an animal endowed with a memory of appearances and facts," and from that point of view unfolds his theory of the Human Understanding. He is the St. Thomas of *Renaissance*

\* In an abridged form, in Leclerc's "Bibliothèque Universelle." It appears in its completeness in 1690.

† See the first of these studies on the eighteenth century in the DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1879, and the third in January, 1880.

‡ I mean he does not recognize freewill as a "spiritual supersensuous force in man."

§ "De Mente," Art. 6 ad 6 m.

|| Sir Matthew Hale's "Primitive Origination of Mankind," p. 66.

thought—the initiator of the sceptical movement in the ultimate phase which bolder and more logical minds worked out.

But as I go on to show, his own application of his method was partial and inconsistent, nor was it in this country that it reached its full development. In Mr. Leslie Stephens' words\* "the sceptical movement passed from England to France," where Locke's Essay became, as Heine expresses it, "the Gospel of the *philosophes*—the Gospel they swore by." He is the very source and fount whence Voltaire and Rousseau and Diderot, and the whole tribe of the Encyclopædists, who were to be the ultimate exponents of the Renaissance principle of scepticism, derived their doctrines which ruled, in the mind of continental Europe, throughout the *siècle Français*. Meanwhile, in England we have the spectacle of the repudiation of his own spiritual offspring by the introducer of the new philosophy. Toland and Tindal, Collins and Woolston, were undoubtedly, in their different degrees, but the logical unfolders of Locke's doctrine, and the consistent followers of his method. And the earliest of these writers avowed and gloried in this fact, much to his master's indignation and disgust. Toland's "Christianity not Mysterious" appeared in 1696, and, as Mr. Stephens tells us, the author "attempted to gain a place in social and literary esteem by boasting of intimacy with Locke, and by engrafting his speculations upon Locke's doctrines. Locke emphatically repudiated this unfortunate disciple, whose personal acquaintance with him was slight, and whose theories he altogether disavowed."† There can be no question that Locke was as sincere as he was inconsistent, and there can be as little question that "his inconsistency recommended him to his countrymen." The English mind throughout the last century was entirely out of sympathy with the sceptical movement, and—singular contrast to France!—the intellectual leaders of the country, Newton and Bentley, Clarke and Butler, Berkeley and Addison, Swift and Pope, Johnson and Burke, were upon the other side. The four chief names to be set against these are Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury, Hume and Gibbon. Of these Hume—with the single exception of Swift, perhaps—the keenest intellect and acutest logician of the century, was undoubtedly the greatest, but he attracted very few readers.‡ Moreover, his corrosive scepticism is veiled under a semblance of respect for Christianity, and his

\* "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. p. 89.

† Ibid., p. 93.

‡ "His first book 'fell dead-born from the press.' Few of its successors had a much better fate. The uneducated masses were, of course, beyond his reach. Amongst the educated minority he had but few readers, and amongst the few readers, still fewer who could appreciate his thoughts."—"English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. p. 1.

“Dialogues on Natural Religion,” in which his real opinions find most explicit expression, did not appear until after his death, which took place in 1776. It was in that year that Gibbon published the first two volumes of his “Decline and Fall,” and the indignation with which they were received showed how uncongenial to the English mind were the views which they presented regarding the rise and spread of Christianity. It was not until a later period than that with which I am now concerned that this work exercised much influence in this country. The two earlier writers on the sceptical side whom I have mentioned are intellectually of much less account than these. Bolingbroke was indeed in his day a very considerable figure, not only in the political, but also in the literary world. But I suppose that Pope summed up the general verdict about him, when he pronounced him to be “a very great wit and a very indifferent philosopher.” It was in the poet’s own beautiful “Essay on Man” that the fatalism and naturalism which his friend called Theism, relieved by poetical ornament and a mild infusion of orthodoxy, affected the public mind most largely, and not, as I venture to think, altogether injuriously. The influence of Shaftesbury was more direct, and apparently more detrimental. “Mr. Pope,” writes Warburton in one of his letters to Hurd, “told me that to his knowledge the ‘Characteristics’ had done more harm to Revealed Religion than all the works of infidelity put together.”\* It may well be doubted, however, whether that work reached a very extensive circle of readers, and to me, I own, it is inconceivable that its teaching should have deeply affected any man. Shaftesbury, if I may compare him with an eminent living writer, a very long way his superior, occupies in the speculative thought of the eighteenth century much the same place as that which is occupied by Mr. Matthew Arnold in the speculative thought of the nineteenth. The terminology of the two of course differs. In the place of the “sweetness and light” now confidently recommended to men as “the sovereign’st thing on earth” for the “inward bruise” of human nature, our ancestors a hundred and fifty years ago were exhorted to “cultivate the beautiful and the true.” Instead of “a power not ourselves, a stream of tendency that makes for righteousness,” the superior person of the last century prophesied to mankind of “a universal harmony.” But the difference seems to be merely on the surface: the doctrine substantially the same; and we may be pretty sure that in the kind and extent of the influence now exercised by the gospel of “culture” we have an approximately correct measure of the kind and extent of the influence exercised by the philosophy

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\* Letter xvii.

which, as its accomplished chief declared, was only "good breeding carried a step higher."\* If Pope was right in his judgment that Shaftesbury's "Characteristics" did more harm to Revealed Religion than "all the works of infidelity put together," it may be reasonably concluded that the mischief effected by "the works of infidelity" was not very widespread. And, indeed, there is a vast amount of evidence that the professed assailants of Christianity quite failed to read the general mind. I do not think that any competent critic will dissent from the conclusion expressed by Mr. Mark Pattison in his very carefully written essay on "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England from 1688 to 1750," that "although a loose kind of Deism might be the tone of fashionable circles," "disbelief of Christianity was by no means the general state of the public mind;" that "notwithstanding the universal complaint of the High Church party as to the prevalence of infidelity, this mode of thinking was confined to a small section of society." M. Taine notes that "in the time of Johnson public opinion was enlisted on the side of Christianity."† And Burke, writing in 1790, while acknowledging that the authors "whom the vulgar, in their blunt homely style, call atheists and infidels," "made some noise in their day," testifies that "at present they repose in lasting oblivion." "Who, born within the last forty years," he continues, "has read one word of Collins and Toland, and Tindal, of Chubb and Morgan, and that whole race that called themselves Freethinkers? Who now reads Bolingbroke? Who ever read him through? Ask the booksellers of London what is become of all these lights of the world? In a few years their few successors will go to the family vault of all the Capulets."‡ Such was the striking difference in the eighteenth century between the popular mind in England and in France. The barber who in Paris exclaimed to a customer,— "Ah, monsieur,

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\* It may be well to subjoin here the following somewhat different estimate formed by Mr. Leslie Stephen—"The third Lord Shaftesbury is one of the writers whose reputation is scarcely commensurate with the influence which he once exerted. His teaching is to be traced through much of our literature, though often curiously modified by the medium through which it has passed. He speaks to us in Pope's poetry and in Butler's theology. All the ethical writers are related to him, more or less directly, by sympathy or opposition. During his life, he and his friend Lord Molesworth were the chief protectors of Toland and Tindal, and Bolingbroke took many hints from his pages. The power is perhaps due less to his literary faculty, for in spite of his merits, he is a wearisome and perplexed writer, than to the peculiar position which he occupied in speculation, and which at once separates him from his contemporaries, and enabled him to be a valuable critic and stimulator of thought."—*English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 18.

† "Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise," l. iii. c. 6.

‡ "Reflections on the French Revolution."

je ne suis qu'un misérable perruquier ; mais (proudly) je ne crois pas en Dieu plus qu'un autre," would have been impossible in London. It is curious, too, and noteworthy, that in this country the weapons used against the continuators of the sceptical movement which Locke immediately initiated, were almost all fabricated in the armoury of that thinker. While the French *philosophes* resorted to him for arguments against the Christian religion, British divines learnt of him to defend it. His treatise on the "Reasonableness of Christianity," is the first of the apologies and rumours of apologies which did duty for theology with the English clergy throughout the eighteenth century, and of which we have the best and maturest fruit in Paley's writings.\* It was rather as the father of such as make evidences, than as "the founder of the analytical philosophy of the human mind," that his influence was chiefly felt in England. To prove that religion was (as he had alleged) "reasonable," and then to establish the genuineness and authenticity of the ancient documents upon which they relied for a knowledge of it: such was the end and aim which the clergy, ambitious of adding to the literature of their profession, almost invariably proposed to themselves, until the rise of the Evangelical school. And, like Mr. Thwackum, when they said religion, they meant the Christian religion, and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England. They were, in fact, the professional defenders of the

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\* The anonymous writer of the "Brief Memoir of the Author" prefixed to Paley's Works (Tegg's Edition, 1835) observes:—"It has been the peculiar merit of Paley to have produced a series of works which calls forth the highest tribute of our veneration and respect, whilst yet they present no claims to great originality and genius." But considerable originality and genius are manifested in what is certainly the most valuable of them—his "Natural Theology;" and I note with pleasure the testimony to its enduring value borne by Sir William Thomson, in his Address to the British Association in 1871. "I feel profoundly convinced," this very competent authority told his hearers, "that the argument of design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations. Reaction against the frivolities of teleology, such as are to be found, not rarely, in the notes of the learned commentators on Paley's 'Natural Theology,' has, I believe, had a temporary effect of turning attention from the solid, irrefragable argument so well put forward in that excellent old book. But overpowering proof of intelligence and benevolent design lies all around us; and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living beings depend upon one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." I may observe that Paley's evidential writings do not fall within the period with which I am concerned. His "View of the Evidences" was published in 1794; his "Natural Theology" in 1802.

ecclesiastical system by law established, whereby they had their gain, and they conceived of it chiefly as a system of moral police. There was one writer among them indeed who took higher ground; who set himself seriously and dispassionately to look in the face the tremendous problems of man's destiny, and to find their solution, not in what Johnson called "the Old Bailey theology," which put the Apostles on their trial for forgery and acquitted them, but in the voice of conscience as the revelation of those "unwritten and eternal laws" of which the tragic poet speaks, that are graven on the fleshly tables of man's heart. To me, Butler, with his profound feeling of the "immeasurable world," the steady unflinching gaze of his "open eyes" that "desire the truth," into the abysmal mysteries which underlie human life, his unswerving resolve to speak neither more nor less than that he knew, to testify what he had seen and nothing else, stands out as the sole heroic figure in the somewhat motley crowd of British apologists.

But Butler's immediate influence does not seem to have been great. Nor, indeed, can it be said that his ultimate influence has been entirely in support of the cause which he set himself to defend. As to the other evidence—writers who flourished in the hundred years with which I am concerned, there is perhaps not one of them whose labours had much appreciable result beyond that of putting money in his purse and securing for himself ecclesiastical preferment. Warburton, upon the whole, probably, the most considerable of them, may stand for a type of the rest. He considered his demonstration of the Mosaic religion to "fall very little short of mathematical certainty." Most of the other apologists thought the same of their performances: their "Trials of the Witnesses," their "Essays on Truth," their "Appeals to Common Sense," and the like. But to all of them a remark of Mr. Leslie Stephen, *versus* the Warburtonians may be fairly applied. They all display the same "unwillingness to face the final questions." They give us nothing but bare logomachy. It is quite certain that they made no deep impression upon the public mind, although its sympathies were with them. The great mass of Englishmen regarded them and their demonstrations, which did not demonstrate, much in the same way as Mr. Tennyson's "Northern Farmer" regarded the homilies of his Parson:—

An' I hallus comed to 's choorch afoor moy Sally wur deäd,  
 An' 'eerd un a bummin' awaäy loike a buzzard-clock \* ower my yeäd,  
 En' I niver knaw'd whot a mäan'd but I thowt a 'ad summüt to saäy,  
 An' I thowt a said what a owt to 'a said, an' I comed awaäy.

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\* Cockchafer.

It was not by these "deep divines" that religion as a real living energy, potent to cleanse the hearts and to rule the lives of men, was preserved in England during the last century; not by these, but by a set of men whom they stigmatised as enthusiasts, and against whom they manifested an aversion no less strong than that which they displayed towards Papists and Free-thinkers. It is not easy to over-estimate the spiritual darkness and moral degradation which had crept over the country within a quarter of a century after the Revolution of 1688. I cannot here enter upon a detailed inquiry as to the causes to which this is attributable. The natural tendency of Protestantism is towards a shadowy Theism and a brutal animalism. But above and beyond this there can be no doubt that the depression of the High Church element in the Anglican Establishment had greatly impaired it as a moral power in the country. The expulsion of the Non-jurors, the silencing of Convocation, the Latitudinarian policy of the House of Hanover, significantly illustrated by the promotion of Hoadly to the Bishopric of Bangor, the year after George I.'s accession, did much to water down the orthodoxy and to weaken the spiritual influence of Anglicanism. Then, again, the degradation of the Eucharistic rite of the Established Church into a legal test, dealt a deadly wound to religion itself through its most sacred ordinance. A form of godliness indeed remained and was jealously cherished—as much, perhaps, out of popular hatred against Catholic and Puritan as for any other reason. But its power seemed to have passed away, and as some keen observers judged, to have passed away for ever. Thus Voltaire, who visited England in 1726, when the Unitarian Controversy was being agitated, wrote:—"Le parti d'Arius prend très-mal son temps de réparaître dans un âge où tout le monde est rassasié de disputes et de sectes." And he adds, with evident satisfaction,—“On est si tiède a présent sur tout cela qu'il n'y a plus guère de fortune à faire pour une religion nouvelle ou renouvelée.” It was in that year that John Wesley was elected Fellow of Lincoln College, and began the movement in which he laboured so abundantly until his death in 1791. As he tells us in the preface to his sermons, he found that "formality, mere outside religion," had "almost driven heart religion out of the world." To bring that "heart religion" back was the work to which he devoted his life, and for which he counted not his life dear. To speak in detail of his work would take me far beyond my present limits. I can do little more here than quote certain words of my own written elsewhere two years ago:—

"Among the figures conspicuous in the history of England in the last century," I observed, "there is perhaps none more worthy of



careful study than that of John Wesley. Make all deductions you please for his narrowness, his self-conceit, his extravagance, and still it remains that no one so nearly approaches the fulness of stature of the great heroes of Christian spiritualism in the Early and Middle Ages. He had more in common with St. Boniface and St. Bernardine of Sienna, with St. Vincent Ferrer, and Savonarola, than any religious teacher whom Protestantism has ever produced. Nor is the rise of the sect which has adopted his name—the people called Methodists, was his way of designating his followers—by any means the most important of the results of his life and labours. It is not too much to say that he and those whom he formed and influenced chiefly kept alive in England the idea of a supernatural order during the dull materialism and selfish coldness of the eighteenth century.”\*

But the point with which I am here concerned is that this great and fruitful revival of “the religion of the heart,” (in Wesley’s phrase), would have been, humanly speaking, impossible, had it not been for the hold which “the mere outside religion” still maintained. It was not in the character of an opponent of the National Church, but as its true and faithful son, that Wesley commended himself to the people. To its Articles, its formularies, its ritual, its discipline, he unfeignedly, nay, zealously adhered; he desired neither to fall short of them nor to overpass them. He was perfectly loyal to them, and his burning desire to make them living realities to “a generation of triflers” (as he expressed himself), was the supreme evidence of his loyalty. And so in one of his sermons† before the University of Oxford he insists that the question wherewith he is concerned is not of “peculiar notions;” not “concerning doubtful opinions of one kind or another; but concerning the undoubted fundamental branches, if such there be, of our common Christianity.” And he goes on to appeal solemnly to the authorities of the University, “in the fear and in the presence of the great God before whom both you and I shall shortly appear.”

“Ye venerable men,” he pleads, “who are more especially called to form the tender minds of youth, to dispel thence the shades of ignorance and error, and train them up to be wise unto salvation, are you filled with the Holy Ghost? With all those fruits of the Spirit which your important office so indispensably requires? Is your heart whole with God? Full of love and zeal to set up His kingdom on earth? Do you continually remind those under your care that the one rational end of all our studies is to know, love, and serve ‘the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent?’ Do

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\* This passage is taken from an article of mine in the *Fortnightly Review* of July, 1879.

† Preached in 1744.

you inculcate upon them, day by day, that love alone never faileth (whereas whether there be tongues, they shall fail, or philosophical knowledge, it shall vanish away); and that without love all learning is but splendid ignorance, pompous folly, vexation of spirit? Has all you teach an actual tendency to the love of God, and of all mankind for his sake? Have you an eye to this end in whatever you prescribe, touching the kind, the manner, and the measure of their studies; desiring and labouring that, wherever the lot of these young soldiers of Christ is cast, they may be so many 'burning and shining lights adorning the Gospel of Christ in all things?' And permit me to ask, Do you put forth all your strength in the vast work you have undertaken? Do you labour herein with all your might? Exerting every faculty of your soul? Using every talent which God hath lent you, and that to the uttermost of your power? Let it not be said that I speak here as if all under your care were intended to be clergymen. Not so; I only speak as if they were all intended to be Christians."

Such was the spirit in which John Wesley entered upon his mission. And the allegiance, ignorant as it was, of the masses to the National Church and the Christian religion supplied him with the fulcrum whereon he worked. The lever with which he moved the popular mind was the principle of faith. He appealed to what his hearers already believed, really however otiosely, and to their hopes and fears thence resulting, declaring unto them Him whom they ignorantly worshipped. And so England listened to a message which had been little heard in the land since the great schism of the sixteenth century. For the message of John Wesley and his disciples was substantially that of the Catholic preachers of the Middle as of the Apostolic Age: the announcement of a supernatural order as a reality, and the prime reality: the proclamation of "justice, chastity, and judgment to come:" the call to penance. They

"declared that mankind was a guilty and outcast race, that sin was a misery, that the world was a snare, that life was a shadow, that God was everlasting, that His law was holy and true, and its sanctions certain and terrible; that He also was all merciful, that He had appointed a Mediator between Him and them, who had removed all obstacles, and was desirous to restore them, and that He had sent themselves to explain how. They expostulated with the better sort on the ground of their instinctive longings and dim visions of something greater than the world. They awed and overcame the passionate by means of what remained of heaven in them, and of the involuntary homage which such men pay to the more realized tokens of heaven in others. They asked the more generous-minded whether it was not worth while to risk something on the chance of augmenting and perfecting those precious elements of good which their hearts still held; and they could not hide, what they cared not to 'glory in,' their own disinterested sufferings, their high deeds, and their sanctity of

life. Thus they spread their nets for disciples, and caught thousands at a cast; thus they roused and inflamed their hearers into enthusiasm. So they preached, and so they prevailed, using, indeed, persuasives of every kind as they were given them, but resting at bottom on a principle higher than the senses or the reason."\*

But this great and fruitful revival of spiritual religion would, as I have observed (humanly speaking) have been impossible, had it not been for the hold which the Established Church still maintained upon the mind of the country. The very success of the Methodist preachers is a sufficient proof how much vitality, under the appearance of death, still lurked in the national creed, with its large fragments of Catholic truth, instinct, like relics, with supernatural power. The Protestant prelates of the age—the Warburtons and Lavingtons—were no more at fault in scenting Popery in the new preachers, than were the Sumners and Maltbys of our own day in detecting the same taint in Tractarianism. Not indeed that the Methodists had any conscious leaning towards Catholicism. So far were they from it that their founder in one place records his opinion that “no Romanist can expect to be saved according to the terms of the covenant of Jesus Christ,”† But they were, in Lacordaire’s admirable phrase, “children unknown to their mother, though borne in her womb.” The reality of grace, its direct and sensible influence upon the human soul, the supreme excellence and importance of the spiritual and supernatural order, the contemptibleness and illusoriness of the phenomenal world, tenets which were of the essence of medieval faith, and which the religious revolution of the sixteenth century cast out in order to lead the world back—as it has in great part led it—to Naturalism and Materialism, were also of the essence of original Methodism. M. Taine notes, with a *naïveté* of surprise which is very winning, the phenomenon—to him unaccountable—that the “sap re-entered the old dogmas dried up for five hundred years.” Consummate master of words as he is, he seems to be at a loss for expressions adequately to convey his surprise that Wesley, “a scholar and an Oxford student,” “believed in the devil,”—not merely from the teeth, outwards, but in his heart: “saw the hand of God in the commonest event of life:” “fasted and wearied himself until he spat blood and almost died.”‡ “What could such a man,” he asks, “have done in

\* Cardinal Newman’s “Lectures on Justification,” p. 268. The words cited form part of a description of the procedure of the Apostles. (“The Apostles then proceeded thus.”) It is noteworthy that they so aptly apply to the Methodist preachers of the last century.

† “Journal,” 1739.

‡ “La Littérature Anglaise,” l. iii. 3c. I do not know how M. Taine computes his “five hundred years” above mentioned. But that is his affair.

France in the eighteenth century?" What he did in England we have seen. And the fact that he did it is to my mind a sufficient proof how little our people were affected by any intellectual movement parallel to that which was destroying the very root of spiritualism in the French nation, and which was to issue in the monstrous spectacle of a great country, which held the first rank in Christendom, while Christendom was, making public profession of Atheism.

It appears to me then that when we survey the eighteenth century, we may truly say—

in the world's volume,  
Our Britain seems as in it, but not of it.

Both in the political and in the spiritual order, England stands apart from the rest of Europe. While in the nations of the Continent the last remains of medieval liberty were disappearing before renescent Cæsarism, and Christianity, the best pledge of liberty because an incomparable instrument of morality, was being sapped by the sensualistic philosophy, with us "freedom slowly broadened down," and the greatest spiritual movement of modern times breathed new life into the religion of the country. And this we owe mainly, as it seems to me, to the Revolution of 1688. When William III. landed at Torbay, England was on the very verge of despotism. The course of our history during the two centuries that Tudors and Stuarts had borne sway in the land, was, upon the whole, a steady progress towards absolutism. The Puritan Rebellion checked it for a brief season. But Charles II. was actuated by substantially the same spirit as Charles I.; and when death struck him down in the midst of his buffoons and concubines, he was upon the point of attaining that independence of constitutional restraints at which he had ever aimed. The dullness of his successor saved English liberty. James II. was as lacking in the tact and knowledge of men which his brother possessed in so eminent a degree, as in those personal gifts which constituted not the least effective instrument whereby Charles II. attained his ends. He contrived, with a fatuity for which I know not where to find a parallel, to array against himself the strongest feelings of Englishmen—nationality, political independence, legality, Protestantism. He stood, as he told the Spanish Ambassador, to win or lose all. He lost, and his loss was the incalculable gain of the English nation. What we gained in the political order was the preservation of our medieval liberties,\* and

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\* Upon this subject some very just remarks will be found in Archbishop Spalding's *Essay on Civil Liberty*. "What did the Revolution of 1688 effect?" the most reverend prelate inquires. And he answers: "It did no more than restore to England the provisions of her Catholic Magna

the banishment from our country of the Renaissance idea of monarchy. The Bill of Rights, as Lord Chatham happily expressed it, merely "vindicated the English Constitution." "Except in the article of the dispensing power," writes Hallam, "we cannot say, on comparing the Bill of Rights with what is proved to be the law by statute, or generally esteemed to be such on the authority of our best writers, that it took away any legal power of the Crown, or enlarged the limits of popular and Parliamentary privilege."\* And as he elsewhere expresses it, the Revolution of 1688 was the triumph of those principles which in the present day are denominated liberal or constitutional over absolute monarchy. But, as Lord Macaulay points out:—

The Declaration of Right, though it made nothing law which had not been law before, contained the germ of the law which gave religious freedom to the Dissenter, of the law which secured the independence of the judges, of the law which limited the duration of Parliaments, of the law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries, of the law which prohibited the slave trade, of the law which abolished the sacramental test, of the law which reformed the representative system, of every good law which may hereafter, in the course of ages, be found necessary to promote the public weal and to satisfy the demands of public opinion.†

Such was our gain in the political order, and it is closely connected with our gain in the spiritual. There is a strong sympathy, an intimate connection between atheism and despotism, whether the tyrant be one or legion, an autocrat or a mob. Both are the expression, in different orders, of the same principle—the principle of materialism. Both involve the negation of the value and rights of the spiritual side of man's nature. The theory of Hobbes was the fitting complement of the practice of the Stuarts, and was no less uncongenial to the mass of Englishmen. For as Milton, who knew his countrymen well, has noted, "The Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity."‡ There is a true instinct in the popular mind which teaches it that the cause of civil and spiritual liberty is in truth identical. Hence it is that a priesthood which sinks into the flatterer and tool of Absolutism is sure to lose its hold upon the heart and conscience of the people. Beneath its sacred vestments they discern the royal or imperial livery. They recognize

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Charta, which instrument during the three hundred years preceding the Reformation had been renewed and extended at least thirty times. . . . It did no more than repair the ravages committed by Protestantism on the Constitution during the previous one hundred and fifty years, and to restore that Constitution to its ancient Catholic integrity" (p. 31).

\* "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 105.

† "History of England," vol. ii. p. 397.

‡ "Reason of Church Government," Book I. c. 7.

the words of Balac although proceeding from the mouth of Balaam. The French clergy supply us with only too signal an illustration of this truth. From the hour in which (to use the emphatic expression of Innocent XI.) they betrayed the sacred cause of the liberties of the Church to Louis XIV., they forfeited not only the affection, but even the respect of their countrymen, to the incalculable loss of the French nation. They identified their cause with the cause of Cæsar. And they fell with Cæsar. Even now that identification subsists in the popular mind, and supplies the chief pretext for the attacks made upon the Church by the so-called Liberals of contemporary France—the true descendants of the Jacobins, whose liberty, as Burke discerned, was not liberal. But while the French Episcopate were perpetrating the semi-apostasy of the Four Articles, the Protestant Bishops of this country were animated by a very different spirit. Although the mere creatures of the civil ruler which (as Elizabeth had reminded one of their order) had made, and could unmake them, although committed by their servile doctrines of immediate divine right and passive obedience to abject submission to the royal will, they dared to stand up against the exercise of a power which they believed to be contrary to the laws and hostile to the religion of their country. “We have two duties to perform,” Ken told the King, “our duty to God and our duty to your Majesty. We honour you, but we fear God.” The words awoke an echo throughout the country. The inferior clergy followed the lead of the Prelates, and the people followed their pastors.

“Never had the Church been so dear to the nation,” writes the historian, “as on . . . that day. The spirit of Dissent seemed to be extinct. Baxter, from his pulpit, pronounced an eulogium on the Bishops and parochial clergy. The Dutch minister . . . wrote to inform the States General that the Anglican Priesthood had risen in the estimation of the public to an incredible degree. The universal cry of the Non-conformists, he said, was, that they would rather continue to lie under the penal statutes than separate their cause from that of the prelates.”\*

The effect of the trial of the seven Bishops was to identify the Established Church with the nation in a way in which it never had been identified since the change of religion under Henry VIII.; to present the Anglican clergy, for the first and last time, as the friends and defenders of English liberty, and to purchase for them a century of popularity. And the fact that, for many years after, the majority of them were in opposition to the new Government which they had in no small degree contributed to introduce, was far from injuring that popularity; for it was a manifest token of their independence. Their action might be illogical, but it

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\* Lord Macaulay's "History of England," vol. ii. p. 154.

possessed a persuasiveness beyond that of the finest syllogism. It appealed to the deepest feelings and truest instincts of Englishmen. Nor is it easy to over-estimate the advantage which accrued to the nation from this rehabilitation of its clergy in public esteem. The degradation of the spirituality in the general estimate is invariably accompanied by the degradation of the creed which they represent. You cannot in practice separate between the cause of religion and the cause of the ministers of religion. They present themselves as "ambassadors for God." And contempt of the messengers surely leads to contempt of the message. The preservation and increase of the hold of religion and its ministers over the mind and affections of the English nation may then, as it seems to me, be undoubtedly reckoned among our gains by the Revolution of 1688. But this was not the only gain of the nation in the spiritual order. It was the overthrow of the Stuarts which made the great Methodist movement possible. It is only in a free country that such associations as those founded by John Wesley can be formed. Try to picture an analogous movement in the eighteenth century in France, where individual freedom lay crushed under monarchical despotism, and the spiritual life of the people was strangled by the Gallican liberties! And the importance of the work which has been done by Methodism for England, done not only directly, but also and still more, indirectly, cannot easily be over-estimated. I do not think it too much to say that we owe it mainly to Methodism that while France is at heart Voltairean, England is still at heart Christian, however maimed and imperfect its Christianity may be. "Methodism," writes a French critic of great name, not likely to be prejudiced in its favour, "Methodism has changed the face of England. Yes; England as we know it at this day, with its chaste and grave literature, its biblical language, its national piety, with its middle classes in whose exemplary morality lies the true strength of the country, this England is the work of Methodism."\*

And now let me, in conclusion, say one word to meet an objection which may reasonably be urged against a Catholic writer who takes the view which I have put forward, of the Revolution of 1688. It may be said that, after all, James II. was a Catholic: that one of his objects undoubtedly was to advance the Catholic religion; and that the vast majority of English and Scotch Catholics, as well as the Catholic nation of Ireland, sympathized with his cause. All this must be admitted. But I do not see that it touches my argument. I have been considering the last of our Catholic kings, not from a religious, but from a political

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\* Scherer: "Mélanges d'Histoire Religieuse," p. 207.

point of view. A man may be a very sincere Catholic and a very poor statesman. And can anyone who sets himself to consider the question in the light of the facts and analogies of history, suppose that had James II. succeeded in his machinations against English liberty, the Catholic cause would have been eventually the gainer? In his day the anti-Catholic tradition was deeply rooted in the English mind. And the time had passed when the religion of a nation could be changed by the will of a Sovereign. A few more converts might have been made of the calibre of most of those who followed him into Catholic communion: men whose honour was less than doubtful, and women whose reputation was more than cracked. But in the long run the result would inevitably have been that instead of "a revolution in due course of law"—to use the Duke of Wellington's phrase—we should have had a Revolution uncontrolled by law, for our laws would have perished: a Revolution of which a general proscription of Papists would undoubtedly have been a marked feature. And so the last state of the Catholic religion in this country would have been worse than the first. Doubtless, we should all have been Jacobites had we lived in those days. It is as Clough asks—

What do we see? Each man a space  
Of some few yards before his face.

The broader and truer view of political struggles is, as a general rule, hidden from the generation engaged in them, and revealed only to posterity. But there is one notable exception to the rule. It is mere matter of fact that in "the princely line of the Roman Pontiffs" a larger and more prescient mind has ruled than can be traced in any secular dynasty; in any school of statesmen wise merely with the wisdom of this world. As Cardinal Newman has happily said:—"If ever there was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations, whose words have been facts, and whose commands prophecies, such is he, in the history of ages, who sits from generation to generation in the chair of the Apostles, as the Vicar of Christ and the Doctor of His Church."\* And so at the momentous period of our national history of which I am speaking, we find the illustrious Pontiff who then sustained the care of all the Churches—surely one of the greatest figures in the annals of the Papacy—we find Innocent XI. disapproving strongly of the policy of James II., and sustaining with all his influence the cause of William for the rescue of our perishing liberties.† It is, of

\* "Idea of a University," p. 13.

† Perhaps I may be allowed to repeat here the following note appended to Part I. of this Essay:—"Much exceedingly valuable information on this subject will be found in the seventh volume of Droysen's 'Geschichte der Preussische Politik.' It has long been known that Innocent saw with



course, extremely improbable that Innocent was actuated by any special regard for our constitutional rights, or indeed, that he possessed much information about them. It was that "eye for the times," of which Cardinal Newman speaks, that guided him—that prophetic presage, too amply justified by the event, as to the ultimate issue of the system of monarchical absolutism which found its type in Louis XIV. His policy, as we know, was openly blamed then by many of his spiritual children, and secretly wondered at by many more. But now, surely, we may confess its wisdom: now, when England stands out as well nigh the only country in Europe in which the framework of society still rests upon the foundations—never overthrown in this nation—of Christianity and freedom, in which "civil and religious liberty" is not an empty phrase but a solid fact.

Now, if ever [wrote Lord Macaulay in 1848, and his words come to us with no less weight at the present time], we ought to be able to appreciate the whole importance of the stand which was made by our forefathers against the House of Stuart. All around us the world is convulsed by the agonies of great nations. Governments, which lately seemed likely to stand during ages, have been on a sudden shaken and overthrown. The proudest capitals of Western Europe have streamed with civil blood. All evil passions, the thirst of gain and the thirst of vengeance, the antipathy of class to class, the antipathy of race to race, have broken loose from the control of divine and human laws. Fear and anxiety have clouded the faces and depressed the hearts of millions. Trade has been suspended, and industry paralyzed. The rich have become poor; and the poor have become poorer. Doctrines hostile to all sciences, to all arts, to all industry, to all domestic charities, doctrines which, if carried into effect, would in thirty years undo all that thirty centuries have done for mankind, and would make the fairest provinces of France and Germany as savage as Congo or Patagonia, have been avowed from the tribune and defended by the sword. Europe has been threatened with subjugation by barbarians compared with whom the barbarians who marched under Attila and Alboin were enlightened and humane. The truest friends of the people have with deep sorrow owned that interests more precious than any political privileges were in jeopardy, and that it might be necessary to sacrifice even liberty in order to save civilization. Meanwhile in our island the regular course of government has never been for a day interrupted. The few bad men who longed for license and plunder have not had the courage to confront for one moment the strength of a loyal nation, rallied in firm array round a parental throne. And if it be asked what has made us differ from others, the answer is that we never lost what others are wildly and blindly seeking to regain. It is because we had a preserving revolution in the seventeenth century that we have not had a destroying revolution

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pleasure the downfall of James. But Professor Droysen's researches have thrown a flood of light upon the Pontiff's share in bringing about that event."

in the nineteenth. It is because we had freedom in the midst of servitude that we have order in the midst of anarchy. For the authority of law, for the security of property, for the peace of our streets, for the happiness of our homes, our gratitude is due, under Him who raises and pulls down nations at his pleasure, to the Long Parliament, to the Convention, and to William of Orange.\*

W. S. LILLY.

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ART. II.—THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS AND THE  
PAGAN TEMPLES.

1. *L'Art Païen sous les Empereurs Chrétiens.* Par PAUL ALLARD. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1879.
2. *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident.* Par A. BEUGNOT. Deux tomes. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1835.
3. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana,* 1867, 1868. Del Comendatore GIOV. B. DE ROSSI. Roma.

**M.** PAUL ALLARD has done great service to the Church by bringing out in sharp relief the benefits which the human race owes to the action of Christian principles. He did this very effectively in the case of slavery, and in his last work he has vindicated the Church from the charge of fanaticism with regard to the monuments of Pagan art. He thus contrasts favourably with Beugnot, whose work, full as it is of most valuable information, is disfigured by his evident inclination to credit any story which tells to the disadvantage of Christian prelates, and his sympathies with Paganism rather than with Christianity. The same spirit may be traced in our own Dean Milman, and of course in Gibbon. We could wish that M. Allard would undertake to re-write the "History of the Destruction of Paganism." He has the advantage of all the sources of information of which M. Beugnot has made such use, while he has also at hand the vast additional matter which the scientific labours of De Rossi have brought within the reach of all students of Christian Archæology. His work on Pagan Art shows how well he is able to apply these varied materials, and the admirable Christian spirit with which he writes wins our confidence and respect.

In the present article we propose to deal with only a portion of the great subject of the Christian treatment of Pagan art. Far from attempting to epitomize the volumes of Beugnot, we

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\* "History of England," vol. ii. p. 397.

shall not follow the history even to the extent to which M. Allard goes, but confine ourselves to the treatment of the Pagan temples by the Christian emperors up to the time of the capture of Rome by the Goths.

The greatest revolution that ever took place in the history of the world is the conversion of the Roman empire from heathenism to Christianity, and every phase of that revolution is full of the deepest interest. At the death of Augustus there was not so much as one Christian in the world; at the death of Constantine, 323 years later, more than half the then known world was Christian. And this revolution was effected by means which are even more worthy of attention than the fact itself. To use the eloquent words of the Comte de Champagne:—

Where is there any mention of an insurrection, a league, or a riot among the Christians? Here was no one of the ordinary circumstances of a revolution. Those who were proscribed, concealed themselves, or fled; those who were arrested, suffered death without resistance. And this is repeated thousands of times, and each succeeding age saw it repeated more frequently. Every time that force resolved to destroy it found a greater number to be destroyed. Insomuch that, at last, this war, in which one party only inflicted death and never suffered it, while the other party only suffered and never inflicted it, ended in the triumph of the party which died over that which slew. The sword fell shivered against breasts which offered themselves to it.

And this event stands by itself in the history of the world. This universal resignation, this courage, so heroically, so constantly passive; and still more this triumph, won only by dying, has no single parallel in history. No sect, no religion, has ever encountered the sword with the absolute passiveness which was the characteristic of the primitive Christians; or if there has been any one which ever practised it, that one has been crushed. Christianity alone, so far as I can learn, has ever submitted itself in this manner; Christianity alone, most unquestionably, has ever gained such a victory by so submitting itself.\*

But was the victory gained by this more than mortal patience used as nobly as it had been won? Did the Christians when they came into power use that power for the welfare of the human race, or did they take advantage of it to persecute those who had oppressed them so long and so cruelly? Looking at the broad facts of history, we may safely affirm that they did use it nobly, because the few exceptions that a close examination brings to light, disappear at the distance at which we must stand if we would take in the whole of the fourth and fifth centuries at a glance. The Fathers of the Christian Church knew how to combine a supreme hatred of idolatry with a tender compassion for the idolators themselves. Nay, they went further. They knew how

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\* "Césars," iii. p 486.

to gather out and preserve, for the benefit of future generations, all that was really good and worth preserving in Pagan literature, Pagan art, and even in Pagan social and religious practices. Our subject at present is the treatment of the heathen temples by the laws enacted by Christian emperors, under the influence of the Fathers of the Christian Church.

The temples were the very seat and stronghold of heathen idolatry. Their altars and statues were the very instruments of that impious worship in which the Christians believed that the heathen offered sacrifice to devils and not to God. It would have been a very pardonable revenge if the Christians had utterly demolished every temple and altar and statue that bore the name of those false gods in whose honour they had been so cruelly persecuted. Such an act might have been justified by zeal for the spiritual welfare of the surviving Pagans, as well as justice to their own martyred brethren. When Henry VIII. wished to blot out the memory of the Pope from the minds of Englishmen he had no scruple in destroying almost all the MSS. in which his name was mentioned, however richly they were illuminated. When Cromwell wished to annihilate prelacy he had no scruple about smashing painted windows and rich carving in churches and cathedrals. Why should the Christians of the fourth century have had any tenderness towards the symbols of a still living and vicious idolatry? It seems so natural to conclude that they would be thoroughgoing Iconoclasts that few readers are disposed to question the assertion of Gibbon, that "The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine."\*

I shall bring evidence to prove that this assertion is very far from being borne out by facts of history. The historian passes on to an eloquent plea for these buildings. He says:—

Many of these temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture, and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactories, or places of public assembly; and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry.†

The course which Gibbon, and Milman,‡ following in his

\* Vol. v. p. 92.

† Vol. v. pp. 104, 105.

‡ "History of Christianity," Bk. III. c. 7, vol. ii. p. 171.

footsteps, pathetically wish had been adopted, was, as we shall see, the precise method followed by the Christian emperors.

To begin with Constantine himself. The ecclesiastical historians, in gratitude for the benefits which the first Christian emperor conferred upon the Church, were somewhat disposed to exaggerate the extent to which he discouraged idolatry. Theodoret tells us that "he enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanded churches to be erected. . . . The temples of the idols were closed."\* Socrates says: "He either closed or destroyed the idolatrous temples, and exposed the images which were in them to popular contempt."† But elsewhere he tells us, with some inconsistency, that "Constantine set up his own statues in the temples."‡ Sozomen says:§ "The worship of false gods was universally prohibited; and the arts of divination, the dedication of statues, and the celebration of Grecian festivals, were interdicted." These, however, were all writers of the fifth century, and Zosimus, the pagan historian of the same period, who regarded Christianity as the cause of all the calamities that were befalling the Roman Empire, and Constantine as the guilty apostate from the gods of Rome, records that emperor's contempt for the heathen gods, but says nothing of the sweeping enactments mentioned by the writers we have quoted.

Eusebius, indeed, the contemporary and devoted friend and panegyrist of Constantine, says: "His subjects, both civil and military, throughout the empire, found a barrier everywhere opposed against idolatry, and every kind of sacrifice forbidden."|| And again: "He issued successive laws and ordinances forbidding any to offer sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images."¶ But Eusebius has enabled us to explain these by preserving Constantine's own words, in a letter addressed by the emperor "to the people of the Eastern provinces," in which, after setting forth his own faith, he breaks out into a devout prayer to God, the Lord of all:—

Under Thy guidance have I devised and accomplished measures fraught with blessing; preceded by Thy sacred sign, I have led armies to victory; and still, on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of Thy perfections, while advancing to meet the foe. My own desire is, for the general advantage of the world and all mankind, that Thy people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who are still blinded by error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal

\* "H. E." i. 2.

† Ibid. i. 3.

‡ Ibid. i. 18.

§ Ibid. i. 8.

|| "Vita Const." iv. 23.

¶ Ibid. iv. 25.

privileges to all will have a powerful effect in leading them into the path of truth. Let no one molest another in this matter, but let everyone be free to follow the bias of his own mind. Only, let men of sound mind be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity whom Thou callest to an acquiescence in Thy holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies; we have the glorious edifice of Thy truth, which Thou hast given us as our native home (*κατὰ φύσιν*). . . . Only let all beware lest they inflict an injury on that religion which experience itself testifies to be pure and undefiled.

Henceforward, therefore, let us all enjoy in common the privileges placed within our reach—I mean the blessing of peace; and let us endeavour to keep our conscience pure from aught that might interrupt and mar this blessing. . . . It is one thing voluntarily to undertake the conflict for immortality, another to compel others to do so from fear of punishment.

These are our words; and we have enlarged upon these topics more than our ordinary clemency would have dictated, because we were unwilling to dissemble or be false to the true faith; and the more so since we understand there are some who say that the rites of the heathen temples, and the powers of darkness, have been entirely removed; we should, indeed, have earnestly recommended such removal to all men, were it not that the rebellious spirit of those wicked errors still continues obstinately fixed in the minds of some, so as to discourage the hope of any general restoration of mankind to the ways of truth.\*

In perfect keeping with these tolerant sentiments is an edict of A.D. 319, in which Constantine says: "You who think it conduces to your advantage, go to the public altars and shrines, and celebrate the solemnities of your own accustomed rite: for we do not forbid the offices of the bye-gone use to be practised in the free light of day."†

These words were intended to reassure the Pagans; for in this same year Constantine had issued a most severe edict against divination in private houses. An *aruspex*, convicted of entering a private house to practise his sorceries was condemned to be burned alive, and those who had called him in to forfeit their goods and to be banished. It must be remembered that the laws of the XII. Tables decreed death to those who practised divination in secret, and the Emperors Tiberius and Diocletian had both enforced this penalty, so that Constantine was in this matter only following in the steps of his predecessors. Two years afterwards he explained more distinctly the kind of divination

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\* "Vit. Const." ii. 55, 56, 59, 60.

† "Cod. Theod." IX. xvi. 2.

which he condemned;\* and in that same year, 321, he wrote to Maximus, prefect of Rome, to order the consultation of the *haruspices*, in case of any public buildings being struck by lightning, in "conformity with ancient custom," in order to see what that event portends.† The fact is, Constantine had accepted the title and office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and performed many acts as chief of the Pagan priesthood. The Pagan Zosimus says: "He made use of the sacred rights of our fathers, not out of reverence, but rather of necessity. . . . And when a national festival occurred on which the army ought to have gone up to the capitol, he turned away from the sacred temple-worship, amidst the violent abuse of the crowd all along the way, and the hatred of the senate and people."‡ This shows us what a difficult position he occupied, and how unlikely it was that he should exasperate his Pagan subjects by a wholesale destruction of their temples. De Rossi has shown that the vestibule of the present Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian is a round temple of Romulus, dedicated by Fabius Titianus, prefect of Rome, in 339, to Constantine himself.§ The emperor accepted the dedication of a similar offering of the people of Spello, in Umbria, in 333, on the condition "that the temple dedicated to our name shall not be polluted by the frauds of any contagious superstition."|| When he died, Eutropius says: "Inter divos meruit referri."¶ The Pagans placed him among their gods, and celebrated festivals in his honour. DIVO CONSTANTINO AVGVSTO appears on monumental inscriptions put up in honour of a prince who had said:\*\* "I recoil with horror from the blood of sacrifices, from their foul and detestable odours, and from every earth-born magic fire; for the profane and impious superstitions which are defiled by these rites have cast down and

\* Beugnot points out that there were among both Greeks and Romans two distinct kinds of divination—"One was legal and public, the other secret and generally forbidden. The first was called by the Greeks *θεουργία*; the second, *γοητεία*. . . . Divination, or *theurgic* magic, was a divine art, which had for its end the perfecting of the mind and purifying of the soul. The persons so favoured as to arrive at *αυροψία*, a state in which they had intimate converse with the gods, believed themselves endowed with their omnipotence. *Goetic* magic, or sorcery, professed by men who had only commerce with the evil demons, was regarded as mischievous and provocative of crime. The adepts of this latter art lived, they said, in places underground; and the obscurity of night, black victims, bones, or whole carcasses of the dead, comported with the horrid nature of their art. They cut the throats of infants, and sought in the entrails of human victims their prognostications of the future."—Op. cit. tom. i. p. 81.

† "Cod. Theod." XVI. xi. 1.

‡ "Bullettino, 1867," p. 68.

§ "Brev." x. 8.

¶ Lib. ii. c. 29.

|| Ibid. p. 69.

consigned to perdition, many, nay whole nations of the gentile world.”\*

But how are we to understand the repeated testimonies of Christian historians that Constantine destroyed heathen temples? We must remember that the Roman senate had forbidden the Bacchanalian rites a century before the Christian era, that Tiberius had destroyed the temple of Isis at Rome, and thrown her image into the Tiber, on account of the fraud and immorality that were carried on there. So Constantine could, without really interfering with the liberty of Pagan worship, root out many of the principal dens of heathen iniquity. For instance, Eusebius tells us:—

There was a grove and temple, apart from the beaten and frequented road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Libanus, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the abandoned votaries of sensuality and impurity. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex . . . here, too, unlawful commerce of women, . . . with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple, as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meanwhile, these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building, with its offerings, should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial command, these engines of an abandoned superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the impurities of the place.†

For a similar reason Constantine destroyed the temple of Venus at Heliopolis, in Phœnicia, and some other hotbeds of vice. No doubt, the statues with which he adorned his new city of Constantinople were taken from heathen temples; but in this he was only following the example of almost every Roman conqueror. Constantine, however, made it very evident that these beautiful specimens of Grecian sculpture were valued solely for their artistic merit, and by no means as objects of adoration. Zosimus indignantly tells us how Constantine transported the image of Rhea, the mother of the gods, from its shrine at Mount Dindymus, and set it up in his new capital, but disrespectfully removed the lions, the symbol of her power, and altered the arms of the statue so as to give the goddess the attitude of a suppliant.‡

Constantius, in 358, went much further than his father, and prohibited public as well as private divination, even in the temples, and confounded the great colleges of the augurs with

\* “Vit.” iv. 10.

† iii. 55.

‡ ii. 30.



the vulgar fortune-tellers, forbidding all divination under penalty of death. In the following year Julian, as Cæsar, countersigned a decree, pursuing diviners even in the antechambers of the princes. In 341, Constantius went further still, and promulgated a law saying: "Let all superstition cease, let the insanity of sacrifices be abolished. For whosoever, contrary to the law of the holy prince our Father, in this command of our clemency, shall venture to offer sacrifices, fitting vengeance shall be taken upon him."\* In 346, he issued another still more stringent edict:—

In all places, and in every city, let the temples be closed forthwith, and access being forbidden to all, license to sin be denied their abandoned votaries. It is our will that all abstain from the sacrifices. That if any one shall perpetrate anything of this kind he shall be laid low by the avenging sword. We decree that his goods shall be confiscated, and rulers of provinces shall be similarly punished if they neglect to avenge such misdeeds.†

Two years later, in 356, Constantius, as sole emperor, decreed: "We order capital punishment to be inflicted on those who are convicted of having assisted at sacrifices or worshipped idols."‡

These laws sound very terrible, but history does not record a single instance of their having been put in execution. Gibbon confesses:—

Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the Church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans saved them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian Code. Instead of asserting that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned.§

However, it is by no means clear that these laws of Constantius were ever enforced. The Pagan Zosimus distinctly says that until the time of Theodosius people "had still the liberty of access to the temples, and of propitiating the gods according to the customs of their fathers."|| Some have thought that these laws were never really promulgated, but only entered on the statute book, and brought to light when the Theodosian Code was compiled. Constantius was the violent persecutor of St. Athanasius

\* "Cod. Theod." XVI. x. 1.

† Ibid. x. 4.

‡ Ibid. 6.

§ "Decline and Fall," vol. v. pp. 118, 119.

|| iv. 29.

and the Catholics, and it is quite possible he may have wished to prove his orthodoxy by issuing these sanguinary edicts against the Pagans. Henry VIII., after breaking off from the Pope, tried to reassure his subjects, and perhaps himself, by the "Six Bloody Articles;" and Louis XIV., at the height of his quarrel with Rome, thought to remove all suspicions by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

In any case, these edicts did not affect the temples themselves. In 346, Constantius, in a Rescript to the Prefect of Rome, directed:—

Although all superstition must be thoroughly rooted out, yet it is our will that the edifices of the temples, which are outside the walls, be preserved intact and uninjured. For since some of them are centres for public games, races, or wrestling matches, it is not proper to destroy the opportunities afforded by them to the Roman people to enjoy the celebration of their ancient amusements.\*

In 356, Constantius came to Rome himself; and the only act hostile to paganism which is recorded of his visit is, that in the Senate House, before making a speech to the senators, he ordered the altar of victory to be removed from the hall. Symmachus says† that "through all the streets of the city he followed the senate, who were filled with joy. He beheld with unruffled countenance the shrines, he read the names of the gods inscribed on the pediments, he inquired particularly into the origin of the various temples, and showed his admiration for their builders."

In 361, Julian was acknowledged by the whole empire, and threw off the mask, and proclaimed himself a Pagan. All was ready to his hand. He had only to dust the altars and statues, and to bring in the processions of priests and victims. Externally, it was easy enough, but the imperial dreamer found it impossible to call back to life the dead spirit of heathenism.

Swift as the radiant shapes of sleep  
 From one whose dreams are Paradise  
 Fly, when the fond wretch wakes to weep,  
 And day peers forth with her blank eyes:  
     So faint, so fleet, so fair,  
     The powers of earth and air  
 Fled from the folding-star of Bethlehem;  
     Apollo, Pan, and Love,  
     And even Olympian Jove  
 Grew weak, for killing Truth had glared on them.  
     Our hills, and seas, and streams,  
     Dispeopled of their dreams,  
 Their waters turned to blood, their dew to tears,  
     Wailed for the golden years.‡

\* "Cod. Theod." XVI. x. 3. † "Epist." x. 61. ‡ Shelley's "Hellas."

The temples were deserted, the ceremonies forgotten. People sneeringly asked, "what was the use of slaughtering so many thousands of bullocks and myriads of white birds?" The oracles could not be got to speak, and in vain did the infatuated emperor "sacrifice his splendid qualities of warrior and statesman to the realization of an archæological fancy."\* But if he could not resuscitate heathenism, he could sanction, and even command, the most odious persecution of the Christians. Though he failed to persuade the heathen priests to chant psalms in honour of the gods, and to preach moral discourses in imitation of the Christians, yet he could let loose all the diabolical spite that the idolators felt against the faithful. In numberless places throughout the empire, especially in those localities where the temples had been destroyed, the Pagans took vengeance, not on the buildings devoted to Christian worship, but on the bodies of living Christians, particularly the clergy and monks and nuns. Sozomen† gives a frightful account of the tortures inflicted by the Pagans of Heliopolis and Baalbec on Christian virgins, in revenge for Constantine having demolished the temple of Venus there; and although we cannot fairly accuse Julian of commanding these and similar atrocities at Alexandria, Gaza, Arethusa, and many other places,‡ yet when an emperor receives official intimation of the barbarous murder of a number of his subjects, and scornfully remarks, "Is the blood, after all, so very pure? Is it a great matter that one Greek should kill ten Galileans?"§ we cannot hold him guiltless of bloodshed. One part of his persecution was very curious. Julian prohibited Christians from studying Pagan classical authors, in hopes of stunting the intelligence of the Christians. Some learned Christians tried to supply the deficiency by composing works of their own. Sozomen tells us|| that Apollinarius, a Syrian, "employed his great ingenuity and learning, in which he *even surpassed Homer* [! !] in the production of a work in heroic verse on the antiquities of the Hebrews. He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies resembling those of Euripides, and odes on the model of Pindar." The great St. Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Capadocia, a fellow-student with Julian, at Athens, was one of those who most earnestly insisted on the importance of Christian youths studying Pagan literature, but he warned them to study it with caution, and said: "As when we gather flowers from a rose bush we guard against the thorns, so in reading these writings we must gather what is useful, and avoid what is baneful."¶

\* Allard, p. 48.

† Ibid. cc. 9, 10, 11.

|| "H. E." v. 18.

† "H. E." v. 10.

§ "St. Greg. Naz. Orat. v. cont. Jul." 93.

¶ "De leg. libr. Gentil."

To return to the temples. Julian's mad career was soon cut short. Jovian, during his seven months' reign, recalled from banishment St. Athanasius, and other bishops exiled by Julian, and proclaimed freedom of worship to all; but the Pagan temples and sacrifices again fell into disuse, if we may trust the authority of Socrates.

In 364, he was succeeded by Valentinian in the West and Valens in the East. Of the latter, Theodoret says: "Valens gave licence to all to worship what they pleased, and only opposed those who defended the Apostolical doctrines. Throughout the whole of his reign, fire burned upon the altar of idols, libations and sacrifices were offered to them, and festivals in their honour were held in the market-place. Those who celebrated the orgies of Bacchus were seen running about the streets clad in skins, and worked up to madness, tearing dogs to pieces, and committing other excesses, inculcated by the lord of the festival."\* In the West his brother, Valentinian, is said, by Ammianus Marcellinus, to have "disturbed no one, nor commanded that any one should worship either this or that; nor did he by threatening interdicts bow down the necks of his subjects to that which he himself worshipped, but left these matters undisturbed, as he found them."† He removed the edicts against nocturnal sacrifices and magical conjuring. But, in 371, he expressly decreed: "I do not rank augury among the interdicted malpractices. I do not regard as culpable either this art or any religious observance established by our ancestors. The laws enacted by me from the beginning of my reign are proofs of this. They grant to each one liberty to follow such worship as he wishes. I do not condemn augury itself; I only forbid it mingling itself up with criminal practices."‡ He made some laws about the temples, in order to prevent collision between the faithful and the heathen. He forbade Christians to be guardians of heathen temples; and in the case of disused temples, he revoked the measures by which their revenues were handed over to Pagan priests, and turned them to his own privy purse.§

Publius Victor gives a list of the temples standing in Rome in the time of Valentinian, divided according to the fourteen regions. In all, they number 152 temples, and 183 small chapels, *œdiculæ*. At this time no heathen temple in Rome is known to have been transformed into a Christian church.||

In Smith's valuable "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities" we read: "It is stated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, that in

\* "H. E." v. 21.

† xxx. 9.

‡ "Cod. Theod." IX. xvi. 9.

§ Ibid. X. i. 8.

|| Beugnot, liv. v. ch. 3, gives a full list of them.

the reign of Valentinian, an emperor whose Arian sympathies divided and weakened the Christian party, Paganism assumed so aggressive a demeanour that the clergy were afraid to enter the churches or the public baths.”\*

In our own copy of Anastasius this circumstance of the clergy not being able to enter the churches or baths is stated to have occurred in the reign of Constantius, on the occasion of his coming to Rome, exiling Felix, and restoring Liberius. Hence, it would seem that the violence was on the part of the Arians, and not of the Pagans. M. Allard has followed Beugnot, from whom the author of the article cited above has evidently drawn his information; but we venture to consider the mistake to have arisen from Beugnot having seen a corrupt copy of the “*Liber Pontificalis*.”

St. Augustine was a youth of twenty at the beginning of Valentinian’s reign, and he describes Paganism as in full liberty. He asks of the Pagans, in the second book of the “*De Civitate Dei* :”—

Why their gods took no care to reform their infamous morals? . . . . It belongs to gods, who were men’s guardians, to send prophets openly to threaten punishments to evil-doers, and promise rewards to those who live rightly. When did the temples of those gods ever echo with such warnings in a clear and loud voice? I, myself, when I was a young man, went to the spectacles and sacrilegious entertainments. I saw the raving priests, and heard the singers. I took pleasure in the shameful plays in honour of their gods and goddesses, of the virgin Cælestis, and of Berecynthia, the mother of them all. And on the solemnity consecrated to her purification, there were sung before her couch, publicly, by the most wicked players, things so foul that it would not be decent for—I don’t say the mothers of the gods—but for the mothers of any senators, or of any honest men; nay, for the mothers of those very players themselves, to hear. . . . If those are sacred rites, what is sacrilege? If this is purification, what is pollution?†

It is well for us sometimes to be reminded of the abominations from which Christianity has delivered us!

In 375 Valentinian died, and his son Gratian succeeded him. Gratian was the first Christian emperor who refused the insignia of the *Pontifex Maximus*, saying: “Such a vestment would not be becoming for a Christian.”‡ Thus, in him Paganism ceased to be the state religion. However, he proclaimed free toleration to all to assemble in their houses of prayer, except the three heretical sects of the Eunomians, Photians, and Manichees. The altar of victory, which had been replaced in the senate house, he

\* Vol. ii. p. 1538, “Paganism.”

† “*De Civ. Dei*,” ii. 4.

‡ Zosimus, iv. 36.

ordered to be removed. In the East, in 380, Theodosius decreed : "We will that all the nations subject to our sway be of that religion which the divine Apostle Peter delivered to the Romans."\*

In 382, Gratian ventured upon a more decisive blow at Paganism. He confiscated all the landed property of the temples. He revoked all the civil and political honours associated with the priesthood, and the public honours paid to the vestal virgins for many centuries. He left them the right of receiving gifts and legacies, and did not suppress sacrifices, nor close temples, nor strip them of their treasures. Even the *annona templorum* still continued to be paid.†

In 383, Gratian was murdered at Lyons, by the troops of the usurper Maximus, while Valentinian II., Gratian's brother, found a powerful friend and protector in Theodosius the Great, who, in 385, issued an edict against divination in every temple, either by day or night; and in 388, had the question solemnly debated in the senate, "whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans."‡

The arguments for the ancient idolatry had been eloquently stated by the learned Prefect of Rome, Symmachus, and the orator Libanius; but St. Ambrose, who had been a statesman before he was Bishop of Milan, had effectually fortified the mind of the emperor, and the senate decreed, by a large majority, the degradation of the heathen gods.

In 391, Theodosius published an edict: "Let no one pollute himself with sacrifices, let no one slay a harmless victim, let no one approach the shrines, nor purify the temples, nor lift up his eyes to idols made by human hands."§ He went further; and in 392, legislated against the household gods, and decreed: "All places where it shall be proved that the smoke of incense has burned, if they shall be proved to be the property of those who have offered the incense, shall be confiscated to our treasury."||

Theodosius has been said to have decreed the demolition of the temples. Theodoret says it of him, as he said it of Constantine, but no such law appears in the Code. We shall give some instances in which certain temples in the East were demolished by order of the emperor, but there is no trace of any general law to that effect having gone forth at all, much less of its having affected Rome in the West.

Perhaps the best reflection of Christian public feeling in the West, during the reign of Theodosius, is to be found in the

\* "Cod. Theod." XVI. i. 2.

† Zosimus, iv. 55.

‡ Gibbon, c. xxxviii. vol. v. p. 100.

§ "Cod. Theod." XVI. x. 10.

|| Ibid. sec. 12.

writings of Prudentius, the Christian poet, who contends vigorously against Symmachus, the champion of Paganism. His poems are full of zeal against idolatry, but they do not imply any wish to see the temples, or even the images of the gods destroyed. On the contrary, in his poem on the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," Prudentius represents the Christian hero on his burning bed of death, looking forward to the days when idolatry should be no longer the religion of the Romans:—

Video futurum principem  
Quandoque, qui servus Dei  
Tetris sacrorum sordibus  
Servire Romam non sinat.

Qui templa claudet vectibus  
Valvas eburnas obstruat,  
Nefasta damnet limina  
Obdens aënos pessulos.

Tunc pura ab omni sanguine  
Tandem vitebunt marmora;  
Stabunt et aëra innoxia,  
Quæ nunc habentur idola.

Zosimus relates a story about the Princess Serena, niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius, which gives us a good idea of the feeling of both Christians and Pagans at this period:—

When Theodosius came to Rome [he says] and stirred up in the minds of all a contempt for the sacred worship, he refused to supply the public grant for sacrifices; both priests and priestesses were driven out, and the shrines were left destitute of all sacrifice. Then Serena, laughing at these things, wished to look at the temple of the mother of the gods, and saw on the neck of the statue of Rhea an ornament worthy of the sacredness of that goddess. She took it off the statue, and put it on her own neck. Just then came in an old woman, the last of the vestal virgins, and upbraided her to her face for her impiety; and she so insulted her that Serena commanded her attendants to drive her out of the place, and she went away calling down every kind of evil for such impiety to come upon Serena, her husband, and children. But Serena took no account of these curses, and went out of the temple, priding herself greatly on her necklace; yet many a time, both sleeping and waking, was she haunted by the coming death that had been denounced to her.\*

He goes on to describe how the unfortunate princess had to stretch forth that neck, which had worn the jewel of the goddess,

to the cord of the executioners, who strangled her while Alaric was at the gates of Rome.

This story sets before us the temples still intact, with the images of the gods still adorned with jewels, objects of curious attention to Christians, whose treatment of them was sharply watched by the adherents of the old superstition. Many of the temples were not even closed; they were favourite lounges for the people, and the emperor did not wish to interfere with harmless amusements. Thus, at Edessa, at the request of the prefect, Theodosius ordered the principal temple to be re-opened. "It is a building formerly much frequented," he said, "and common both to assemblies and to popular resort, and the statues placed in it are said to be esteemed more for their artistic value than for their divinity. We decree, by the authority of our public council, that it be always open."\*

We have said that there were temples certainly demolished by express orders from Theodosius. At Alexandria the Bishop had obtained the grant of a certain temple, and converted it into a Christian church. In clearing it out they found in the secret recesses of the temple a number of ridiculous and obscene objects, which Theophilus, a man of intemperate zeal, had publicly exposed in the forum to the derision of the Christians. The Pagans, furious at this exhibition, attacked the Christians, slew numbers of them, carried others captive into the great Temple of Serapis, which they fortified, and where they tortured their prisoners to death with great cruelty. The prefect, and general of the troops, in vain endeavoured to induce them to lay down their arms. The matter was referred to Theodosius, and both Pagans and Christians agreed to abide by his decision. The Emperor granted free pardon to the insurgents, even to those who had shed Christian blood, but he commanded the demolition of the Pagan temples. The great Serapeion, and all the other temples at Alexandria, were accordingly destroyed. The temple of Jupiter at Apamea was demolished on account of the immoralities connected with it; but the Pagans revenged themselves by murdering Marcellus, the bishop, who had been particularly active in procuring the order for its destruction. In many places temples were destroyed by the populace, often under the leadership of the Christian clergy. In Gaul, St. Martin of Tours especially distinguished himself in this destruction of the strongholds of idolatry. St. Augustine writes: †—

They say we are enemies of their idols. May God so grant and give all into our power, as He hath already given us that which we

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\* "Cod. Theod." XVI. x. 8.

† St. Aug. "Serm. in Matt." (13 Oxf.)



have broken down! . . . . When the power has not been given us we do not do it; when it is given we do not neglect it. Many Pagans have these abominations on their own estates; do we go and break them in pieces? No; for our first efforts are that the idols in their hearts should be broken down. When they, too, are made Christians themselves, they either invite us to so good a work, or anticipate us. . . . . They think that we are looking out for the idols everywhere, and that we break them down in all places where we have discovered them. How so? Are there not places before our eyes in which they are? And yet we do not break them down, because God has not given them into our power. When does God give them into our power? When the masters of those things shall become Christians. The master of a certain place has just lately wished this to be done. . . . . We preach against idols; we take them away from the hearts of men; we are persecutors of idols; we openly profess it. Are we then to be the preservers of them? I do not touch them when I have not the power; I do not touch them when the lord of the property complains of it; but when he wishes it to be done, and gives thanks for it; I should incur guilt if I did it not.

In Spain, the Councils of the Church expressly forbade such destruction, and decreed:—"If any one shall break idols in pieces, and shall be slain for so doing, he shall not be reckoned as a martyr, for such conduct is not found written in the Gospel, nor was ever done by the Apostles."\*

In Rome, Paganism was still strong enough among the patrician families to hope for a revival of its lost power. In 392, after the murder of Valentinian II., the rhetorician Eugenius was set up as emperor, and the senate voted that the property of the temples should be restored to the heathen priests; and a MS. poem appended to the works of Prudentius, discovered in 1867 in the National Library at Paris, by M. Leopold Delisle, explained by M. de Rossi, describes the details of this last Pagan revival.† Rome was transformed into one vast temple, and submitted to a three months' lustration. All the gods and goddesses, Roman and foreign, had their festivals celebrated with a pomp that had not been known since the days of Aurelian, and the Consul, Nicomachus Flavianus, threw himself with extraordinary zeal into every device for propitiating the ancient gods. The Christians in too many instances yielded to the snares that were laid to entrap them into a participation in these idolatrous rites. But at last, in 394, Theodosius advanced to the passes of the Alps. His vanguard eagerly snatched the golden thunderbolts from the statues of Jupiter, which the foolish Flavian had placed to guard the passes, and in

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\* "Conc. Eliber." can. 60.

† See "Buletтино Di Archeol. Crist." 1868, pp. 51-58; 61-73.

Flavian's defeat and death perished the last hopes of Pagan Rome. Theodosius entered the city in triumph, but never was a victory so gently used. Not a drop of blood was shed. Not a senator was dispossessed. The very sons of Eugenius, Asbogastus and Flavian, were permitted to retain their municipal offices, and Theodosius expressed his regret that Flavian had perished in battle. But the laws against heathen sacrifices were now put into execution, even in Rome itself, and the *annona templorum* was henceforth suppressed. We hear nothing of the demolition of temples or the destruction of statues. Theodosius is represented by Prudentius to have expressed to the senate almost the very thought of Gibbon, that "these stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ."

Marmora tabenti respergine tincta lavate,  
 O Proceres, liceat statuas consistere puras  
 Artificum magnorum opera; hæc pulcherrima nostræ  
 Ornamenta fiant patriæ, nec decolor usus  
 In vitium versæ monumenta coinquet artis.

*Contr. Symmach, 501, &c.*

When Theodosius died, in 395, his sons Arcadius and Honorius were only fourteen and seven years old, but their guardians, Rufinus and Stilicho, the latter of whom had married Serena, the niece of Theodosius, governed the empire; and in the West Stilicho carried out the conciliatory policy of the last great Roman emperor. The insolence of the Pagans, who regarded the laws of Theodosius as dead with him, obliged Stilicho, in the name of Honorius, to issue, in 399, an edict, which says:—"As we have already by a wholesome law done away with sacrifices and profane rites, &c."\* And yet, up to the very year in which Rome was besieged by Alaric, inscriptions still extant attest that votive tablets to the heathen gods were set up with impunity in public places.† In 404, the poet Claudian describes the appearance of Rome as full of splendid shrines, and the temples still in all their glory. The gods of stone, of marble, of bronze, of silver, of gold, were standing upon their pedestals—even the jewels with which Pagan credulity adorned them remained on their necks and arms. When Zosimus charges Stilicho with stripping off the gold from the doors of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he bears testimony to the general integrity of the temples, as Serena's exploit attests the general immunity of the statues from pillage.

\* "Cod. Theod." XVI. x. 17.

† Thus:—"IOVI OPTIMO CAPITOLINO SACRVM M. NVMMIVS M. F. PAL. HILARIVS V. C. PRAEF. VRB. EX V.F. COER PRO SALVTE NVMMIAE VAHALENÆ." Hilarius was made Prefect of Rome in 408.—Beugnot, tom. ii. p. 17.

We have now reached a period of sixty-seven years from the death, and more than ninety years from the conversion of Constantine, and we have seen how far from the truth is Gibbon's assertion "that the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine." We have traced the legislation of the Christian emperors, and we have seen throughout that legislation two leading principles. First, the desire to undermine and overthrow the vast fabric of superstition and moral corruption which was inseparably connected with idolatry; and secondly, to preserve, in the interests of art and civilization, the stately edifices, and even the beautiful statues which had been used in Pagan worship.\* We do not mean to pretend that these were their sole, or even chief motives of action. But, taking their policy as a whole, we can see these two principles running through it. "No more sacrifices," decreed Honorius in 399, "but let the ornaments of the cities be respected." Except the unlucky necklace taken by Serena, the jewels remained on the idols of Rome until they were seized, in 408, to purchase a short respite from Alaric. But when the Gothic conqueror returned, in 410, and Rome fell under the successive barbaric invasions, statues and temples became mingled in a common ruin, and the remains which still astonish travellers were saved from destruction chiefly by the care of the Popes. Even Gibbon admits that, "of the Christian hierarchy, the Bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon."†

Our space will not permit us to trace their history any further. We have been obliged to omit many important details in the story, and we must refer our readers to the pages of M. Allard, whose work we have done little more than epitomize, for a complete survey of the subject. But if we have succeeded in disproving the assertions of Gibbon, we shall have done something towards clearing up the policy of the Christian emperors towards the Pagan temples.

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[The substance of this Paper was delivered as a Lecture before the Torquay Natural History Society, on January 3, 1881.]

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\* See Allard, p. 69.

† "Decline and Fall," vol. xii. p. 408.

## ART. III.—LITERATURE FOR THE YOUNG.

## I. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Catholic Children's Magazine.* London & Dublin : James Duffy.
2. *The Juvenile Missionary Keepsake.* London : J. Snow.
3. *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine.* Edinburgh : Oliphant & Co.
4. *The Band of Hope Review.* London : S. W. Partridge & Co.
5. *Little Folks.* London : Cassell, Petter & Galpin.
6. *Golden Childhood.* London : Ward, Lock & Co.
7. *Little Wide Awake.* London : Routledge & Sons.
8. *The Boys' Own Paper.* London : "Leisure Hour" Office.
9. *The Girls' Own Paper.* London : "Leisure Hour" Office.
10. *Union Jack.* London : Griffith & Farran.
11. *Every Boy's Magazine.* London : Routledge & Sons.
12. *Every Girl's Magazine.* London : Routledge & Sons.
13. *Boys of England.* London.

"WHAT is the charm, of childhood?" asks Mgr. Dupanloup, in his well-known work, "L'Enfant," when he is about to sum up his impressions after twenty-five years' experience of education; and he gives the answer of a venerated friend of his own:—it is not alone the fascination of simplicity and candour, not alone the charm of innocence; there is an attraction yet beyond: "This it is: children are the joy of the present—but, above all, they are the hope of the future." The hope of the family is in the new generation, entrusted with its name and honour, and guarded with lavish love. The hope of the State is in the children of its subjects; they are the future "people" on whom the strength and prosperity of the nation depends; it watches them sedulously so that they be taught after its own heart, in these degenerate days mainly with the view of making them peaceable subjects and efficient toilers and spinners for the common good. But more than all, they are the hope of the Church, the heirs of her faith, her sanctity, her traditions; her future rests with them. Therefore our hope is in them perpetually, as they come fresh and pliant, full of the ardour of young life, peopling our homes and filling our schools. Whatever concerns them is of vital interest. As the heirs of Christ, there is no greater work than to guard them, no greater calamity than that one of them should perish,

no greater mystery in the world than the tremendous issues hidden under their present littleness—littleness of knowledge, where yet there may be mental power to lead other minds captive—littleness of experience, where the life may yet become part of the whole world's experience—bodily littleness, wherein are locked the secrets of human souls, whose influence will touch hundreds of others, ere the new generation melts out of the world's sight into eternity, leaving the world's face in some way changed for their coming here and for their passage thither. It is this thought of the future—as well as the responsibility where there is question of the impressionable souls of the young—that gives almost an awful importance to what otherwise might seem but trifles concerning children. There can be nothing trifling where their welfare is touched. They are in our keeping to be, as we trust, the strength of the Church, and the seed of her glory in successive faithful generations unto remotest time. The child is the hope of the future.

This fact is thoroughly realized by the enemies of God's kingdom. In the full appreciation of it, all attacks upon the Church are planned. These are not the days of physical torture, but of a more terrible and subtle force—legalized moral persecution; and the first brunt of it is directed by the new laws of every anti-Christian government against the faith of the children in the schools, and against the freedom of Christian teaching. When at the orders of the Municipal Council of Paris, the Prefect of the Seine caused the crucifixes to be torn down from the schoolroom walls and carted away like rubbish to be destroyed, the action was a type of the whole plan adopted by Governments warring against the Church. Their first aim is not to deprive Catholics of political rights, nor at once to banish the clergy, nor to silence their voice in the pulpit, nor to close churches, nor to enforce a pledge of infidelity as the proof of loyalty to the State. All these measures, in modified forms, may come afterwards, but the world has grown older and wiser since the attacks upon religion were begun with such open defiance. To take the cross away out of the children's sight, to banish the Crucified as a stumbling-block, a remnant of mediæval foolishness, interfering with secular learning and social progress; to hope that outside the godless schoolroom in due time the obsolete doctrines swept out thence will be destroyed as worthless; this is the aim and these the tactics of the persecutors of our day, whether in revolutionized Italy, or in the French war against "clericalism, the enemy," or in the Kulturkampf beyond the Rhine. Even the free Republic of the United States has developed a taint of the same worldly wisdom, and lays hands upon the children's souls to barter them for national prosperity. American citizens may

boast liberty in all else, but in this burning question of schools and education Catholics have to complain of their greatest wrong, forced, as they are, to pay taxes for the support of godless schools from which they must steadily refuse to receive any benefit for their children under pain of disloyalty to the Church. In England the same central ground of contention is indicated by the increasing cry for secular education. In Ireland the struggle on the same ground is for life or death; and it is chiefly against the children that the war of cruel kindness is waged by every proselytizing agency. In a word, wherever men are found, the battle-ground of to-day is no other than that of education. All the world is realizing the truth of the value of securing the possession of the first dawn of young intelligence. We are not alone in regarding children as the hope of the future. They are so regarded by every creed and faction, down to the Atheist and the Utilitarian, the Communist and the Nihilist. And from all rival claims of error it is our solemn charge to keep the children that are the hope of the Church, and to win others that as yet are strangers to the "mighty Mother;" and so vast a work as this unceasing guardianship must be carried on with a zealous use of every means that can aid towards success—an earnest use of every invention and device, even the least, so long as it can add something towards making such a success secure.

Looking back at the first years of life, everyone must be able from experience to see in a vivid light the strange double process of which all education consists, and the consequent difficulty of guiding as well as teaching. The instruction deliberately given during hours of study does not make up half the sum of what the child is, perhaps quite unconsciously, learning. Unmasked impressions crowd fast upon the young mind, as soon as it is capable of observing and remembering, and in most cases the art of reading is no sooner taught than self-education begins. From every page of print there may be arising what might hastily be called chance influences, to make upon the mind that found them for itself a deeper mark than any formal lessons. As the old proverb says, "Many things grow in the garden that were never sown there;" and a large proportion of the chance seeds are sown by casual reading. Especially with boys, reading becomes quickly a new active living power, and with many it is an insatiable appetite only satisfied for the moment, and continually in need of fresh food. The necessity of suitably gratifying the reading taste of the young has led to the formation of an immense and varied literature meant specially for their use. Upon its nature depends to a great extent what we have called their self-education. By rights, it ought to be in religious tendency, if not completely in the spirit of the child's own faith,

at least never hostile to it: in moral tone an indirect supplement to the direct teaching already received: in instruction a simple recreative development of what is learned in study hours. Now, it is at once clear that in a Protestant country, where there is to be found every kind of creed, and too often no creed, Catholic teaching cannot hope to find a development of itself in the general literature with which our children are surrounded in their free time. It may seem to some but a small work to supply more suitable reading and harmless amusement for the recreation hours of our children, and an insignificant study to criticize their literature at length. But the self-education of the young is influenced by this reading, and therefore it may be an active agency either for their harm or for their welfare; and to repeat again what we set out by asserting—when these children, apparently and individually so insignificant in the world, are in reality the world's centre of contention and the hope of the Church, nothing that concerns their welfare can be called trifling. As Lacordaire says of all merely ephemeral work of the pen, "The drop of water that flows towards the sea has done its part in the forming of the river, and the river never ends." Literature for children's leisure is one of the many streams that ought to meet in one, in the continual striving of the Church to secure by all devices the welfare of her little ones. Not a drop of water—not a single page fraught with good—flows hither without acquiring the importance of a part of that which goes on for ever. In a word, literature for the young is one of the constant factors in the great work of education; and if its prevailing tendencies are against Catholic teaching, it follows that there is existing, in the most subtle form that can reach a child's intelligence, the influence of non-Catholic or anti-Catholic education—a form that can affect any child, a form that cannot be restricted to the bounds of a school, but that can find its way into Catholic homes and schools, to make the elements of untrue views and of false education intermingle with our jealously guarded Catholic education. We believe that a survey of works for the young will prove that there is a great deficiency of Catholic literature of this kind, and that only the most guarded use can be made by Catholic children of the non-Catholic literature which is in many ways as inviting as it is abundant.

Of late years a juvenile periodical literature has sprung up—a completely modern growth; and, without special investigation no one can form an idea of the extent of this section of children's reading. The list of such publications is constantly varying; but we may safely say that upwards of eighty magazines for the young are always in existence, showered weekly and monthly from the English printing-press, some struggling for life, by far

the greater number securely established with an immense circle of readers, and many of the most popular circulating, not alone by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands. We shall first consider this wide branch of juvenile literature—the periodicals. Their influence is vast, because, once established, it is continuous and ever fresh. And here we may remark that the idea of secular, or almost entirely secular, papers for children arose chiefly from the fact of the success attained first by sectarian publications. The Protestant Sunday School committees and missionary centres had previously been at work. It may almost be said that theirs was the initiative of the present form of periodicals for children. Nor have they ever let out of their hands their large share in this great means of influence. Every sect has used it untiringly from the outset of the movement until now.

We have stated that there are upwards of eighty magazines for the young; and an analysis of a carefully made list will give some idea of this seemingly small and simple, but really most influential, department of literature. The periodicals may be divided into three classes:—Protestant magazines dealing with religious subjects: magazines of chiefly secular reading, meant for all children: magazines intended for boys. And we should add another class, those intended for girls, if it was not that such magazines, though becoming numerous, are not yet half so numerous, nor so widely read, nor of such active influence as those published for boys. Of the periodicals, whose fluctuating number we have stated roundly as always beyond eighty, we must reckon a very large proportion as either distinctly religious, or entirely coloured with Protestantism; and the conductors of these show an amazing energy in their production, circulating them in many cases gratuitously by the hundred. In this class we count a group of flourishing periodicals issued by the Band of Hope: Sunday Readers, Sunday Friends, Bible Companions, and Sunday School Magazines, too many to name: the *Children's Jewish Advocate*, devoted to obtaining the prayers and pence of little Gentiles for the conversion of the Jews: magazines of dissenting bodies, such as the *Children's Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, the *Primitive Methodists' Juvenile Magazine*, the *Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine*, the *Children's Magazine of the United Presbyterian Church*, and many others: magazines chronicling for children the working and result of foreign missions, such as the *Juvenile Missionary Keepsake*, the *Juvenile Missionary Herald*, the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*: a vast number of periodicals, such as *Sunshine*, *The Children's Friend*, *Winsome Words*, avowedly freighted with religious instruction, and ornamented with texts, though not bearing distinctively religious names.



The magazines for boys had been long in existence, as well as the Gospel magazines, when one of the most enterprising publishing firms brought out, with brilliant success, a secular, or almost entirely secular, magazine for all. They had perceived and responded to the need of children for recreative reading not continually impregnated with direct religious and moral instruction; and this new development of children's literature has led to the formation of a body of chiefly secular entertaining periodicals for children, a purely English and entirely recent growth. With very rare exceptions, they contain a certain amount, more or less, of some form of religious teaching; but this is quite subordinate in quantity, inserted simply to avoid the exclusion of religion, and not to assert sectarian doctrines; and the circulation depends upon the non-religious matter, on literary excellence, and attractiveness of illustration. These periodicals, with their constant flow of entertainment and amusement, form part of the recreative reading of most English children. Much of the modern fiction for the young first appears in their pages; and there is expended upon them an amount of literary labour and talent, artistic skill and publishing capital, fully equal to what is required in producing high-class magazines for mature minds.

The periodicals intended for boys have a vigorous existence. They sprang into being long before the juvenile monthlies and weeklies for more general reading. They have necessarily been kept distinct by the special nature of the tastes and occupations of growing lads; and they have an immense popularity because of the reading appetite almost universal among boys, even among the book-haters of the schoolroom.

We should like to add to this enumeration another class utterly distinct from all the rest, and rivalling the best of them. We should like to speak of the need felt by Catholics for an excellent periodical literature for children, a continuous ever-fresh supply of reading protected and inspired by the Catholic spirit. We should like to count up the Catholic periodicals for the young; or, better still, to count the circulation of one such paper by hundreds of thousands, as our rivals do. But our record of this fourth class is very short. There is no list to be made, no circulation of hundreds of thousands yet to be boasted, no possibility of rivalry as yet with non-Catholic competitors in their own field. There is but one Catholic periodical for the young, and that is of recent appearance—*The Catholic Children's Magazine*. We are far from censuring what is but the result of our misfortune. It is well known that Catholics labour under heavy difficulties in forming a literature of their own. What is true of by far the greater number of individuals amongst us, is equally

true of all collectively. The ravages of the Reformation, the disfavour in which the Catholic name has been held in every class and position, the banishment of Catholics from public life till some fifty years ago; the clinging prejudice still attaching to us in the minds of the bulk of our fellow-countrymen—all this leaves us in the United Kingdom powerful in numbers, but, in these days when money is strength, comparatively powerless through lack of it, and through our manifold needs as a community. Considering the broad original causes of this poverty of a vast body, our very powerlessness is something to glory in. Nevertheless, it is something that stands in our way in every undertaking, little and great. It bars the progress of our higher literature, makes it timorous and narrow in scope, and stunts our literature for the young. Yet this last division is of so little cost and of such universal necessity, that we may well plead for a small individual sacrifice to be made everywhere to ensure its increase. If we take note of the use made of the printing-press by every diminutive and varying sect, and if we realize that the Catholic body is vastly numerous, while their children have tastes and requirements generally the same because of the unity of faith and teaching—we are prompted to ask if we Catholics have not it in our power by individual effort and united action to create and foster a new guardian influence for the young, a truly great Catholic literature, in itself so excellent and efficient as to exclude the teaching of strangers from our children, and to hold its own even in a sphere beyond, in competition with the best juvenile literature of the day. For the present, Catholic periodical literature of this kind is only at the beginning of its career and struggling against many difficulties. The *Catholic Children's Magazine* ought yet in time to be in every way equal to the non-Catholic magazines brought out by the best firms. The vast number of our Catholic children renders such a success eventually possible. But this depends not upon the conductors, but upon the support it receives; and as the nucleus of our periodical literature for the young, it ought to receive an ardent and universal support.

Before proceeding to the question, What ought literature for the young to be?—we shall glance at the non-Catholic literature already in existence, and see whither it is tending. And after examining the character and tendencies of periodicals, we shall turn to the vast mass of literature that takes the form of separate and complete volumes. If we choose periodical publications first, it is because we believe there are few who realize either the extent and the power of that kind of reading, or the use that might be made of such an organization in Catholic hands: and also because one established magazine may do more harm or

good than a hundred separate publications. The bound volumes of the magazine, especially among boys and girls, have all the influence of complete books; they are given and treasured, read and re-read. But over and above this the magazine has a peculiar power; the current numbers make it a living power, with security of life for years to come. It is a welcome persuasive voice, having new things to say, though with sameness of character and aim, and secure of an audience to listen so long as it chooses to speak.

Our first object, then, is to examine the character and tendencies of the existing literature for the young. To begin at once at the lowest end of the scale, there is a class of periodicals better known to police magistrates than to respectable households;—we should not refer to such publications at all, if it were not to give a striking example of the effect that may be produced upon young minds by the reading furnished in their own periodicals. Everyone has heard of the “penny awful;” and it is not to be confounded with the flimsy journal of comparatively harmless sensational fiction, numberless varieties of which exist, and one of which was aptly described to us by a bright youth as “not a penny awful—no, a penny stupid!” The effect of the worst class of juvenile journals seems to break out at times like an epidemic among the boys of London. Some romance of a highwayman’s career has intoxicated them with its lawless spirit. Their hero is a thief and a cut-throat; but he has preternatural strength and agility, and he lives a roving life of good fortune, with a madness of animal spirits, and a diabolical gift of cunning to outwit the peaceable. And forthwith the suburbs become infested with secret societies of pigmy highwaymen, who find their ignoble last chapter of romance in the police-court dock, and pass on to the prosaic realities of life, with dishonest proclivities, familiarity with the gaol and the oakum yard, and a distorted standard of right and wrong to send them back thither again in haste. It is hard to believe that every variety of crime may be bred among the ignorant and ardent for adventure, by a closely printed fly-sheet that to educated eyes would read as the silliest description of mingled impossibility, nonsense, and evil; but it is, unfortunately, a fact that cheap literature catches hold of the poor lads in great cities with a stronger grasp than the School Board, for all its compulsory machinery. The lowest class of juvenile periodical literature may be called awful in the strict sense of the word. These halfpenny and penny sheets of fiction have debased and falsified consciences, blinded the first promptings of reason, blighted numberless lives at their beginning, and helped to swell the criminal class with men who might otherwise have lived in honest labour and rectitude of conscience.

There is a long distance to be traversed upward from this lowest level of pernicious journals before we reach even the low level of exciting absurdities, vulgarity, occasional anti-Catholic venom and hinted profanity, such as are to be met with in many weekly papers of the class of the *Boys of England*. The character of all these may be inferred from noting the peculiarities of a volume of that most popular representative of the whole class. "English Jack among the Afghans;" "The White Tiger Chief of the Zulus;" "For Vengeance, or the Doom of Russian Tyrants," are some of the gems of fiction, set off by such a vision of chivalry as may be imagined from the names of Cœur de Lion and Malvoisin, Lady Christabel, the Lady Adeliza, and the terrible Coupe-Gorge. In such journals wicked baronets abound in quantities sufficient to turn all the reflecting youth of England into indignant Radicals. The whole history of these great personages is related in short paragraphs, consisting sometimes of one momentous word or two, but generally long enough to admit a spice of slang. The heroines are glorious beings, admired to distraction on every page. They have marvellous attributes, such as "intensely brilliant violet eyes." They are superior to the ordinary usages of society, and apostrophize their persecutors as "Sir Baronet!" With a nature supposed to be admirable in proportion as it is magnificently passionate, they are as ready to "plunge a weapon" into the heart of the said Sir Baronet, as their boyish cavaliers are ready to fight anyone, and risk life with certainty of escape, three times a day. Altogether it is a state of things calculated to make our chivalrous labouring lads and shop-boys eager for anything from a five minutes' fight to a marriage for life during the mature years from fifteen to twenty. But there is greater mischief possible than the substitution of insolent vulgarity for manliness, imbecility for chivalry, a false idea of a world of feverish passion and wild adventure, instead of the truth of this grand, hard-working world of life. There is other evil often done beyond all this. For instance, we glance at the opening of a chapter, and feel inclined to smile at the entrance of the usual knightly stranger attired in a heavy muffling cloak, and a large hat pulled over his brow—so as to escape observation; but when we read on, and find that he has come to a monastery in search of an imprisoned and cruelly-treated boy; we have no inclination to laugh at the ludicrous side of such ignorance, when the other side is so detestable. In the case we are citing as an example, the visit of the disguised knight leads up to chapters which are one tissue of coarse attack upon the Catholic monastic system; and to call it misrepresentation would be to use a mild word for the reckless manner in which the homes of monks are represented to the young as based upon a

substratum of dungeons and wine-cellars, and the monks themselves as either gourmands or cruel hypocrites. When we have said that the murder of one of the priests of the monastery is cause for rejoicing for the boy hero (who is supposed to be a brother of the order!), we have said enough, but not half what might be said, to condemn the whole production. And it may be taken as a type of the evil that circulates in some of the widest read of this class of magazines for boys.

The existence of such literature and its extensive sale prompted the managers of Sunday Schools, Protestant clergymen, and others interested in religious education, to bring out what we may call the various missionary and "Evangelical" magazines, partly to counteract the ill effects of other cheap literature, but still more to further their own cause. Unhappily some of these at once became mischievous agents in the propaganda against the common enemy, Catholicity—in their broad attack more often styled Popery. A glance at their pages makes it clear that next to impressing upon their readers certain platitudes about salvation through believing on Christ, the grand object is to cry down the Catholic Church, to make everything Catholic distrusted and abhorred. One of them, the *Primitive Methodist's Juvenile Magazine*, contents itself with such side thrusts as are contained in its complacent rejoicing that May games and May poles, and all such wickedness, have vanished before the light of Sunday schools and Bible classes. Another, the *Juvenile Missionary Keepsake*, goes further and more roughly. It is ready to drag up every infamous falsehood that was ever coined against us, and it tells all with the most consummate ignorance, such as would provoke nothing but a smile if it concerned anything less serious than the poisoning of young minds and hearts. On one page there is an account of child-stealing from the Waldenses by the Catholics of Northern Italy; and it is stated that the stolen boy is usually immured in a convent, where he is weaned from the love of his parents, and told that "if he prays to crosses and images he will go to heaven, but that if he does not he will go to hell." This, decidedly, is putting doctrine in a nutshell; and it is the account of Catholic doctrine that has helped to form for many children the groundwork of lifelong prejudice. On another page, with equal accuracy, indulgences and fasting are defined; a kidnapped boy is taught "to buy indulgences or pieces of paper signed by the Pope, declaring the sins forgiven: to fast, or eat only fish, fowl, and vegetables, on a great many days in the year." But the absurd and mischievous reaches its climax in the story supposed to be the life of an apostate monk escaped from Italy. After a medley of absurdities about the enforced obedience of the youth as a novice in a monastery of Benedictines and Cistercians (!) the

extreme is reached when the young Raffaele is sent back to the Jesuit school to be broken perforce into the monastic spirit. The force of fabrication could no further go; and we subjoin a few lines as a specimen of the information imparted in the charitable pages of some of the London Missionary magazines:—

Now, though the Inquisition, or Holy Office, as it was often mis-called, is destroyed, the persecuting spirit of Popery remains the same, and the Jesuits are foremost in the work. Many works of darkness and cruelty are still wrought in secret, and in Italy the power of the Pope and priesthood is so great that more persecution can be carried on without detection, than, perhaps, in any other country. Raffaele knew that, having disobeyed and defied them, he had everything to fear. When he slept, he dreamed of daggers, and axes, and the rack, of burning piles, and heated irons; and woke in terror.

The final touch of the article is too ridiculous to be reprehensible. The Bible has been the turning-point of the apostate's career; and the little ones are persuasively told that "a number of good men called colporteurs" are now employed to sell Bibles to the people of France. What else the colporteurs sell beside Bibles, is a question best not asked in Sunday Schools.

When we turn to another of these publications—the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, printed in Edinburgh—the entertainment provided and the information upon Catholic subjects are of the same kind; and the moral is even more tersely stated. For example, in this magazine devoted to foreign missions, our chance openings brought us to an article on missionary life in Spain. The dangers of a Protestant missionary's life in a Catholic land are here painted in glaring colours. The threatened kidnapping of his child, anonymous letters hinting that he will soon leave a mourning family, men, dagger in hand, waiting outside his chapel at night—these are the perils and horrors which he imagines and reports for the edification of little English children. Further, he declares positively that the priests, "the slavish serfs of the Pope," would, no doubt, "gladly roast missionaries now" if only they could, as in the days of the Inquisition; and in the midst of this rampant nonsense he suddenly sobers us by drawing from his unique experience a moral for credulous youth:—"We cannot sufficiently detest and abhor that spurious and corrupt form of religion called Popery. It is anti-Christian, degrading, and debasing." It may serve as an index of the evil work done by such periodicals, to state that the magazine, which printed these words, circulates at the rate of nearly half a million a year, a large number of copies being distributed gratis. It is, of course, probable that many copies of these productions find an innocent and useful fate like that proverbial of the tracts and Bibles sent

to China ; but the winged seed of ill-weeds fills the air wherever such publications are being issued broadcast.

The magazines of religious reading brought out by many Protestant sects and societies are far higher and better than these. In presence of the materialism of our time, and the sinking of thousands of the working classes in large towns to a godless life of monotonous low-levelled thoughts and animal instincts—when we see workers, whosoever they be, simply striving to make the name of God known, revered, and loved, we are prompted to call to mind the words once spoken to the murmuring disciples, “He that is not against you, is for you.” There is, of course, much error in these publications, much Evangelical doctrine, much that is untrue to Catholic ears, a vast amount that is unpractical. But surely they are “for us,” if they contain no hostility to the Church, no misrepresentation of our faith, no sowing the seed of prejudice, and if they are in no way forced upon our children, but are devoted to giving some view—the best they can—of a supernatural life, and teaching prayer and hope in a region outside the reach of Catholic teaching. Many of the magazines—notably the little magazine called *Sunshine*—for Sunday Schools and Sunday reading, are of this nature ; and some of the temperance organs, such as the *Review* of the Band of Hope—the Protestant Total Abstinence Society for the young. They are laborious, praiseworthy efforts, and we can have nothing to say against them, and much to say for them, so long as they are actuated by charity towards others, and honest adherence to doing their own work for God’s sake, according to their light. As regards Catholic children, we need not explain that this literature is quite apart from their use. However good in aim and in spirit, the mere fact that such publications are at once religious and un-Catholic, proves them to be injurious if they are used in Catholic hands. The doctrine is false in the light of the fulness of truth ; the system of instruction is different. The views of sin, atonement, righteousness, justification, salvation, are all at variance with Catholic teaching—and all the more dangerous if the error is almost imperceptible. The advocacy of placing the whole Bible in children’s hands, for accurate study, is opposed to the prudence of the Catholic system. And as to the test of religious knowledge (*i.e.*, knowledge of the Bible), we find in prize competitions questions asked which Catholic children—familiar with the life of our Lord and the Old Testament narrative and magnificently rich in the doctrinal wisdom of faith—would smile at, instead of answering. Before passing on we cannot refrain from noting a few of these questions as a curiosity of Bible study :—

A gesture of the body, mentioned by the prophets, denotes grief in one passage and imports gladness in another : give the two verses.

What description have we of the clothing to be worn in the Kingdom of Glory?

Where do we read of a nation without any intelligence?

Where do we read that fifty men set out in all directions to seek a corpse?

The prize competitions are a striking feature of these, and of all magazines for the young. The prizes vary—perhaps watches, guineas, or books, more or less valuable; and thereby children are stimulated to attain proficiency in all sorts of tournaments of knowledge and wit, from such Bible questions as these, and Bible acrostics, down to the writing of simple letters to the editor; and from the composition of essays to the devising of stories to explain a picture—the last an excellent training of the invention and imagination.

Passing on to magazines not avowedly religious, we find a large number which give a copious supply of texts, and moral tales of the distinctly and obviously moral type. These form the transition link between the religious and the chiefly secular magazines. A step nearer to entirely non-religious reading, there is a class of magazines which give most of their space to matter of secular interest, and reserve a page or two under some such special heading as “Our Sunday School,” or “Sunday Afternoons.” To this class belong many of the most thriving juvenile magazines, headed by *Little Folks* (perhaps the most successful of all such publications, though only in existence since 1871), and *Golden Childhood*, a still younger serial, but a rival not to be despised. No matter how bright and pleasant these magazines are in their general information and their excellent fiction of child-life, we must always be prepared to find in them something of Protestant teaching. Their intention is laudable—to amuse and instruct without excluding from recreation hours the thought of God and His service; but, as we have already said, the religious instruction is mingled with error, and even where it avoids questions of doctrine and gives sacred history or descriptive geography of the Holy Land, rather than moral instruction, there is an un-Catholic tone, and the right spirit for Catholic children is wanting. We must also be prepared to come across crooked views of history seen with refracted light through a Protestant medium—biographies of the Reformers, studies of the girlhood of Elizabeth, and canonization of the Martyr King. At the same time, in looking over these magazines we could not but rejoice at the earnestness of their religious tone in these days of growing unbelief, and the painstaking manner in which, with sight set firmly towards His Divinity, the life of Christ is described with an attractive simplicity. For example, in *Golden Childhood*, in the midst of childish fun and bright



tales for children, we came upon a careful, studious, and touching description of the Passion, such as in its tenderness, simplicity, and reverence, must have drawn from many young eyes tears of compassion very dear to God. The truth of all this having been "for us and for our sins:" the moral, Don't do even little things to displease Him now: appear in their own place with the telling effect of truth and earnestness. The want of the Catholic view was, indeed, conspicuous in some points, such as in the reference to the "half-conscious Victim" before the crucifixion, and the estimate of the last agony as six hours; but the whole spirit of the paper was so true and touching, that no one could doubt that such efforts are pleasing to the Lover of little children. We know that magazines of this kind circulate largely among Catholic families. Their letterpress is so excellent, judged by a purely literary standard, their tone so healthy, their amusing qualities so bright and prominent, that in the dearth of a similar fund of general entertainment of our own, our children naturally welcome them. But there must be a constant guard kept over such pages—even the most reliable—a vigilance to exclude the erroneous religious element; and the special articles for Sunday reading, which, however good for those that have no better resource, can do no good, and may do much harm, to the minds of children who enjoy the fulness of doctrinal truth, and the unerring moral guidance of the Church. A whole page of such reading may be carelessly passed over as "what any child might read—nothing in it but what is good"—and on the first line of the next there may be one of those chance statements such as we have noted, apt to set a child wrong by an un-Catholic view or an unapproved belief, or merely by the Protestant wording of a truth that ought to be familiar to the mind only in the form in which it is known to the household of the faith. Others among these magazines have no special religious reading, no mention of religion except in some broad, unexceptionable sentiment in a poem, and they appear to be entirely devoted to matters of secular interest. Nevertheless, even there may be found some of the leaven from which we would guard our children. Thus, there could hardly be a paper at first sight more free from anything objectionable or erroneous than that which bears the name of *Aunt Judy's Magazine*; and true to its name it is redolent of amusement of all kinds, with hardly a mention of even the vaguest religious sentiment. Occasionally in a poem there enters an expression of religious thought, quietly sanctifying the gaiety of the surrounding pages. We subjoin, as an example, a few verses of this kind to show the character of soundness and safety which one half-page may win for the whole from unsuspecting eyes. This "Prayer" is, in

fact, so excellent in meaning, that it reminds us of nothing so much as the spirit of St. Ignatius, and the very simplicity of its earnestness seems to break the words apart.

Lord, grant to me a nobler aim  
 Than things of earth ;  
 Let usefulness to Thee, not selfish fame,  
 Give all my efforts birth.

Long have I studied, toiled, and striven  
 To make me wise ;  
 Forgetting that our talents are but given  
 For Thee to exercise.

Thou gavest—Thou canst take away—  
 Grant them me still,  
 To use them for Thy glory—day by day  
 Refresh with grace my will.

Let me not tire, but knowledge gain,  
 Knowledge of Thee—  
 Live unto Thee, and work for Thee I'd fain—  
 Forgive the past—and strengthen me.

We are inclined after reading this to pass the whole to children with fearless delight, knowing that they will be the better and happier for those verses, even while they are occupied with "The Doleful Ditty of the Dumpy Duck," or elsewhere, "How three Kittens went out Mousing." But what is our disappointment when we discover, lurking in the same pages, one of those chance remarks which would wound a Catholic child to the quick. A traveller in Spain, describing a church, speaks of the tawdry "Virgen del Pilar" and the "disgusting" ex votos representing the diseased limbs that had been healed; and he characterizes the whole as exactly like what the ancient Greeks did at the shrines of Venus and other pagan divinities. With a guide at hand, such passages might easily be passed over, or for older children some word of explanation given as to the customs here attacked; but everyone knows that children unsuspectingly explore their books for themselves; and such passages as this would not only hurt the sensitive nature of a heart devoted to its heavenly Queen and to the Church, but a little speck might be left that would fester, and long after in some other form come to light disturbing the heart's peace. But it must be understood that in thus making mention of passages out of certain magazines of general reading, we have no intention of censuring them beyond the rest. The fact is, those of this class selected for examination are some of the highest and most nearly free from enmity towards our faith. We draw attention to them, only with the purpose of proving that

even with the very best there is unceasing supervision necessary, if they are used by Catholic children. Nor must we rely upon the discernment of the young readers themselves to avoid what is distasteful to them. However well they may understand the doctrines and devotional customs of the Church, and however secure may be their loyalty of heart in believing still as true or good what they may not understand or could not at the moment defend against the argument of older wit—we are false to our trust if we are foolhardy in the exposure of this faith and loyalty to premature trial. The dripping of water will make some impression at last upon the rock itself; and drops of error, if they be continually felt, can hardly fail to leave some mark.

The magazine called *Little Wide Awake* has somewhat changed its character during the last two years, becoming a notable exception to the rest by the absence of direct religious teaching. In matter it is mostly suitable for little children, but its literary and artistic excellence makes it one of the most attractive of these publications. For instance, one of Mrs. Molesworth's tales therein, "Hoodie," contains some of the best picturing we have seen of child-life. Hoodie, five years old, praying sometimes and thinking of solemn things, is a flesh-and-blood child still, a refreshing exception to many heroines of juvenile fiction, who appear as sickly, sanctimonious beings, miniature Anglican saints, or precocious revivalists. We subjoin a few passages from the story, choosing our fragments from a portion where the religious element is most shown:—

"I think God is vezzy kind (says the volatile wilful Hoodie) for, you know, I said my prayers to Him last night to send birdie back again, so He must have told him to come. P'raps He sent a' angel to show birdie the way. I'm going to be vezzy good now, Cousin Magdalen, *awful* good, always, 'cos God was kind and sent birdie back. *Won't* God be glad? . . . I wouldn't have tried so much if He hadn't sent birdie back, but now I'm going to try awful hard."

"But, Hoodie dear, even if God hadn't sent birdie back, it would have been right to try as hard as ever you could," said Magdalen. "That's what I wish you could understand—even when God doesn't do what we ask Him, we should try to please Him. For He loves us just the same, better than if He did what we ask, for He knows that sometimes what we ask wouldn't be good for us. I don't think you understand that, Hoodie dear. You think when your mother, or Martin perhaps, doesn't do all at once what you ask, that it is because they don't love you. You mustn't feel that way, dear, either about your friends here, or about God, your best friend of all." Hoodie looked up, rather puzzled.

Still the difficult explanation had been given wonderfully well. Afterwards when the cat and bird tragedy comes, and

Hoodie holds in her hands the bird dying of fright, she forgets the lesson, and says to the maid with tearless eyes:—"Is he dead?"

"Yes, Miss Hoodie, dear," said Lucy, softly stroking the ruffled feathers; "he is dead, but, oh dear, Miss Hoodie, it isn't so bad as if the cat had torn and scratched him all over. You should think of that." But Hoodie could think of nothing in the shape of comfort. . . . "Take him and bury him," she said. "He can't love me any more, so take him away. All the loving's dead. He was the only thing that loved me. I won't try to be good any more. God is very unkind." "Miss Hoodie!" exclaimed Lucy, considerably shocked.

But Hoodie is capable of better things than this. Her sister has caught an illness through her disobedience, and here is the charming picture of a little child's repentance. The same servant coming to the unfastened door of the room where she had left Hoodie alone, is surprised to hear some one talking.

Lucy stopped a minute to listen. The voice was Hoodie's own. She was kneeling in a corner of the room, and the words Lucy overheard were these—"Maudie is worsen," Hoodie was saying, "and if she keeps getting worsen, she'll die. And it wasn't Maudie's fault that she got the affection (infection) fever. It was Hoodie's fault. Oh! please, dear God, make Maudie better, and Hoodie won't mind if she gets the fever, 'cos it was her fault. Hoodie's been so naughty, and poor Maudie's good. And everybody loves Maudie, but nobody *can* love Hoodie. So please, dear God, make Maudie better," and then she ended in her usual fashion, "for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen." Lucy stood, holding her breath, at the door. When she saw that Hoodie got up from kneeling, and sat quietly down on her chair again, she ventured to enter the room. Hoodie looked at her rather suspiciously. "Lucy," she said, with a touch of her old imperiousness, "I think you should amember to knock at the door."

We were inclined to approve as entirely harmless to Catholic children the whole serial which contained this charming volume with the more charming "Hoodie" (although alas! little Hoodie was no Catholic child; but, on turning the pages of the former volumes, it was painful to find in the very same serial that now looks so harmless, "Scraps of English History," broadly describing the Reformation as the purifying of the Church from the corruptions introduced by the Popes of Rome, glorifying even Cranmer as a martyr, telling how "the people of England turned with abhorrence from such cruelties, and felt an aversion for the Roman Catholic Church in whose name they were practised," stating, after all this, nothing whatever of the blood-stained side of Elizabeth's reign; and even stooping to the unfairness of characterizing for children the Gunpowder Plot conspirators as "a number of Roman Catholic gentlemen."

After such a discovery as this, and also the appearance in back volumes of Protestant New Testament History, we can only say once again—though it were for the fiftieth time—that one harmless and excellent volume of a periodical is no guarantee for the nature of the other volumes, and that for our Catholic children the one guarantee of safety is Catholic editorship.

For somewhat older heads, that are still the green heads proverbially found on young shoulders, there are periodicals adapted to follow the tastes of growing boys and girls up to the age of twenty, or even farther. Best known among these are *The Boys' Own Paper* and *The Girls' Own Paper*, issued from the office of the *Leisure Hour*; and *Every Boy's Magazine* and *Every Girl's Magazine*, issued by one of the oldest firms, which has brought out a century's books for the young. There is also a recent publication, the *Union Jack*, consisting chiefly of high-class tales of adventure, travel, and school-life, and edited and supported from the beginning by such well-known writers for boys as the late Mr. Kingston and Messrs. Ballantyne and Henty. We shall have a few words to say about some of these magazines, and this must bring to a close our survey of non-Catholic periodical literature for the young. With very few exceptions—(in the touching of religious subjects)—the *Girls' Own Paper* is everything that a girl could desire. From school-life and play up to the management and furnishing of the house, it contains information for all ages, instruction, and healthy fiction. But here again we cannot approve without exception. It is true, Catholic girls can receive no taint of un-Catholic ideas from the advice about Sunday School teaching; but the whole spirit of the religious element will be indicated by quoting one paragraph from an article on the reading of "the god of Books;"—the only good thing in the article is the suggestion that to get help from Bible reading, there should be prayer for light beforehand.

Consult His Word if you want to know what you are, and if you want to know God's will concerning yourself. . . . Now, an intelligent reading of the Bible requires a great deal of study. Not that the most ignorant of what this world calls learning are not competent on that account to receive and to hold fast the vital truths of our religion; for, as Horsley says, the most illiterate Christian, if he will but read his English Bible in a proper manner, can not only attain all that practical knowledge which is essential to salvation, but by God's blessing will become learned in everything relating to his religion, in such a degree that he will not be liable to be misled either by the refuted arguments or the false assertions of those who endeavour to engraft their own opinions upon the oracles of God.

We would also notice an article on Christmas, contributed by no less a dignitary of the Church of England than the Archbishop

of Canterbury, in which occurs a strangely blind statement—none other than that the Christmas cribs of “Roman Catholic countries” have “a tendency to give a somewhat low idea of what the Lord Jesus Christ is in His Divine Majesty,” and that they certainly may be and have been used “to withdraw the mind from Christ Himself to the worship of the human mother.” And this is stated, although it is first admitted that, “after all, these representations may in a certain stage of knowledge and feeling have much the same effect as some noble picture of the Holy Family, executed by a great painter, has on the educated and refined. . . . Under quite different circumstances to ours they may be helps to devotion.” After this, where is the consistency of the Archbishop of Canterbury? He must either condemn the great masters of painting or the Christmas cribs. The humble church crib was never more praised than by such dispraise.

The companion magazine of the same firm, *The Boys' Own Paper*, has recently made itself notorious by side-cuts of hostility to our religion. In other respects it promised to be for boys what the *Girls' Own* is for their sisters, a repertory of amusement and of all they desire to learn in leisure hours from the holiday business of school years up to the hard work of after-life. The hostility to our faith and the glimpses of bigotry are greatly to be regretted in pages that otherwise would be so popular. How completely a good thing is spoiled, may be gathered from the words of a well-known priest on the London mission, whose letter of warning recently appeared in the Catholic press:—“I regret greatly that the writers who contribute to this popular magazine do not confine themselves to the truth concerning Catholic doctrines and devotions, but indulge in unfair and false statements, which reveal their own ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry. Some months ago I addressed a remonstrance to the Editor, and pointed out to him the evil of allowing such a style of writing. It appears that my remonstrance was unheeded, for in this May number I find a passage as offensive to Catholics as it is untrue. It is my duty, therefore, to give this word of warning against *The Boys' Own Paper*, which fails to respect the feelings of Catholics, and does not adhere to the truth in speaking of them.” These are words that might apply to many another magazine of seemingly innocuous general reading. As for the *Union Jack*, since it was first unfurled under W. H. Kingston's leadership, we may be sure of the strength and bravery of the heroes, the hair-breadth escapes and dashing adventures which they were all fortunate enough to find. There is little or no mention of religion. The stories are meant to amuse, not to give moral instruction, unless it be in honesty, bravery, honour, and the

natural virtues of strong-limbed youth. Where religion is introduced, it is of the school of muscular Christianity. It may teach that it is noble and Christian to forgive an enemy and to repay his evil-doing with good; but it is freely implied—as it is, indeed, implied and accepted in a moral sense among the bulk of the world's full-grown boys—that, previous to the time for forgiveness, there is a point of insult at which the muscular Christian must choose between pugilism and dishonour, between revenge and a cowardly Christianity. Still the *Union Jack* is acknowledged to be the periodical least likely to offend the Catholic faith and spirit of our boys; and the editor has lately given a very gratifying promise that, as it is “unconnected with any religion or sectarian association,” no attack upon the professors of any creed will for a moment be permitted in its pages. The third of the popular magazines for boys—*Every Boy's Magazine* (and *Annual*) is unequal in attractiveness to the *Union Jack*; and though it contains nothing of religion, it has not yet, so far as we are aware, given any guarantee. Published by the same firm, *Every Girl's Magazine* (and *Annual*) is at times impregnated with an unpractical, sentimental religion, and it is capable of drawing as companion portraits the lives of Sir Thomas More and of John Wesley!

From all this survey of juvenile periodicals, and from a close examination of many journals that space does not allow us even to name, the resulting impression is—that non-Catholic literature of this kind is vast in extent, and strong in all valuable and attractive qualities: that it contains an almost universal element of un-Catholic religious teaching and a strong anti-Catholic bias: that it is, therefore, at the same moment sure to be largely and almost necessarily used in Catholic families, and sure to carry thither (unless there be great vigilance) an element of false education. Now, it lies in the hands of Catholics—not our few writers, but the whole body—to secure for the little ones of the Church a new influence for good, a worthy periodical literature of their own. The only thing needed is a sufficiency of patient support for the first efforts that are being made, and we would predict with certainty a Catholic juvenile periodical, or cluster of periodicals, that would in every way equal and out-distance non-Catholic competition. We say “patient support” is required, because the beginning of every great work is a small and a weak beginning, and those who have most at heart the success of the present *Catholic Children's Magazine*, will be the most ready to acknowledge with us that it is yet small and weak as compared with the need which it is destined to fill. But, however small, it is highly promising. The series of studies of “Eugénie de Guérin,” and the monthly letter of the little

readers' "Friend," are in themselves sufficient promise of what might be; but these are far from being all the signs of possible strength. We heartily wish for the day when the welcome of all Catholics for this persevering first effort will have caused it to develop into one of the largest, best, and widest circulating of Irish and English periodicals; for we feel certain that such an ever-fresh recreative influence would be an immense power for good among the whole number of our Catholic children. If it does not hold that position now, and if it cannot rival non-Catholic magazines, the simple reason is because Catholics are as yet slow to assist in the work. In such a case as this obviously it is not the excellence of the matter that will ensure circulation, when its place is already occupied by un-Catholic literature; it is, on the contrary, the circulation that, under the same management, would change small beginnings into excellence.

As to this question of excellence, if we examine in what consists the attractiveness of non-Catholic periodicals for the young, we shall easily distinguish three great qualities, beside the merits of illustration, which is merely a matter of capital and cost, in these days of high art in black and white. The three qualities we would note are: the elements of amusement, of information, of truth to Nature. In every recreative book that is meant for young readers the presence of what they call "fun" is positively necessary. If man is a laughing animal, much more so is the boy; but there is the great distinction that they do not laugh at the same things. For the man and for the boy, wit and humour are represented by very different ideas; and there will be no success in amusing the young unless the child's standard of humour is well known, and yet the man's standard of humour indicated. Even in causing a laugh there may be an improvement of taste, an unsuspectingly received germ of instruction; but unless somehow the laugh be caused, the free hours will be given elsewhere, and the book will be voted dry. Our Protestant contemporaries have long ago perceived this necessity, and the brightness of childhood's ready smile is provoked in every corner of their pages, and constantly watched for in their fiction. As to the second quality—information—we do not for a moment mean to advocate that periodicals should turn into lesson books; in that case, the periodicals would turn before long into waste paper. But there are certain topics on which boys and girls thirst for information, topics for the most part peculiarly associated with their own life, or with the life of imagination which mingles with it. They want to know about boat-building and chess, bicycling and bowling, crewel work and singing, travelling and mountaineering, how famous men and women were actually boys and girls once, and how life goes on all the



world over. All they want to know makes a medley far worse than this, because it is a thousandfold more various; and the whole is the outcome of that curiosity which is one of the strongest traits of the character of most children. Kept within bounds, a child's curiosity often is the energizing power in education. Without some evidence of this quality, children are what is commonly called dull; their mental life is like the life of a polyp contentedly fastened to a rock, and accepting all that comes within his circle of tentacles, but not troubled by feeling that there must be a good deal of the world farther away. The faculty of curiosity is as closely mingled as that of ambition with the desire to learn. If curiosity is ill directed and if it becomes a ruling power, we may expect the same evil that results from the abuse of any other faculty; but there is no reason why it should not be used for good within due limits. During the hours of recreative reading, or, as we have called them, the hours of self-education, the child's curiosity is generally most active. That it be turned to good, and satisfied usefully without being allowed in simple hunger to seek the satisfaction of pernicious reading—all this depends greatly upon the attractiveness and the value of well-chosen information in the periodicals that belong to the young. In those periodicals they take a peculiar interest, becoming not only readers of the magazine, but having an individual connection with it, by correspondence with the editor. This again is a great power for good. For instance, the editor of *Sunshine* is a hard-working clergyman well known in London as a friend of the working classes, simply seeking to brighten their lives, and using such expedients as his magazine and his floral services in a chapel full of flowers; *Sunshine* itself is but a very small, well-intentioned ray; but he boasts of a correspondence with some thousands of young readers all the world over. Is not such a correspondence as this in Catholic hands a thing to be expected and hoped for? Lastly, we have noted a necessary element of success—truth to life; and this chiefly applies to fiction. We do not alone mean that fiction should be a description of persons and incidents given in such a natural manner as to be in effect like a reflection of some lives that have been lived somewhere—a reflection true in all characters and events, not with the truth of what actually has been, but of what actually may be. This truth the fiction ought to possess, but we would indicate another kind of truth also. The stories of young lives ought to answer truly to the real conscious life of the child's heart. It ought to be vigorous, for vigour is in the nature of everything young; and fiction without strength will no more captivate the boy or girl, than weak fiction of a more mature sort will entertain an older mind. It ought to be elevating in tone

but not necessarily religious. Unless it be fiction grafted on to Church history, or introducing the characters of canonized saints, there is no reason why religion should ever fill the greater part of the pages. And stories containing but little mention of religion are often of the very highest benefit to young readers. We add this remark, because there is forced upon us from long examination of this subject, the truth that Catholic writers for the young are apt through very zeal to make their own work less effectual. They are individually anxious to give religious instruction and direct moral teaching; whereas, what is wanted most is, not direct teaching, but that unceasing undercurrent of true Catholic spirit, which cannot fail to be present in even the most purely secular work of a Catholic mind. Books for the young need not be spiritual books; for the most part they ought not to be spiritual books, unless we want to drive our boys and girls to seek all their recreative reading in the works of Protestants. Those boys and girls, be it always remembered, are growing up to give to God an active service, which will not by any means consist entirely of prayers and devotions. To a great extent their prayer, the prayer that is commanded to be offered always, will be their life—life with its contact with the world on every side: its meeting and journeying on with crowds of other faces in different relationships: its hard trials, sometimes apparently of the most unsanctifying kind and the most unromantic aspect: its daily round of duties little and great: its recurring, tormenting uncertainty as to what is duty at all and what is not. Out of such commonplace stuff as this is made, in the lives of most men and women, the precious life offering that the touch of God turns to the pure gold of His service. And for such lives the child-like fictions of childhood, the brave tales of boyhood, ought to be made part of the preparation. If they be true to their end, they will have much more to do with secular matters than with religious, just as the child will have in after-life more labour and ordinary talk than devotional converse in every day. Faith, prayer, and devotion are taught elsewhere; the reading of the recreation hour ought not always teach them directly—and fiction seldom. Its real work is to show the outer side of lives as faith ought to mould them: to implant in the generous nature of the young the thought of duty, the patient resolve to suffer, the hope of having, if need be, the glorious strength of great self-sacrifice. To teach these things indirectly is to teach the life-prayer that speaks to God in actions, not words. But what is indirect teaching, and how is it to be conveyed? We answer, it is to be conveyed by example. True fiction will give in unlimited aspects the story of noble examples; and, in proportion as it is true, it will appeal to the reader's faculty of imitation. Fénelon

says of this faculty of imitation, that it has been implanted in the young in order that they may be easily bent towards what is shown to them of good. What is any worthy fiction, but an exposition of the good that has been done and that may be done in ordinary life? To show it is enough; we need not in words bid the generous and ardent to copy. They love to imitate; and imitation is easy for their plastic minds and their lives of unformed habit. Very often to teach spirituality is to spoil a story; to make it simply a picture of good, drawn by a Catholic hand and heart, is to leave in it the fascination of an abiding good example. We have been prompted to add these words by our sense that in juvenile fiction the spirituality is often introduced to the detriment of the vigour and power of the story itself. And we have purposely wandered away from our distinct province—periodical literature—because we wish these remarks to apply, not to Catholic periodicals, but to Catholic juvenile fiction, wherever it appears. We shall never rally all children together, never win the playful little ones, never, above all, arrest the attention of growing boys, until it is well understood that Catholic literature is to be a united power, not a succession of individual efforts. When our writers are content to work simply for the exclusion of evil; when they are content to teach by good hardy stories, without aiming at spirituality in every chapter; when they are content not to teach directly, or not to teach at all, but to amuse; when they find their different work, some treading the higher paths of direct religious teaching, others humbly luring the little ones near or keeping them anyhow from following false paths—when, as we say, Catholic writers appreciate this great work and accomplish it with the *esprit de corps* of a body who are ready to choose individual sacrifice for the sake of gaining united success—then, and then only, we shall be in a fair way to possessing a Catholic juvenile literature worthy of our numbers, and worthy of the love of the Church for the souls of the young.

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#### ART. IV.—MINOR POETS OF MODERN FRANCE.

**I**N approaching the subject of the Modern Poets of France, our feelings are not unlike those of a person who, on entering a vast aviary, is called upon to give an account of his garrulous surroundings and their varied song. A countless number of small birds warble, each on his separate twig, while here and there only, mounting above the croak of the raven, the screech of parrots,

and the cooing of doves (for pigeons are plentiful), the clear, strong notes of some sweet songster charm the bewildered ear and dominate the general din. In each case, whether of the winged or wingless warblers, two general characteristics which present themselves are multitude and, with regard to the larger number, mediocrity. Volumes of verses—poems, odes, and even sonnets, for the most part excellently written—pour in rapid succession from the press: and yet nothing can be much more profitless and disappointing than the examination of these productions usually proves to be.

Never, perhaps, since the time of the Welsh Druids was the science of rhythm more carefully studied than it is at the present day. Is a strophe wanted? A hundred versifiers are ready with it at once, admirably finished, delicately turned, charmingly coloured, and having only one defect—it lacks substance—it wants an idea.

The chief principle of the new poets seems to be to avoid having any principle in particular; and that they must have no *credo*, is their one belief. According to them, poetry must admire everything alike, have no enemies, make no war against evil, admit no distinctions between vice and virtue. In fact, the only forms of enmity, more or less veiled or violent, that we have found among the new poetic generation have been invariably against one or another of three objects—the Catholic Church, Chastity, and the Prussians: otherwise their dogma is that Poetry ought to be as plastic as Sculpture itself, or rather that it is merely a jewelled robe in which noble forms or vile may alike be draped. Its true and ancient purpose, that of leading the mind upward to the Source of all Beauty by the charm of beautiful language clothing lofty thoughts, if not forgotten, is discarded and despised, and, instead, its sole ambition is the Picturesque. One result of this worship of the picturesque has been to lead certain of its devotees into sheer paganism—in the same way that with us Mr. Edwin Arnold has apparently been landed in Buddhism by his *cultus* of Siddârtha.\* And where these poets do not worship Jupiter, Pan, and, above all, Venus, they usually worship nothing: they have no enthusiasm for what is great, no aspiration for

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\* We should be sorry to misjudge the talented author of "The Light of Asia;" but our impression is received from the concluding lines of his work—addressed to BUDDH:—

Ah! Blessed Lord! O high Deliverer!  
 Forgive this feeble script which doth thee wrong,  
 Measuring with little wit thy lofty love.  
 Ah! lover! brother! guide! lamp of the law!  
 I take my refuge in thy name and thee!  
 I take my refuge in thy law of good!  
 I take my refuge in thy order!

what is noble, no scorn for what is mean, no appreciation of unselfishness and sacrifice. The chief feature of their highly-finished verses is that they are featureless; and their generic mark, a complete indifference to all that is grand, lofty, or sacred.\*

To find a reason for the general (we do not say *universal*) mediocrity of the contemporary poetry of France, we must briefly glance back to an earlier period than that to which the remainder of our article is intended to reach.

The events of 1830, which came upon the country in the full current of her poetical movement, affected this as they affected every other department of literature and art. All remaining barriers of conventionality and restraint were swept away, the spirit of Utopianism, everywhere abroad, took especial possession of the poets, naturally more predisposed than others to receive it; and from every craft that rode the shimmering sea of poesy the ballast was thrown overboard, while every yard of canvas was unfurled. Many, even of those who, until then, had accepted the salutary check of Catholic rule, shaken in their obedience to the principle of authority, fell a prey to the general intoxication; rationalism, under forms the most diverse, speedily made itself master of the field; and it was not until the next period of revolution—eighteen years later—that this effervescence began to subside. One outcome of this movement was the severance of the links connecting one school with another, as well as the rapid disintegration of the schools themselves. Thus, the romanticism which had occupied so large a place in art and literature, split, like the liberalism and eclecticism of the time, into endless subdivisions; enthusiasm cooled, rivalries and dissensions multiplied, and each individual, eager for renown at the expense of his neighbours, sought to be himself regarded as a centre and head.

This dissolution of the schools increases the difficulty of our subject—not an easy one in itself—since, instead of classes, we have to deal with a number of isolated poets. A few general features, nevertheless, are still discernible in the respective camps of the rationalists and revolutionists, the colourless or indifferent, and the essentially Catholic writers. To the last-named group belong nearly all the provincial poets, and more particularly the Christian bards of Brittany and the minstrels of Provence. The order in which the representatives of these groups

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\* "This indifference of the poets," writes M. Léon Gautier, "appears to me a real danger—one of the forms of Satanism. I prefer open and violent enemies to these too placid admirers of *chiaro-oscuro*, . . . an energumen making a furious onset against the Church, rather than a poet or painter gracefully fixing his eyeglass, to stare now at the Immaculate Virgin, now at Juno, in order to discover which of the two is the more picturesque."—*Portraits Littéraires*, p. 422. Paris: Gaume.

and their subdivisions will here come under notice, is, for the most part, determined rather by chronology, or some affinity to another individual or class, than by merit.\*

Immediately after the Three Days of July, appeared the avenging "Iambics" of AUGUSTE BARBIER, revealing talents of no ordinary stamp. "La Curée" satirized the place-hunters who profited by a Revolution to devour the prey they had not taken; "l'Idole" attacked the literary worship of Napoleon and the idolatry of success; "La Popularité" rebuked the men in power who sought to win favour with the people at the price of the public good; and "Melpomène" was an eloquent censure of the disgraceful scenes allowed to be represented on the stage. These "Iambics," full of energy and heat, are a combination of the satire and the ode; but their movement, imagery, and rhythm, establish a wide difference between this winged poesy and the older form of the didactic satire.

Having scourged the crying abuses of his day, the poet threw away the rod. His subsequent writings, although appreciated by men of taste, have added nothing to his reputation: he still remains the Poet of the Iambics, and his true title to fame is the fact of his having introduced this new style of poetry into French literature. This style has been feebly imitated, as well as greatly exaggerated, by Barthélémy, and Méry of Marseilles. Notwithstanding his strong individuality, Barbier was the representative of a class. He belonged to the higher branch of the rationalistic school, with Viennet, Pougerville, Bignan, Mmes. de Girardin, Desbordes-Valmore, Tastic ("La Muse du Foyer"), Elisa Mercœur ("La Muse de Nantes"), and Delphine Gay ("La Muse de la Patrie"), all of whom followed more or less closely in the track of Béranger.

Contemporary with Barbier appeared a poet of more brilliant though unequal talents, who, too often, of "noblest gifts made vilest using." This was ALFRED DE MUSSET, born in 1810, the son of a literary man, a disciple of Rousseau.

At the opening of his career, Lamartine, Hugo, and de Vigny, were in the zenith of their fame, and, except by a small circle of admiring friends among the *jeunesse dorée*, for whom he wrote, he remained unnoticed during the fourteen years in the course of

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\* Lest it should excite surprise that Victor Hugo has no place in the present article, we will mention that it is our intention to deal only with the mass of modern French poets who are, for the most part, comparatively unknown in England. Victor Hugo is already historical, and we have no need to add another to the numberless reviews of which his works, whether those which reflect the early splendours of his genius, or its subsequent decline, have been the subject. Besides, to have admitted him into these few pages would have been putting an albatross into a hen-coop—he would have taken up all the room.

which all his principal works were published; nor would he ever have been raised by public opinion to the pedestal he afterwards occupied, had not the tone of public morality become lowered, together with the public taste. At this period, the spiritualism which had prevailed during the Restoration was yielding before Platonism and Pantheism, either avowed or latent; the lofty and refined criticism of M. Villemain was set aside for the debased moral tone of Sainte-Beuve, and every department of literature bore witness in itself to the general decadence of ideas. Lamartine deteriorated after his "Chûte d'un Ange;" Hugo after his "Burgraves;" and de Vigny, the soldier-poet, whose earlier notes, ringing with faith and loyalty, were the delight of the Quartier St. Germain, until, untuned by false philosophy and unbelief, they lost all their sweetness, and died away in bitter complainings into a hopeless silence—de Vigny had long ceased to sing when, in 1844, de Musset first came into vogue.

Notwithstanding his talents, many of the earlier poems of de Musset are objectionable even in manner, and are far more objectionable in matter. In his eagerness to be thought original, he was often merely singular, and he sought out and revelled in scandalous subjects, as if, from dread of being commonplace, he studiously avoided all that was moral. The shameless verses of the "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie" are not simply shameless, but at the same time an envenomed attack upon morality as such. And yet here and there, amid the surrounding darkness, there flashes out a spark of true poetic fire, as if to show the brilliancy of the talent thus degraded. But the key-note of all his earlier productions was the sensualism which made him the precursor of the swarm of "realistic" versifiers who, with fresh defilements, have followed in the same foul track. Byron was his chosen model, and his "Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle" is only "Don Juan" in another form. "Don Paez," as also "Mardoche," "Rafael," "Dalté," all have more or less resemblance to the universal scoffer in whom the author had impersonated his own pride. Byron has, in fact, exercised a baneful influence upon the present as well as the passing generation of French poets, who have sedulously imitated his ferocious delight in railing at everything and respecting nothing, and are infected by the same mania for singularity which prefers to indulge in solitary despair rather than in hope shared with others.

In course of time, however, a better spirit seemed striving for the mastery in de Musset. Life, as it passed on, dispelled many illusions, and he began, though fitfully, to aspire after a higher ideal. We find his wanton Muse weeping on the threshold of the Eden of true love; his incredulity bitterly bewailing loss of faith, and his railing breaking forth into sobbing.

Glimpses of all this may be discerned in some of the exquisite lines of the "Nuits de Mai," in the little poems, "La Coupe et les Lèvres," "A quoi rêvent les Jeunes Filles?" "Namouna," and some others; for, infected as he was by the moral and intellectual anarchy of the times, he had, nevertheless, a confused instinct of the greatness of the human soul, which can only be filled by the Infinite; and the hunger of his unsatisfied spirit seems to cry out from the midst of his gay and mocking song. His lines to Voltaire seem to breathe a sort of despairing vengeance against the infidel who had led the way to unbelief:—

Dors-tu content, Voltaire, et ton hideux sourire,  
 Voltige-t-il encor sur tes os décharnés ?  
 Ton siècle était, dit-on, trop jeune pour te lire ;  
 Le nôtre doit te plaire, et tes hommes sont nés.  
 Il est tombé sur nous, cet edifice immense  
 Que de tes larges mains tu sapais nuit et jour ;  
 La mort devait t'attendre avec impatience,  
 Pendant quatre-vingts ans que tu lui fis ta cour ;  
 Vous devez vous aimer d'un infernal amour,  
 Ne quittes tu jamais la couche nuptiale.

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Pour t'en aller tout seul, promener ton front pâle  
 Dans un cloître désert ou dans un vieux château ?  
 Que te disent alors tous ces grands corps sans vie,  
 Ces murs silencieux, ces autels désolés,  
 Que pour l'éternité ton souffle a dépeuplés ?  
 Que te disent les Croix ? Que te dit le Messie ?  
 Oh ! saigne-t-il encor, quand, pour le déclouer,  
 Sur son arbre tremblant comme une fleur flétrie,  
 Ton spectre dans la nuit revient le secouer ?

Then, after describing the death, without faith or hope, of Rolla, he continues:—

Arouet ! Voilà l'homme  
 Tel que tu l'as voulu. C'est dans ce siècle-ci,  
 C'est d'hier seulement qu'on peut mourir ainsi.

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Et que nous reste-t-il, à nous, les Décicides ?  
 Pour qui travaillez-vous, démolisseurs stupides ?

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Vous vouliez faire un monde, eh bien, vous l'avez fait.  
 Votre monde est superbe et votre homme est parfait.  
 Les monts sont nivelés, la plaine est éclaircie,  
 Vous avez sagement taillé l'arbre de vie ;  
 Tout est bien balayé sur vos chemins de fer ;  
 Tout est grand ; tout est beau : *mais, on meurt dans  
 votre air.*



These poems are in the writer's latest manner. "Rolla" is a transition from his former style to that of the stanzas to Malibran, the "Treize Juillet," and "L'Espoir en Dieu"—poems full of hope for the future, although this hope was not to be realized. In 1857, at the age of forty-seven, Alfred de Musset died. In the sonnet with which we close these remarks of which he is the subject, he had already written the epitaph, as it were, of his dead pleasures. But even this lament, doubtless as sincere in its penitence as in its desolateness, seems less like the cry of a returning prodigal than the groan of a weary *roué*—although of one who, in the twilight, is groping in the right direction to find his home.

J'ai perdu ma force et ma vie,  
 Et mes amis et ma gaieté ;  
 J'ai perdu jusqu'à la fierté  
 Qui faisait croire à mon génie.

Quand j'ai connu la vérité,  
 J'ai cru que c'était une amie ;  
 Quand je l'ai comprise et sentie,  
 J'en étais déjà dégoûté.

Et pourtant elle est éternelle  
 Et ceux qui se sont passés d'elle  
 Ici-bas ont tout ignoré.

Dieu parle ; il faut qu'on lui réponde.  
 Le seul bien qui me reste au monde  
 Est d'avoir quelquefois pleuré.

One of the few poets whose writings have invariably tended to raise the moral tone of the time, is M. ALCIDE DE BEAUCHESNE, an author faithful to the principles of his native Brittany—religion, loyalty, and freedom. After reading his "Souvenirs Poétiques," Charles Nodier said of him that he was "a partisan of the classics carried away by an ardent sensibility, and a friend of the romantics restrained by purity of taste"—a judgment which he has done nothing to cancel.

His "Livre des Jeunes Mères," which, like the "Marie" of Brizeux, consists of a number of detached pieces, follows the child from infancy to its First Communion. These poems, in progressive order as to subject, become more serious and meditative in style and tone as with years the heart and mind develop, and the child learns to choose between good and evil, right and wrong ; the Creator and the Destroyer. Thus, Christianity has a larger part in the "Livre des Jeunes Mères," than in the "Livre des Mères" of Victor Hugo.

Another placid and didactic poet, though wandering in far more perilous paths than the last-named, is VICTOR DE LAPRADE,

who began his career at Lyons in 1841. His mother was his first ideal, and his poems are full of her. This Christian matron had, however, the pain of seeing her son led astray for a time by the false philosophies of the day, but from these, as he owns in the volume he dedicates to her, he was finally rescued by her influence and prayers.

Du savoir orgueilleux j'ai trop subi le charme ;  
De la seule Raison acceptant le secours,  
Je demandai ma force aux sages de nos jours,  
Leur sagesse a laissé mon cœur faible et sans arme.

Si pourtant j'évitai l'éceuil le plus fatal,  
Ces chutes où périt même la conscience ;  
Si je discerne encore et déteste le mal,  
Ah ! ce n'est pas un don de l'humaine science !

Des périlleux sentiers si je sors triomphant  
C'est que mon cœur, toujours docile à vos prières,  
Laisse en vos douces mains et chérit mes lisières,  
O ma Mère ! et qu'enfin je reste votre enfant.

Like Brizeux, Laprade was tempted by the Utopian theory, which taught that the final absorption of evil by good is the result to be effected by social progress and "the co-operation of the liberty of the individual with the labour of the Infinite"—the "Infinite" meaning simply Nature in all her manifestations; and this pantheistic phase of thought runs through several of his earlier poems, being particularly marked in his "Psyché" and "Hermia." "Hermia" is a doubtful sort of being, who appears to the poet in the guise of a half-clad nymph or female, issuing from a bush, and—

Inattentive à l'homme, ayant une famille  
Partout où la nature végète et fourmille,

so far descends from intellectual to vegetable life as to lose in winter the power of mental exertion, out of sympathy with the stoppage of the sap. This being is intended to symbolize the powerful and magnetic influence exercised by Nature over the human heart, a species of fascination which in this and other poems is developed and debased into a species of refined and enervating sensualism. When, however, Laprade awoke from his Pythagorean dreams, it was to become, what he has ever since continued—a distinctly Christian poet. In his verses called "Le Baptême de la Cloche," after regretting his wasted time, he adds :—

Alors tu parleras, voix de la vieille Église,  
Voix comprise de tous, comme un appel humain ;  
Et tu m'éveilleras, et mon âme indécise,  
S'arrachant au désert, prendra le vrai chemin.

The "Poèmes Evangéliques," excellent as they are in intention, and occasionally in treatment, are only a fresh instance of the impossibility of worthily translating the Gospel narrative into verse. Attempts of this kind, moreover, are worse than unsatisfactory when the poet elaborates the Sacred Text with additions and ideas of his own. These additions are unpardonable, and in the poem entitled "La Tentation," revolting. In the "Symphonies," which deal with the mutual action of external Nature and the human mind, there is often a delicacy of touch which recalls Alfred de Musset. Their theme is for the most part a complaint that, when the illusions of youth are dispelled, the brightness of Nature also is no more. In the "Symphonie du Torrent," we have the following colloquy. The herdsman first addresses the poet:—

Je cherche autour de nous ces gémissantes voix,  
 Et ces mornes tableaux et ce deuil que tu vois.  
 Un large rayon d'or flotte sur les fougères,  
 L'alouette s'égayé en ses notes légères,  
 La cloche tinte au cou de mes taureaux joyeux  
 Et les prés, tout en fleur, réjouissent mes yeux.

The poet answers:—

La Nature se plaint Sa voix, terrible ou tendre,  
 Parle d'une souffrance à qui sait bien l'entendre;  
 Tout menace ou gémit.—De la source du torrent,  
 Le flot, qui va gronder, s'écoule en murmurant,  
 Comme un soupir sans fin qui remplit tout l'espace,  
 Dans les sapins tremblants le vent passe et repasse:  
 Et même aux plus beaux jours, la voix qui sort des mers,  
 Atteste un mal obscur dans leurs gouffres amers.

Which of the two is right—the poet or the herdsman? Both: since each expresses the feeling which Nature awakens in his heart; each invests her with the brightness or gloom of his own spirit, and then depicts her in light or shade as she appears to him; and this is poetry. The other Symphonies we prefer are, "L'Alpe Vierge," "La Bénédiction Nuptiale sur la Montagne," "Le Bûcheron," "L'Idéal," "Au Pied de la Croix," "La Source Eternelle," and "Le Fruit de la Douleur." Of all these the poems entitled "Les Deux Muses" and "Fausta" are unworthy. The blind Myrtho is very tender to the failings of the heathen Muse, though (half apologetically) giving the prize to the Christian; and "Fausta" is in no way comparable to "Berthe" in "Scènes Pastorales," in whom we have a picture of honest toil and Christian simplicity and virtue. In "Pernette," the author's manner is neither less lyric nor less descriptive than in his former poems of a different category, but the characters are not sufficiently true

to Nature to awaken interest, or to possess any of the freshness of a real pastoral. The excellent reflexions,—moral, political, and religious, of Pernette and Pierre are all made in the cultured diction of M. de Laprade himself; and while the heroine delivers her long and well-turned discourses, we see in the speaker, not a robust young countrywoman, busy all the week in the labours of her house and farm, but the “Psyché” of former years.

Dignity and sobriety are perhaps the chief characteristics of M. de Laprade as a poet; it would be difficult to find in his writings one impassioned or enthusiastic line. His self-possession is almost too complete: and yet it may have gone far to obtain the repeated marks of distinction his works have received from the Académie Française, of which he was elected a member on the death of Alfred de Musset—a poet in almost every respect a contrast to his successor. The following lines, in which he abjures his youthful and somewhat Druidic reverence for the oak, occur in the Poem recited at the Institute on the occasion of his installation:—

Fais tes adieux à la folle jeunesse :  
Cesse, ô rêveur abusé trop souvent,  
De souhaiter que la feuille renaisse  
Sur tes rameaux desséchés par le vent.

Ce doux feuillage obscurcissait ta route,  
Son ombre aidait ton cœur à s'égarer :  
La feuille tombe, et, sillonnant la voûte,  
Un jour plus pur descend pour t'éclairer.

Oui ! si les bois, l'ombrage aimé du chêne,  
Ont trop caché la lumière à mes yeux,  
Soufflez ô vents que Dieu sitôt déchaîne,  
Feuilles, tombez :—laissez-moi voir les cieux !

LAPRADE, THEURIET, and LEMOYNE are among the last and most moral representatives of the Romantics, and belong to the class of poets who, not content to be a passive echo of external sounds, or simple copyists of material Nature, prefer rather to interpret her through their own impressions and sensations than depict her simply line for line, after the method of the photographic category, in which M. Aicard is a prominent member. The “Chemin des Bois” of Theuriet, and “Les Charmeuses” of André Lemoine, are examples of their embodiment of feeling in form, or rather of their mingling of something personal and human with the subject of outward Nature. The stanzas of the latter poet on the nightingale will help to explain what we mean:—

Le rossignol n'est pas un froid et vain artiste  
Qui s'écoute chanter d'une oreille égoïste,

Emerveillé du timbre et de l'ampleur des sons;  
 Virtuose d'amour pour charmer sa couveuse,  
 Sur le nid restant seule, immobile et rêveuse,  
 Il jette à plein gosier la fleur de ses chansons.

Ainsi fait le poète inspiré. Dieu l'envoie  
 Pour qu'aux humbles de cœur il verse un peu de joie.  
 C'est un consolateur ému. De temps en temps,  
 La pauvre humanité, patiente et robuste,  
 Dans son rude labeur, aime qu'une voix juste  
 Lui chante la chanson divine du printemps.

Among the poets whose tendency is rather towards a literal than an interpretative style of description must be ranked M. CALEMARD DE LA FAYETTE, a writer who was acquiring literary fame in Paris, when an inheritance fell to him in Haute Loire. He quitted the capital to live in the country, where his poetic inclinations combining with his taste for agricultural pursuits, resulted in the production of the "Poëme des Champs." This poem, divided into eight books, comprises descriptions, reflexions, episodes, and legends—all excellent in intention, agreeable in treatment, but wanting condensation; and yet, in spite of this defect, many of his lines are suggestive of Virgil, of whom he is a devoted admirer.

Epris du doux Virgile et plein de ses leçons,  
 J'aime les prés touffus et les grasses moissons,  
 J'aime toute culture et tout ce qui renferme,  
 Petit monde ignoré, le châlet ou la ferme.

But the poet's love of Nature has not led him into the Pantheism so much in vogue among his brethren. His poem opens with the name of his Creator; and, in the course of his narrative, he describes, with loving hand, the cultus of Our Lady, the popular traditions he meets with, as well as Christian belief.

Moi, je rêve une France agricole et chrétienne.

At the same time, M. de la Fayette is evidently a practical man, who lives in the heart of his subject. All is circumstantially portrayed, and we have in verse the trial of a model plough, or the characteristics of a particular breed of cattle—themes apparently unmanageable except by the authors of agricultural reports, and in the most unmitigated prose.

Calemard de la Fayette never renders himself liable to the criticism passed by Buffon on certain writers of his time who sang of "Les Jardins," "Les Saisons," and "Les Mois," as if they had never seen a garden, or a season, or a month. He never shrinks from calling a spade a spade, although none of his predecessors, for more than a century, had ventured to call a

thing by its right name. Lalanne, for instance, could never bring himself to speak of a peacock or a goose; the one is "L'oiseau sur qui Junon séma les yeux d'Argus," and the other, "L'aquatique animal, sauveur du Capitole;" even a cage is, "Un toit d'osier, où pénètre le jour," and a cat, "L'animal traître et doux, des souris destructeur." And besides this pedantic circumlocution, mistakes were made as to the habits and characteristics of animals—mistakes into which no loving observer of Nature such as M. de la Fayette would have fallen. In every respect the improvement is striking when his poems are compared with all others upon rural and agricultural subjects, whether written in the present century or the last. It is difficult to select for quotation one passage more than another amid the descriptions of seed-time and harvest—of forest, field, and farm, breezy landscapes or glowing skies which mature the ripening grape. We will give the portrait of the pure-breed *Mezenc*, which might be almost taken from the third book of the *Georgics*.

Portant haut, bien campé sur un jarret d'acier,  
 Trapu, tout près de terre, encore un peu grossier;  
 Croupe longtemps étroite, et déjà suffisante;  
 Le rein large et suivi, l'encolure puissante,  
 Le garrot s'évasant en un large plateau,  
 L'épaule nette, et forte à porter un château,  
 La poitrine, en sa cage, ample et si bien à l'aise,  
 Qu'il faudrait l'admirer dans une bête anglaise;  
 Sobre et fort : patient et dur, bon travailleur,  
 A ce point qu'un Salers à peine fût meilleur;  
 Lent à croître, mais apte à la graisse à tout âge;  
 Tel est le pur Mezenc,\* Taureau demi-sauvage,  
 Et tel voici GAILLARD, roi de mes basses-cours,  
 Sultan de mon troupeau, connu dans les concours,  
 Lauréat de renom, vainqueur en deux batailles,  
 Et qui n'est pas plus fier ayant eu deux médailles.

FRANÇOIS PONSARD, anative of Vienne, in Dauphiny, and a writer of secondary merit, is regarded as the poet of fusion between the Classics and Romantics. By his admirers he was designated "Chief of the School of Good Sense;" why, is not clearly apparent, unless on account of his caution, as a rule, in avoiding boldness and originality. "Lucrèce," with which, in 1843, he began his public career, reads less like a production of his own than a correct and flowing translation from the Latin, while its flowery periods recall Racine. By degrees, however, he laid aside periphraze, and in his anxiety to imitate antique simplicity frequently adopted a style rude almost to coarseness and

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\* A mountain of the country.

encumbered with political dissertations of wearisome prolixity. Three years after "Lucrèce" appeared the drama of "Agnès de Méranie," which, although far inferior in talent to the dramas of Victor Hugo, excels them in faithful delineation of mediæval life. With regard, however, to the action of the Church, the author's judgment is less equitable than that of M. Legouvé, who treats the same subject in his drama of "Les Deux Reines."

The *chef d'œuvre* of Ponsard is his "Charlotte Corday." This tragedy, with every intention to be classic, is three-fourths romantic. Full of life and movement, its characters and events are given with rigorous accuracy, having been carefully studied by the writer, in the newspapers and other contemporary documents of 1793. In the dialogue between Charlotte Corday and Barbaroux, from which we extract a passage, the individualities of Marat, Robespierre, and Danton are described with no less truth than skill.

*Barbaroux.*

Certes, je hais Danton ; Septembre est entre nous,  
 Tout lui semble innocent par la victoire absous ;  
 L'audace et le succès, voilà sa loi suprême,  
 De sa propre vigueur il s'enivre lui-même ;  
 Et montant d'un excès à des excès plus grands,  
 Il sert la liberté comme on sert des tyrans.  
 Mais enfin ce n'est pas un homme qu'on méprise,  
 Madame ! il est puissant ; dans les moments de crise  
 Il trouve d'un coup d'œil le moment opportun ;  
 C'est un homme d'Etat caché sous un tribun. . . . .

*Charlotte Corday.*

Et Robespierre ?

*Barbaroux.*

Oh ! lui, c'est chose différente ;  
 Ame sèche et haineuse, et vanité souffrante,  
 Dans tous ses ennemis il voit ceux de l'Etat,  
 Et dans sa propre injure, un public attentat. . . . .  
 Laborieux rhéteur, son travail incessant  
 D'un effort acharné cherche un génie absent.  
 . . . . . Lorsque Danton agit, Robespierre déclame  
 Ses lieux communs sans ordre et ses phrases sans âme.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mais Marat ! ce bandit qui dans le sang se vautre,  
 Sans l'audace de l'un et sans la foi de l'autre,  
 Qui tue avec bonheur, par instincts carnassiers,  
 Qui prêche le pillage aux appétits grossiers,  
 Quoi que d'autres aient fait, il fait bien pire encore :  
 Eux déchirent la France, et lui la déshonore . . .

Un visage livide et crispé par le fièvre,  
 Le sarcasme fixé dans un coin de la lèvre,  
 Des yeux clairs et perçants, mais blessés par le jour,  
 Un cercle maladif qui creuse leur contour  
 Un regard effronté qui provoque et défie  
 L'horreur des gens de bien dont il se glorifie,  
 Le pas brusque et *coupé* du pâle scélérat,  
 Tel on se peint le meurtre et tel on voit Marat.  
 — Que fait il? Où vit-il? et de quelle manière?  
 — Tantôt il cherche l'ombre et tantôt la lumière,  
 Selon qu'il faut combattre ou qu'il faut égorger,  
 Présent pour le massacre, absent pour le danger:  
 Mais le combat fini, c'est alors qu'il se montre.  
 C'est l'heure de la proie. Alors si l'on rencontre  
 Un homme, les bras nus, le bonnet rouge au front,  
 Sabres et pistolets pendus au ceinturon,  
 Si cet homme applaudit pendant que l'on égorge  
 Les malheureux vaincus dont la prison regorge,  
 C'est Marat! . . . C'est Marat! — Pour le peindre d'un trait,  
 Il m'a dit de sang-froid, tout comme il le ferait,  
 Que l'unique moyen de calmer nos tempêtes,  
 C'est d'abattre deux cent soixanté mille têtes!

The gleam of comedy thrown into the scene of the old *émigré* in the second act is a striking departure from the "unity of gloom" —if, to the famous Three Unities we may venture to add another, held to be indispensable to classic French tragedy. And again, in the change of mood in Charlotte Corday, when, at the moment of striking Marat, she sees a little child:—

Que la voix des enfants, que l'aspect de leurs jeux  
 Rendent vite le calme à nos cœurs orageux!  
 C'est comme un pur matin dont la fraîche rosée  
 Descendrait lentement sur ma tête apaisée. . . .

This natural intermingling of light and shadow would have been inexorably repudiated by the old school, whose tragic heroes, with scowling brows, rolling eyes, and alarming hoarseness, were always ferocious or always in despair.

The subsequent works of Ponsard shew a steady decline. The attraction exercised upon all poets and artists by ancient Greece having led him to study Homer, the result was a strong feeling of irritation against the pretended inaccuracies of "*L'Aveugle*" of André Chénier, which he proceeded to correct by publishing a version of his own—closely literal, conscientious, and cold, but, in spite of its verbal accuracy, completely failing to render the spirit of Homer with the faithfulness of the poet whom he sought to improve upon. Nevertheless, in spite of its imperfections (which have been surpassed in the more recent, and also more



servilely exact, translation by M. Leconte Delisle\*), it was a most praiseworthy endeavour to raise the tone of the modern French drama.

After "Ulysses" Ponsard attempted comedy, for which he was singularly unfit. His "L'Honneur et l'Argent" is solemn and tedious—overburdened with the republican philosophy and "independent morality" of "Rodolphe," who figures as the "Ariste" of the piece. And yet it is in one of the interminable tirades of this ponderous personage, that the following beautiful lines occur :

La Vertu, qui n'est pas d'un facile exercice,  
C'est la persévérance après le sacrifice ;  
C'est, quand le premier feu s'est lentement éteint,  
La résolution qui survit à l'instinct,  
Et, seule devant soi, paisible, refroidie,  
Par un monde oublieux n'étant plus applaudie  
A travers les dédains, l'injure et le dégoût,  
Modeste et ferme, suit son chemin jusqu'au bout !

"La Bourse," which succeeded "L'Honneur et l'Argent," is little else than an inferior copy of the latter. In "Horace et Lydie" the author glorifies immorality, in "Le Lion Amoureux" he glorifies the Revolution, and in "Galilée" he calumniates and attacks the Church. Of Ponsard's works, "Lucrèce" "Agnès de Méranie," and "Charlotte Corday," will live, as being works of conscientious labour, and, in spite of some serious blemishes, abounding in real beauty and worth. The rest had better not have been written, and will soon be forgotten, if they are not forgotten already.

Provincial poetry—that, namely, which aims especially at rendering the customs and spirit of a province, and which is distinct from the local and historical ballads—is of recent growth in France. The chief merit of Romanticism was, that it first uncaged poesy, gave it air and freedom, and, removing every barrier, encouraged its flight, in no matter what direction. Thus for fifty years past the individuality of the various provinces, which had been unable to break through either the classic uniformity of the seventeenth century or the abstract philosophy of the eighteenth century, has been gradually resuming its place in the literature of the country. Two provinces, more than any others, have contributed to this result—Bretagne and Provence ; and this because, more than any others, they have preserved, amid the

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\* In this not a few lines occur which are on a par with the following :—

". . . . Télémaque !  
C'est le plus accompli des jeunes gens d'Ithaque "

—an unpardonable platitude in French, although our Milton has made good his right to his "Accomplished Eve."

levelling effects of modern civilization, the habits, ideas, and traditions of the past. These two strong corners of France are, as it were, the two poles of her genius: for if Bretagne is linked by race and tenacity of customs and associations to that Celtic world which constitutes the foundation of French nationality, Provence, on the other hand, is, by all its antecedents, closely connected with ancient Greece and Rome.

Of the little clan of Breton and Vendean poets who have become known since the Restoration, de la Villemarqué, Brizeux, Turquetty, and Grimaud, are the most deserving of note, not only for their poetical merit, but as being also the most emphatically provincial—the truest interpreters of the race whose boast and glory it is to be “*Catholique et Breton toujours.*”

M. HÉRSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ is already too well known amongst us for it to be needful to do more than mention his “*Barzas-Breiz,*” in which, as also in several subsequent works, he has translated and elucidated by an extremely interesting commentary the popular poetry of his province, from Druidic times to the present; its historical and legendary folklore, the sacred poesy of its cloisters, and its “*Grand Mystère de Jésus*”—a Miracle Play of the Middle Ages. As, therefore, “the Walter Scott of Brittany” has occupied himself rather in rescuing the precious but perishing fragments of the past than in publishing the original poems which his too-great modesty detains in the library drawers of Keranské, we pass on to the most gifted as well as most prolific of his Breton contemporaries.

JULIEN-AUGUSTE-PÉLAGE BRIZEUX, “the Bard of Arvor” was born at Lorient in 1803. His family was of Irish extraction, and he loved Ireland next to his native Brittany, often associating the one with the other in his poems;—

Car les vierges d'Eir-inn et les vierges d'Arvor,  
Sont des fruits détachés du même rameau d'or.

From a very early age he shewed a strong affection for his Province: not for Lorient, built by the English East India Company in 1715, and devoid of character, but for the wild beauty of the Morbihan,\* the primitive manners and ancient language of “*la Bretagne Bretonnante,*” of whose sons he himself, in his lofty simplicity and energy of character, was a worthy type.

Oui; nous sommes encor les hommes d'Armorique,  
La race courageuse et pourtant pacifique!  
Comme aux jours primitifs la race aux longs cheveux,  
Que rien ne peut dompter quand elle a dit, “*Je veux!*”

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\* He was the fellow-townsmen of M. de Beauchesne, between whom and himself there was occasionally a fraternal interchange of verses.

Nous avons un cœur franc pour détester les traîtres !  
 Nous adorons JÉSUS, le Dieu de nos ancêtres !  
 Les chansons d'autrefois, toujours nous les chantons.  
 Oh ! nous ne sommes pas les derniers des Bretons !  
 Le vieux sang de tes fils coule encor dans nos veines,  
 O terre de granit recouvert de chênes !

Brizeux appearing for a brief space in the literary réunions at the close of the Restoration, was claimed by the Romantics as one of themselves, but his originality and independence of mind preserved him from the mannerism into which they had fallen. Notwithstanding all that has been advanced to the contrary, he was a Catholic poet, and the more emphatically so after his recovery from the doubts and questionings with which, during his long sojourn in Paris, the new philosophy of the day had obscured the faith which it never destroyed. Besides the love of God and of his country, the young poet had grown up with one of those childish friendships which often afterwards develop into a warmer feeling; and *Marie* is the subject of a series of poems with regard to which M. de la Villemarqué not long ago said to us, "Vous avez là la fine fleur de la poésie." In these poems we have, in all their freshness, the simple eclogue, the plaintive elegy, and the tender idyl, which, like the birds and dragon-flies, fluttered into life amid the woods and streams of Basse-Bretagne. Here, for example, is an eclogue:—

Chaque jour vers midi, par un ciel chaud et lourd,  
 Elle arrivait pieds nus à l'Eglise du Bourg.  
 Dans les beaux mois d'été, lorsqu'au bord d'une haie,  
 On reveille en passant un lézard qui s'effraie ;  
 Quand les grains des épis commencent à durcir,  
 Les herbes à sécher et l'airielle à noircir.  
 D'autres enfants aussi venaient de leur village ;  
 Tous, pieds nus, en chemin écartant le feuillage  
 Pour y trouver des nids, et tous à leur chapeau  
 Portaient ces nénéphars qui fleurissent sur l'eau.

The temporary taint of scepticism appears in the stanzas to "Doubt," those to the memory of George Farcy, the "Hymn to Liberty," and others of the same date—all written during his stay in Paris. There also he wrote with detestation of the Revolution by which,

Dans un marais de sang, ici la France antique  
 Disparut ! un roi saint, son épouse, sa sœur,  
 Un poète au cœur d'or.

Thus, at Paris, where his principal relations were with Beauchesne, Turquetty, Sainte-Beuve, and particularly with de Vigny, he contracted, together with an exalted admiration for liberty, a

profound abhorrence of the Revolution and its crimes. During his "exile" in the capital and its neighbourhood, his heart was ever turning homeward, and he thought longingly of the simplicity and piety of his native province, in contrast to "these civilized country-parts" (immediately round Paris) which have "no religion, no arts, no costumes, no language, no longer that amount of ignorance which keeps within the boundary of right and good, nor yet the knowledge which leads back to it." In "Le Pays," one of the many poems he wrote at this time, which breathe the same spirit, he writes,

Oh ! ne quittez jamais, c'est moi qui vous le dis,  
Le devant de la porte où l'on jouait jadis,  
L'église où, tout enfant, et d'une voix légère,  
Vous chantiez à la Messe auprès de votre mère.

And, again, in the poem of "Le Barde":—

Morne et seul je passais mes jours à m'attrister,  
Mais l'esprit du pays m'est venu visiter,  
Et le son de sa voix semblait le chant des brises  
Qui sifflent dans la lande aux bords des pierres grises.  
"Cette nuit" (the spirit of an ancient bard is speaking  
to the poet),  
"Cette nuit le jeune homme est triste ; la cité  
Le retient dans ses murs comme en captivité ;  
Seul près de son foyer, voyant le bois qui fume,  
Il pense au sombre Arvor tout entouré de brume ;  
Il entend la mer battre au pied de Log-Onâ,  
Et la nue en pleurant passer sur Comanâ . . . .  
Adieu !" — L'Ombre pâlit. — "Sur tes vitres mouillées  
Comme le vent se plaint ! — Bruyantes et gonflées,  
Les sources vers la mer vont dégorger leurs eaux,  
Et les rocs de Penn-marc'h déchirent les vaisseaux.  
Par tes vers, ô Chrétien ! calme donc ces flots sombres,  
Car le Christ a ravi leur force aux anciens Nombres."\*

It was also at Paris that the graceful poem called "Le Chemin du Pardon" was written ; it begins by a kind of dialogue between youths and maidens on the way.

Où courez-vous ainsi, pieuses jeunes filles,  
Qui passez deux à deux sous vos coiffes gentilles ?  
Ce tablier de soie et ce riche cordon  
Disent que vous allez toutes quatre au Pardon.  
Laissez-nous, laissez-nous poursuivre notre route,  
Jeunes gens : nous allons où vous allez, sans doute ;  
Et ces bouquets de mil, au bord des vos chapeaux,  
Disent assez pourquoi vous vous faites si beaux.

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\* Alluding to *Ar Rannou*, or the Druidic "Series." See the "Barzas Breiz," of M. de la Villemarqué, p. 2.

When, after an absence of some years, the poet returned to Brittany, his arrival was no sooner known in the village than the inhabitants went to welcome him by singing his "Kanaouen ar Vretoned," or Song of the Bretons, beginning, "We are always Bretons: Bretons, the stalwart race." His first meeting with Marie after his return is described with the touching simplicity of unconscious pathos. It was at the village fête:—

. . . . La messe terminée, à grand bruit cette foule  
 Sur la place du lieu comme une mer s'écoule. . . .  
 Devant l'un des marchands, bientôt trois jeunes filles,  
 Se tenant par la main, rougissantes, gentilles,  
 Dans leurs plus beaux habits, s'en vinrent toutes trois,  
 Acheter des rubans, des bagnes et des croix.  
 J'approchai. Faible cœur, ô cœur qui bats si vite,  
 Que la peine et la joie, et tout ce qui l'excite  
 Arrive désormais, puisque dans ce moment  
 Tu ne t'es pas brisé sous quelque battement !  
 Marie !—Ah ! c'était elle, élégante, parée ;  
 De ses deux sœurs enfants, sœur prudente, entourée.

\* \* \* \*

Mon ancienne Marie encor plus gracieuse ;  
 Encor son joli cou, sa peau brune et soyeuse ;  
 Légère sur ses pieds ; encor ses yeux si doux,  
 Tandis qu'elle sourit regardant en dessous ;  
 Et puis devant ses sœurs, à la voix trop légère,  
 L'air calme d'une épouse et d'une jeune mère.  
 Comme elle m'observait : " Oh ! " lui dis-je en breton,  
 " Vous ne savez donc plus mon visage et mon nom ?  
 Maï, regardez-moi bien ; car pour moi, jeune belle,  
 Vos traits et votre nom, Maï, je me les rappelle.  
 De chez vous bien des fois je faisais le chemin."  
 " Mon Dieu ! c'est lui ! " dit-elle, en me prenant la main.  
 Et nous pleurions. Bientôt j'eus appris son histoire ;  
 Un mari, des enfants, c'était tout. Comment croire  
 A ce triste roman qu'ensuite je contai ?

\* \* \* \*

Il fallut se quitter. Alors aux deux enfants  
 J'achetai des velours, des croix, de beaux rubans,  
 Et pour toutes les trois une bague de cuivre,  
 Qui, bénite à Kemper, de tout mal vous délivre ;  
 Et moi-même à leur cou je suspendis les croix,  
 Et, tremblant, je passai les bagues à leurs doigts.  
 Les deux petites sœurs riaient ; la jeune femme,  
 Tranquille et sans rougir, dans la paix de son âme,  
 Accepta mon présent ; ce modeste trésor,  
 Aux yeux de son époux elle le porte encor ;  
 L'époux est sans soupçon, la femme sans mystère :  
 L'un n'a rien à savoir, l'autre n'a rien à taire.

During his absence, Marie, who had never returned her poet's devotion with more than a sisterly affection, married, as he tells us, "Un jeune homme," who,—

Natif du même endroit, travailleur, économe,  
En voyant sa belle âme, en voyant son beau corps,  
L'aima; les vieilles gens firent les deux accords.

But we must not so linger over the poem of "Marie" as to leave no space for "Les Bretons," every page of which is full of graphic touches of Breton life, its antique customs, its local beliefs, its hereditary habits of thought. Here, also our chief difficulty is that of choice, and our chief temptation that of quoting too much. The following extract is from the poem called "Les Iles":—

Une chaîne d'ilots au de rochers à pic  
De Saint-Malo s'étend jusqu'à l'île d'Hædic;  
Iles durant six mois s'enveloppant de brume,  
De tourbillons de sable et de flocons d'écume.

\* \* \* \*

La tristesse est partout sur ces îles sauvages  
Mais la paix, la candeur, la foi des premiers âges;  
Les champs n'ont point de borne, et les seuils point de clé,  
Les femmes d'un bras fort y récoltent le blé;  
De là sortent aussi, sur des vaisseaux de guerre,  
Les marins de Bretagne, effroi de l'Angleterre.

After describing the hospitality and patriarchal simplicity of the inhabitants of the isles, the poem continues:—

C'était un samedi. Le lendemain, voilà,  
Dès qu'au soleil levant la mer se dévoila,  
Que tous les gens d'Hædic, enfants, hommes et femmes,  
Se tenaient sur la grève à regarder les lames:  
"Ah!" disaient-ils la mer est rude, le vent fort,  
Et le prêtre chez nous ne viendra pas encor!  
Ensuite ils reprenaient d'un air plein de tristesse;  
"Ceux de Houad sont heureux, ils ont toujours la Messe!"  
Et, sans plus espérer, graves, silencieux,  
Sur leur île jumelle ils attachaient les yeux.  
"A genoux!" dit soudain le Chef, "voici qu'on hisse  
Le Pavillon de Dieu: c'est l'heure de l'Office."  
Alors vous auriez vu tous ces bruns matelots,  
Ces femmes, ces enfants, priant le long des flots.  
Mais, comme les pasteurs qui regardaient l'Etoile,  
Les yeux toujours fixés sur la lointaine voile,  
Tout ce que sur l'autel le prêtre accomplissait,  
Le saint drapeau d'une île à l'autre l'annonçait.  
Ingénieux appel! Par les yeux entendue,  
La parole de Dieu traversait l'étendue;

Les îles se parlaient ; et comme sur les eaux,  
Tous ces pieux marins consultaient leurs signaux.

In his love of Nature, of his native country, and, we might add, of his "Marie," Brizeux may be called the Burns of Brittany ; but the Scottish poet, in spite of some exquisite exceptions, is, as a rule, more plebeian both in feeling and manner than the Breton bard of the same rank of life, whose natural refinement was further purified by his faith.

Amour ! Religion ! Nature ! ainsi mon âme  
Aspira les rayons de votre triple flamme,  
Et dans ce monde, obscur où je m'en vais errant,  
Vers vos divins soleils je me tourne en pleurant,  
Vers celle que j'aimais et qu'on nommait Marie  
Et vers Vous, ô mon Dieu, dans ma douce patrie !

Besides "Marie" and "Les Bretons," Brizeux published "Les Ternaires, ou la Fleur d'Or," "Histoires Poétiques," "Primel et Nola," and "La Poétique Nouvelle." His poem of "Les Bretons" was crowned by the *Académie*, and a slender pension, which constituted all his resources, was awarded him by the Ministry of Public Instruction. His writings were too Christian and too pure to secure the popularity won by writers of, it may be, more power, but of less merit. He accepted poverty rather than sacrifice his dignity. His one half-owned ambition to be received as an Academician was never gratified, although his works entitle him to a place in the foremost rank of the French poets of our time. We must forbear to quote more of the poems we had marked, even of "Les Deux Bretagne," written on the occasion of a meeting of the Bards, a kind of Breton Eisteddfod, and beginning :—

Vous qui venez si loin pour embrasser les frères,  
Parlez nous du pays où naquirent nos pères.  
Notre Bretagne à nous, le sol que nous aimons,  
Rappelle-t-il encor le berceau des Bretons ?

But we end this too long and yet imperfect notice of Brizeux with four lines of his last poem, the "Élégie de la Bretagne," in which he betrays a presentiment that his course was near its close:

Vingt ans j'ai chanté. . . . Mais, si mon œuvre est vaine,  
Si chez nous vient le mal que je fuyais ailleurs,  
Mon âme montera, triste encor mais sans haine,  
Vers une autre Bretagne, en des mondes meilleurs.

There is a sadness in the thought that the poet to whom "departure" (from his country) "was despair," died in 1858 at Montpellier, far from his home and people.

EMILE GRIMAUD, a Vendean, was cradled amid the heroic memories of the Catholic and Royalist war. When a child in his mother's arms, he was shown the spot where Cathelineau, "the saint of Anjou," gave up his soul to God; that, too, where Charrette was shot; that where "Monsieur Henri" fell, the youthful generalissimo of the Vendean army, who said to his men, "If I advance, follow me; if I turn back, slay me; if I die, avenge me!" Such were the associations which, from childhood, filled his mind, and these early and deep impressions resulted, later, in his poems, entitled "Les Vendéens." These poems, though detached, have a natural connection from their unity of subject. Their general character is that of a chronicle in rhyme, pervaded by considerable feeling, a religious tone throughout, and a realization of the contrast between the beauty and repose of Nature and the violent and impassioned action of man. Another characteristic is their sympathy with all that is noble, whether in friend or foe. The enthusiasm of the poet for the defenders of the royalist standard does not hinder his appreciation of real greatness in adherents of the tricolor. Thus he celebrates the merchant Haudaudine, the "Regulus of Nantes," who, failing in the mission with which he was entrusted, returned to his royalist captors.

Haudaudine, toi seul, toi seul! rien ne t'arrête.  
 Ta parole est sacrée. . . . Oui! retourne à Charrette.  
 Héros lui-même, il sait comprendre les héros.  
 Va. Dans les Vendéens ne crains pas des bourreaux!

His maledictions are all reserved for the base, the criminal, and the cowardly—for wretches who, like Carrier and his crew, decimated La Vendée on the scaffold, on the blood-stained shore, or in the murderous boats, and led on their troops to the butchery of a noble population.

Of F. M. LUZEL,\* another of the Breton group, it is difficult to say much. His poems being all written in the language of his native Armorica, the prose translation by which they are accompanied cannot give a fair idea of their merit. It is natural that, at a time when ever-increasing facilities of communication are fusing all parts of France into one commonplace amalgamation, there should arise on the part of those races which as yet preserve their individuality, a strong resistance against the causes at work to deprive them of all their remaining characteristics. It should be borne in mind, however, that Brizeux only succeeded in making his Brittany known and loved by writing his poems in French as well as in Breton. M. Luzel, in his faith, his love of antique

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\* "Bepred Breizad. Poésies Bretonnes." Paris, Hachette.



simplicity, and his hatred of "the Saxon," might be living in the time of the Combat of the Thirty, while his fire and spirit are worthy of the lays which boast that Basse-Bretagne is a country unequalled in the world, and the Breton tongue the most melodious of any yet known to man.

One of the most curious facts connected with the modern poetry of France, is the awakening of the ancient dialects of the country to renewed vigour. While, in Brittany, de la Villemarqué, Brizeux, and, it must be added, the lexicographer, Le Gonidec, were restoring their Celtic tongue to its ancient purity, Jasmin, "the greatest troubadour of the nineteenth century," was charming the South with the music of his poems in his native Gascon.

JASMIN was born at Agen in 1799. His real name was Jacques Boë; but he inherited a sobriquet given to his grandfather, and rendered it dear to his countrymen and famous throughout France. His father was a poor tailor, who had a taste for rhyming, and his mother, a laundress, "with a heart of gold." Though industrious, they were very poor, and one day, when there was no food in the house for her family of nine, the mother sold her wedding-ring to buy them bread. The Curé of the parish, who always showed them great kindness, sent Jacques to school. The poet expressed his gratitude to this good priest, the Abbé Miraben, in his "Nouveaux Souvenirs," "*Preste al co d'or, qui trownes dins lou ciel,*" &c. (Priest with the heart of gold, now throned in Heaven, if through the stars thou look'st sometimes on me, thou know'st that, after forty years, I still hold fast all I have ever learnt from thee). When eighteen, Jasmin opened a barber's shop at Agen on the tree-shaded promenade called the Gravier, and soon afterwards married. His young wife, Magnounet, whom he lovingly portrays in his poem of "Françoisneto," though proud of her husband's talents, feared they would interfere with his trade, and made a point of hiding his paper and ink, and destroying every pen she found. It was this determined conduct on her part which chanced to make Jasmin known to the literary world. Charles Nodier, then in the height of his popularity as a literary critic, was at Agen in 1832. One day, his attention being attracted by sounds of a lively dispute in a barber's shop, he entered to ascertain the cause, and found a pretty young woman energetically protesting, but receiving from her husband no further satisfaction than peals of laughter. On learning the cause of this singular discussion, Nodier asked to see the verses. Then, at once perceiving that he had found a true poet, he advised the wife to let her husband write in peace. Magnounet was satisfied, and the peace-maker and the poet were ever afterwards friends.

A collection of poems soon appeared under the characteristic

title of "La Papillotas." These were for the most part *charivari* songs in the style of "Le Lutrin," but with more freshness and sparkle than the verses of Boileau. It was after their publication that an accidental circumstance gave Jasmin the clue to that perfection attained in his later and more important poems, in which, by dint of persevering labour, he produced works not only full of truth and Nature, but also of ease and eloquence, in which no care or effort was apparent.

During a fire which broke out one night in Agen, a youth of the people, having witnessed an appalling scene, described it to Jasmin, who immediately afterwards arrived on the spot. "I shall never forget him," said the poet; "he was Corneille; he was Talma! Next day, I spoke of him in some of the best houses of Agen, and he was sent for and asked to relate the occurrence. He did so; but the fever of emotion had died out: he was diffuse, affected, and exaggerated; *he tried to be impressive, but touched no one.* It then struck me that in moments of strong feeling we are all laconic and eloquent, full of vigour and conciseness of speech and action;—true poets, in fact, *when we are thinking nothing about it.* I felt, also, that by dint of pains and patience, a poet might attain to all this *by thinking about it.*" In this just observation we have the key to the method followed by Jasmin in the composition of his subsequent poems, "L'Abuglo" (1835), "Françouneto," "Maltro l'Innoucento," "Las Dus Frays Bessous," and "La Semmano d'un Fil" (1849).

The language in which Jasmin wrote is the Provençal-Romane of the South of France—the first-formed of those tongues which sprang from the Latin after the confusion of barbaric times, and which reached its classic perfection in the twelfth century, but was devastated early in the next by the Albigensian wars. From this period it gradually decayed into patois: a patois being defined by Sainte-Beuve as either "an ancient language which has suffered misfortune, or a new language which still has its fortune to make." This mutilated dialect has had its successive poets in Béarn, at Toulouse, in the Rouerque, and elsewhere; but these poets made no effort to restore their language to its primitive purity nor to extend its purely local horizon. When Jasmin began to write in the patois of Agen, he found it, though still harmonious, greatly impaired by French innovations, contrary both in essence and form to the genius of the tongue. He first cured himself of the use of the extraneous expressions to which he had always been accustomed, and then, to borrow his own word, "*disencrusted*" his language from the effects of two centuries of civilizing influences. His success was complete. His dialect, that of no place in particular, is of classic purity, and yet,

whether for Gascony, Provence, or Languedoc, it is the living tongue of all.

“L’Abuglo,” or “The Blind Girl of Castel-Cuillè,” is already well-known in England from Longfellow’s translation. When, in 1835, Jasmin recited this poem before the Academy at Bordeaux, the impression produced was indescribable. The personal appearance of the poet, his expressive countenance and gestures, the passion and pathos of his voice, increased the effect of his musical lines. The chorus, “Las carrèros diouyon flouri,” he did not recite, but sang. Many of those present did not understand Gascon, nevertheless, the whole assembly was in tears.

This poem established the author’s reputation throughout all the South of France. Wherever he went, he was overwhelmed with attentions and marks of honour. None of these ovations, however, turned his head; and to those who would have persuaded him to seek fortune as well as fame by taking up his abode in Paris, he would answer, “Everything suits me where I am—the earth, the skies, the air. To sing of joyous poverty, one must be poor and joyous.” And he remained true to his determination, fully content with the “little silver rill” which flowed in from his humble trade in a sufficient amount to enable him to build himself a little home on one of the prettiest hills near Agen. This abode he called “Papillote,” and carved over the door, *Beroy mès goy*—“Beauty to me is joy.” His poem of “Ma Vigne,” which describes this home, in the midst of its garden, its orchard, and its vines, is truly Horatian. “For a chamber, I have a mere den; nine cherry-trees form my wood, ten rows of vines my promenade. The peach-trees, if not many, are all my own. I have two elms and two springs. How rich I am! Would that I could depict this land of ours, beloved of Heaven!”

The ladies of Agen disputed the honour of having their hair dressed by the poet. Often a guitar was at hand. He was easily persuaded to sing his delicious songs: the household would assemble to listen. “His voice was so melodious,” said his countrymen, “that you would have thought it *pleno d’aouzelous*”—full of little birds. The hours flew away, and Jasmin would return home in the evening, having dressed only one lady’s hair. Magnounet, therefore, put her veto upon this unprofitable practice. Her husband ceased to be *coiffeur de dames*, and found his finances improved by this decision. His wife, moreover, foreseeing his brilliant career, lightened his work as much as possible, and when it was done, let him dream under the trees as much as he pleased. He was in the habit of reading his poems to her, finding that her good sense and hatred of affectation made her an excellent critic.

One of his most touching pieces is that called “Maltro

P'Innoucento." "Crazy Martha" (as she would be called in England) was a poor woman, who for thirty years lived in Agen on public charity, only leaving her forlorn abode when driven forth by hunger. Often, in their cruel thoughtlessness, children would call out, "Martha! a soldier!" and she fled in terror—wherefore, we learn from her veritable history, as told by the poet with more fulness of delicate detail than we have space to quote. We give the main features of the story.

In a cottage almost hidden among the trees, on the banks kissed by the clear waters of the Lot, a young girl thought, or prayed, or moved restlessly about the room; for, in the village near, the conscription was going on, and the drawing of the lots would decide her own fate as well as that of another.

Her friend Annette, who was in the same case as herself, came in. Alarmed at Martha's paleness, she tried to cheer her, and advised her to take the matter easily, quoting herself as an example: "If Joseph goes, I may shed a few tears; but I shall wait for him without dying." To pass the time, the two girls, "L'Aimant et la Légère," draw cards, to learn the fate of their lovers. The game is well described. At the moment the fatal Queen of Clubs turns up, the sound of drums and fifes announces the joyous return of the youths who have escaped conscription. Amongst them Annette sees Joseph. Jacques is not there. A fortnight later, Annette and Joseph are married, and the weeping Jacques takes leave of Martha. Without father or mother, he has no one in the world to love but her, and he promises, if spared by war, to return and make her his own for life. This brings the poem to its first "pause." The second part opens with the return of May—"Es tournat lou mès de May"—which is described with all the ardent love of Nature inherent in the poets of the South. Amid the songs of gladness and the general joy one voice alone is as plaintive as it is sweet—the voice of the mourning Martha.

Las hiroundèlos soun tournàdos,  
 Bezi mas dios al niou, lassus,  
 Nou las an pas desseparados  
 Amb'elos coumo nous-aou dus!

"The swallows are come back," she sings, "I see my two there in their nest above. No one has parted them, as we two are parted! Ah! they fly down, shining and beautiful, and with the ribbon Jacques tied round their necks upon my *fête* last year, when from our joined hands they pecked the golden flies we caught for them. . . . Stay with me, little birds so dear to Jacques;—my room looks sunwards;—stay with me; for oh, I long so much to speak of him!"

But day by day she fades away, and before long the priest

asks the prayers of the faithful for the dying girl. A kind old uncle, divining the cause of her wasting fever, whispers in her ear a few words which inspire her with new life and courage. She recovers. He sells his little vineyard, and with the sum it brings, Marthe works long and bravely until she has saved almost enough to buy her lover's discharge. Her uncle dies. She sells the house. The sum is complete, and she hastens with it to the Curé, begging him to write to Jacques and tell him that he is free, but not to say to whom he owes his freedom—"that he will surely guess."

The third part of the poem begins with a loving description of the country priest. Jacques had to be found. It was no easy matter during the great wars of Napoleon to discover, in the midst of an army, a soldier without a name, and who had not been heard of for three years. However, the good Curé, resolved as he was to leave no stone unturned, was sure to succeed. Meantime, Marthe, happy and hopeful, worked on, "in order that, having already given her all, she might still have more to give." Her generous deed, hidden until now, began to be whispered abroad from meadow to meadow, and the folk of all the country round fell in love with the steadfast maiden. She was serenaded at night; in the morning she found her door hung with garlands, and in the day young girls came, with friendly eyes, bringing presents to the faithful *fiancée*. One Sunday, after Mass, she sees the Curé coming to her with a letter. Jacques is found; the letter is from him. He does not guess who is his deliverer, but imagines (for he is a foundling) that his mother has declared herself, and obtained his discharge. Thus, he will have surprise upon surprise when he knows all, in eight days' time;—for on Sunday he will come.

The long week of waiting passes away at last. Then, after Mass, all the people leave the church, only to assemble at the turn of the high road, and there await his arrival as if he were some great lord. Marthe, happy and beautiful, stands by the aged priest; and both are smiling. There is nothing in the middle, nothing at the end of the long straight road, except only the shadows torn in pieces by the sun. But we will quote the French translation as being closer to the original:

Rien au milieu, rien au fond de ce sillon plat,  
 Rien que de l'ombre déchirée à morceaux par le soleil.  
 Tout d'un coup un point noir a grossi: il se remue. . . .  
 Deux hommes . . . deux soldats . . . le plus grand, c'est lui! . . .  
 Et ils s'avancent tous deux. . . L'autre, quel est celui-là?  
 Il a l'air d'une femme. . . Eh! c'en est une, étrangère;  
 Qu'elle est belle; gracieuse! Elle est mise en cantinière.  
 Une femme, mon Dieu, avec Jacques! Où va-t-elle?

Marthe a les yeux sur eux, triste comme une morte.  
 Même le Prêtre ; même l'escorte,  
 Tout frémit, tout est muet, eux deux s'avancent davantage. . . .  
 Les voici à vingt pas, souriants, hors d'haleine.  
 Mais qu'est-ce maintenant ? Jacques a l'air en peine.  
 Il a vu Marthe . . . . tremblant, honteux, il s'est arrêté. . . .  
 Le Prêtre n'y tient plus : de sa voix forte, pleine,  
 Qui épouvante la péché,  
 " Jacques, quelle est cette femme ?"  
 Et comme un criminel, Jacques baissait la tête :  
 " La mienne, Monsieur le Curé ; la mienne. Je suis marié."  
 Un cri de femme part. Le Prêtre se retourne.  
 Ce cri vient de l'effrayer.  
 " Ma fille, du courage ! Ici-bas il faut souffrir !"  
 Mais Marthe point du tout ne soupire.  
 On la regarde. Ils avaient peur qu'elle n'allât en mourir.  
 Ils se trompent : elle n'en meurt pas : il paraît qu'elle s'en console :  
 Elle fixe Jacques gracieusement.  
 Puis, tout à coup elle rit : elle rit convulsivement.  
 Hélas ! elle ne pouvait plus maintenant rire autrement.  
 La pauvre fille était folle !

Jasmin was never so happy as when utilizing his talents for any good and charitable work ; never so pathetic as when depicting the sufferings of the poor. Far, however, from encouraging the latter in those feelings of envy and discontent flattered by modern socialism, he sang to them of courage and hope. " See ! The rich grow better ! It is for us to defend the *châteaux* our fathers wished to demolish ! It is the glory of a nation to shield its choicest and best." On the other hand, he did not fail to remind the rich of their duties. " He who would have honey, must protect the bee ;" and, " He who digs around the roots shall make the tree-tops blossom." The general aim of Jasmin in his poems was to paint the manners and the people of the South, and he does so with the hand of a master. His subjects are well chosen, treated with breadth, and at the same time with wonderful delicacy of touch. His sympathies are invariably given to worthy and noble objects,—to all that is generous and holy and true ; and though he never wastes a line on fancied miseries, or a tear on worthless woes, his tender compassion is prompt for real suffering and sorrow. His sensitiveness on behalf of the indigent, for instance, appears in his " Carital," written and recited for the poor of Tonneins, and in which he says :

N'es pas prou, per tia la mizéro,  
 Qu'en passan, d'un ayre doulen,  
 Jeten dus sos dins la carrèro  
 Al paoure espeilloundrat que bado di talen (&c.).

Ce n'est pas assez, pour tuer la misère,  
 Qu'en passant, d'un air apitoyé,  
 Ils jettent deux sous dans la rue  
 Au pauvre déguenillé qui ouvre la bouche de faim.

Qu'ils s'en aillent l'hiver quand il gèle, qu'il grésille,  
 Dans ces maisonnettes encombrées de famille ;  
 Et s'ils voient le manœuvre, au visage reveur,  
 Dire à ses enfants qui pleurent :

“ Ah ! pauvrets, que le temps est dur ! ”

Oh ! que la charité, là, sans être aperçue,  
 Tombe ! mais sans bruit, sans sonner.

*Car il est amer de la recevoir*

*Autant qu'il est doux de la donner !*

Jasmin wrote a series of poems for charitable purposes. He was called upon on all sides, until, like a Troubadour of the Middle Ages, he spent much of his life on pilgrimage from place to place. Everywhere he was received with the greatest enthusiasm,—deputations, triumphal arches, or, as at Damazan, by a procession of maidens strewing the road with flowers while they sang the chorus, adapted for the occasion,

Las carrèros diouyon flouri,  
 Tan gran poèto bay sourti,  
 Diouyon flouri, diouyon grana,  
 Tan gran poèto bay passa.

In 1842, he visited Paris, where the modest hotel at which he stayed was so besieged by visitors of distinction that the hotel-keeper charged Jasmin's son with having deceived him, his father being “plainly some prince in disguise.” At Court, he was welcomed by the Duchess of Orleans with a quotation from one of his own poems :—

Brabes Gascons,  
 Ey plazé di bous beyre.  
 Approcha bous.\*

But amid the applause he everywhere received at Paris, he longed for his simple life at home, and would not be persuaded to remain long in the capital. On his second visit, some years later, the Archbishop of Paris, during a *soirée* at the house of the Marquis de Barthélémy, presented him with a golden branch, inscribed, “A Jasmin le plus grand des Troubadours.” His works were crowned by the Académie Française: he was made Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur at the same time as Balzac, Soulié, and Alfred de Musset;† and the Order of St.

\* “ Brave Gascon, it gives me pleasure to see you here. Draw near ! ”

† The Minister of Public Instruction wrote to him:—“ Your deeds equal your talents. You build churches; you succour the indigent; ”

Gregory the Great was conferred on him by Pope Pius the Ninth.

It was for the ruined Church of Vergt, near Périgord, that he recited one of his happiest compositions, "La Gleyzo Descapelado"—the unroofed church.

I was naked; and never can I forget how, in my boyhood, the Church many a time clothed me. Now, in my manhood, I find her bare, and I would cover her in my turn. O give, then, give, all of you, that I may have the joy of doing once for her what she has so often done for me!

The tower of the Church of Vergt is called "le clocher de Jasmin," and his name is carved upon it. The last acts of Jasmin, whom Lamartine called, "the truest of modern poets," were for the poor and suffering, and his last poem, an Act of Faith. After his holy death,\* Cardinal Donnet, of Bordeaux, spoke of him as the "St. Vincent de Paul of Poesy;" and the comparison has a peculiar fitness. The poems of Jasmin reveal in their author the soul of a child, the heart of a woman, and the strong and sober intellect of a man. Their most sparkling gaiety is always pure, and their seriousness never degenerates into morbid gloom. The stream, whether in sunshine, or shade, flows on, fresh, full, and clear, into the boundless sea.

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#### ART. V.—ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC AND HIS MODERN CRITICS.

I PROPOSE to weave a few discursive pages, which shall relate, directly or indirectly, to Archbishop Lanfranc, a character whom it has, of late years, been rather the fashion to decry; and I address myself to the task, not as his apologist, not as his admirer, not as his votary, but as hoping to show how very materially our estimate of men who lived in a very different age and under very different circumstances from our own may be modified by the *labor improbus* which busies itself with *minutiæ* that lie along the paths of historical inquiry.

The net result of the generally received accounts of Lanfranc is pretty much as follows:—That, despite the advantages of noble birth and polite education, an education which set him secure from the worst dangers peculiar to court and camp, he had so far

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you have made your gifts a beneficent power; and your muse is a Sister of Charity." In fact, between 1825 and 1854, Jasmin gave no less than twelve thousand "Readings" for benevolent purposes.

\* He died in 1854.



neglected his highest interests as, when between forty and fifty years of age, to be unable to say his prayers, and that only when in peril of death from cold, from hunger, and from the beasts of the forest, was he alarmed into the resolution of leading a better life; that, delivered from his terrible danger, he retired to a cloister, whence, after some years, he only too willingly emerged to do what might be possible to a monk, but would have been impossible to a man of honour; that, having thus won the confidence of William, then Duke of Normandy, and subsequently King of the English, he devoted himself ever after to the service of that prince, and signalized his tenure of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury by conduct, which, however pleasing to his patron, was unfriendly to the English people and disloyal to the Apostolic See.

And, first, as to an inconsiderable detail, the social advantages of his birth. In a letter to Queen Margaret of Scotland [Ep. 61] he speaks of himself as *ignobilis*. The description is absolute and unqualified—"hominem extraneum, vilem, ignobilem." Orderic, however, who was very precise in matters of this kind, and was for many reasons unlikely to make mistakes in this particular instance, tells us that he was "*ex nobili parentelâ ortus, Papiæ civibus.*" The solution of the difficulty is, I apprehend, very simple. The meaning of the substantive *nobilis* is one and invariable; the meaning of the adjective *nobilis* is manifold. John Gilpin was not a *nobilis*, but he was a citizen of credit and renown; and being a citizen of credit and renown was precisely what Orderic and his contemporaries would have described by the phrase *nobilis civis*. Our Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths was not at its institution designed to comprise none but men of birth; and yet its constituent members, though not *nobiles*, were all of them, no doubt, *nobiles aurifabri*, and the Corporation itself a *nobile collegium aurifabrorum*. In short, a *nobilis miles* is a gallant knight; a *nobilis ecclesia*, a venerable church; a *nobilis sonipes*, a prancing steed; a *nobilis senator*, a worshipful alderman, or an honourable member, or a noble lord; a *nobilis civis* a worthy citizen; a *nobilis grammaticus*, a ripe scholar; and so on; the meaning of the adjective ever varying in accordance with that of its substantive, just as the colour of the chameleon changes with the food on which that reptile feeds.

Lanfranc's relations at Pavia were, *nobiles cives*; but they were not *nobiles*. They would seem also to have been men of robust physique, and no one phrase could more aptly express these two ideas than that of *nobilis parentela*.

But enough of this. More important considerations await us in respect of Lanfranc's career, first as monk and then as prelate. The story of his conversion from the secular state to the religious,

as told in Gilbert Crispin's "Life of Abbot Herlwin," differs somewhat from the account preserved in the "Chronicon Beccense;" but the two narratives are easily harmonized. According to most of our modern writers the resultant of the two narratives is to this effect. After a brilliant and successful career at Avranches in the quality of public lecturer on the liberal arts Lanfranc set forth, no one knows why, on a journey to Rouen, inflated with intellectual pride, and worldly-minded to the core. All went well until one evening when, having crossed the river Risle, he fell amongst thieves, who stripped him naked and tied him to a tree. It had not been their first intention to treat him thus, but only to rob him of what he had about him; which cannot have been much if, as Sir F. Palgrave has it, he "tramped" instead of riding; but he annoyed them by offering them his cloak, which they had been generous enough to remit him. So then, the common account continues, they stripped him naked, and beat him, and tied him to a tree. They likewise tied his *clericus* or clerk to another tree. According to some, it was as night approached, according to others, it was as day drew nigh, that he took it into his head to say his prayers, when he found, to his confusion, that he did not know them. "Il voulut réciter par cœur quelques prières vocales, et il fut confus de n'en savoir aucune," so says the Père Longueval; and so say numberless others, down to M. de Remusat, who informs us that "l'érudit, le jurisconsulte, le philosophe Lanfranc ne savait pas une prière par cœur," and to M. de Crozals, who only the other day wrote as follows:—"Le savant professeur ne trouve dans sa mémoire aucune prière. Jamais jusque là il n'avait mis ses pensées à Dieu." And, of our own contemporaries here at home, the Dean of St. Paul's says that he "could remember nothing, neither psalm nor office," whilst the less merciful Mr. Freeman describes him as "ignorant of Scripture and Divine things;" and Dean Hook, least accurate and least merciful of all, not satisfied with confusing the two accounts, ties him to the tree, naked, but with his cap on his head—a new and original translation of *cappa*—and unable to repeat a single "prayer, psalm, or hymn," so careless had he been of "the affairs of his soul!" But I must continue the story as usually told. The ungodly professor, mortified and alarmed at finding that he was little better than a heathen, now proposed a sort of compromise to heaven. Let God deliver him, and he would turn monk. The deliverance was granted; and no sooner were his own bonds loosed than he untied his clerk and—*proh pudor*—presented himself *in naturalibus*, naked but not ashamed, naked and without apology, to the abbot of the nearest monastery, Herlwin, Abbot of Le Bec.

Now, the truth is that Lanfranc, so far from being eaten up

with pride and all the rest of it, when he set forth on his memorable journey, had long indulged a very different frame of mind. He was already bent upon leaving the world, as the most earnest people of the time were wont to do; and had only delayed, as being uncertain whether to live as a recluse, as a monk, or as a hermit. He had had enough of crowded lecture-rooms and rounds of applause, and was resolved that, should he choose the cloister in preference to the hospice or the hermitage, he would enter some obscure little monastery, none of whose inmates was by any means likely to know who he was; and all this, not from satiety of renown, but because half-and-half sacrifices are of little value, if any.

To suppose that such a man, after such convictions undergone, and after such a resolution taken, should know so little of Divine things as not to be able to say a single prayer, is really too ridiculous.

He had not crossed the Risle when the robbers waylaid him; he was *ultra fluvium Rislam* to the historians who wrote at Le Bec, and therefore on the western side, the side towards Avranches. Neither did the robbers tie him to a tree naked. Is time so precious that none of us have ever yet stopped to reflect what the consequences of such exposure from sunset to dawn would be in such a climate as that of Normandy, and in the damp air of the basin of the Risle? Is time so precious that we have all forgotten how Virgil words his precept to plough and to sow when the winter's cold has so far abated that you may do so without special protective covering?

I do not remember to have come across any passage, in so much as I know of the literature of Lanfranc's contemporaries and near successors, in which the word *nudus* must of necessity mean naked; and I fail to see why that literature, if it be worth reading at all, should not be read with the same sort of care as we bestowed on the Georgics when we were at school. St. Anselm in one of his dialogues (*De Casu Diaboli, I.*) speaks of a monk without his frock as *nudus*; and Guibert of Nogent (*De Vita Sua, IX.*) employs the word to describe a knight without his armour—*nudum se eorum misericordie proposuit*. What the robbers did was to keep the old cloak (*vetus chlamys*) which Lanfranc had offered them, in the vain hope of recovering the bulk of his baggage; but they stripped him of nothing, and *nudus* is the very word by which to describe a man who has been deprived of the protective covering with which he had intended to keep off the keen night air.

And now for his carelessness about his soul, and his ignorance of Scripture and Divine things, of psalms and hymns and offices. It was evening when he was tied to the tree; and tied to that

tree he stood, wearied, famished, and in danger of death, "revolving the sad vicissitude of things," and the vanity of human ambition. He could but guess, and vaguely guess, the passage of the hours, unless, indeed, the overhanging foliage was sparse enough, and the night clear enough, for him to see something of the firmament. Still, the hours passed away, until, to his joy, the faintest, tenderest gleam of reviving day lived in the sky, when, with the devotion of a man who was already a monk at heart, he began to recite the two monastic offices of what are now called matins and lauds, but were then termed *laudes nocturnæ* and *laudes matutinæ*. These I need not particularly describe; suffice it to say that, apart from hymns, versicles, responses, and antiphons, they comprise, as described in the "Rule of St. Benedict," in addition to the *Te Deum*, the *Benedicite*, and the *Benedictus*, no less than one-and-twenty psalms and two lessons out of St. Paul's Epistles. All this the half-dead captive endeavoured to recite from memory, and failed; and because he failed, we are to believe that he tried to pray, and tried in vain; and knew nothing of his Bible. We might as well be told that there are twenty thousand Protestant clergymen in England and Wales who know not how to pray, because they cannot do an hour's duty without a book. And the mistake is the more inexcusable, as the terms employed in Milo's narrative are technical terms of clear, precise, and unmistakable meaning; terms as clear, precise, and unmistakable as the "saying office" of the Catholic, and the "doing duty" of the Protestant; and, last and worst of all, terms with which students of the contemporary literature can scarcely fail to be familiar. There are no less than six of them:—(1) *laudes debitæ*, (2) *laudes debitas persolvere*, (3) *laudis officia persolvere*, (4) *servire tibi*; and in the sequel, (5) *officia nocturna*, (6) *laudis sacrificium persolvere*. Here are a few passages in illustration of them:—(1) "Quâdam tempore . . . adveniente horâ quâ *laudibus* lauderetur Deus surgit à lecto et ad ecclesiam ire disposuit" ["Vita Roberti Regis," Migne, cxli. 922A]. (2) "*Nocturnas laudas* fraterna devotio *persolverat*" ["Vita B. Odonis," cxxxij. 97c]. (3) "Factum est cum quodam nocte matutinis *laudibus persolvendis* inheresset" ["V. B. Idæ," clv. 443c]. (4) "Circa horam tertiam . . . *debitum officium solvente*" ["V. B. Emmerammi," cxli. 979B]. (5) "Nocte quodam priusquam fratres ad *debitæ servitutis officium* processissent" ["V. B. Simeonis Crespeiens," clvi. 1217c].

But these are mere technical details, it will be objected. Precisely so. Herein lies their value. It is much more satisfactory to have commonplacéd a few passages which make proof conclusive, than to uphold my contention by arguments which might

fail to carry conviction. At what particular point in his one-and-twenty psalms, his hymns, his canticles and his lessons, the poor exhausted captive broke down, I know not; but he would not have attempted the task had he not had good hope of succeeding; and the fiction that the future Archbishop of Canterbury had spent his life to the age of five-and-forty years in a condition worse than pagan is exploded!

I resume the history. Lanfranc, finding that he could not do what many an experienced monk would, under like circumstances, have found impossible, now breathed his famous vow. This was scarcely done when he heard the sound of travellers, called to them for help, was extricated from his bonds, and directed to what he wanted, the poorest, meanest and humblest monastery in the neighbourhood. He descended the hill-side, crossed the river by means of a bridge, or more probably a ferry, called Pons Altoi—whence the present Pont-Authou, where there is a railway station friendly to the antiquary—and in a few minutes was in the presence of Abbot Herlwin.

The details of his reception are foreign to the purpose of this paper, and must be passed over. But there is a curious little tradition still surviving at Le Bec which I may be forgiven for perpetuating.

In the parish church of Le Bec, whither the body of *Le Bienheureux Hellowin* was, at the Revolution, transported from the neighbouring monastery, there are two portraits, of considerably less than life-size, on one of the walls. They can scarcely be two hundred years old, but they would seem to be reproductions of older work, either very rude or very indistinct. At the feet of one of the figures, and dressed as a cleric, is a person of dwarfish dimensions, as in ancient works of art, that assign a diminished size to the subordinate subjects in the piece. On seeking information about the pictures from an aged inhabitant of the place, who had often heard the story of the dissolution told at the domestic hearth, I was answered as follows:—"One is Monsieur Lanfranc, the other is St. Anselm. They were brought here from the abbey at the dissolution. It is a long time since I last saw them, for I am very old and my sight is going; but you can see for yourself which is which. Celui avec la Sainte Vièrge en face est St. Anselme; l'autre avec le petit à côté est Monsieur Lanfranc. Le petit est son clerc." What is the meaning of this? I thought. Monks do not usually have a clerk in attendance on them; but supposing "Monsieur Lanfranc" to have had a clerk of his own, how comes the clerk into the picture? Whereupon, I bethought myself of the *clericus* who accompanied the professor on his eventful journey, and who, as there is every reason to believe, shared his lot and became a monk at Le Bec; but I said

nothing. "Yes," resumed my aged friend, "c'est son petit clerc ce jeune homme à côté de lui;" and then, led on by what train of thought I could not at the moment divine, continued: "On dit que la première fois que Monsieur Lanfranc disait la Sainte Messe, c'était un petit oiseau qui faisait les réponses." My first idea was that *oiseau* may have been the clerk's nickname; but anxious not to impair the evident genuineness of the story, asked no further questions, and let the conversation turn to other subjects connected with the famous abbey. "The first time Monsieur Lanfranc said mass a little bird made the responses."

Now, whereas monks sing their office in common, they, in the majority of cases, say mass assisted by a server, whose duty it is to "say the responses." Hence, as it seems to me, the present form of the story, which, explained by this consideration, is singularly interesting. The truth would seem to be that the first time that Lanfranc said office, or rather tried to say it, as though he were already a monk—without a book, that is to say—his only companion was the *petit clerc*; and a very sorry participator in the sacred effort must that *petit clerc* have been, unambitious of the monastic state, unpractised in this particular exercise, and more dead than alive. When, then, his master sang beneath his tree of durance, "Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini," some neighbouring thrush, or other bird, already waking to the dawn, piped its full throat of song, and sustained the cheery accompaniment so long as the captive was able to pursue the theme. It was an age which some of us call superstitious, and an incident like this, once related—an incident such as must deeply have touched any heart in any time—such an incident once related was not likely to fade from the domestic tradition of a convent which counted but one more illustrious name than Lanfranc's amongst its members. This is a little thing, but it has seemed worthy of record; and slight poetic touches such as these, which, provided only they are credible, or even, when not credible, have been believed from the immemorial past, possess a charm which nothing can replace and few of us would willingly forego.

Now to more serious subjects.

The perfection of Lanfranc's renunciation of human applause consisted in his quest of a convent, where he felt sure his name must, if anywhere, be unknown, and in his resolution, when once allowed to dwell there, of maintaining his *incognito*. None knew his secret but Herlwin, who was too true a monk and too true a gentleman to betray it; whilst Herlwin's disciples, none of them men of culture, and few, if any of them, men of birth, knew as little of Lanfranc, the great scholar, as in nearer times a Somersetshire squireen or a Wiltshire ploughman, can have known of a Bentley, a Porson, or a Parr; and amusing stories are told of

the fictitious lessons which he took in reading Latin, and of the docility with which he allowed the prior to "correct" his long syllables into short, in such words as *docere*.

At last, and after about some three years, the secret, no one knows how, got abroad; learned Normandy was in a *furor* of excitement; the secluded valley of Le Bec was thronged with curious and eager visitors; for the dead was alive, the lost was found; and, willing or unwilling, Lanfranc must be made to lecture again. Herlwin commanded; and, ere long, the *exterior schola* of his convent was crowded with auditors from the social and intellectual aristocracy of all northern Christendom. This was in or about the year 1045.

It is impossible to ascertain the date at which that intimacy between Duke William and the illustrious teacher was established which was to prove so important a factor in the history of our country. Lanfranc came to Le Bec in or about 1042; he began to lecture in or about 1045; but when it was that he and the Prince established their friendship none can say. In 1050, the Duke laid siege to the Castle of Brionne, whither his kinsman, Guy of Burgundy, had retired after the battle of Val-ès-Dunes, and was thus employed for three years. During this enterprise against a stronghold which lay within four miles of Le Bec, numerous and ample opportunities for converse must have been afforded to the two men, each of whom possessed a greatness which the other could not fail to recognize; and when, after Count Guy's surrender, William set to work to repair the damage sustained by the fortress, which, with its adjacent domain, was now kept in his own hand, it is by no means impossible that the Lombard assisted him in his architectural undertaking.

Scarcely, however, was that work began, when Duke William, in consummating his matrimonial alliance with Matilda of Flanders, provoked a danger which was destined to imperil his friendship with Lanfranc. That alliance had been contemplated as early as the year 1049, when Pope Leo IX., in the Synod of Rheims, forbade Count Baldwin V. to give his daughter in marriage to William the Norman, and forbade William the Norman to make the young lady his wife. Some four or five years after this prohibition, when Leo IX. was, if not already dead, yet in captivity and powerless, the Duke brought his uncanonical bride to Rouen. Leo died in 1054, and the Holy See remained vacant for about a year, so that no pontifical utterances can have reached William before the midsummer of 1055; and, whatever the date at which the new Pope, Victor II., may have remonstrated with him, we know enough of the Norman aptitude for trusting to the chances which attend procrastination to render it probable that the thunderbolt the Duke had provoked was averted until

Victor's death, an event which took place in the summer of 1057. Then followed the short pontificate of Stephen IX., and then an interval of nine months; after which, in the December of 1058, the tiara was placed on the head of Nicholas II. Now, whether it was Stephen or Nicholas that laid Normandy under interdict for the offence of its prince, has not, as yet, been ascertained; it was probably the latter. Anyhow, the interdict, as all the world knows, was removed by him in 1059, and removed at the instance of Lanfranc.

Now, Lanfranc's action in inducing the Pope to remove the interdict, and give validity to the marriage, has been censured as a piece of tergiversation, which, however possible to the conscience of a monk, would have been impossible to the honour of a gentleman; because, so it is contended, he could not have pleaded the Duke's cause with the Pope had he not changed, or pretended to change, his opinion about the lawfulness of the marriage; and because, so it is insinuated, he would not have changed, or pretended to change, his opinion on the lawfulness of the marriage, if it had not been worth his while to do so. "Lanfranc," says Mr. Freeman (iii. 103) "was again admitted to William's full favour, confirmed by the kiss of peace. . . . But Lanfranc was required to withdraw his opposition to the Duke's marriage, and even to make himself the champion of his cause. A man of scrupulous honour, according to modern ideas of honour, would not have accepted such an office. But modern ideas of honour differ from monastic ideas of conscience."

This impertinent rhetoric about monks and gentlemen, and honour and conscience, need not delay us, for it is enough to know that the lawfulness of William's marriage was not a matter of opinion but a matter of fact. I must, however, distinctly say that I cannot find any authority for the assertion that any such *requirement* was made of Lanfranc as that attributed by Mr. Freeman to Duke William. It is an invention of Mr. Freeman's.

The truth is, that in taking Matilda to wife, Duke William had not only disobeyed the Pope Leo's prohibition, but had violated the canon law, of which that prohibition was the assertion. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that no one, so far as I am aware, has taken the pains to ascertain what really was the law of consanguinity which Duke William had violated. All sorts of theories have been propounded; but the facts of the case have not been investigated.

"Matilda's mother," says Mr. Freeman (iii. 650), "had been married, or rather betrothed, to William's uncle. . . . I am not canonist enough to say whether this would have been an impediment to a marriage between Richard's nephew and Adela's daughter;" and again (iii. 90), "It is by no means easy to see



any reasonable grounds for the prohibition on any of the usual theories of affinity." On these sentences I need do no more than remark—(1) That it requires no profound knowledge of canon law to consult such works as treat of cases like that of the betrothal of Matilda's mother to William's uncle; (2) That our quest in these and like cases should be, not for reasonable grounds, but for legal; (3) That the usual theories are not the only theories that have ever been held; and finally, that the lawful impediment was, after all, that of consanguinity, not that of affinity. In another place, Mr. Freeman says (iii. 650), "Failing Richard the Good, I cannot suggest any other common ancestor for William and Matilda." To this the answer is obvious. An uncle is not an ancestor.

In sheer despair, then, of any better solution, our highest living authority on the history of the eleventh century, falls back upon a modified form of the theory advanced by Mr. Stapleton, in the year 1846, and never as yet, so far as I am aware, refuted. That theory was that Matilda was already another man's wife at the time of her betrothal to Duke William. Mr. Freeman, however, prefers to think that she was at the time a widow. But, whether wife or widow, both Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Freeman make her the wife or the widow, as the case may be, of a noble Fleming by the name of Gerbod, and the mother of two children. "The panegyrists of William," says the second of these authorities (iii. 85), "keep out of sight the fact revealed to us by a comparison of several documents and incidental statements, that Matilda was the mother of a son and a daughter, of whom William was not the father." Why none but the panegyrists should be charged with such reticence I will not inquire. "She had already," he continues, "been married to Gerbod, a man of distinction in Flanders. To him she bare two children. . . . Gerbod and Gundrada. . . . *It is quite certain* that the bride of William was already the mother of two children by another man. . . . Mr. Stapleton has, I think, convincingly made out that Matilda was, before her marriage with William, the mother of Gerbod and Gundrada." This idol of clay was set up in the year 1846. It has stood for five and thirty years. It is time it should be overthrown. I mean to overthrow it.

With Gerbod, the suppositious son of Matilda, we need not concern ourselves; it will suffice to confine our attention to Gundrada or Gundrade. This lady, whose tomb may be seen in Southover Church, Lewes, was the wife of William of Warenne, the first of his race who bore the title of Earl of Surrey; and it is on the evidence of certain documents concerning the Priory of Lewes that she is asserted to have been a child of Queen Matilda. In one of these documents, William the Conqueror, says "pro

animæ. . . . Gundradæ filiæ meæ;" and in another, Earl William, Gundrade's husband, employs these words, "pro salute dominæ meæ Matildis reginæ, matris uxoris meæ." Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Freeman accept the second statement; but the brief they hold compels them to reject the first. Gundrade was Matilda's child, they say, but not William's; for if the Conqueror, and not Gerbod, was her father, their contention is at an end. I, on the other hand, am bold enough to accept both statements. But before treating of the Lewes documents it will be both convenient and proper to show how it was that William and Matilda were *consanguinei*.

1. Bishop Yves, of Chartres, forbad the marriage of Robert, Count of Meulan, with Elizabeth, the daughter of Hugh-le-Grand, on the ground of consanguinity, for he had been informed that one of the contracting parties was in the fourth, and the other in the fifth, degree of descent from a common ancestor. Their consanguinity was *nec ignota nec remota*; and he refused to allow the union to be blessed in his diocese unless proof should first be given him that one or other of the contracting parties was as far removed from their common ancestor as the eighth degree: "Nisi primum in præsentia nostrâ consanguinitas hæc septimum gradum excessisse legitime fuerit comprobata" (Ivonis Carnot, Episc. Ep. 45). Unquestionably, Bishop Yves is not an author with whom Englishmen have much concern. The works, however, of Archbishop Anselm contain a similar case. 2. This great prelate, with whom Bishop Yves was contemporary, forbad, early in the twelfth century, the marriage of King Henry's daughter with a certain baron of the king's, on the ground of consanguinity, and explained that one of the parties was in the fourth, and the other in the fifth, degree of descent from the common ancestor. And writers better known to Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Freeman than even St. Anselm have something to tell us on the subject; as Orderic (lib. xi.), who (3) informs us that Henry I. forbad the marriage of his nephew, William Clito, with a daughter of Foulque, Count of Anjou, on the ground that the young gentleman was descended by five, and the object of his ambition by six, degrees from a common progenitor, Duke Richard I.

And now I may be permitted to express my astonishment that writer after writer, and historian after historian, should have spent no one knows how much precious time in beating about the bush, instead of once for all finding out, by consulting an *Acta Conciliorum*, what was the canon law which William and Matilda were alleged to have violated. For, over and over again, do we find in the acts of councils held in the eleventh century the assertion and the enforcement of what was then the law of

Christendom, that man and woman within seven descents of a common ancestor might not be joined together in matrimony; as when Nicholas II. himself decreed, "Si quis infrâ septimum consanguinitatis gradum uxorem habet . . . ab episcopo suo eam dimittere canonice compellatur si verò obedire noluerit excommunicatur." And Lanfranc, in 1075, ordained: "Ut nullus de propriâ cognatione . . . uxorem accipiat quoadusque parentata ex alterutrâ parte ad septimum gradum perveniat." (Migne, cl. 52 D).

Surely, if in cases like this we wish to ascertain the law we know where to find it.

Duke William was in the fifth degree of descent from Duke Rollo, who, in his turn, was, in the opinion of the best modern genealogists, the grandfather of Adela, the queen of Hugh Capet and great-grandmother of Matilda. Thus, they had a common ancestor at the distance of five degrees from each. These may have had some other ancestor in common within the assigned seven degrees. But not until it shall be proved that they had none, may we venture to say that all the contemporary canonists, and all the contemporary historians who treated of the subject, were mistaken in declaring them to be *consanguinei*.

And now, needless though it be to do so, let me give a moment's attention to the allegation that, prior to her engagement to Duke William, Matilda had been married to Gerbod the Fleming, and had borne him a daughter, Gundrade, known in history as Gundrade, Countess of Warenne.

I am absolutely certain of two things: (1) That Matilda had never been married to Gerbod of Tournay; and (2) That the Countess Gundrade was not Matilda's daughter; and I say all this in few and categorical words, because I wish to do justice to the conviction that, in dealing with so remote an age as the eleventh century, no pains we may take in endeavouring to learn all that there is to learn of such collateral subjects as the contemporary canon law, the contemporary modes of speech, the contemporary technicalities of phrase, the contemporary *minutiae* of no matter what custom, art or science, is likely in the long run to have been thrown away.

One of the Lewes documents calls Matilda Gundrade's *mater*, the others call Gundrade Matilda's *filia*, and I accept both statements. But Matilda was the godmother, not the mother, of Gundrade. It was quite in accordance with the custom of the time that a godmother should be designated *mater*, and a god-child, *filia*. *Pater, mater, filius, filia*, were the ordinary words for expressing the spiritual relationship contracted at the baptismal font. Here are a few instances:—

1. We are told of Archbishop Halinard, who governed the

diocese of Lyons early in the eleventh century, that in his childhood he was loved with paternal affection by Walter, Bishop of Autun, *cujus filius erat in baptisinate* (Migne, cxlii. 1337 A). Here, it is true, we have the qualifying words *in baptisinate*; but not so always. 2. Thus, St. Anselm (Ep. i. 18), styles himself the *filius* of his maternal uncles; and there is every reason to believe, from other and independent sources, that he was their godson. 3. The same great prelate, writing to a dignified clergyman in France (Ep. iii. 106) who had been offered a bishopric, says, "If the Bishops of Chartres and Paris, who were your *patres*, and were charged with your education, concur in the election, you should not hold back." 4. In the correspondence of St. Yves, of Chartres, there is a letter (Ep. 178) to the clergy of Dol, in which that prelate speaks of a certain Wolgrin as his *filius*; whilst in another written upon the same occasion, he says of the same Wolgrin, "*eum de fonte suscepimus.*" 5. In the year 1051, the Emperor Henry III. wrote to St. Hugh, of Cluny, begging him to be godfather (*ut de sacro fonte susciperes*) to his infant son. The abbot complied with the request; and some years later the child's mother, upon the death of the Emperor, wrote to Hugh, imploring his prayers for him. "Pray," she said, "for the soul of my husband and for your *filius—filium vestrum* (Migne, elix. 850 B.C.).

These five cases concur to render it certain that Gundrade may have been Queen Matilda's godchild; and by the well known law of spiritual affinity, William the Conqueror's *filia* as well as Matilda's. I must next prove that she cannot have been Matilda's child in the natural order. Now, it is a curious and remarkable fact that the nobleman to whom I just now alluded as having been forbidden by St. Anselm to marry the daughter of Henry I. was none other than a son of Gundrade herself; so that, if Gundrade had been Queen Matilda's child, the proposed alliance between Gundrade's son and King Henry's daughter would have been an alliance between first cousins. But no one in those days was likely to dream of such a union; and had so scandalous a project been entertained, it would have been treated unceremoniously enough by a man like St. Anselm. His letter to the king is extant; and that letter shews past all doubt that Matilda's grandson and Gundrade's daughter were not first cousins, "*Quærit consilium celsitudo vestra (i.e. Henry I.) quid sibi faciendum sit de hôc quia pacta est filiam suam dare Guillielmô de Warennâ, cum ipse et filia vestra ex unâ parte sint cognati in quartâ generatione et in alterâ in sextâ. Scitote absque dubio quia nullum pactum servari debet contra legem Christianitatis. Illi autem, si ita propinqui sunt, nullo modo legitimê copulari possunt*" (Ep. iv. 84).

These are not the words of a man writing about first cousins. The common ancestor of the princess and her suitor was not Queen Matilda but the father or the mother—possibly both—of Gunnor, the mistress of Richard Sanspeur, the great grandfather of William the Conqueror. William of Jumièges gives the pedigree (viii. 37) in these words: “Neptes plures prædicta Gunnor habuit. . . . Una earum copulata est patri primi Guilliemi de Warennâ.”

By so slight a fact, then, as the conventional meaning attached in the eleventh century to the words *pater*, *mater*, *filius* and *filia*, may an elaborate theory like Mr. Stapleton’s—a theory accepted in France by M. Le Prevost, and in England by Sir Francis Palgrave and Mr. Freeman—be shaken to its foundation. St. Anselm’s letter to Henry I. scatters it to the four winds.

The reader will, I trust, forgive this digression about the real relation of Gundrade\* to Queen Matilda, for the canonical bar to the legality of her union with William of Normandy, the impediment, was, after all, as we have seen, their common descent within seven degrees from Duke Rollo, or some other personage. As to Lanfranc, if he spoke about the alliance at all, he could but speak against it: and so far from constituting himself the champion of what he had just opposed, what he did was, when, after an interval of five years, Normandy was visited with an interdict, to get that interdict removed from those who had not offended; and to obtain a commutation of the punishment incurred by the offenders. We shall next be told that when the Secretary of State supplicates the crown to commute sentence of death he constitutes himself the champion of murder!

May I, before proceeding to the archiepiscopal career of Lanfranc, venture upon a word or two concerning the services which he rendered to art in Normandy and in England?

In the days of Lanfranc’s youth and early manhood, Pavia stood conspicuous, and probably foremost, amongst the cities of Northern Italy for political and commercial enterprise; and none of them could rival it in wealth and magnificence. Chief amongst its hundred and thirty churches was the wonderful structure of San Michele, the building of which, as we now know it, was not improbably executed under Lanfranc’s very eyes, and which, as a

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\* Who Gundrade really was is not our present concern; but the following extract from the Bermondsey Register [Harley, 231], may be of interest to genealogists;—“A.D. M.XC.VIIIº.—Hoc anno Ricardus Guet frater Comitissæ Warennæ dedit manerium de Cowyk monachis de Bermondeseie cum pertinentibus suis.” There is a like entry in the Bermondsey Chronicle [Lansdowne, 229]. See Dugdale, “Monast.” v. 86, and Domesday Book [Essex, Shering, Quickbury]. The manor was held of Richard’s brother-in-law, the Earl of Warenne.

typical model of ecclesiastical architecture, was to Lombardy what, towards the close of the century, the Abbey Church of St. Stephen at Caen, and its copy, the Church of Christ at Canterbury, were to be to Normandy and to England. The front of San Michele, it is true, is not flanked with towers, like that of St. Stephen's; but each of the churches is a basilica, each marks the beginning of a new epoch, and each is, in a multitude of respects, so like the other as to suggest that they were erected by one and the same school of builders. The flanking towers at Caen may have been introduced into the design by Lanfranc; but, apart from these, the façade of St. Stephen's exhibits a conformity of design to that of San Michele which can scarcely be accidental. The interiors differ, it is true; the nave of the Norman church being twice as long and half as high again as that of the Lombard; but there is the same resemblance between the two as we find in members of the same family, some of whom are tall and graceful, whilst others are short and square-built. The ground plan of the two buildings presents a remarkable resemblance. In each the width of the western limb is some seventy-two feet; and the bays of nave and aisle in the one are precisely, or almost precisely, of the same dimensions as the bays of nave and aisle in the other; whilst the similarity of type in choir and transept is past all question. Nor is this all. The nave at Pavia was originally ceiled like a proper basilica; but the ceiling at Pavia was soon replaced by a vaulted roof, and precisely the same change was made at Caen. And, once more, the triforium of San Michele is not so much a triforium as a spacious gallery capable of holding stands for the accommodation of spectators on occasions of solemn concourse; and the same peculiarity marks St. Stephen's.\* San Michele was to Lombardy what Westminster Abbey was to England; and there can be little doubt that the ducal church at Caen was originally destined to a like pre-eminence in Normandy. On the whole, therefore, there seems to be ground for believing, not only that we owe it to Lanfranc that St. Stephen's Abbey is what it is, but that, had it not been for Lanfranc, the characteristic architecture of ecclesiastical Normandy might have had no existence. Hence the interest excited by his erection of the ducal abbey; hence the interest, perhaps greater still, excited by his earlier work at Le Bec. Alas! and a thousand times, alas! that that *opus pergrande* should have perished. It was, doubtless, built upon the plan of one of the churches in his own Pavia, and built by fellow-

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\* I need scarcely say that it had been the custom to crown the kings of Lombardy at San Michele. This was done on a *suggestum* or tribune of timber, erected for the purpose, in the body of the church. (See Romualdus de Sanctâ Mariâ: "Flavia Papia Sacra," i. 29.)

citizens; and I suspect, from numerous gleanings gathered from his correspondence, and from other sources of information, that a colony of Lombard builders settled at his instance in Normandy, and not content with erecting memorials of their skill at Le Bec, at Caen, and probably at Ouche, taught Englishmen to build, by their work under his auspices at Canterbury, at Rochester, and on many of the archiepiscopal estates, and, after his death, in the Tower of London and Westminster Hall.

My theory is a new one. May I be permitted to dwell on it for a moment?

Muratori, in his "*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*,"\* has preserved an account of Pavia, which, although written two centuries after Lanfranc's death, gives a multitude of details, then already ancient, concerning the city, such as afford most interesting illustration of the career of the great scholar and architect. Thus, it tells us of the *sapientes*, or council of government, of which some of his kinsmen were members; and of the *consulatus justitiæ*, an office held by his father, the *consules justitiæ* being appointed *ad respondendum de justitiâ civili et ad causas delegandas*. It tells us also of the traditional eloquence of the Pavian *sapientes*, a quality inherited in singular measure and amplitude by the son of Lanfranc's father; an eloquence which had provoked the remark, "*Mentiuntur qui dicunt Romanos in linguis spicula non habere.*" It gives us some idea of the intercourse which the navigation of the Po enabled the citizens of Pavia to sustain with the East, in its Greek names for articles of domestic furniture, in the Greek inscriptions upon its coins, and in the religious offices performed in some of its churches by two choirs, one of which sang in Greek and the other in Latin; and thus of the sources whence Lanfranc drew his knowledge of the language of Aristotle and Plato—a knowledge so profound as to constitute him its restorer in the West. And, as regards architecture, the account contains not a little in corroboration of the theory that Pavia had long been the centre of an architectural influence all its own. It informs us that, by the close of the thirteenth century, all, or nearly all, of the churches of Pavia had vaulted roofs; that all, or nearly all, of their towers were furnished with peals of bells; that the multitude and variety of the church bells of Pavia were, even then, a distinctive characteristic of the city; that San Michele and San Pietro de Cœlo Aureo were, even in that day, famous for their stateliness of dimension, and larger than many a cathedral elsewhere. It particularizes a church which was not so much one as two, whence, perhaps, the double-named churches of Normandy. It informs us that, with one ex-

\* "*De Lavdibus Papiæ.*" Muratori, xi.

ception, all the churches of Pavia had three doors in the western front, and that not only all its churches, but nearly all its altars were orientated. Whence, then, the peals of church bells, of which, if a letter of St. Anselm's may be taken in evidence, Lanfranc was peculiarly fond? Whence the basilican form of Lanfranc's churches? Whence their transepts and apsidal choirs? Whence their three western doorways? Whence, again, the low central tower of St. Stephen's? whence that church's singular triforium? whence its moulded piers, if not from Pavia? How much of his metropolitan church at Canterbury was transplanted from Pavia it would be impossible to determine; but if the ceiling of St. Stephen followed the example of the ceiling of San Michele in giving place to a vaulted roof, the ceiling of the Canterbury basilica was not improbably an inspiration suggested by that of San Pietro de Cœlo Aureo. It was, I suspect, to Pavia, and to Pavian commerce with the orient, that our forefathers owed the splendour of Christ Church, Canterbury; a work in which, as William of Malmesbury informs us, costly as were the transmarine materials of the structure, the adornments lavished on it by the hands of the goldsmith were costlier still, the sacred vestments vying with the hangings, and these, in their turn, rivalled by the frescoes on the walls—frescoes whose sumptuous magnificence led on the eye of the beholder, ravished, to the ceiling that crowned and completed all.

But in transplanting the architecture of his native city\* to our sombre clime, Lanfranc was more than a mere imitator. *Non tetigit quod non ornavit.* He gave the distinctive characteristics of Pavian art a new home, first in Normandy, then in England; but in doing so he enhanced them with the stamp of his own original and aspiring genius. The ponderous solemnity of Pavia was by that genius converted into the stately majesty of William's abbey, and the severe grace of Matilda's; and churches deemed prodigies of size in his own city would have looked almost humble if set side by side with his new interpretations of them in Normandy and England. The type was the same, but it was a type transfigured; and by making his triforia half as high again, and his clerestories twice as high again as those designed by his fathers, he gave the romanesque of Normandy and England their distinctive attributes of hardy elevation and solemn grandeur.

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\* In crediting Lanfranc with the introduction of a Pavian type of the Lombard romanesque into Normandy and England, I do not wish it to be inferred that there was no Lombard romanesque in Normandy before his time. The Lombard St. William—St. William *suprà regulam*—had preceded him in the duchy by half a century. It might be interesting to compare William's work at Dijon and Fécamp, with Lanfranc's at Caen, Canterbury, Lympe, Lympne and Harrow.



And now for his public life in our own country. Comments have been made upon this portion of his career, designed to prove an alleged contempt for the English people, an alleged servility to William the Conqueror, and an alleged disloyalty to the central see of Christendom.

If we are to believe his modern critics, Archbishop Lanfranc disliked, despised and hated the poor English, and pursued even the best of them with an unrelenting prejudice which the gates of Paradise itself were insufficient to hold in awe. Thus, M. Thierry says: "The foreign prelates, with Archbishop Lanfranc at their head, lost no time in declaring that the Saxon saints were no true saints, and the Saxon martyrs no true martyrs. Lanfranc tried to degrade St. Elphege by making light of his beautiful and patriotic death" ("*Conquête de l'Angleterre*," ii. 132). Had Lanfranc's contemporaries thought thus of him they would never have credited him with the declaration that Earl Waltheof was a martyr. But M. Thierry is not alone. Mr. Freeman says [iii. 441]: "An admiring monk has left a tale on record which shows how little reverence the stranger felt for the holiest of his native predecessors, and how he was brought to a better mind;" and "he took on him to doubt" the sanctity of Elphege. And M. de Rémusat, thoroughly merciless, has thought fit to say ["*Vie de St. Anselme*," p. 86]: "*La politique se mêla avec leurs entretiens. Lanfranc avait adopté la théorie de la conquête. . . . La réaction remonta plus haut encore. Il entreprit même de contester à des saints de la nation anglaise leur béatitude éternelle.*" These gentlemen find it convenient to say nothing of all that Lanfranc did for St. Dunstan, for St. Oswald, for the royal St. Ethelburg, and in their zeal hurry on to a conclusion about his treatment of St. Elphege, for which there is no warrant. What Lanfranc doubted was, not the holiness of Elphege, but the propriety of giving the title of saint and the designation of martyr to one who, however holy, had not died for the name of Christ, nor even, as it happens, in the cause of his country; and the contrasts which have been paraded between dying for dogma and dying for patriotism are from first to last very fine rhetoric of Mr. Freeman's all thrown away. The true account of the case is simple enough. The English monks at Canterbury accounted Elphege a saint because he chose to die at the hands of the Danes rather than pay a ransom for his life. "The Pagans who, to employ the English idiom, were envious at him and hated God, having taken him prisoner, nevertheless, out of reverence for his person, offered him the alternative of redeeming himself, and demanded an enormous sum of money for his ransom. But, as it was impossible for him to raise the sum required without having recourse to his vassals, some of whom would thus

have been impoverished, and others reduced to shameful beggary, he chose to lose his life rather than save it at such a cost. 'Now then,' continued Lanfranc, addressing Anselm, who was at that time Abbot of Le Bec, "I am anxious to hear your opinion upon this." Anselm's reply shows us what was the real difficulty. It was this. Does a *dominus terrenus*, who prefers to die rather than distress his vassals by requiring of them what the law allows him to require of them, a ransom *ad redimendum corpus*, thereby merit the title of saint and the designation of martyr?

By the middle of the eleventh century it had long been the fashion to assign the palm of martyrdom to any pious person of consideration who had died a violent death. Little King Kenelm was put to death by his sister; he was accounted a martyr. Little King Edward, son of Edgar, was put to death by his step-mother; he was accounted a martyr.\* In the Flemish monastery of St. Bavon the relics were preserved of an "Adrianus martyr" and a "Sanctus Livinus," of whom nothing was known, save that the first had been "à latrone interemptus," and the second, "à viris malignis interemptus." The famous hermit of Einsiedeln was thought to have deserved the palm-branch by meeting his death at the hands of a couple of housebreakers. And I will venture to say that if Lanfranc had encouraged this sort of random theology he would have been censured by the very gentlemen who have maligned him for opposing it.

It may, indeed, be objected that the cases just adduced are not analogous to that of Archbishop Elphege. Here, then, is one which admirably illustrates it: St. Mayeul, Abbot of Cluny, was once taken captive by Saracens in the mountainous country on this side of Mont Genève. The captors demanded a ransom for him and his companions, and asked him if he had means at command for paying one. He had no property of his own, he replied, but he had tenants who could help him; whereupon the ransom was appraised at a thousand pounds of silver, and a messenger despatched to Cluny, with a letter from Mayeul containing these words: "Nunc verò, si placet, pro me et his qui mecum sunt, capti redemptionem mittite." The money was raised, and the captives set at liberty. But if St. Mayeul had chosen to die rather than apply to his tenants for help, would he therefore have been a martyr? By no means. We say "no," and we say it with some confidence; but the bulk of Englishmen in the eleventh century would have said "yes," and with equal confidence.

In Anselm's opinion, a man who would die rather than scandalize his neighbours, even though the scandal should come from his assertion of an unquestioned legal right, must be a man of

\* The names of St. Edward and of St. Meinrad occur in the present Roman Martyrology, but without the title of Martyr.

heroic holiness; Elphege therefore deserved the title of Saint. This is the jewel of the case. Unlike Abbot Mayeul, Archbishop Elphege could not have claimed his legal right without doing grievous harm, corporal and spiritual, to others; and, rather than do such harm, he died. This is the jewel of the case; and it was Lanfranc who set finger on the jewel. Anselm, it is true, illuminated it with all the keen light of his transcendent genius, but Lanfranc had first placed it before him. In Anselm's judgment, then, Elphege was a saint because of his heroic holiness. But he was a martyr also, because he had died for justice, just as the Baptist had in olden time died for truth. No sooner, then, did Lanfranc hear his friend's exposition of the merits of Elphege than, so far from "contesting" them, he conceived a devotion for his predecessor which was simply enthusiastic, and, not satisfied with causing the history of his life and martyrdom to be compiled, had the story set to music, probably in the form of hymns and antiphons, for use in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral.

When in Rome, a year or two ago, I was fortunate enough to light upon a fragment of a Mass in honour of St. Elphege. Its composition is so remarkably in Lanfranc's own style that I will make bold to ask permission to publish a portion of it in these pages:—

. . . . æterne Deus. In cujus amoris virtute beatissimus martyr Eلفегus hostem derisit, tormenta sustinuit, mortem suscepit. Quique ab ecclesiâ tuâ tantò gloriosior prædicatur, quantò sui [per] devotionem officii bino moderamine effulsit: Ut in uno creditum sibi populum tibi Domino Deo conciliaret; in altero semetipsum in odorem suavit [at] is sacrificium offerret; in utroque Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi fidelis imitator existeret: Qui pro omnium salute tibi æterno Patri suo preces effudit, et peccati typographum quod antiquus hostis contra nos tenuit proprii sanguinis effusione delevit. Et ideo; &c.

If I may so express myself, this singularly rhythmical and melodious preface almost sings itself. I am fortunate, indeed, to have lighted on it, for it must surely be Lanfranc's.

Many a long hour have I spent in trying to divine what it can be that has induced our modern writers to romance as they have done about this case of St. Elphege, and can think of nothing; unless, indeed, it be that the word *isti* in the opening sentence of Lanfranc's exposition of it to Anselm has misled them:—"*Angli isti inter quæ degimus instituerunt sibi quosdam quos colerent sanctos.*" We were taught at school that *iste* is frequently employed in a sarcastic or contemptuous sense; but, true as this may be of the golden age of Latin literature, it is the very opposite of true of the time in which Lanfranc lived.

By the eleventh century *iste* was already replacing *hic*, and preparing the way for the *esto* of the Spanish, and the *questo* of the Italian, languages, neither of which possesses a word derived from the other pronoun. Thus, in Lanfranc's "Decreta," a postulant for confraternity is required to say: "Peto per misericordiam Dei et vestram et omnium istorum seniorum (*e di tutti questi signori*) societatem et beneficium hujus monasterii." And as to sarcasm, it has none. Witness the prayer: "Defende quæsumus Domine *istam* ab omni adversitate familiarum," &c., and the pious ejaculation, "*Iste* est Deus meus, et glorificabo eum."

So, one by one, do the charges against this man of masculine piety, of prodigious learning, of rare and exquisite taste, and of a heart peculiarly sympathetic, dissolve in the crucible. So do I take heart to pursue the subject.

The accusations laid against Archbishop Lanfranc of servility to the crown and disloyalty to the tiara, are so intricately interwoven by writers of all schools with other and vaster subjects, that it would be an endless task to do justice to them by quotations. I can but summarize them in brief and tempered phrase.

It has been urged, in the first place, that, had not Lanfranc been a servile minister to William the Conqueror, the Red King could not have said what on a famous occasion he did to St. Anselm: "Your predecessor would not have dared to speak thus to my father." A slight attention to dates will do much to pulverize this objection. Abbot Paul, of St. Albans, died in the November of 1092. In the following February, Anselm begged the king to institute abbots to certain monasteries, which he, not improbably, named; but, as the three months, by the end of which vacancies were by canon law to be filled, had by this time elapsed since the death of Abbot Paul, the Abbey of St. Alban's, the first and most famous in the kingdom, must needs have been foremost in the mind, if not first on the tongue, of each of the interlocutors. "What business is that of yours?" replied the king; "are not all abbeys mine? You do as you please with your manors; and I shall do what I like with my abbeys." To whom Anselm: "Yours, indeed, they are, to protect and guard in your quality of *advocatus*; not yours to invade and lay waste;" and more to the same effect. "I tell you what," rejoined the Prince, "what you say is excessively offensive. Your predecessor would never have presumed to speak like that to my father." Whereupon, Anselm said, "I would rather you be angry with me than God with you;" and so saying, rose and left the room.

Now, had Anselm been a man to bandy words with the despot, his predecessor might have been saved the stigma set on him by the Red Prince and accepted in these times. For, curiously

enough, William the Conqueror had, before Abbot Paul's appointment, treated St. Albans Abbey precisely as William Rufus was now doing; keeping it in his hand, that is to say, cutting down the timber on its estates, and reducing its tenantry to poverty and misery; "so much so," adds Matthew Paris, "that if Lanfranc had not put a tight rein on him, and brought him to order by his *correptiones*, the whole establishment would very soon have been destroyed past all hope of recovery." This is conclusive. The Red King's mendacious reproach was merely a trick common enough to low-class minds; I mean, the trick of anticipating the true reproach which they have themselves deserved, and the comparison with better men which they have themselves provoked.

Over and over again, during the contest with Henry I. on investiture and homage, do we find these nagging and invidious comparisons between Anselm and his immediate predecessor. The comparisons were worthy of the men that made them, but had no justification in the conduct of the earlier prelate. On the contrary, there is scarcely a detail in Lanfranc's conduct to which exception has been taken—scarcely a detail, I mean in his conduct, whether towards Pope or king—for which an *éclaircissement* and a justification may not be found in Anselm's action under like circumstances.

In 1071, Lanfranc went to Rome for the pallium. Whilst he was there, the Pope, Alexander II., invited him to return in the winter of the following year and spend three months with him. The Christmas of 1072 came, but no Archbishop of Canterbury. In the following spring, however, Lanfranc wrote a very remarkable letter to the Pontiff, imploring him to relieve him of the burden of the archiepiscopate, and enforcing his petition with a picture of the general demoralization of England—a demoralization which made his life a burden to him. As to the Pope's invitation, he says, "God is my witness, and the angels are my witnesses, that I could not have come to you without grave inconvenience, both physical and moral, and that on many accounts, which cannot be briefly explained in a letter," and concludes by asking the Pope to pray that the king may be blessed with "long life, victory over his enemies, and—devotion to the Church."

Now, scarcely had Anselm, some two and twenty years later, received his pallium, when he wrote just the same sort of letter to Urban II.: "I cannot come to you. The din of war surrounds us on all sides. We are in perpetual fear of invasion and treachery." And then, later on in the letter, he begs precisely as Lanfranc had begged in 1073, to be relieved of the intolerable fardel of the archbishopric.

If, then, a half-hearted attachment to the Papacy kept Lanfranc from going to Rome in 1073, why do we not say the same of Anselm in 1095? We know enough of Anselm to feel convinced that this would be a false account; we certainly do not know enough of Lanfranc to warrant us in believing, or even in suspecting, that it is a true account.

Lanfranc's letter of the spring of 1073 can scarcely have reached Rome before the death of Alexander; and Alexander was succeeded by Gregory VII., whose relations with the archbishop seem to have been unclouded until the beginning of 1079. In the spring of that year, however, he wrote Lanfranc a letter of complaint; it was either, he told him, a fond regret for the late Pope, or fear of the King, or his own fault, that kept him from coming to Rome when he knew that he was wanted there. To all which Lanfranc replied that his august correspondent was mistaken; that his own conscience bore him witness of his loyalty to the Holy See, and that, should he ever be able to see him, he would convince him of the sincerity of these protestations. At last, however, the Pope ascertained the real state of things, but not from Lanfranc, who excused himself on the score of age and infirmity—he was now more than eighty years old—from undertaking so long and wearisome a journey. Now, it is a remarkable fact that Anselm made just the same sort of excuse to Urban II., in 1095, hinting, however, at the same time, not that the King was unwilling to let him go and see the Pope, but that he seemed to deem his presence in England indispensable. If, then, Anselm in 1095 was not disloyal to the Roman See in excusing rather than accounting for the indefinite postponement of a visit to Urban II., it can scarcely be fair to take the contrary view of the like conduct in Lanfranc in 1081.

But, it may be said, Anselm broke loose at last, and went to Rome without the royal permission. Quite so. But Anselm in 1097 was a much younger man than Lanfranc in 1081. In 1081, Lanfranc was some eighty-five years of age; in 1097 Anselm was only sixty-four. In 1097, Anselm was compelled to leave the country, things having been so managed by the Red King that he should first be driven out of England and then kept out. This had not been the case with Lanfranc. And, once more. Anselm in 1097 did not press his request for leave to go to Rome till a moment had arrived when the King was at peace and back again in England; a combination of circumstances of which Lanfranc had not had the advantage.

The truth would seem to be that Lanfranc was every whit as true to the Papal See as Anselm; but that, like Anselm, he shrank from precipitating a rupture between Pope and King upon a question of constitutional law. By the ancient law of

England the primate was, *ex-officio*, viceroy during the King's absence from the country. So long, then, as England and Normandy were under one prince, the inconvenience of protracted absences from Rome might not improbably be continued; but when once the duchy should be separated from the kingdom the inconvenience might cease. It might, indeed, then be perpetuated without excuse drawn from constitutional usage; but, meanwhile, prudence warned Lanfranc not to force upon the Pope's notice an obstacle to his compliance to the Pope's wishes which might come to an end in the natural course of things, but which, so long as it lasted, served at any rate as a decent cloak to the otherwise unconcealed, or at best the only too reasonably suspected, design of the Conqueror to put new and unprecedented fetters upon the liberty of the primate's movements. Should that design be inherited by the Conqueror's successor to the English crown, and flaunted by him, stripped of the excuse of legality, a great and terrible conflict would then be inevitable; but, until such crisis should occur it was unquestionably his wisdom to stave off the mischief. This I believe to be the clue to the puzzle. If it commend itself to wiser heads than mine they will know how to follow it out. To read history upside down or inside out is neither wise nor right, but there is a sense in which it is both right and wise to read history backwards; for it is both right and wise to interpret an earlier and obscure group of facts by the light shed on them from a subsequent and manifest group of facts in the same order. Not till he was forced to it did Anselm solemnly challenge the Red King's pretension arbitrarily to forbid visits from Primate to Pope; and if Lanfranc did not solemnly challenge the same pretension of the Conqueror's, it is but fair to believe that he abstained from doing so until abstention should be hopeless; and abstention was not hopeless so long as the Conqueror, detained in Normandy, veiled his pretension under the plea that Lanfranc's political functions required him to stay in England.

And now for the last charge. Gregory VII. died in the May of 1085, and was succeeded by Victor III.; but Victor III. was never acknowledged, officially at least, by Lanfranc. After Victor III. came Urban II.; but Urban II. was never acknowledged, officially at least, by Lanfranc. Lanfranc died in the May of 1089. During the last four years, therefore, of his life, did Lanfranc ignore the existence of his spiritual chief. Such is the charge.

This looks bad. But let us be of good courage; it is not so bad as it looks.

Gregory VII.—some of whose contemporaries persisted in calling him Hildebrand, an impropriety which Lanfranc would

not allow to pass unrebuked—died in the May of 1085, but no efficient efforts were made for the appointment of a successor until the following spring; and summer was already blazing over Rome before Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, was elected to the vacant throne with the name of Victor III. Within a few days, however, of the election, the pontiff-elect resigned such of the Papal *insignia* as he had consented to assume, and, forbidding the cross to be carried before him, retired to his monastery. It was only in the spring of 1087 that he resumed the purple, and only on the 9th of May that he consented to receive consecration; events, the merest rumour of which cannot have reached England before the end of July. Thus, more than two out of the four years of Lanfranc's alleged defection are accounted for.

But this is not all. Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, and already for many years Papal Legate of all Gaul under St. Gregory, scarcely heard of the consecration of Desiderius before news reached him that the new Pope had abdicated and was dying, if not dead. "He attempted to say Mass in St. Peter's a week after his consecration, but was struck by the Hand of God. Whereupon. . . he abdicated the Papacy—*se ipse deposuit*—and desired that he might be carried to Monte Cassino and buried there, not as pope but as abbot."\* And the same sort of rumour would seem to have reached Normandy, for Orderic, writing many years after the event, says that he was taken ill a week after his consecration, and died in the following August. He died, not in August, but in September. It is needless to say more. Before Lanfranc could receive any trustworthy intelligence, Victor III. was on his death-bed at Monte Cassino, and William the Conqueror on his death-bed at Rouen.

As the next Pope was not elected until the following March, and as rumours of the fact would not have reached England before the following May, the May of 1088, the third year of Lanfranc's alleged disloyalty is accounted for. Now, then, we must pay a somewhat minute attention to dates.

On the 10th of April, 1088, the new Pontiff, Urban II., who was then at Terracina, wrote an official announcement of his succession to Archbishop Lanfranc; and we shall scarcely err if we believe his letter to have reached England about the middle of June, or between the middle and the end of June. It is to the month of June, in the year 1088, that I wish to direct the reader's attention. He will please to note this.

William Rufus had succeeded to the crown of England in the

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\* I take this from the archbishop's own account, transmitted by him to the Marchioness Matilda.



autumn of 1087, and had succeeded to it in virtue of a solemn promise made to Lanfranc—a solemn promise which he violated at or after the Whitsuntide of 1088; after which event he had no further relations—at any rate, no further friendly relations—with the primate, who died in 1089.

When, then, did William Rufus violate that solemn promise of his? How many days, or weeks, or months, after the Whitsunday of 1088 was it that he did so?

And, again, what was the occasion of his violation of that solemn promise?

Eadmer says (“*Historia Novorum*”), “He pledged his word and his oath to Lanfranc that, should he be made king, he would in every business observe justice, mercy, and equity throughout his whole realm; would defend the peace, liberty, and security of the Church against all men, and would submit himself *per omnia et in omnibus* to Lanfranc’s direction and advice. But when once firmly seated on the throne (*i.e.*, after the pacification at the Whitsuntide of 1088) he made light of his promise, and pursued quite a different course. Lanfranc, perceiving this, took him gently to task, and reminded him that he was scarcely keeping his word. Whereupon he fired up, and exclaimed in a passion, ‘What living man can keep all his promises?’ From that moment, however . . . he restrained himself somewhat, so long as the Archbishop was alive.” And William of Malmesbury (“*Gesta Pontificum*”) traces the King’s defection from rectitude to his resentment against the barons who had risen against him at the Easter of 1088. On the whole, then, it is scarcely to be questioned that the famous speech: “Who can keep all his promises?” was made on the earliest occasion after the Whitsunday of 1088, upon which subject of discord was mooted between the King and the Primate. Whitsunday in 1088 fell on the 4th of June. The Whitsuntide Court broke up between the 12th and the 19th. The Pope’s letter reached England between the 15th and the 25th.

In the course of the summer news came to Anselm, at Le Bec, of the serious illness of Archbishop Lanfranc, and with the news a request from the archbishop that he would conclude, or at any rate initiate, a “contract with Lombards” (“*Sti. Anselmi*,” Ep. ii. 53). Now, if these Lombards were, as there can be little doubt, a guild or company of Lombard masons, two questions arise: What work can Lanfranc have had for them to do in England? and, When was such work undertaken by Lanfranc? The answer to the first question is ready to hand in the fact that, soon after the termination of the siege of Rochester, in the May of 1088, the King confirmed a grant made by Lanfranc to the See of Rochester, upon condition that the recent damage done to the fortifications should be repaired and the castle placed in a

condition of effective defence. The answer to the second question is supplied by the fact that the signatures to the royal deed of confirmation were appended in a full court, which must have been the Whitsuntide court. So, then, if Lanfranc's message about the Lombard masons was sent to Le Bec, as soon as possible after the execution of the royal deed of confirmation, and if Lanfranc had meanwhile fallen ill, he must have fallen ill within a few days, or at the utmost a few weeks, of the dissolution of the Whitsuntide gathering of the *magnates regni*. Now, it was within a few days, or at the utmost a few weeks, of that event that the letter of the new Pope reached England; and I suspect that the Pope's letter was the innocent cause of Lanfranc's illness.

For, certainly, that letter was all that was needed to set the already irate Prince in a blaze. His father had asserted, and he was bent upon asserting, four claims, unknown to England before the Conquest, upon ecclesiastical matters. One, and singularly enough, the first recorded by Eadmer, related to the recognition of a newly-appointed Pope; another, and that the second recorded by Eadmer, related to the receipt of Papal letters; the third, to ecclesiastical synods; and the fourth, to the excommunication of tenants-in-chief. On the third and fourth no *casus belli* could well have arisen at the time with which we are concerned, the June of 1088; but a difference might well have arisen upon the first and second. Urban's announcement of his succession reached Lanfranc between the middle and the end of June, and that announcement was as a spark to dry fuel. If Lanfranc read the letter without first showing it to the King, the second of the claims upon which, as the event showed, the King was resolved to stake his all, was infringed. And even if he showed it to the King before reading it, then, who and what was an Archbishop of Canterbury that he should presume to give advice to the Crown upon its contents? Otto, Bishop of Ostia, might be Pope, or Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, might be Pope; but the subject was one for him to decide, and not an Archbishop of Canterbury. It was thus that he spoke some years later to Anselm; and there can be no doubt that it was thus he claimed the right to speak, and little that it was thus he really spoke, to Lanfranc in the June of 1088.

On the whole, then, I suspect it was this letter of Urban's to Lanfranc that provoked the terrible ire of the despot. In which case, what better reply could Lanfranc make than remind the despot of his promise? "No man can keep all his promises," was the rejoinder.

Lanfranc was checkmated. It is hard to see what he could do. We know, taught by subsequent events of that dark and cruel

reign, that to have prolonged a discussion with such a man, and with such a man in such a temper, would have been worse than hopeless. What, then, was Lanfranc to do? Bowed down with incessant labours, and with a length of years which had surpassed by a decade the longer span of life assigned us by the Psalmist, the ancient prelate could but pray as he had prayed fifteen years before, when, dark as was the sky, it was brightness itself to the storm he now saw gathering, and await the desired end. He could but pray that, if it were God's will, he might be released from the prison-house of the flesh—*de ergastulo hujus carnis animam meam in sui sancti nominis confessione educat*—and leave the rest to God. The one lever by which he had once hoped to repress the tyrant's omnipotence for mischief had snapped in his hands, and there was no mending it. He prayed as he had prayed; and by the next Whitsuntide the chair of St. Augustine, around which he had shed a new lustre, stood vacant in his own glorious basilica at Canterbury.

If, then, these surmises be correct, Lanfranc, so far from being disloyal to the See to which he owed his pallium and his jurisdiction, died in its cause; and, so dying, accomplished a career unique in its manifold splendour of unexampled intellectual activity, and unrivalled literary conquest; of self-surrender and self-sacrifice, complete and absolute; of exhaustless enterprise in all that might conduce to the refinement and elevation of his half-barbarous contemporaries in Normandy and in England; of exquisite prudence in the adjustment of rival claims vast and conflicting, and of single-hearted devotion to duty and to Heaven.

MARTIN RULE, M.A.

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#### ART. VI.—THE RELIGION OF GEORGE ELIOT.\*

**T**WENTY volumes comprise George Eliot's message to her generation; but among them she has not reckoned the first, as is publicly stated, of her literary undertakings. That book itself we have never seen, and there may be some mistake in ascribing it to her; or perhaps she did not suffer it to rank with her remaining and wholly original works lest they, in so startling a connection, should be seldom read. What was the book, then? Well, it appears that she first came forward with a translation in her hand:—the version of a significant and much-

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\* The following paper was written mostly in March last, as an integral part of the article on "The Genius of George Eliot," to which it now forms a conclusion.

criticized essay, known as "The Life of Jesus," by Frederick Strauss. And as we are taking up again our parable concerning this dead great woman, it seems not undesirable to touch, at least, upon the possibility of such a fact: for it strikes, we may say, the fundamental chord of her Credo, that "deep andante, moving in a bass of sorrow" which rolls so mournfully through the music of her writing. We need hardly remark that Strauss, in that first edition of his, throws himself into the attitude of the Mythical School; and that its peculiarity lies in this:—it blows away, as dust of a summer threshing-floor, all that is divine, miraculous, and superhuman in the history of our Lord; but upholds His moral teaching so far as it offers to mankind a pattern of perfect conduct and principles shining by their own light. For, as George Eliot would tell us, there are such principles in the New Testament, "that want no candle to show them:" and we may adore the ethical beauty of the Beatitudes, though shrinking from the belief of His disciples that "the Mouth which spake them was Divine." Thus the New Religion has decreed, and George Eliot teaches.

But let us take heed how we fall in with a plausible misconception. It is often said that George Eliot and the multitude whose oracle she is in Literature, are, as to their moral teaching indeed, Christian, only not dogmatic or metaphysical:—that they distinguish the Words of Christ from the Person of Christ, and are willing to receive whatsoever He has taught concerning good and evil, and the sources of rectitude. But is the new Morality Christian? We fear it is not, either in the theory which it lays down or the practice which carries it out. Unless Quietism be Christian morality—the true teaching of our Lord—Positivism is not Christian either. For, in the strange revolutions of this dizzy world, the sublime, but absurd and impossible, aphorisms of Madame de Guyon, and the "Maximes des Saints," have found men and women to admire them, to make them the sum of morality, to set them above churches and councils and all former systems of religion or of law,—though these very men and women do not believe in God. Atheism and Quietism have met together in the so-called Utilitarian doctrine of Stuart Mill and the Altruism, the Religion of Sympathy, wrought out by George Eliot. Wonderful enough, and yet true! For the Quietist, believing in God, shaped his moral system in the mould of that one principle which he termed Pure Love, saying that we must love God simply and always and in every sense for His own sake, not in any sense for ours; that to act with a view to reward is something evil; and that moral goodness and moral perfection are the same. Other springs of human action, he said, there must be none but love. Now then, let us

imagine that the supreme object of morality is not God, is something widely different: let us imagine there is *no God* for whose sake we can act, but instead of God the Race to which we belong,—Humanity, in its length and breadth,—surely, it is clear that we may still exalt Love as the sole and absolute source of goodness; we may still condemn the motive that has mingled with it regard for self. Religion will exist without an Infinite Living God, if it can behold in His empty Throne the crowned figure of Humankind, itself immortal though its members are doomed to perish;—as Apuleius said, “*Singillatim mortales, cunctim perpetui* :”—and then Religion will be reasonably anthropomorphic; Adoration will have become sympathy; and therein will be viewed the finest exhibition and exercise of feeling within reach of our spirit. Religion will be Morality, grounded on the permanent advantage of well-doing to us all, justified as Bentham would justify it, by its inevitable sequel of happiness to us all, and made glorious by the emotion it must needs evoke when the individual casts away his life or his treasure in the cause of good;—for the maintaining and preserving of that great human society apart from which no individual can in fact exist. To what a height of enthusiasm will not he ascend, who is the willing martyr of Humanity? Will he not count it his gain to draw into the radiance, as it were, of one starry moment, all the scattered light-beams of happiness and enthusiasm that might have made beautiful the longest life? Or, if he is so noble, will he not exchange his pleasure and success, whatever he could dream or hope to call his own, for that better time which he shall never behold, for the good his example may make possible when himself is mingled with the dust, and only his memory survives?

We can fancy George Eliot arguing more passionately still, asking us, “Since the quality of mercy, in our poet’s creed, is not strained, is not on compulsion, why should the quality of love, of benevolence, be strained either? Though I despair of an Hereafter for me, may not Pity subdue me to devise and compass an hour of joy for the unborn whom I shall never know? Cannot I forecast some gleam in a happier future, where all that is best of me may irradiate lives that were otherwise dim, troubled with clouds and sadness? Wise and tender is the great soul that fasts ‘from man’s meaner joy’ to shape things lovable and helpful for its mortal fellows. If the house of clay must fall after a season into ruin, why complain, and not rather staunch the wounds that are now waiting for a brother’s hand? Nature and Fate and Wisdom are one: things cannot come to the best, but they are made better when we love and cherish them. Let Optimism be a dream of the moralist, an impossible Ideal, like the Beauty which all artists worship and none have seen: but Meliorism,

the presentiment of a better state, has for its irremovable basis the facts of History, which tell us that mankind have ever moved onward : that great faith

Is but the rushing and expanding stream  
Of thought, of feeling, fed by all the past ;  
For finest hope is finest memory.

Are you not charmed, Reader ? But, then, does it not seem to you, also, that you have listened ere now to the praises of love for the brethren and of the grandeur of martyrdom ? Are not these the elder truths of that Christian message whereof George Eliot, we say it unwillingly, is not the herald, but the antagonist ? Is her teaching the Old Gospel or a new delusion ?

The answer we must seek in her writings. There she is ever touching, to loud or to whispering modulations, the chord of divine experience. Unless she can lay bare the soul she is not satisfied, searching always into its deep convictions in regard to that wide world on which, through mere sense and motion, dull lancet windows of the body, it has been condemned to look out. As her personages come into the story she bids us mark how they are affected towards that Infinite which is the presupposed prologue in Heaven of every tale ; and, then, whether their own pulse beats with the great heart of Humanity, or no. Have they inherited or wrought for themselves a life "vivid and intense enough to create a wide fellow-feeling with all that is human ?" She will praise them earnestly, as her manner of praising is apt to be. But should their life appear to her only a narrow channel of selfish desire ? That she cannot forgive. All sin in her eyes is frailty, save want of love. Kindred should mean kindness : this is the *form* of her morality ; and she counts all things akin that have the capacity of pain or pleasure implanted in their being. Herein, too, she finds the ideal unity of her various epical compositions—the centre and circumference of that modern world which is indeed the old, but has outgrown it.

For if that large Epic comes to utterance, whether in prose or verse, that we still are desiring in vain, it will need an atmosphere and medium suited to its nature, and will move about "in worlds not realized," if so be, but worlds that are ideally descried as the antitype of the age we live in—the horizon of burning light and distant glory, which is the sea-line of our farthest aspirations. As the heroic dim universe of Homer grew into the all-ruling republic, Imperial Rome, which Virgil beheld extending her triumphs "supra Garamantas et Indos" : as Rome herself yielded, in the words of Suetonius, to an unconquerable influence from Judæa, and became transfigured, whilst Europe consecrated its Christian unity by a succession of sacred wars, by

the Crusades, and Dante arose to hymn the sacramental might of Church and Empire—so are the modern states struggling towards the Federation of the World, which shall end our long Revolution. But where is the key to so intricate a problem? It can only be a principle which is simple in idea, universal and irresistible when applied to life. Humankind, the mysterious fact, must seek light and perfection in Humanity, its Ideal. And who has gazed on the Ideal? Is it but a bare imagining—some golden age to come—or has it not been realized in a King “with victory diademed,” who is able to bring into one “the children of God that are scattered abroad?” Is our brotherhood in the first Adam, that is to say, in Cain? or in the second, which is Christ? Fallen Man is infinitely pathetic; but he cannot, with all his lamentation, rise again. By a skill delicately used we may

Summon up remembrance of things past,  
And weep afresh love's long-since cancelled woe.

And so much George Eliot can accomplish. But whereon shall we ground the hope that she clings to? or how believe that when she has canonized sympathy in a story, she has made us amends for vanished religion? Phantasmal gleams of past holiness may show us where the Sun of Righteousness has gone down: surely they hold no promise of a coming day.

Keeping in mind the distinction we drew between the earlier and the later group of her romances, we may assign as the *motive*, the governing idea, of the first, Reminiscence, and of the second, Aspiration. Their scenes are opposed in like manner; she began by sketching English Idylls, and passed on to study our provincial towns and Italian capitals. She set over against each other the modern North and the mediæval South. But however the *alentour* varies, or the incidents, her method has all the monotony of a treatise; and it is only the change of names and decorations—the variety of the masks which her characters put on—that can hinder us from perceiving how few are the types that she deals with. This lay of necessity in her plan, which was remarkably bold, and, so far as we are able to judge, original. Nothing less did she undertake than to bring within the range of inductive science the four great Religions which have created Modern Europe—Paganism, Judaism, Protestantism, and Catholicism. She did not wish to compare them in the articles they profess, but to measure the living influence they have exercised upon their disciples. It was her aim to extract from them all the something which is innately divine in the spirit of man and helps him to overcome his baser self,—the something which sympathetic inquiry may distinguish from the accidents of parentage and of bringing up.

Thus would she carry into Religion a process of reasoning which has yielded large results, and often belied expectation, in many distinct fields of inquiry. She essays to write a chapter in that hitherto little dreamt-of book, the Natural History of Man-soul, as Bunyan would call it. Spiritual beliefs and aspirations, strivings and sorrowings, of whatsoever kind; she will enter into, she will act over again, hoping that in such earnest dramatizing the character itself and its scientific worth may dawn upon her. She will indulge no bias consciously, unless her feeling for those that cannot agree amongst themselves be a bias too, only more refined. She will say, with enthusiasm, that in the religious utterances of the least enlightened Dissenter she finds more to sympathize with than to condemn. She will write a sermon in the character of a Methodist visionary, and will shed warm tears while she writes, loving the tender spirit of that Dinah Morris far more passionately than she rejects the creed which inspired her. She will seem to forget her own personality in the great figure of her Florentine preacher, kindling into wrath and prophetic emphasis with every word of his that she recalls, counterfeiting the majestic tones of his voice, where he stands with the Gospel message in the midst of a frivolous generation, and honouring *him* as a martyr who would have sadly passed her by as a heretic, or shrunk in horror from her praise as an atheist's. She will imagine that a Hebrew workman, of thirty years ago, may have had the calling to be a prophet like Amos or Ezekiel, and will dower him with mournful eloquence and the grand sorrows of a heart which seeks all happiness for its people and sacrifices its own domestic joy, nay, the breath of life itself, to a hope which can find no issue. And whether it be Dinah Morris, Frà Girolamo, or the Jew Mordecai, that she represents, her aim is to reach the realities of religion beneath that outward garb which may conceal whilst it seems to manifest them.

But though acting all characters she is not enamoured of their several parts, except in so far as they contribute towards the same idea. This, where it affects the heart and life of man is, as we have seen, self-forgetting love: what is it where it affects the heart of things, that deep central mystery, God? Is it still love? We cannot think so: for the emblem and universal token of love is joy—these two are but the outward and the inward aspects of one simple feeling. But George Eliot, when she gazes abroad, contemplating that Infinitude is sadder than tears, more gloomy than death; her feeling is not union with it but alienation. Read the melancholy close of a chapter where she speaks in her own person, without a mask:—

Whilst this poor little heart was being bruised with a weight too



heavy for it, Nature was holding on her calm inexorable way, in unmoved and terrible beauty. The stars were rushing in their eternal courses; the tides swelled to the level of the last expectant weed; the sun was making brilliant day to busy nations on the other side of the swift earth. The stream of human thought and deed was hurrying and broadening onward. The astronomer was at his telescope; the great ships were labouring over the waves; the toiling eagerness of commerce, the fierce spirit of revolution, were only ebbing in brief rest; and sleepless statesmen were dreading the possible crisis of the morrow. What were our little Lina and her trouble in this mighty torrent, rushing from one awful unknown to another? Lighter than the smallest centre of quivering life in the water drop, hidden and uncared for as the pulse of anguish in the breast of the tiniest bird that has fluttered down to its nest with the long-sought food, and has found the nest torn and empty.

Such is the comfort George Eliot, in her love, can offer us! The child's heart is crushed: the bird finds only that her brood is taken, her nest a forlorn ruin. Once we were consoled for these things:—"Consider the birds of the air, they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they?" But with all her devotion to mankind George Eliot is unable to imagine that, at the heart of things, there must be even a greater love than hers. She cannot rise to a higher conception of the world than that it is a system of laws self-administered, wheels that turn of their own accord, and springs that set themselves going. Though perpetual motion be impossible in a given instance, she surmises it may be the method of Nature as a whole: but, whilst reiterating that Existence is a mystery beyond our comprehension, she weeps to think there is an irresistible power which is not life but death. The Supreme in her religion cannot create what It will not destroy. Such a teaching as this, in the mouth of Hartmann the Pessimist, in the hands of Hartmann the Nihilist, may well be called Satanism. But George Eliot would soften its harsh thunders, transposing them to the key of a resolute yet melting sympathy—the feeling expressed in that profoundly human exclamation of the French: "*Quand même!*" Well, these tears of scientific knowledge and mystic nescience may move us to pity the woman that lets them fall: they do not add to her unbelief the grace of persuasion; it remains as at first, horrible. What they demonstrate is that, when the intellect denies God, the heart, which cannot be soothed for the loss of its desire, must needs protest, and break. To man, conscious that he is made to inherit not only Time and Space, with their passing splendours and illusions of a day, but Eternity and Infinitude, in their unspeakable perfection, the despair of Hartmann is not more intensely forbidding than

the hope of George Eliot. Who is this new Democritus that, with a countenance whereon the tears are yet glistening, would encourage us to do and dare, because the world may come to be less miserable than to-day, though the end is annihilation and the void inane? Or, is it for my sake only that I believe in the love of God and the Hereafter He promises? Is it not for the sake of all that have ever striven to do right? And, forsooth, there is yet an unknown Gilead, and balm for the incurable, though we have learnt now for the first time that we are doomed to die, body and soul, nation and individual, innocent and guilty, without rest for the weary or judgment for the sinner! Is the universe, then, not a system of reason made manifest to eye and ear, as Science trumpets forth in the Uniformity of Law, the Conservation of Energy? Or are we bidden to cherish a religious hypocrisy, blinding our eyes to the awful doom that awaits us, and hiding the leprosy of our unbelief in philanthropy, quiet sadness, and unprofitable patience? Be the Truth what it may, there must still be a scheme of life imaginable whereby we shall know that Truth, and still by means of it, not in despite of it, keep our hearts from breaking. Action without a term is impossible. How true are those lines of Coleridge that have become famous in the Autobiography of Stuart Mill—and what Sceptic can refute them?—

Life without Hope draws nectar in a sieve,  
And Hope without an Object cannot live!

Now let us look more closely into George Eliot's book of religion, choosing such scenes as combined may enable us to grasp it as a coherent whole.

We begin with the natural religion of her peasantry. These, in our former article, we saw amid their Loamshire fields and villages, in dale and hollow, picturesque beings though nowise imaginary, the source and material of an infinite pleasant humour which, to their knowledge, they had done nothing to provoke. In them their author has brought home to us that primitive rough simplicity of wants, that hard submissive ill-paid toil, that childlike spelling-out of what Nature has written, which give them their distinguishing touch of the poetical. But their Religion? With their mothers' milk they have drunk in the superstitions that no peasant, for all our coaxing or threatening, can be induced to forswear. Their Religion is their own, and was long one of those secrets that escape detection by lying under our eyes. In Loamshire it neither taught itself according to the Book of Common Prayer, nor was adapted to the teaching of Arminians or Calvinists. It was the outcome of dateless instincts and customs immemorial;—a Paganism of native growth, at once vague in expression and paramount in authority over Church and Bible,

grotesque, and yet sometimes affecting, giving more than an occasional glimpse into deep truths. Its ripest illustration is Lisbeth Bede. This ancient woman shows in the story a certain rugged force and a directness of feeling that remind us of forgotten times, like a boulder we may have stumbled upon in a cultivated meadow—granite, half hidden among tall swathes of grass. She is but a woman of the peasantry, and has no reading to fritter away her natural power of apprehending the individual things around her, and her duty towards them. Her eye is good for comparisons; and her language is not only clear but abounds in imagery.

As for Lisbeth's religion it is hereditary custom; tenacious of observances, and lending to them a sacramental efficacy, a potency for good which they have of themselves apart from the feeling or disposition of such as use them:—which is to say that they are not sacraments but charms. The rites that accompany birth and burial, the fanciful choice of the ground where the dead may rest, the decent laying out and punctilious mourning in garb and attitude, these are not a matter of convention, but have in them sacred meanings all the more venerable and in their effect assured because their precise tenour cannot be made clear. Like all the peasants and farming-folk of George Eliot's creation, Lisbeth really worships as *Dii Penates*, or household gods, the furniture of her home, over which she rules as a witch in the daytime might rule her familiar, or as, in the fairy tales, goblins and sprites are brought to do service where they still excite dread and receive a deprecating homage. So it is that Mrs. Tulliver worships, though with the ostentation of a more vulgar class; and her happiness, which Religion was powerless to give or take away, cannot survive the sale of her best china. Even gentle old Silas Marner, in his long seclusion from friends of the town and the factory, falls into a quaint friendship with his loom; and, as though it had been a fetish of kindly helpfulness, grieves over the breaking of the serviceable brown jug whose smooth handle had seemed every morning to invite his hold as he took it down from its place to draw water. That is a pretty and a truthful touch. It is Paganism, the timid or loving worship of that Nature that is so mysterious and mighty, and yet our daily companion. It is the sense, we have said, of dependence upon we know not what, softened by humble gratitude for the good things, like the air we breathe and the water we drink, which are beyond all purchase and are a gift from the Invisible. Lisbeth, and Silas, and the elder Tulliver, and kind Mr. Jerome, whilst they are at home in the field of ripening corn or in the old-fashioned garden, where the roses of York and Lancaster are blowing, and the flower-beds encroach upon the fruit trees, have

in their hearts a deep reverence for the elements, and feel after the Mysterious whom they worship, not within the walls of any temple, but in the winds and the sky, and the full stream of the brook in Autumn; they know Him in warnings and dreams of the night; their Bible is the legendary tales of blessing and chastisement, of strange visitations and detected murderers, told around the glowing hearth on wintry evenings; and it is there that they believe, and grow convinced of the great law of righteousness. There, too, the religion of the house-mother instils itself into her sons and daughters, a dim yet welcome vision of some fostering purity that descends out of Heaven upon her own hearth and shines out in the order and cleanliness, the peace and comfort, the fire-lit sanctities of home. For the solemn antique Vesta,—that universal deity of an elder race than the Olympians,—is the pure home-influence; and her symbol is the fire that makes ready the meal of every day and gathers parents and children about it in a hallowed ring. Show them now the Church, under whose wing their homes are sheltered and to whose heaven-pointing steeple their eyes, whenever they look up from ploughing and reaping, are drawn; tell them it is but a larger home; that the ever-living lamp may burn in its sanctuary as the antitype of the gleam on their own hearthstone; and that they have been invited to a more sacred communion wherein the bread they break holds divine virtues and gracious mysteries; how easy for them to discern the light of revelation in this parable, whose elements are taken from the life they know!

But sixty or seventy years ago, in the days that George Eliot describes, there was no visible relation between the peasant's allotted task from Monday morning till Saturday night, and the scant ritual and stiff preaching that told him it was Sunday. A religion of sacraments, of things divine, touching him by their outward show, of blessing and banning, of processions under the open sky, with images and sacred standards, he could at once take hold upon: but what was there to learn in the decorous dullness and the moralizing upon virtue, and the proving and disproving, that must have seemed to be made for his betters alone since they alone could tell what it meant? Nay, even Methodism, with its call to repentance and abstruse passionate preaching of redemption, was incapable of rousing the genuine peasant; he had not feeling enough to be drawn to consider his feeling: he was not to be convinced of sin; and the fluency that preached without book for an hour on end, instead of persuading him, filled him with vague suspicion as of something too clever to be good. George Eliot has written but little of the darkness that overhangs the bucolic conception of life and humanity; for some reason she abstains from introducing the evil powers worshipped

in all lands by the Christian country-folk who have not quite ceased to be Pagan, for all their baptism of a thousand years; but she is aware that, as the French proverb significantly whispers, they mix a little water with the wine of their belief. She has noted but not dwelt upon it. In that far-off time, she says, speaking of nearly a hundred years ago, superstition clung easily round every person or thing that was at all unwonted, or even intermittent and occasional. "To the peasants of old times the world outside their own direct experience was a region of vagueness and mystery; and the process by which rapidity or dexterity of any kind were acquired was so wholly hidden that they partook of the nature of conjuring." What sense to such untutored ears can the theory of Justification by Faith have conveyed? New passions, howsoever violent, must have had to pierce their own channels for escape in souls that lay fallow like these. But propositions, novel or orthodox, were incomprehensible to them.

Still, life in the country cannot dispense with its caste of artificers, its carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, its farriers, and wheelwrights: and *their* Religion is founded upon Art and Law, upon measure, proportion, design, the shaping of things visible to ends that are mentally conceived. In contrast to the simple peasant, they can talk and argue; but their active and more human life permits them to gaze seldomer upon the wonder of growth and decay under the mysterious influence of the wide sky and the far distant sun. In the more sedentary arts they are led on to meditation, their minds being at once disengaged enough to think of many things and capable of comparing and confronting the aspects of reality which they discover in themselves. It is a loss to literature that George Eliot never drew the character in full of the mystic weavers and shoemakers whom she so deeply understood. The biography of a man resembling that prophetic cordwainer, Jacob Behmen,—whose contemplative brain mused, as he sat working in his leathern apron, upon all the problems of Teutonic Pantheism that have since troubled Germany and Europe—George Eliot might have given us that, a book finely humorous and overflowing with her experience of obscure dreamers worthy perhaps to rank with Spinoza, the instrument-maker, in their pursuit of the Great Unknown. It is in this class that we light upon the distinction clearly defined between Mystic and Rationalist: and in this class, perhaps, we already may discern the battlefield of the future, the lists where Faith and Unfaith must contend until the one shall have hurled the other from his seat. George Eliot has cast the horoscope of the combatants in her parable, for such it plainly is, of Adam Bede and Dinah Morris.

But first she makes known to us the age of mere irreligion—

especially in the middle class—that moved upon a lower stage than either the enthusiastic belief or the resolute denial that succeeded, and in whose fiercer temperature we are breathing uneasily to-day. What a dusty, unpoetical heathendom it was, that inward life of the vulgar, money-grasping, plenteous-feeding multitude, unfit to be named in the same hour with the grand old Paganisms that ruled Greece and Scandinavia in heroic times! A variation, says George Eliot, of Protestantism, such as Bossuet did not know—and such as his keenest argument would never have reached. Here is one of the pleasant satirical sketches that George Eliot has given of it: and she witnesses to what she had seen in a wider neighbourhood than that of St. Ogg's—

Certainly the religious and moral ideas of the Dodsons and the Tullivers were of too specific a kind to be arrived at deductively from the statement that they were part of the Protestant population of Great Britain. Their theory of life had its core of soundness, as all theories must have on which decent and prosperous families have flourished: but it had the very slightest tincture of theology. It was of a simple, semi-Pagan kind, but there was no heresy in it—if heresy properly means choice—for they didn't know there was any other religion, except that of chapel-goers, which appeared to run in families, like asthma. How should they know? The vicar of their pleasant rural parish was not a controversialist. The religion of the Dodsons consisted in revering whatever was customary and respectable. A Dodson would not be taxed with the omission of anything that was becoming, or that belonged to that eternal fitness of things which was plainly indicated in the practice of the most substantial parishioners, and in the family traditions—such as, obedience to parents, faithfulness to kindred, industry, rigid honesty, thrift, the thorough scouring of wooden and copper utensils, the hoarding of coins likely to disappear from the currency, the production of first-rate commodities for the market, and a general preference for what was home-made.

That sordid manner of living, irradiated by no sublime principles, no romantic visions, no active, self-renouncing faith, has lasted down to our own time, but not without receiving more than one rude shock: and it is now on the decline. For all things have their season; and when the appointed moment struck, it seemed as though a fresh breeze had sprung up far out at sea and was ruffling and driving before it the mighty waters; a shifting movement began to creep over the dead surface of that wide-spread marsh; the fog lifted here and there, and a corner of blue sky was seen reflected in the pale ripples of the incoming tide. Such a breeze was the Methodist preaching whereof George Eliot has tender reminiscences in "Adam Bede" and "Silas Marner," and, it may be said, in "Felix Holt," for the winning old Puritan Rufus Lyon is moulded on the lines of that mystic communion with the Highest. Such a

breeze was the Evangelical revival that converted George Eliot herself when she was young, and has been so vividly depicted by her in her "Scenes from Clerical Life." Its aim was to change the heathen frivolity of English men and women into an austere Christian discipline: to bring, as George Eliot says, into palpable existence and operation the idea of duty, recognizing that there is something to be lived for beyond the mere gratification of self.

Whatever, she continues, might be the weaknesses of the ladies at Milby that pruned the luxuriance of their lace and ribbons, cut out garments for the poor, distributed tracts, quoted Scripture, and defined the true Gospel, they had learned this—that there was a divine work to be done in life, a rule of goodness higher than the opinion of their neighbours; and if the notion of a Heaven in reserve for themselves was a little too prominent, yet the theory of fitness for that Heaven consisted in purity of heart, in Christlike compassion, in the subduing of selfish desires. They might give the name of piety to much that was only Puritanic egoism; they might call many things sin that were not sin: but they had at least the feeling that sin was to be avoided and resisted, and colour-blindness, which may mistake drab for scarlet, is better than total blindness, which sees no distinction of colour at all.

Certainly this is in sharp contrast with the thoughts of unconverted Mrs. Patten in the days when Evangelicalism was just beginning:

"Eh, dear," said Mrs. Patten, falling back in her chair, and lifting up her little withered hands, "what 'ud Mr. Gilfil say, if he was worthy to know the changes as have come about i' the church these last ten years? I don't understand these new sort o' doctrines. When Mr. Barton comes to see me, he talks about nothing but my sins and my need o' marcy. Now, Mr. Hackit, I've never been a sinner. From the fust beginning, when I went into service, I al'ys did my duty by my empl'yers. I was a good wife as any in the county—never aggravated my husband. The cheese-factor used to say my cheese was al'ys to be depended on. I've known women, as their cheeses swelled a shame to be seen, when their husbands had counted on the cheese-money to make up the rent; and yet they'd three gowns to my one. If I'm not to be saved, I know a many as are in a bad way."

Yes, there is no doubt she did. And to them the old Gospel was a novelty and a scandal. Farmers and peasants at Hayslope village went away unaffected from the exquisite and pathetic appeal of Dinah Morris; and the town of Milby rose in a tumult of respectable indignation against Mr. Tryan, the only apostolic man it had ever set eyes on. The intellect, morality, and wealth of Milby supported Mr. Dempster's dictum: "Depend upon it, whenever you see a man pretending to be better than his neighbours, that man has either some cunning end to serve,

or his heart is rotten with spiritual pride." Such a prelude to her studies on Savonarola did George Eliot behold in an English country town. But for herself she adds another famous name to the many whose first awakening was due to the Evangelical or Methodist revival, and who afterwards escaped from it into a diviner air, or else relapsed into a scepticism that now thought itself wise and moral. Happier far had she lived and died in the creed of Mr. Tryan, since we know that the history of Dinah Morris contains in its pages a sincere avowal by George Eliot of the heights to which, on wings of religious aspiration, her spirit had once soared up.

Dinah herself is a pale weaver, with such a face as might make one think of white flowers with light touches of colour on their pure petals, and eyes that have no peculiar beauty beyond that of expression, that do but look simple, candid, and gravely loving. She has spent an uneventful life in the mill, where Nature, with its tones of freshness and its multitudinous voices, cannot come in and the days are like a process of passive purification for the soul, which is thereby made fit to gaze upon the world unseen and the mysteries that take it like a flood. George Eliot, as we have said, discerns in the quietude of such a profession a soil wherein certain instincts will grow towards the light, like the plant underground that darkness blanches while the faintest gleam of brightness draws it onward and upward. It is in this atmosphere that the mystic thrives best; whereas amid the Bœotian fatness of the country he would degenerate into a weed "that rots on Lethe's wharf." Many an Independent chapel, up a back street, has been filled like the chapel at Treby Magna, "by eager men and women to whom the possession of exceptional religious truth was the condition which reconciled them to a meagre existence, and made them feel in secure alliance with the supreme ruler of the world." And it is true indeed that there are many amongst the myriads of souls who have absolutely needed an emphatic belief, something that will give patience and feed human love even when the limbs ache with weariness. An intense life that delights in spiritual drama, and might keep a diary of its experience—this alone will fascinate the feverish disputing imagination of the toilers in great modern cities, or will quell the demon of dissipation that roams every night under flaring gas-lamps. Dinah's experience, though unchequered by the struggle with passion, was high-wrought, absorbing the spirit. What beauty and truth there is in her description of it!—

I had felt no call to preach; for when I'm not greatly wrought upon, I'm too much given to sit still and keep by myself: it seems as if I could sit silent all day long with the thought of God overflowing my soul—as the pebbles lie bathed in the Willow Brook. For thoughts



are so great, aren't they, sir? They seem to lie upon us like a deep flood; and it's my besetment to forget where I am and everything about me, and lose myself in thoughts that I could give no account of, for I could neither make a beginning nor ending of them in words. That was my way as long as I can remember; but sometimes it seemed as if speech came to me without any will of my own, and words were given to me that came out as the tears came, because our hearts are full and we can't help it.

Here is the greatness that we associate with religious enthusiasm when it is pure, the light that seems to fall from translucent spaces of the sky where merely human fancy sees naught but vacancy and an immense silence. Yet the meditations of Dinah Morris are fruitful in goodness: they react even upon the unspiritual as affectionate service and care for their well-being. No marvel, then, that she seems to stand aloft on the highest pinnacle of the perfect life, as it was revealed to George Eliot: for what is there that can vie with unsullied purity? and Dinah walked without swerving in faithful innocence, far from the common way of sin. But we ask in amaze, what, then, was the allurements that drew her down to earth again and persuaded her that the love of Adam Bede was compatible with her own high visions and ecstatic faith? Who can help comparing her life and its close with the trial of another noble woman of George Eliot's—a woman who is meant as distinctly to be the type of heroic failure as Dinah of heroic success? We are thinking of that Maggie Tulliver whom the readers of the "Mill on the Floss" have recognized as a sister entirely human. She is the Penitent and Dinah is the Saint. She dies rather than break her plighted word, though the world around laughs her to scorn as one that with passionate subterfuges and the cunning of an overmastering love has already broken it. Dinah violates no pledge to man, and is ever the same innocent loving creature; but instead of a visionary whose dreams we revere she has become the joyful mother of children; and her lapse from the divine to the domestic (which we could not well have anticipated at the opening of "Adam Bede") is not, perhaps, a sin but a bathos. What is the moral intended? And why must unearthly yet most tender beneficent visions fade into the light of common day?

We believe George Eliot had a purpose. Her favourite Adam Bede, to whom she gave the hand of Dinah as his fit reward, is the figure of a calm wisdom that handles the resources of life with courage and perseverance, with docility to the laws he cannot reverse, and is always manly enough to revere. He is no friend to visionary lights and warnings, neither does he welcome miraculousexplanations that take us directly to the Cause beyond Nature. It is well said of him:—He had that mental combina-

tion which is at once humble in the region of mystery and keen in the region of knowledge: it was the depth of his reverence quite as much as his hard common-sense, which gave him his disinclination to doctrinal religion, and he often checked Seth's argumentative spiritualism by saying, "Eh, it's a big mystery; thee know'st but little about it." And so it happened that Adam was at once penetrating and credulous. If a new building had fallen down, and he had been told that this was a divine judgment, he would have said, "Maybe; but the bearing of the roof and walls wasn't right, else it wouldn't ha' come down." And so, even if he did believe in dreams and prognostics, and bated his breath a little when he told the story of the stroke with the willow-wand, that was but traditional superstition due to his peasant-blood. His own reflections on the strange rap at the door are such as a modern man of science might have made:—"Maybe there's a world about us as we can't see, but the ear's quicker than the eye, and catches a sound from it now and then." There speaks the peasant. But the man of science takes him up:—"Some people think they get a *sight* on't too, but they're mostly folks whose eyes are not much use to 'em at anything else. For my part, I think it's better to see when your perpendicular's true, than to see a ghost." In like manner his comfort under affliction is belief in law, not prayer to the Heavenly Father. He does not mean to be sceptical in religion; but listen to his spontaneous profession of faith:—

"There's nothing but what is bearable," he said to himself, "as long as a man can work. The nature of things doesn't change, though it seems as if one's own life was nothing but change. The square of four is sixteen, and you must lengthen your lever in proportion to your weight, is as true when a man's miserable as when he's happy; and the best of working is, it gives you a grip hold o' things outside your own lot."

But Lisbeth, his mother, a true peasant, sought relief in moving about the house, performing the initial duties to the dead, with the awe and exactitude of religious rites:—and she felt as if the greatest work of her life were to be done in seeing that her husband was buried decently before her—under the white thorn, where once in a dream she had thought she lay in the coffin, yet all the while saw the sunshine above, and smelt the white blossoms that were so thick upon the thorn the Sunday she went to be churched after Adam was born. Shall we say that the mother was too superstitious and that the son was not enough so? We had rather point out how the elements of right religion lay near each, how to acknowledge law does not defeat piety, and to discover mystery and grace in ritual may be like catching the white sunlight in a rainbow. But George Eliot, in this perfect piece of induction,

would have us prize the fortitude of Adam and the tenderness of Lisbeth as severally illustrations that law is noble and love is divine : yet, when she utters that word divine she means only the unalloyed human ; and her unwisdom is that she cannot assign the law to an Infinite Reason nor the love to an Eternal Spirit. Nay, she would imply by her very description of Dinah that to transcend the finite is a delusion, though when it is a pure soul that deludes itself some shadowy glory wraps it round. And thus the marriage of Dinah with Adam signifies the submission of an inspired dreamer to mathematics and the assurances of science. For ourselves, we are of those that look upon Dinah's marriage as, equally with Hetty Sorrel's reprieve, a blemish on the otherwise unimpeachable beauty of their story, considered as a production of art. Wisdom and the tragic piteousness both demand that the catastrophe should correspond to the characters involved ; nor can pardon and the sound of marriage-bells undo the sin of Hetty, or annul the consecration of Dinah to that virgin purity which clothed her with so grave and winning an authority when she preached under leafy boughs or in the cell of the condemned.

And this George Eliot herself acknowledged in recounting another's history, whose innocence did not yield to Dinah's, and who twice, from a high sense of duty, gave herself in marriage. Of Dorothea Brooke she has written that the determining acts of her life were not ideally beautiful, that she was but a Saint Theresa, foundress of nothing, and that such a fate is not unusual. What a tone of sadness there is in the well-known words !—

Many Therasas have been born who found for themselves no epic life wherein there might be a constant unfolding of far-resonant action ; perhaps only a life of mistakes, the offspring of a certain spiritual grandeur ill-matched with the meanness of opportunity ; perhaps a tragic failure which found no sacred poet and sank unwept into oblivion. . . . To common eyes their struggles seemed mere inconsistency and formlessness ; for these later born Therasas were helped by no coherent social faith and order which could perform the function of knowledge for the ardently willing soul. Their ardour alternated between a vague ideal and the common yearning of womanhood ; so that the one was disapproved as extravagance, and the other condemned as a lapse.

Well, we imagine that there is more of nobleness in these "loving heart-beats and sobs after an unattained goodness," than in the somewhat vulgar sunshine that filled Dinah Morris's latter day. George Eliot, as time went by, lost the confident security she had for a moment assumed as to that plausible yet impracticable narrowing of our lives into a region of knowledge clearly fenced off from a region of mystery. Such,

indeed, is the cardinal point of Positive and Liberal teaching; such is the basis of modern law-making: but it is more shifting than the sands of Sahara or the ocean-tides. Science will never bestow upon us that coherent social faith that she demands: it is not a fruit that grows on the Tree of Knowledge whereof our first mother ate. Either the revealed will of God has given it, or the hopes of man are vain. But did not such a faith exist in the age of Theresa? And has it now been brought to an end? How do the saints make answer that have lived and wrought their miracles of happiness since then?

But look at this matter with the eye of an artist, and it will be apparent why the conclusion of "Adam Bede" cannot satisfy us. All the interest of Drama, that is to say, of human life in action upon a vast scale, turns on the conflict between free-will and fortune, the arena being that inward theatre we call the soul, whereof visible events are little more than the scenery and the footlights. And the undying charm of dramatic presentation lies in its attempting to solve a problem that reason seems to pronounce insoluble:—namely, that a finite will should resist the apparently infinite power that is bent on subduing it. But in what does the subjugation of man essentially, and therefore dramatically, consist? Beyond question, in his surrender to evil. Every drama is the story of Eden and the Serpent over again. Now it has been laid down that a drama is either comedy or tragedy, according to its conclusion; and that of these two kinds tragedy is by its nature incomparably the more affecting. Which, being interpreted, signifies that the issue of man's struggle with his evil destiny must be one of three, and three only, that are possible. Either he yields, and according to the degree of his resistance is the height of the tragic sorrow, the magnitude of the tragic catastrophe: or he suffers every loss save only that of his integrity; he forfeits Happiness but keeps Innocence; and this is the tragedy of martyrdom: or, finally, he overcomes Fortune and carries away the prize of triumphant success, quits the stage both innocent and prosperous; and no magnificence of reward can hinder this third kind of drama from lawfully bearing the name of comedy. Hence it was not without reason that Dante distinguished his drama of Humanity by a title which, to our careless moderns, must sound grotesque. But Dante understood that there is in human apprehension no power of associating happiness—the Paradise that concludes his song—with the tragic. Nevertheless the tragic representation of man is undeniably the noblest, and Dinah Morris could have reached the crown of human perfection only by suffering heroically. We may call this happiness, too, if we will: but as George Eliot says:—"This sort of happiness brings

so much pain with it that we can only tell it *from* mere pain by its being what we would choose before everything else, because our souls see it is good." Do such words remind us of "Adam Bede" in its closing pages? No, indeed. But they might serve as a motto to the life of Maggie Tulliver. For is not her last cry an agonized acceptance of the burden laid upon her, the resolve to bear it, and bear it till death? She was filled with the vision of a lonely future, through which she must have carried that burden of regret, upheld by no consolation, but only by clinging faith. And had she known a compassionate stainless friend such as Dinah Morris, Maggie would have sued humbly at her feet for help and pardon, content to be pardoned at last. So Christian is the victory that she wins over evil, and so little is she conscious of it in her troubled yet dauntless spirit. And in this manner, as we think, is Maggie Tulliver the most tragic figure that George Eliot has painted.

And now consider the religious phases through which she is made to pass. She has not been fettered in her development by the superstition of her bucolic, irascible father, nor deadened into commonplace by the vulgar pettiness of her helpless mother. Even the brother she worships cannot control her to his will, but must allow her to fight the battle of her own thoughts, in the solitude which, from the dawn of reason until her last hour of trial, is drawn by invisible influences around her. For she is a mixed original nature, eager, susceptible, unsatisfied, quick to suffer because her feelings are keen, born therefore to perplex the common judgment and succumb to an early and an evil fate. She is no fiction, but has been taken from the life by one that could probe all the fibres of her being and watch the currents of her thought. With absolute fidelity to experience it is recorded of her, that she had little more power of concealing the impressions made upon her, than if she had been constructed of musical strings. And again that her overwhelming sensibility to the supreme excitement of music was only one form of that passionate sensibility—mark the phrase; it is peculiar, and less than a hundred years old—which belonged to her whole nature. This it was that merged her faults and her virtues in one another, made her affections sometimes an impatient demand, but also prevented her vanity from taking the form of mere feminine coquetry and device, and gave it the poetry of ambition. "If life had no love in it, what else was there for Maggie? Nothing but poverty and the companionship of her mother's narrow griefs—perhaps of her father's heart-cutting childish dependence." In that father's sick chamber, which was the centre of her world, we are shown this rare creature full of longing for all that was beautiful and glad; thirsty for all knowledge, with an ear strain-

ing after dreamy music that died away and would not come near to her, with a blind unconscious yearning for something that would link together the wonderful impressions of this mysterious life, and give her soul a sense of home in it. Thrown back upon herself at first by the peculiarities that none could admire and only her father would humorously excuse—nay, by the very style of her features and outward seeming, which, as it failed to keep the average, was accounted almost a deformity in the opinion of kinsfolk—she was afterwards yet more estranged from them by the misfortunes that quenched all homely affection. And so she moved on to her doom, unprotected from the discontent which only one thing could have appeased—the sense that where she loved her love would meet with a frank and constant return. Though born into the modern age, she was quite primitive in her mode of apprehending it, naïve, artless, and headlong, except when the very passion to which her soul vibrated inspired her with loyalty towards the past. Upon such a nature, before whose large horizon the world of everyday, of conventions and concealments, sinks to a star of invisible magnitude, Religion alone will have a saving influence. And in Religion Maggie Tulliver was offered a refuge when forsaken and suffering. It was not the coarse, effective scene-painting of Methodism, nor the sentiment and gloom of Evangelicalism, that she was drawn to. It was the Religion that is enshrined for ever in the Following of Christ. But George Eliot would have been forgetful of her philosophy had she not interpreted that ancient precious book as human rather than as divine. She does not pause upon its devotion to Christ the King, though she must needs remember that He is there the “pattern of sorrow, the source of all strength.” The secret of life that would enable Maggie to dispense with all other secrets—the sublime height to be reached without aid from outward things—the insight, and power, and conquest to be won by means entirely within her own soul—what were they at last? Why this:—

It flashed through her like the suddenly apprehended solution of a problem, that all the miseries of her young life had come from fixing her heart on her own pleasure, as if that were the central necessity of the universe: and for the first time she saw the possibility of shifting the position from which she looked at the gratification of her own desires—of taking her stand out of herself, and looking at her own life as an insignificant part of a divinely-guided whole.

“How admirable!” many have exclaimed. “How Christian!” And so the opening words are, in this passage, but not the conclusion. The kernel of Christian teaching, the fortress of its endurance, is not Resignation; it is Hope. And Hope makes Resignation

its willing handmaid, but itself rules and reigns. It does not smite the miserable with that sharpest stroke which tells them that they are insignificant and their sorrow of small account or none: for, if the whole is divinely-guided, how can the parts be overlooked? Is not that saying true, "Sic de maximis providus, ut non deficiat in minimis?" But she, George Eliot, may reply:—"How, then, does the Imitation warn me that 'All things pass away, and thou together with them?'" Yes, we have arrived at the reason of our differing interpretations. For the Imitation teaches that all things pass into a world eternal, to Heaven or to Hell: but George Eliot, that human life shall one day be

A quenched sun-wave,  
The All-creating Presence for its grave.

It is a misconstrued asceticism which thus exalts the temptation to despair — despair of immortality — into a creed, and makes life impossible by weakening the instinct to live. But there is no sound of despair in the Imitation. We, whose heirloom it is, may accept the touching recognition that George Eliot has left of the impression it made on her; we may be glad to think it was the last book that her eyes rested upon. But let us beware of imagining that she could have read it as we do. Her praise itself betrays a peculiar bias, as though the prevailing mood of Thomas à Kempis were sadness, and his innermost feeling grief. Here are the words,—affectionate and grateful, but assuredly they lack something of the Christian ring:—

That small old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a book-stall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness: while expensive sermons and treatises, newly issued, leave all things as they were before. It was written down by a hand that waited for the heart's prompting: it is the chronicle of a solitary hidden anguish, struggle, trust, and triumph—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations: the voice of a brother, who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chanting, and long fasts, and a form of speech different from ours—but under the same silent far-off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failure, the same weariness.

Perchance, had some pitying spirit led the steps of Maggie Tulliver, the steps of George Eliot, to the living Voice, had she not merely lingered in the sound of its echo, far away, her story would have concluded, after a decisive struggle, with the sweet

Catholic epitaph "In Pace." But as we are told, "her inherited share in the hard-won treasures of thought was no more than shreds and patches of feeble literature and false history." And what shall be our judgment of the religion which, when her need was sorest, left her without a guide? Unpitied, unfriended, disheartened, she hurried forward to temptation and death. Some respite was given her, indeed, between the season of early sorrows and the final trial. So long as she could stay where the hand seemed to direct her, that had marked so many a pregnant passage in the Imitation, she was secure. The Valley of Humiliation is a sheltered spot, and its springing grass and tender-eyed daisies are withered by no storm winds. "That new inward life of hers shone out in her face with a gentle soft light that mingled itself as added loveliness with the gradually enriched colour and outline of her blossoming youth." But the romantic episode, which brought her a delicate artist lover in the person of Philip Wakem, was soon to open among the grassy paths and under the waving shadows of the ash and the fir trees, down in the Red Deeps. And, then, it was not hard to foretell that as soon as her own feeling kindled into fervour, she would awake to find herself entangled in threefold meshes of perplexity; for love and friendship and duty to her home would each demand satisfaction where all could not conceivably attain it. "The great problem," says George Eliot, "of the shifting relation between passion and duty can be quite clear to no one who is capable of apprehending it:"—and Maggie Tulliver was endowed with a fatally keen apprehension; she felt in turn with all those whom, by an evil chance, her devotion, her impetuous need of sympathy had hurt,—not only with Stephen Guest, but with Philip and Lucy,—nay, even with that stern brother who loathed her, as embittering the memory of their common childhood, and degrading his name. So much the more did she need counsel and enlightenment, the steady guidance of a friend's hand, the strengthening bread of truth, and not "that hard rind of it which is discerned by the unimagi-native and the unsympathetic." For her temptation was as overwhelming as her nature was exceptional.

It has often been made a difficulty in the "Mill on the Floss," that Maggie Tulliver's trial is at variance with the rest of the story; that she was too noble, and of a fibre too highly refined to undergo the vulgar fatuity of being attracted by a charming person and outward graces. This may be the received psychology of to-day: but it is neither Greek nor Christian, and experience does not tell in its favour. For let us compare, in this respect, Maggie Tulliver with a famous classic heroine whom Euripides and Racine have made familiar to us, the passion-stricken Queen



at Træzen, Phædra, who was wife to Theseus and the step-mother of Hippolytus. Did her irresistible passion, in the eyes of the Grecian poet, imply a vile nature? No; he spoke of it as a calamity sent from Artemis or Aphrodite, and held that it might assail and even conquer the instinctive part of the soul, as leprosy barks the body, whilst the spirit grew troubled within and would have resisted, but was helpless, being drugged and spell-bound. The very hugeness or monstrous disproportion of the feeling thrust it out from the circle of things human, and it could not be a sin of approved desire, but must be taken as an infection of the blood raging at some deity's command. May not this as vividly paint the love against which Maggie Tulliver struggled, as it paints the fever of passionate desire wherein Phædra was consumed? Of course, that old Greek trembling before a hidden divinity has been exchanged, by our moderns, for an inquiry into motives and tendencies: but it does not appear that they know a great deal more than Euripides. And before the change passed over Maggie Tulliver, one had, we are told, a sense of uneasiness in looking at her—a sense of opposing elements of which a fierce collision was imminent, that would dissipate the hushed expression in her face and the quietude, like a damp fire leaping out again when all seemed safe. The moment of that transformation is given wonderfully:—

These apparently trivial causes had the effect of rousing and exalting her imagination in a way that was mysterious to herself. It was not that she thought distinctly, or dwelt upon the indications that she had been looked at with admiration; it was rather that she felt the half-remote presence of a world of love and beauty and delight, made up of vague mingled images from all the poetry and romance she had ever read, or had ever woven in her dreamy reveries. Her mind glanced back once or twice to the time when she had courted privation, when she had thought all longing, all impatience was subdued; but that condition seemed irrevocably gone, and she recoiled from the remembrance of it. No prayer, no striving now would bring back that negative peace: the battle of her life, it seemed, was not to be decided in that short and easy way—by perfect renunciation at the very threshold of her youth. The music was vibrating in her still—Purcell's music, with its wild passion and fancy—and she could not stay in the recollection of that bare, lonely past. She was in her brighter aërial world again.

Out of the dim uncomprehended realm which we call imagination, the dream-universe, where passion, genius, ecstasy, the mighty suggestions of good and of evil seem to have their brooding nest, that *taking* fell upon the spirit of Maggie Tulliver, and she was a changed being. In the scenes of her temptation we

cannot recognize her old self, nor could she, so strangely does a struggle within the soul absorb and obscure the creature of every-day and his normal manifestation whether of thought or feeling. A violent earthquake will derange the landscape or new-mould its features beyond what is credible: and is there any earthquake comparable to the wrestling between a forbidden passion intensely felt and the moral nature that has been exercised by years of discipline? It is not a feeble or a vicious character, whose apostasy from good fills the audience with shuddering pain: it is the high recluse, the saint, who has been shaken by a tempest of temptation until he sins half willingly, half desperately, and loathes what he is in the remembrance of what he has been. Or again, he does not fall in the court of his own conscience, but the conduct that issues from the moral conflict bears so close a resemblance to vice, that the distinction escapes all outward judgments founded on a mere comparison of actions. Maggie did not pass through the flames unscathed; at certain moments we feel, the author makes us feel, that the lower self has, in some degree which we cannot discriminate, subdued the higher to its wish. The soul hangs in the balance more than once. But there were things stronger in her than vanity or passion—affection, and long deep memories of early discipline and effort, of early claims on her love and pity; and the stream of vanity was swept along and mingled imperceptibly in that wider current. It was Maggie who said, with the grave sadness of renunciation, “I desire no future that will break the ties of the past.” And her faithfulness saved her. For when the great stress of the temptation made itself felt within and without, when she was quite enchanted and intoxicated, and the tempter urged that they must break the ties which were made in blindness, then she answered with deep and slow distinction, all the gathered spiritual force of painful years coming to her aid in this extremity, “I would rather die than fall into that temptation.” Her choice was made, not calmly, we know, but rather as if on the rack; but she chose well. George Eliot has written nothing more beautiful, more convincing, than Maggie Tulliver’s words of submission to the supreme law of conscience:—

“O it is difficult,” she said, “life is very difficult! It seems right to me sometimes that we should follow our strongest feeling;—but then such feelings continually come across the ties that all our former life has made for us—the ties that have made others dependent on us—and would cut them in two. If life were quite easy and simple, as it might have been in paradise, and we could always see that one being first, towards whom . . . I mean, if life did not make duties for us before love comes, love would be a sign that two people ought to belong to each other. But I see—I feel it is not so now;

there are things we must renounce in life; some of us must resign love. Many things are difficult and dark to me;—but I see one thing quite clearly—that I must not, cannot, seek my own happiness by sacrificing others. Love is natural: but surely pity and faithfulness and memory are natural too. And they would live in me still, and punish me if I did not obey them. I should be haunted by the suffering I had caused. Our love would be poisoned. Don't urge me; help me—help me, *because I love you.*”

What a noble, what an unanswerable demonstration that the wide world and the universal spirit of man are built up in the likeness of an Absolute Righteousness, which cannot change nor be persuaded, but is true to itself even at the cost of wrecked lives and passionate agonies, of love and joy and beauty! The great exemplar, then, the law which abrogates all other laws, the rule of life from its beginning to its end, is Spiritual Holiness. And yet, the woman that wrought this irrefragable argument, dreamt to herself that she did not believe in God! What, then, is God, if He is not that infinite law, which was not made nor created, which transcends matter and is distinct from every contingent spirit, and is of itself and everywhere and always? And since He is the living law, can He be only a name, an opinion, an imaginary ideal, a term of our appointing to human thought? No, He is the Eternal Conscience, and not a grave wherein darkness shall devour the All:—

Un centre de lumière inaccessible est là,  
Hors de toi comme en toi cela brille et brilla;  
C'est là-bas, tout au fond, en haut du précipice.—  
Cette clarté toujours jeune, toujours propice,  
Jamais ne s'interrompt et ne pâlit jamais;  
Elle sort des noirceurs, elle éclate aux sommets,  
Et toujours se refuse et sans cesse se donne.

After that appeal to the faithful mercies of the Unseen, victory was not easy, but defeat became almost impossible. Even the lapses of instinctive feeling contributed to make duty seem a thing desirable, for they brought with them remorse, vexation, and a sickening sense of disappointment. Nay, the one hour of yielding to the stronger presence that seemed to bear her along without any will of her own, wherein memory was excluded, and Stephen and herself were enveloped in the enchanted haze of their voyage down the river, was soon redeemed by her acceptance of all its shame, her refusal of the prospect it alluringly held out. Once more she chose death, or a requital of her sin that only death could match in bitterness, rather than inflict more anguish on her cousin and Philip Wakem. The consequences of a fall had come before the outward act was complete: but her soul, though

betrayed, beguiled, ensnared, could never deliberately consent to a choice of the lower. Her yesterday was not to be revoked;—if she could have changed it now for any length of inward silent endurance, she would have bowed beneath that cross with a sense of rest. She accuses herself as sharply as a stranger might have done, of having been weak and selfish, of forgetting to pray earnestly for help; she feels that there is no excuse for her, and no reparation she can make. It is too late even not to have caused misery; too late for everything, perhaps, except to rush away from the last act of baseness—the tasting of joys that were wrung from crushed hearts. She turns back home again, to be cast out by her un pitying brother, to see in every face that her reputation is lost, to seek peace under the shadow of the church and be driven thence with ignominy, to be tempted once and again in her loneliness, to battle with the old shadowy enemies that were for ever slain and rising again, to all but give way, not to the promise of joy in her own life, but to the dread of inflicting fresh pain on the heart she was renouncing, to wait for the light that came with prayer and remembrances of the long past, to despair of her own strength and cast her burden on the Unseen Pity that she knew would not forsake her even to the end, to feel the rush of the swollen waters of the river about her knees, to go forth alone on an errand of help and rescue over the great floods, to find again her brother's love, to feel that he pardoned her and took her to his heart, and in that supreme moment to be rescued herself—for ever—by Death.

But how rescued? The martyr's death is a victory if he thereby transcends all that is finite and sensible, to pass into the city which is divine and the infinite presence. This plenteous sowing must grow into a golden harvest—How and Where? The only reward of noble doing, of miraculous divinely-protected effort, is the assured perfection that it brings to pass the dominion which the soul acquires once for all over itself, to know, and feel, and achieve—What? To die and be no more? To make life a little more endurable for those we leave behind, so that they shall be spared our martyr-pains and come to an easy state where effort and heroism alike shall be unknown? If Conscience is holy and inviolable, if Religion is the chief interest of life, if renunciation is a duty and happiness, a finite and secondary good, how can the chronicle end with Death? Since we must submit our inclination, our most subduing love, to Reason and the Moral Law, that can only signify that Reason and the Moral Law do govern all things. And how can we tell when the way of a thing is reasonable? Surely we never can, except when the feeling of proportion between purpose and action, between energy and achievement, between ends and means, between faculty and

object, between the spirit within and the world without, makes itself evident. Grant that a life such as Maggie Tulliver's has its fine issues in harmonious existence beyond the grave, and her story is one to touch the heart and content the reason. It is a beautiful, well-spent, intelligible life, full of encouraging moralities and worthy to be recorded. But deny immortality, and what becomes of it? Can the most exquisite art persuade us that, were we mortal, this tragedy would not be a tale "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?" Its meaning is borrowed from the sequel; and its charm is the tender equity of God, trying His creature by many devices, and in the rich endowments of her spirit and the depth of her passionateness providing as many stops from which to draw sublimest harmonies and the true undying music of the world. Does not the wisest meditation rise to the strain of the Hebrew prophet:—"Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo?" And is not this the Moral which, in spite of her unbelief, George Eliot is ever pointing?

Assuredly, her chief claim upon our admiration, as upon our pity, is that she anxiously, passionately, incessantly aspires to tell us of the Highest Good. The pathos of her stories ever takes this religious colouring. Does not the real tragic terror of them lie in her blindness to that light, which, like a sightless marble statue, she holds up to the world in the lamp of her genius but herself shall never see? Her noble soul, though turned to Atheism, kept some memories, a fading reminiscence, of the truth; and it is the recurring glimpse of holiness and purity that takes us by the heart when we are moved by her exhortations to self-sacrifice, or touched to the quick by her sadness. Is she not a *fallen* prophetess? One that, like Maggie Tulliver, has been so intoxicated by some dreadful poison as to grow dull to the vision of consoling good which once had seemed her familiar grace? An intellect, the paragon whereof, amongst famous men and women is so far to seek, beautiful still with the after-glow of what she deemed was the sunset of the Christian age—such an intellect, fast growing chill and dark, can it fail to win our pity? Her prophesying must needs have unfolded its strain "in sad perplexed minors:" for the minor key is dedicated to exile and separation in all its tones, rendering the desolate mood of the creature that is banished from God. So it is that no writings in our literature surpass in melancholy those of George Eliot, save the bitter, malevolent, inhuman pages of Swift. And Swift was profoundly sceptical. What was George Eliot's sin against light? This, without laying themselves open to the charge of idle curiosity, her readers might desire to know: but it is unlikely they ever will. In her last composition,

“Theophrastus Such,” she forbids us to anticipate that, dying, she could leave behind a record of events that carried her away from the beaten tracks.

Is it possible, she begins by asking, to describe oneself at once fully and faithfully? In all autobiography there is, nay, ought to be, an incompleteness which may have the effect of falsity. We are each of us bound to reticence by the piety we owe to those who have been nearest to us and have had a mingled influence over our lives; by the fellow-feeling which should restrain us from turning our volunteered and picked confessions into an act of accusation against others, who have no chance of vindicating themselves; and most of all by that reverence for the higher efforts of our common nature, which commands us to bury its lowest fatalities, its inevitable remnants of the brute, its most agonizing struggles with temptation, in unbroken silence . . . Who has sinned more against these three duteous reticences than Jean Jacques?

A feeling which we cannot but sympathize with has dictated these lines, themselves a striking instance of the modest and courteous spirit, we had almost said the timidity, which is so observable in George Eliot, when she directly addresses her audience. But we are by no means sure that she can claim the right of sanctuary. Rousseau's Confessions are a shameful story; nor has any mortal gone to such infinite trouble to nail his own ears in a monumental pillory, where all the world may flout him as he stands *æterna in basi*. But is not this the worthiest service he could have done his fellowmen, by narrating his life to refute his own creed? When we are melted at the glow of his sentimental rhetoric, and weakly are stooping to imagine that “Nature is made better by no Art,” not even by the heaven-sent art of Christian living, how can we more speedily shake off the illusion than by glancing a second time at the natural product, unspoiled as he would say, which Rousseau affirms to be—himself? There is no way to sever the teacher of a new religion from his teaching. It is more than permitted, it is indispensable, that we should become intimately acquainted with the bosom-thoughts and actual biography of the witnesses that are now, in the name of Virtue as well as of Science, giving evidence against Christianity. When the heralds of Revelation were angels and apostles, it must have been a simple thing to believe them. But now? Who are Thomas Carlyle, and Auguste Comte, and Giuseppe Mazzini, and George Eliot, and where is the warrant of their mission? Perhaps no one less than a second Jesus Christ could be received as the author of that Higher Synthesis of Humanism which, we are told, must succeed the Gospel dispensation. Thoughtful pious men are still repeating

the decisive question :—" Domine, ad quem ibimus?" Can George Eliot answer?

We trust we shall not seem to be writing bitterly—it is with no tincture, indeed, of unkindly feeling—against one of whom we read that she was "the greatest opponent ever elicited by literature to all belief in the true source of strength and elevation for the lowly;" that "she made her convictions no secret;" and that "her disbelief in Deity was absolute." Unhappy woman! Who can pity her in the measure of her need? Better for such a one, perchance, were that dismal saying of hers true—and could

The human sky  
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb  
Unread for ever!

This, then, is why we feel that the soundest criticism of her views, the most pregnant commentary upon them, would consist in a plain unvarnished history of what George Eliot was. That would enlighten us far more than winnowing and sifting her written words, though we should fan them to their utmost fineness. Such a history we never may read. But she did not write so many volumes without pouring out her peculiar feelings in them: and a large number of her pages have been taken by the public as fragments of autobiography and personal disclosure, not as mere dramatic compositions which throw no light on the mind and spiritual make of their author. Especially in "Janet's Repentance," in "Adam Bede," and "The Mill on the Floss," and in certain passages of "Middlemarch," do we seem to recognize these welcome utterances. Her character and the tenor of her life, which, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, must have determined the centre whence her lights and shadows fell with their peculiar difference, are here but slightly disguised. Not, indeed, that we would dismiss George Eliot's creed as simply "her personal and private formula,"—which is the opposite extreme to that adopted by her unqualified eulogists, and is the refuge of men who have lost their hold on primary truths, whether of the conscience or the reason. A prophet that is bent on founding a religion must live up to his own standard: does it follow that his standard is but an algebraic symbol of his inclinations and appetites? George Eliot's history is the key to her religion: doubtless: yet this is not an exact counterfeit of that, we may be sure. Some of her principles were better than her actions: and we should be surprised to hear that many of her actions were not a denial in fact of her least defensible principles.

For we are happy to think it is not George Eliot's unbelief that has won her a world of readers; neither will she be

remembered merely as a female Atheist, foundress of an impossible religion and a great style in literature. Her growing fame, paradoxical as we may fancy it, is a reward of her loyalty to early impressions which were distinctly religious and ascetic. Had she never been a Christian, she would never have exercised the moral fascination, the heart-searching influence, which give her writings their permanent and peculiar worth: she would have been at a loss to comprehend the figures which will be thought her characteristic creations, Dinah Morris, Savonarola, Maggie Tulliver, Dorothea, and their speaking contrasts—for contrast is the chief instrument of an artist—Hetty Sorrel, Tito Melema, Rosamond Vincy. Her humour, we have seen, contradicts her assumed philosophy and could not survive the triumph of Altruism: so that we must claim, as grotesque or satire-loving foundlings of the ancient faith, certain figures which might seem alien to a sanctified place. But in the Gothic cathedral we dwell with only a delighted sense of incongruity upon the gargoyles, and satyrs, and impish heads, the stone spouts twisted into an immortal pleasantry of expressiveness, the comic forms of that mediæval “Epic of the Beasts” which cannot be kept out of the sacred choir, and will laugh in sly corners at us when we look up from our devotions. To jest with the objects we love is no sin but sometimes a prodigal tenderness, which would relieve itself in such quaint humour. For the soul’s flights towards the Ideal—that “loftiest star of unascended Heaven”—must needs be unequal. And so it is that, whether grave or humorous, George Eliot cannot help reminding us that she once was a believer. We strive in vain to recal one single passage of rare moral power and elevation in all her writings that may not be traced to its Christian source. She has translated into her own compressed and energetic speech certain axioms which have long been heard in church, but have not succeeded in keeping the congregation altogether wakeful. Charity—a word which seems to have fallen into universal disfavour, if we may judge by some recent liberties taken with it—she renders by a fresh word, itself of Greek origin, the word Sympathy, and thereby works miracles. But her most famous secret is to say an old thing with the most convinced air in the world that it never was said before. She is in the right of it: not the sentence has grown old and idle, but the hearers. Are not the good-tidings of Christianity “fresh as starlight’s aged truth,” in a world which can listen with admiring gratitude to George Eliot’s moralities and resolve to think of them seriously? This, then, is her praise, that she declares her belief in “some divine power against evil—widening the skirts of light, and making the struggle with darkness narrower;” that she protests against winning by another’s loss, against



gratifying our own need of affection by treachery towards a rival; that she feels a quick and willing sympathy (we will not mock the word) with every sweet human gladness and every throb of grief; that she is deeply convinced (alas!) that the sowing of sin is the reaping of sorrow; that she shows a tender forbearance with ignorant wrong-doing and unsightly goodness; that she has a large womanly heart, and, however misguided, has yet an unselfish devotion to the children of our Mother Earth:—all this will explain, even if it cannot justify, the love and reverence which her death elicited from a mourning throng. But how could she have gained that vivid sense of joy in self-sacrifice, or that keen apprehension of unworldly motives, had she not been brought up in the hearing of saints and apostles, of the New Testament? Neither would she have shrunk from confessing it; for even her philosophy did not oblige her to repudiate the past. She dared to maintain, and felt it bitterly, that “every change upon this earth is bought with sacrifice.” In her eyes to renounce the inherited religion of centuries was not possible; all that man could attempt was to blend it with newly discovered elements which might serve as a scientific basis to the structure of its morality, surer than the supernatural cloud-work which was dissolving into air. Of course the change took from her belief more than it left. Travestyng the satiric line of Milton we may assure ourselves, once for all, that the denial of God and free-will is not Christianity: for,

New Fatalism is not old Faith writ large.

We may hold, too, that as anti-Christian feeling grows into a fixed habit with her, George Eliot's books lose their charm. She preaches, indeed, in season and out of season, as the end draws nigh; beating the pulpit with painful vehemence, and becoming, as the Greek Grammar styles it, merely *gnomic*, a proser of proverbs and a tedious moralist. In the very blaze and culmination of her genius she never allowed us to forget that knowledge, scientific and abstract, informed her powers. But as she came more and more into the creed of Humanism, which has been exemplified most winningly, to an artist's feeling, in Goethe, she discovered a surprising affinity with that famous poet as he was in old age. A sustained gravity and balance, a highly-educated gentle reserve, an over-conscious arranging of thought and expression, a fondness for symbolic ideas, an anxiety to reach the rarest perfection of style with the formalism so often resulting from it—these are notes of “Daniel Deronda,” no less than of the second part of “Wilhelm Meister,” and the “Elective Attractions.” How much study may George Eliot have spent on the fragmentary sayings in “Ottilie's Diary” and

the "Maxims in Prose"? We cannot tell; but the likeness of her later style to Goethe's betrays some unconscious imitation. With the reigning fashion of "thinking in German," she became, as we might expect, more and more infected. But, to the last, her Christian childhood keeps a certain influence over her feeling. It is the ritual of the Church, with its vast underlying, encompassing mysteries, that wakes into life again the men and women of the fifteenth century, in "Romola" and "The Spanish Gypsy." It is religious tenderness or indignation that creates Armgart and Agatha. It is the old loyalty to tradition, the self-renouncing love in the pursuit of an Ideal, "the hope of another self which may lift our aching affection into the divine rapture of an ever-springing, ever-satisfied want," it is the heart that feels broken for its disregard of human sympathies—it is still the hereditary religion and not the chill scepticism—from which we derive a diminished yet real interest in the story of Mordecai and Gwendolen Harleth, or the somewhat bitter-flavoured reflections of Theophrastus Such.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

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#### ART. VII.—PROSPECTS IN BELGIUM.

**T**WELVE months have barely elapsed since that memorable Allocution of the Holy Father was given to the world, in which the irreligious policy of the Belgian Government, and, above all, their crowning act of insolent injustice to the Holy See, in breaking off, on vain and unfounded pretexts, the friendly relations which had for half a century subsisted between the civil and spiritual power, were eloquently condemned. Ever vigilant for the welfare of those nations whose spiritual interests are imperilled, ever ready to send messages of encouragement and consolation to the pastors of the Church in their painful contest against organized revolution, the Holy Father has again had occasion to publicly address the sorely tried Catholics of Belgium. This time his words are not those of protest against injustice, but of praise and encouragement for victories gained over the enemies of God; coupled with warnings against possible dangers, counsels of charity, and gentle but firm rebuke of those who would act under the influence of an impetuous but misguided zeal, rather than in accordance with his own wiser exhortations to prudence and moderation. The following is the text of the document to which we allude—a letter addressed by

Leo XIII., on the 3rd of August last, to Cardinal Deschamps, Primate of Belgium, and to the other bishops.

LEO XIII., POPE.

Dear Son and Venerable Brethren, health and Apostolic Benediction!

During these last years the cause of Catholicism has undergone, in Belgium, multiplied trials. We have, however, found comfort and consolation in the tokens of persistent love and fidelity which Belgian Catholics have furnished us so abundantly whenever they have had an occasion. And, above all, what has strengthened us, and still gives us strength, is your signal attachment to our person, and the zeal which you exert in order that the Christian people confided to your care may persevere in the sincerity and unity of the Catholic Faith, and may progress each day in its love for the Church of Christ and his Vicar. It is pleasant for us to give special praise to your solicitude in encouraging by all the means possible a good education for the young, and in insuring to the children of the primary schools a religious education established on broad foundations. Your zeal is applied with equal watchfulness to all that tends to the advantage of Christian education in the Colleges and Institutes, as well as to the Catholic University of Louvain.

On the other hand, we cannot remain indifferent, or at peace, in presence of events which would seem to imperil amongst Belgians the good understanding between Catholic citizens, and to divide them into opposing camps. It would be superfluous to recall here the causes and occasions of these differences, and the encouragement they have met with where it ought least to have been expected. All these details, Dear Son and Venerable Brethren, you know better than any one; and you deplore them with us, knowing perfectly that at no other epoch could the necessity of assuring and maintaining union amongst Catholics be so great as at this moment, when the enemies of the name of Christianity rage on all sides against the Church in an unanimous attack.

Full of solicitude for this union, we point out the dangers which threaten it arising from certain controversies concerning public law; a subject which, amongst you, engenders a strong difference of feeling. These controversies have for their object the necessity or opportuneness of conforming to the prescriptions of Catholic doctrine the existing forms of government, based on what is commonly called modern law. Most assuredly we, more than any one, ought heartily to desire that human society should be governed in a Christian manner, and that the divine influence of Christ should penetrate and completely impregnate all orders of the State. From the commencement of our Pontificate we manifested, without delay, that such was our settled opinion; and that by public documents, and especially by the Encyclical Letters we published against the errors of Socialism, and, quite recently, upon the Civil Power. Nevertheless, all Catholics, if they wish to exert themselves profitably for the common good,

should have before their eyes and faithfully imitate the prudent conduct which the Church herself adopts in matters of this nature: she maintains and defends in all their integrity the sacred doctrines and principles of right with inviolable firmness, and applies herself with all her power to regulating the institutions and the customs of public order, as well as the acts of private life, upon these same principles. Nevertheless, she observes in this the just measure of time and place; and, as commonly happens in human affairs, she is often constrained to tolerate at times evils that it would be almost impossible to prevent, without exposing herself to calamities and troubles still more disastrous.

Moreover, in polemical discussions, care should be taken not to overstep those just limits that justice and charity alike mark out, and not rashly to throw blame or suspicion upon men otherwise devoted to the doctrines of the Church; and, above all, upon those who in the Church itself are raised to dignity and power. We deplore that this has been done in your case, Dear Son, who, in your quality of archbishop, administer the diocese of Malines; and who, for your signal services to the Church, and for your zeal in defending Catholic doctrine, have been judged worthy by our Predecessor of blessed memory, Pius IX., to take a place in the College of most Eminent Cardinals. It is manifest that the facility with which unfounded accusations are levelled vaguely against one's neighbour, does injury to the good name of others, and weakens the bonds of charity; and that it outrages those "whom the Holy Ghost has placed to govern the Church of God." For this reason do we desire with all our power, and hereby most seriously enjoin, that Catholics abstain from this conduct. Let it suffice to them to remember that it is to the Apostolic See and to the Roman Pontiff, to whom all have access, that has been confided the charge of defending everywhere Catholic truths, and of watching that no error whatsoever, capable of doing injury to the doctrine of faith and morals, or apparently in contradiction with it, be spread or propagated in the Church.

In what concerns yourselves, Dear Son and Venerable Brethren, use all your vigilance so that all men of science, and those, most especially, to whom you have confided the charge of teaching youth, be of one accord, and unanimous in all those questions upon which the teaching of the Holy See allows no freedom of opinion. And as to points left to the discussion of the learned, may their intellects, owing to your inspiration and your advice, be so exercised upon them that the divergences of opinion destroy not union of heart and concord of will. On this subject the Sovereign Pontiff, Benedict XIV., our immortal predecessor, has left in his Constitution "*Sollicita ac provida*," certain rules for men of study, full of wisdom and authority. He has even proposed to them, as a model to imitate in this matter, St. Thomas Aquinas, whose moderation of language and maturity of style are maintained as well in the combat against adversaries, as in the exposition of doctrine and the proofs destined for its defence. We wish to renew to learned men the recommendations of our predecessor, and to

point out to them this noble model, who will teach them not only the manner of carrying on controversy with opponents, but also the character of the doctrine to be held and developed in the cultivation of philosophy and theology. On many occasions, Dear Son and Venerable Brethren, we have expressed to you our earnest desire of seeing the wisdom of St. Thomas reinstated in Catholic schools, and everywhere treated with the highest consideration. We have likewise exhorted you to establish in the University of Louvain the teaching of higher philosophy in the spirit of St. Thomas. In this matter, as in all others, we have found you entirely ready to condescend to our wishes and to fulfil our will. Pursue then, with zeal, the task which has been begun, and watch with care that in this same University the fruitful sources of Christian philosophy, which spring from the works of St. Thomas, be open to students in a rich abundance, and applied to the profit of all other branches of instruction. In the execution of this design, if you have need of our aid or our counsels, they shall never be wanting to you.

In the meantime, we pray God, the Source of Wisdom, the Author of Peace, and the Friend of Charity, to accord you His favourable help in the present conjuncture, and we ask Him for all an abundance of Heavenly gifts. As an augury of these graces, and as a sign of our special benevolence, we accord, with a loving heart, our Apostolic benediction to you, Dear Son and Venerable Brethren, to all your Clergy, and to the people confided to your charge.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 3rd of August, 1881, the fourth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

Undoubtedly, the most significant passages in this letter are those which allude to the discussions raised by certain writers upon points of constitutional law, and which, as has been seen before, had already formed the subject of correspondence between the Belgian Government and the Holy See. The Pope has now passed a well-merited censure upon the little band of what may be called Intransigent Catholics—the Irreconcilables, who, in the pursuit of their favourite theories, had done so much to weaken the political force of the Catholics, and had paved the way for the accession of the present Liberal Government to power. The more immediate cause of this remonstrance from Rome was the publication of the so-called “Dossier Dumont,” to which allusion was made in October of last year, and which consisted of the private correspondence that had passed between the ex-Bishop of Tournai and his politico-religious friends. Great as has been the scandal caused by the publication of these letters, it has perhaps been compensated by the fact that it has provided a means of exposing and putting an end to a state of things which, if undiscovered and allowed to continue, would have been productive of incalculable mischief to the Church in Belgium. This clique of violent writers, who sought to be more Catholic

than the Pope, had grouped themselves around Bishop Dumont and the late Bishop of Liège, and under the plea of seeking to conform the public law of the country to the doctrine of the Church (regardless of that just measure of time and place recommended by the Holy Father), devoted themselves to the attempt to discredit all those Catholics—as ardent combatants for the good cause as themselves—who were prepared to tolerate certain manifest flaws in the constitution of their country for the sake of the other and greater benefits it assured to religion. Their letters, then, contained very little which would aid in securing this ideal of State policy, but very much to prove that their opponents, the overwhelming majority of the Catholic party, were Liberals in disguise. Those who were the most entitled to respect were often the least spared. The moderate policy inaugurated by the Primate was described as the “acrobatic feats (cabriole) of our dear Metropolitan;” the influence of “the Vannutellis (the late Nuncio and his brother) were on the wane at Rome.” The most distinguished professors of Louvain, ecclesiastic and lay, were summarily characterized as teachers of heresy, perverters of Catholic truth, &c.—personal piques and jealousies lending a further sting to these insidious charges. The Parliamentary Right, composed of men whose life’s labour had been devoted to the advance of the Catholic and Conservative cause, were treated as the most dangerous foes of the Church, their efforts ridiculed, and their actions, often dictated by the most delicate considerations of policy, deliberately misrepresented. The leading Catholic journals and reviews were censured as dangerous reading. And yet this party could hardly claim a single Catholic deputy or public man as representing its views, and was utterly powerless of itself to advance the cause which it proposed to substitute for that of the recognized leaders of Catholic thought. Hence ensued a grave danger for the faithful, who began to inquire where, then, they were to look for inspiration; and many might thus have been misled. The publication of these documents, odious and discreditable as it was for the Liberal politicians, who sought by printing them to reap advantage for their cause, cannot therefore be looked upon altogether as an unmixed evil, inasmuch as it has put a stop once for all to the mischief. Leo XIII. has had an occasion of pronouncing his decision. His words will undoubtedly be listened to, and the misguided zealots whom he has been compelled to reprimand, will, we are certain, devote their talents to defending the interests of the Church in a more prudent manner. At the same time a lesson will be given to the Liberals, whose policy it has always been to represent the Church as hostile to the institutions of the country. The voice of the Supreme Pontiff has once again

unmistakably pronounced that the Catholic Church is indifferent to questions of dynasty or politics, and that good Christians will always be conspicuous as patriotic citizens. It would be well if the Radicals could say the same for themselves. The union so much desired amongst Catholics is now, we trust, established. As we shall see, it was never more needed; the outlook is threatening; the enemies of the Church are concentrating all their forces in a supreme attack upon religion and the social order, and the combined efforts of all honest men are required to avert the disasters that successive Liberal victories are bringing nearer every day.

In a former number of the DUBLIN REVIEW we gave a summary of the leading events which characterized the period of Liberal rule in Belgium from the fall of M. Malou's ministry, in 1878, to the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Holy See in the summer of last year. Affairs have continued to follow the same course, and the annals of the Liberal Government are only marked by the further evolution of the violent and extreme party out of the old, doctrinaire form of liberalism which had been all powerful in previous cabinets. There were, it is true, long ago, evident symptoms of this evolution; and to a careful observer it has been clear for many years that the tendency of the party was to gravitate towards the irreligious and Radical programme of the Masonic Lodges, to the exclusion of the teaching of the moderate constitutional Liberals who were its nominal leaders. A new point of departure has, however, been specially marked by the recent conflict with the Holy See, and the actual line of separation between the old and the new Liberals was then drawn. Although the Government disavow officially all connection with the Secret Societies and the Lodges, and deny in Parliament that they are bound by any pledges to the aggressive Radicals who now form so important an element of their party, it is manifest to the most superficial observer that at heart they are quite at one with their less responsible supporters; that they look to them for inspiration in their public acts, and that, even where the Cabinet seems to disagree with the Extreme Left, the causes of that disagreement must be sought on the ground of inopportuneness, and not of any essential divergence of opinion. As a member of the Right not long since remarked in the Chamber, M. Frère Orban and his colleagues are the prisoners of the Radicals, and are bound by their commands. When they venture to take another line of conduct, it is only because positive constitutional prohibitions stand in their way, or because the experience acquired in governing has made them aware that to abruptly hasten legislation in a Radical sense would be the signal for a reaction, by

suddenly opening the eyes of the country to their real objects, and so bring about the return to office of a Catholic Government. For these reasons alone have they on rare occasions shown a spirit of comparative moderation, and been content to consolidate the advantages already gained before attempting to advance too far. By avoiding to a certain extent sweeping measures, and only taking a little at a time, they know that they will make it more difficult for the Catholics on their return to power to undo their work than if they effected at once reforms so radical that their opponents would be justified, when again in office, in simply repealing them. They have been satisfied with granting a half or even less of what their friends have demanded, hinting clearly, however, that the rest was only temporarily withheld, and that the demand might be brought forward again in another session. Apart from these reservations, the legislation of M. Frère Orban's cabinet during the last three years has been wholly sectarian; its only object has been the prosecution of the campaign against Christianity devised in the reunions of the various Masonic Societies that are now all but supreme in many parts of Belgium. To judge by the rapidity with which this evolution has been effected, and the gigantic concessions already made to Radical agitation, it can only be a question of time before the programme of these societies is adopted in full. Doctrines, that some years ago were scouted by most of the prominent Liberals themselves as the wild and dangerous dreams of demagogues, have now become incorporated into the creed of every good Liberal; orators who, at Freemason meetings, indulged in violent threats against Catholicism and openly declared their aim to be the destruction of religion, were then considered to be mere visionaries, or, at most, as representing no more than their own private opinions. Many of them have now become Ministers, and have already carried some of their threats into execution. A few hesitating disclaimers on their part now will not, therefore, convince Catholics that what has been already done is not the commencement only of a continued system of persecution and oppression, or prevent them from drawing the conclusion that, in a few years, the whole of that programme will be adopted and recognized as the official exposition of Liberal doctrine, especially when each session marks a further step towards its realization. We can hardly then be treated as alarmists in judging from the analogy of the past, and assuming that the law of the Lodges is the law of the Government—the Masonic programme, their programme. In former Parliaments, Right and Left were in accord upon most of the great principles of government, such as the necessity of a religious education for the masses. The most advanced Liberals never ventured to attack openly the Church, its doctrines or its practices. "Now,



in 1879," we quote the *Flandre Libérale*, "Christianity itself is criticized in Parliament; its dogmas, miracles and code of morals are at one moment turned into derision, and at another held up to public execration." Those who thus deride Christianity are the choice spirits of 'Freemasonry, its select representatives.

The organization of the Secret Societies in Belgium is perhaps more perfect and extensive than in any other State of Europe. The country is overrun with different clubs and lodges, all closely connected with one another, and all directed towards the same object. Without yielding in anything to their colleagues of France and Italy in the matter of impiety, the Belgian associates have a great advantage over them in point of cool-headedness and calculation. There is much less of empty show and noisy demonstration, their policy is more plausible, and their direct influence is less seen. To the world generally they are social or charitable clubs, from which politics are banished, and whose influence is solely directed towards the furtherance of the material and moral good of the people. To the latter generally they are known as the Progress Club, the Lodge of Philanthropic Friends, &c.; and their representatives in the Parliamentary Tribune scornfully deny that they interest themselves in any other questions. In their more private meetings, and whenever important decisions are to be taken by the Liberal party, however, it has been impossible to conceal the fact that their advice is sought and imposed upon the members of the Chamber.

If, however, less ostentatiously before the world than in other countries, their influence has increased to an alarming extent, and is still increasing. The Ministers, with their principal agents, are chosen from their ranks: they have seized upon all the important posts of trust, and jealously exclude men of independent opinion, and Catholics alike. Their favourites are marked out for success in every career and trade; and many Liberals, who would otherwise hold aloof, are forced into these societies in order to retain their influence. Their protection extends over the arts and the stage, for there are painters and public singers whose success and popularity, it is well known, have been largely contributed to by the protection of the Lodges. Under their auspices have grown up a host of Radical and atheistical societies; associations for the diffusion of infidel literature amongst the people; societies for the civil burial of the dead, members of which are obliged to sign a promise engaging not to call in a priest to their death-beds, and declaring in advance null and void any religious dispositions they may take in their last moments; meetings for the support of the new communal schools, and other clubs of similar nature, all of whose origin and aims are to be sought in the inspiration of Freemasonry.

This, however, is not all. Not only are the instruments of Liberal Government chosen at the reunions of the Lodges; it is here also that the Parliamentary Bills are elaborated. Ten years before the July law on Elementary Education was passed through the Chambers, its principles had been foreshadowed and laid down in a plenary meeting of the Antwerp lodges, and in other assemblies of Freemasons, where it was declared that the secularization of education was the great pre-occupation of the craft. When we see how fully this and other schemes have been carried out, revolutionary and chimerical though they then seemed, can we for a moment believe it to be the intention of the Secret Societies to stop at the point which they have publicly declared to be the foundation only of their design? The exclusion of religion from the public schools can clearly be no more than the first step to the official introduction of free thought, and the complete suppression of Christianity. The object of Liberal policy is not the fulfilment of the article of the constitution establishing liberty and equality amongst religious creeds, as its advocates would have us believe; it lies far beyond this, and tends to no less than making the negation of all revealed religion the basis of modern government. To effect this it must absorb and centralize in itself all public offices; it must exclude Christianity from all places of trust. To use the words of an exponent of advanced Liberalism, the *Flandre Libérale*, "Those who surrender to priests the direction of their consciences as public men, are unworthy to hold political or judicial functions in our free Belgium." If at one time Liberal politicians held it sufficient that the State should show itself impartial to all creeds, their successors advocate now a very different doctrine; the State, they teach, must officially deny and renounce all beliefs. For the present they will allow every man liberty to practise as an individual whatever religion his conscience recommends him to follow, but this must be an affair of his private life, and must not be betrayed in any public act. In the place of the former dogmas of Christianity the State is to create a code of positivist morality, to be elaborated at some future time in the Lodges; and to the ancient law of God there is to succeed a religion of free-thought as by law established. Several influential Masons have declared this: one speaks of future rationalist Churches; another, asks whether it would not be well, in order to combat the Church with equal arms, to draw up a harmonious system of positive doctrine which shall resolve the great problems of modern society.

Having now devoted some space to the theory and sources of Liberal legislation, we shall examine how far the action of the Government and of public bodies have been in harmony with them. Let us commence with proceedings in Parliament. The

opening of the Session of the Legislative Chambers furnished an occasion for the first manifestation of sectarianism since the rupture with the Vatican—a manifestation as pretty and puerile as it was odious. The Session of the Chambers commences each year at the beginning of November, and consequently almost coincides with St. Leopold's Day—the King's patronal Feast. From the time of the establishment of the dynasty it had been the custom to chant a solemn *Te Deum* in the Cathedral of St. Gudule, which was attended by the Queen and Royal Family, the Diplomatic Corps, the Ministers, the civil and military authorities in full uniform, and the two Chambers in a body. The recurrence of the fête this year was a brilliant occasion for making a display of irreligious sentiment and, once for all, breaking off all connection between the Legislature and the Church. When the letter of the Curé-Doyen of St. Gudule was read to the House, informing the President of the Chamber of the date and hour of the ceremony, and inviting the presence of the deputies, a sudden scruple of conscience seized upon the Liberal representatives. They discovered that for the last fifty years, the representatives of the nation had fallen into a grave constitutional error, and by assisting at the *Te Deum* on every previous occasion had, unwittingly perhaps, lent themselves to a clerical intrigue, and in a kind of way sanctioned the presence of the State at a ceremony paid to a God of whose existence they, as the representatives of a modern State, could not possibly take cognizance. It was not too late, however, to rescue modern society from this dangerous subjection to a supreme being; and accordingly, M. Goblet d'Alviella, an extreme Radical, rose to move that, as the constitution had decreed the separation of Church and State, it was a violation of that decree for the Chamber to be officially represented at an act of worship of a particular creed. His conscience therefore compelled him to reply by a "non possumus" to the invitation of the dean. Other speakers followed in the same sense, and the Ministers supported their view. Even if, they said, such a proceeding could be admitted by the constitution—and the constitutional theory had been soundly exposed by M. Goblet,—the dignity of the State would forbid their official appearance at the cathedral. The clergy had placed themselves in direct antagonism with the wishes of the nation; they had abstained from any participation in the national rejoicings of the past year; it was, therefore, only natural now that the representatives of the people should retaliate by abstaining from taking part in a Catholic ceremony. To reduce this sublime reasoning into other words—because the Government was dissatisfied with the Catholic clergy, it was its duty to decline to go and pray for the sovereign on his feast-day,

in a Catholic church, and the nation was bound to visit a supposed grievance against the bishops upon God and the King. The whole Liberal majority were of the same opinion as the above orators, and it was voted that the Chamber should decline the invitation. If any deputy cared, however, to go in plain clothes to the ceremony, he was quite free to do so, and the House would not sit on that day. The new Minister of War, General Gratry, showed on this occasion that he had deserved well of the confidence which the majority had placed in him, and issued circulars, not only to the military authorities at Brussels, but to those of all the garrison towns, forbidding them to appear in uniform, or otherwise than as private individuals, at any *Te Deum* which might be sung on St. Leopold's Day. We may signal, in passing, a further proof given by this, the Benjamin of the Cabinet, that his devotion to liberal principles, and his resolve to protect the purity of the army from the contagion of clericalism, rise superior to all vulgar considerations of courtesy or of what is fitting. It has been the habit, hitherto, on the occasion of the New Year, for the officers in garrison in cathedral towns to pay a formal, complimentary visit to the bishop. The practice of New Year's visiting is very widely observed in Belgium, especially in the official world, and consequently this custom was one of mere formal politeness, which it would have been disrespectful to omit. This was not the view of the Minister of War, who summarily put an end to these relations of courtesy, and saved his officers from the dangers to which they had up to the present exposed themselves, by a circular prohibiting the continuance of these visits. Decidedly, General Gratry has done great things to save modern society, and will justly claim a high place in the new Positivist hierarchy whenever Christianity shall have been thoroughly eradicated.

After the vote of the Chamber, measures were taken in order that the magistrature and other public bodies should not appear at St. Gudule's, or, at least, not in official robes. The Ministers themselves, whose presence was necessitated by that of the Royal Family, which had not shown itself actuated by the same lofty principles, but had resolved, as heretofore, to assist in State at the *Te Deum*, wished to attend in plain dress; but the simplest considerations of propriety forced them to give way, and, in spite of the promptings of their consciences, they were compelled to appear in full uniform in a Catholic Church.

Thus St. Leopold's Day was secularized, and the dignity of the Government vindicated—that is to say, in their own eyes; for to the common sense of the nation this inept manifestation of sectarianism appeared in a very different light. Besides being an outrage upon the feelings of a Christian people—of Protestants as much

as Catholics—and an insult to the public conscience, it was rightly condemned by all moderate men as a flagrant mark of disrespect to the king, for whose welfare the *Te Deum* was sung, and upon whose religious convictions this insult to the Catholic faith reflected. But the Liberals were not even logical in their impiety, for it was surely not enough to merely secularize the rejoicings of the day; as free and independent minds, under no subjection to religious dogma, they could not celebrate the fête at all; the constitution, as they read it, would certainly never recognize the Saint himself, and the 15th of November should have brought no more associations to their mind than any other day in the calendar.

We may judge by this, the first act of the Legislature, in what spirit the Chamber was likely to enter upon the discussion of the diplomatic rupture with Rome, which stood next on the order of the day. In a former paper we treated at such length of all the details of this incident that it would be superfluous to repeat the arguments used by the Right in condemnation of the policy of the Government. The result of the debate was a foregone conclusion, and in spite of the able reasoning of MM. Malou, Jacobs and other Catholic leaders, who successively refuted each argument brought forward by the Government, and established in the clearest light the monstrous injustice of their proceedings, the Left voted unanimously in favour of the Cabinet. On this occasion, as in the diplomatic correspondence itself, M. Frère Orban was at great loss to explain the contradiction between his assertions and the cancelled despatch of November 11,\* and in the end, when pressed to explain why, after knowing its contents, he still credited the Holy See with opinions so different from those it had expressed, was content with averring, as a fact beyond the range of all doubt, that, when Cardinal Nina, at his request, withdrew that despatch provisionally, he also clearly “withdrew his thought” (*avait retiré sa pensée*). Withdrawing a thought at another’s request is a psychological process, familiar, perhaps, to the new school of secular and positivist reasoning; but to benighted Christians in all parts of the world it must seem something novel, and wholly inexplicable. M. Frère Orban, however, had nothing better to say, and as the majority were quite ready to agree with any proposition he might lay down, it was evident that one answer was as good as another. The Senate was as pliable as the Chamber of Representatives, and a vote of Left against Right gave the final sanction to the Premier’s policy.

This question disposed of, the Ministers were free, not, as might easily have been supposed, to devote themselves to the

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\* See DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1880.

ordinary needs of the country, but to commence the system of reprisals against the clergy which the Extreme Left had always demanded, and which had been foreshadowed in M. Bara's speech to the electors of Tournai, in July, 1880. Why reprisals, it may be asked, and for what reasons? The Government had already declared war upon the Catholic Church; it had secularized primary instruction, and had virtually driven the clergy from the public schools; it had drained the pockets of the Catholic taxpayers to build schools for the use of an infinite minority of the people; it had openly outraged Catholic feelings in the insult recently offered to the Holy See; it had held Catholicism up to hatred and derision, and now had finally repudiated Christianity on the occasion of the *Te Deum*, even when it entailed passing a slight upon the Royal Family. The Ministers had ridden roughshod over the free communal and municipal institutions of the country; they had annulled their deliberations, disapproved their budgets, and refused to recognize their lawfully elected magistrates. The official agents of the Cabinet had starved the poor into surrendering their right of educating their children as they pleased, and had dismissed functionaries and employés merely for availing themselves of a privilege which these very legislators had confessed themselves unable to take away. Why, then, talk of reprisals? Surely some less insolent or cynical term might have been chosen to define the further measures devised by the oppressor against his victims. To understand what was really in the minds of Ministers when they spoke of reprisals, we must turn to La Fontaine and the oft-repeated apologue of the "Wolf and the Lamb." The Catholic portion of the nation had refused to be swallowed up by the Liberal sects that had seized upon the country. The clergy had declined to sanction, much less to support, schools from which religion had been banished, and in which their power for good would be null. Without, therefore, derogating either from the letter or the spirit of the law, they had called upon their flocks to assist them in preserving the faith, and had pointed out the dangers to which the new legislation had exposed them. The Catholic population had rallied at the call of their pastors, and had built up and filled the Catholic schools. The burghers and independent municipalities had resisted the encroachments of the central Government, and had proclaimed their resolve to maintain their privileges intact, and never to submit to become mere instruments for registering the decrees of the Cabinet. The justice of their cause, and the vigour of their resistance, were the only new grounds of complaint against Catholics. The Government had fondly hoped to make a far easier victim; it had trusted that its sophistical interpretation of constitutional doctrine would have been admitted, and it had been deceived. It found the Church

in Belgium to be possessed of a vitality which threatened to reduce to nought all the devices of Freemasonry, and now the Ministers had to imagine new modes of carrying out their designs. The Catholics had sought to defend themselves, and their refusal to be crushed was in Liberal eyes ample justification for reprisals. What was to be the nature of these was the next question for the consideration of the Government. The Extreme Left demanded the most sweeping measures. The clergy had, they said, largely contributed to the success of the Catholic schools, out of the salaries paid them by the State. They therefore declared that it was necessary for the Government to considerably reduce the Budget of Public Worship by diminishing—firstly, the salaries of the metropolitan and the bishops; secondly, by decreasing the number of the clergy subsidized by the State; and thirdly, by reducing the subsidy in amount. It was more than doubtful whether the constitution would permit such a reduction in the budget. A fundamental article of that pact decreed that the support of the Catholic religion and the retribution of its ministers were at the charge of the State, which was to allow a grant sufficient to enable them to carry on their ministrations. There were two sources whence this obligation might have been derived. In the first place, this Government grant might be explained—and there are good reasons for believing this to be the true origin of the article—as a debt incurred by the State in consequence of the absorption of Church lands into the national domain at the time of the French Revolution—that is, as an indemnity guaranteed by the State for the confiscation of the so-called “*biens nationaux*” by the Convention. On this view a reduction of the grant allowed to the clergy would be nothing less than the repudiation of a national debt. But viewing this, the 117th Article of the constitution, as merely a recognition of the necessity of Government retribution for the services rendered by the Catholic religion, an equally forcible objection to the demand of the Radicals arose. That Article expressly lays down that “the salaries and pensions of the clergy are at the charge of the State; the necessary sums for meeting them are to be annually inscribed in the budget.” It is manifest from the wording of the Article, that by the “necessary sums” is meant a proper and sufficient salary—one which would allow the recipient to live in the manner his social position required. In the same way that the progress in the material resources of the country and the increase of population had called for an augmentation of the salaries of the magistracy and the administration, justice and reason pointed to an increase rather than a diminution in the Budget of Public Worship, so as to proportion it to the larger spiritual requirements of the time. During the fifty years of Belgian independence

the population had almost doubled itself, and with this increase had sprung up naturally a demand for more priests and new churches. At the same time the advance in the wealth of the country had tripled the cost of living, and what in 1880 might have been considered a very ample allowance for the support of the clergy had now evidently been reduced to the limits of covering the barest necessities of life, if adequate even for that purpose. To diminish the State grant now would therefore be virtually to expunge the 117th Article, for, as we have shown, it would be utterly absurd to maintain that the "sums necessary" were in the year 1881 less than what they had been fifty years before. The constitution would be violated both in its spirit and in its letter by the proposed changes, the charges imposed by the religious needs of the country would no longer be borne by the State, whose grant would become a mere sum in aid, and not the totality of those charges as the law directed. The logic of this position was clearly acknowledged by the Ministers, who reluctantly saw themselves compelled to differ from the Radical section of the Chamber, and, in accordance with their usual tactics, to seek a more tortuous way for attaining the same object—viz., the financial embarrassment of the clergy. It was, therefore, resolved that the Government should move the rejection of the above proposals of MM. Janson, Goblet d'Alviella, and others of the Extreme Left, for the present at least. The Cabinet was willing to make very large concessions to them, although not in the exact form they desired; appearances must be in some way saved. The Minister of Justice, in presenting his budget, informed the House that he had certain amendments to propose, adding, naturally, that they were dictated by considerations of simple justice, and in no way prompted by a sentiment of anger or hostility to the clergy. M. Bara, forgetting perhaps that his threat of pushing things to the very end was still fresh in the ears of the public, stated that he could not consent to reduce the salaries of the bishops and the clergy, because such a measure would look like retaliation for their recent conduct, and would be undignified on the part of the Government. After this hypocritical disclaimer, he went on to urge that a consideration of the principles of the constitution had convinced him, nevertheless, of the necessity of making the following amendments. There was much that was just, he allowed, in the demands of MM. Goblet and Janson, and it was for him an ungrateful task to be forced to oppose his friends on the question of the reduction of the bishops' salaries. The conduct of the episcopate had given just cause for complaint, but he was unable to strike them in the manner proposed. They could, however, be attacked as well on another point, by striking the seminaries, which were



their great political force. He would propose, then; that the grant made to the seminaries for the education of the clergy be reduced to a merely nominal sum, and the scholarships founded by Government be entirely suppressed. These establishments, he said, were so wealthy that they could be carried on quite as well without the help of Government. They were, moreover, a fruitful source of evil to the State and modern society, a hotbed of fanaticism and exaggerated clerical pretension, and furnished to the Church the most violent opponents of the Government. The latter could no longer reasonably support them, and this amendment would "strike the bishops to the heart." These statements appear rather conflicting; for, if, as M. Bara asserted, the seminaries were well able to support themselves, it was denying the premises on which his argument for the suppression of the grant was based to insist that his amendment would strike the bishops to the heart.

The second proposal was to discontinue the grant hitherto allowed to the communes and vestries for the construction and repair of churches and sacred edifices. The Minister, still maintaining that he in no way sought to retaliate upon Catholics for their opposition to his policy, said that he could not but be struck by the fact that a society which could build seven hundred convents, and spend two millions upon its schools, was hardly in a position to require the aid of Government to repair its churches; it might well apply its superfluous resources to this purpose. What, however, apparently did not strike M. Bara, was that in using such an argument he was making an admission which cut to the very root of the whole policy of the Cabinet, and was in itself sufficient to condemn it. If the Catholic Church was possessed of such resources, it must evidently be because it possessed the affections of an immense proportion of the population, and because the wealth and influence of the country were placed at its disposal. In that one phrase about the Catholic Schools the Minister conceded what Catholics had from the beginning contended for—viz., that the recent legislation had been made for a minority in the country, and was antipathetic to a population large and rich enough to sacrifice two millions in resisting it. A handful of rich proprietors, and a few thousand priests, could never have raised such a sum in so short a time; it could only have been effected by the collective efforts of an entire nation. Moreover, if the constitution had decreed that religious creeds were to be supported by the State, he had spared the Right the necessity of showing that the Catholic religion, having so strong a hold upon the country, was more than ever entitled to that support. His reasoning might have been employed in attacking the 117th Article, but as now advanced only proved

that he was flagrantly violating the spirit of the law which he professed so strenuously to uphold.

A third amendment suppressed the salary of foreign priests engaged in ecclesiastical ministrations. As there were many foreigners employed in the seminaries and elsewhere, whose services were indispensable to the bishops, this measure was of no small importance, and will doubtless have the effect desired by the Government, of affording a certain pecuniary embarrassment to the episcopate. In this manner, although their salaries remain in theory intact, as a matter of fact these charges will practically be deducted from their incomes. The stipend was also withdrawn from all priests taking out a license to follow any other calling. In this way the State grant would be withdrawn from clergymen who were private schoolmasters; and as many priests were now forced by the banishment of religion from public instruction to act as such, another tax would be imposed upon those who disapproved of secular education for their children. At the same time a blow was struck at associations of Catholic students, and at Catholic clubs established by the clergy, as the license taken out by the priests directing them, for the sale of wines, tobacco, &c., would now disqualify them for a grant from the Ministry of Justice.

Having submitted these amendments to the Chamber as a first instalment of harassing legislation, M. Bara concluded by an appeal to the irreligious passions of his friends. "We have," he exclaimed, "before us an army of priests who are attacking the country, who seek to overturn all that constitutes our glory. Now is the hour of national defence."

The pleading of the Minister of Justice was answered by the ablest and most eloquent of the deputies of the Right. Mgr. de Haerne, M. Thonissen, and others rose in turn to refute the sophistical arguments advanced by the Government, and to expose the real nature of the amendments. They were unconstitutional, turning into mere travesty the original character of the fundamental pact, founded upon error, and justified by false assertions. The specious reasoning brought forward against the endowment of the seminaries was laid bare in all its hypocrisy. The teachers in them, it was pointed out, were as necessary an element of the religious life as the parish priests, and the blow directed against them struck at the very essence of the 117th Article. Belogical, it was said to the Government, or be honest and frank at least; if you wish to revise our constitutional compact, say so, and let us defend it; but do not, in this opportunist guise, seek to hide from the country, which you fear, the real objects for which you are striving, but which you dare not openly avow. As usual, however, no attention was paid to these warnings; the Left were summoned there to vote reprisals and attack the clergy, not to hear the

counsels of reason or of peace. When the vote was taken, the Chamber, satisfied with the concessions of the Government, agreed to reject the amendments of the Irreconcilables, which were consequently thrown out, but not without securing a very respectable minority of Liberal votes. The movement started in the Radical ranks will undoubtedly gain fresh supporters, and it is certain that every succeeding session will show the Government making further and willing concessions to the cry for the total abolition of the Budget of Public Worship. The manner in which M. Bara had treated the proposal to reduce the salary of the bishops indicated a desire to leave the question open, and gave the Chamber clearly to understand that, when a convenient occasion arose, he was quite ready to sacrifice his constitutional opinions. He had taken great pains to prove that the State grant was in no sense an indemnity for past spoliation of the Church, and could not be considered in the light of a national debt. His indignant rejection of the convincing arguments brought forward by M. Thonissen to the contrary, coupled with various threats contained in his discourse, leave no doubt that the Government are ready to go to any lengths in the system of "reprisals," consistent with the safety of their portfolios. At any rate, if the Ministers do not find themselves strong enough to carry a proposal for a revision of the constitution, their ingenuity will discover various modes of curtailing little by little the "Budget des Cultes," until it is reduced to utter insignificance. We need hardly add that M. Bara's amendments when put to the vote were carried by a large majority.

This discussion was concluded by the announcement of another measure, which has created a most painful impression in the country. This was the suppression of army chaplaincies, which had been transferred to the Department of Justice from that of the Minister of War, and which were to share the fate of the seminaries. As this act required the consent of the Minister of War, we may consider it under the head of his budget which came on next for discussion. On this occasion the post of honour was naturally confided to General Gratry, under the guidance of M. Frère Orban himself. The Liberals looked, as usual, for inspiration to the Republican cabinet of France. General Farre and the officers under his command had done glorious deeds against the common enemy. The brilliant victories gained over Benedictines and Dominicans; and, above all, the memorable siege and capture of the Monastery of Frigolet, were illustrious feats which filled the Belgium War Minister with emulation to gain similar laurels for himself. Pending the time when he might be able to send on his soldiers to the assault of convents, his were to be the more pacific victories, but hardly less glorious,

over chaplains. General Farre had only been able to abolish drums in the French army, which could hardly be connected with clericalism, but he, General Gratry, had suppressed *Te Deums*, and put an end to the courteous relations existing between the clergy and the army. This was at least no small title to fame, and he now stood forward to defend his administration. He excused, by the necessity of national defence, the circulars to which we have already referred, against the criticisms and well founded complaints of Catholic speakers. He had determined, he said, to exclude politics from the army (Catholics know what this means. For politics read firstly, religion, and secondly, politics that are not Liberal); he had also given his consent to the abolition of the army chaplaincies, which had become an abuse. At a moment when Protestant Governments as those of England and Germany, were giving increased facilities to their Catholic soldiers for the exercise of their religious duties, the Belgian Government thought fit to deprive its army, composed exclusively of Catholics, of this right. The chaplain, it was argued on the Liberal benches, mixed little with the soldiers, and when he did, his influence was exerted only towards the furtherance of political and clerical designs. His main duties were to give the sacraments at Easter, and that the parish priest could do as well. This iniquitous measure emanated solely from the War Office, and not from the army itself. Indeed, it was well known at the time that nearly all the generals and commandants who had been consulted on the subject by the Ministry had pronounced strongly in favour of retaining the chaplains. But this opinion, from the authority most competent to speak upon the matter, of course counted for nothing in the eyes of the Government. Their object was not the good of the army, but its secularization, and for this end they were resolved to forego no occasion of rooting out Christianity. They were legislating, not for the Belgian nation, but for the Liberal party, and the interests of the latter were alone regarded. That the soldier should be left without the consolations of religion at a moment when they were most sorely needed was nothing to them. He would fight all the better if he were "secularized;" and to Liberal eyes there could be no fitter preparation for performing the duties he owed to his country than the omission of those he owed to his God.

The vote upon General Gratry's budget gave rise to a scene almost unprecedented in Parliamentary annals, and which is but one out of many instances of the arbitrary and intolerant conduct of the Radical majority. M. Woeste, a Catholic deputy, being called upon to modify his abstention from the vote, declared that he could not sanction the approval in that vote of measures of which the army itself disapproved. Upon this remark great

clamour arose from the Liberal benches, the Left pronouncing M. Woeste's words to be eminently seditious and revolutionary. Upon a demand for explanation from the President of the Chamber, M. Woeste consented to withdraw his words, although he still affirmed that it was under this belief that he had declined to take part in the vote. As abstentionists are bound to give reasons for so doing, nothing could be more correct than this reservation. M. Guillery, the President, was clearly of this opinion, since he at once expressed himself satisfied with the explanation. Not so the Left, however, who, exasperated at this mark of justice and impartiality on the part of their chairman, demanded, through the mouth of the Premier himself, a formal vote of censure. Upon M. Frère Orban persisting in his demand, despite M. Guillery's declaration that it was unlawful and contrary to Parliamentary procedure, the latter resigned there and then his office, rather than submit to so gross a violation of his Presidential authority.

Never [he said] during the course of fifty years of Parliamentary Government in Belgium, had a Chamber ventured to thus openly disregard the ruling of the chair. M. Frère's motion is contrary to all precedent; he is at liberty to take a vote upon it if he wishes, but not until I have resigned an office upon which such an affront has been passed.

These honourable and dignified words reflect all the more credit upon M. Guillery, he being himself an advanced Liberal, but preferring, nevertheless, to resign the important post he occupied rather than assent to such a flagrant breach of impartiality at the dictate of his political friends. The Radicals were consequently forced to seek elsewhere for a more pliant and less scrupulous President.

The Budget of War being concluded, that of Public Instruction was introduced, and furnished a suitable occasion for the Right to expose the miserable fiasco of the Public School Law of July, 1879, and to stigmatize at the same time the iniquitous and harassing nature of that great piece of Liberal legislation. M. Malou laid before the Chamber a carefully compiled *résumé* of the state of public elementary education, with statistics of the school population. This instructive document proved how complete had been the success of the Catholic movement, and how utter the failure of the system of godless education preconized by the Cabinet, despite all the efforts made to intimidate the people. Without entering into details, it may be well to lay before our readers a brief abstract of the conclusions arrived at by M. Malou. These showed that, in less than three years, out of the 2,500 communes of Belgium, there were only 567 in which Catholic

schools had not been built. In the three provinces of Namur, Liège, and Hainault, there remained these deficiencies to make up; in the rest of the country the Catholic organization had been complete. As far as regarded the number of children frequenting the schools of the clergy the result was astounding, and could testify to the hatred felt by the people for secular education. The four provinces of East and West Flanders, Limburg, and Antwerp, gave to the Catholic schools a majority of more than 80 per cent.; in Brabant and Luxemburg a majority varying from 51 to 75 per cent.; whilst the three defective provinces could count on very respectable minorities, ranging from 38 to 46 per cent. The total proportion for the whole country was 61 per cent for the Catholic, as against 39 per cent. for the Official schools. In grouping these results by arrondissement, the failure of the Government was still more conspicuous. The minimum of the Catholic schools fell to 30 per cent. in one arrondissement only; it fell below that percentage for the Liberals in no less than eighteen. In the populous districts of Roulers and St Nicholas, the latter of which M. Malou represents in the Chamber, the Official schools had obtained the confidence of one per cent. of the population. In Brussels itself, the Catholic schools claimed 55,000 children, against 46,000 frequenting the Liberal establishments. From the minorities, it would be sufficient to deduct the numbers of children whose parents were literally forced by dread of starvation to place them there, to complete the picture. But these statistics were not sufficient to satisfy the pitiless logic of the able leader of the Opposition. After censuring the odious means employed by the authorities to counteract the efforts of the clergy, and to force their views upon the poor, M. Malou proceeded to expose the financial blunders and extravagance which the execution of the new law had entailed. Since its promulgation, the sums expended by the Department of Public Instruction had been increased by eight millions of francs, raised at the ruin of the communal finances. The results obtained by this wanton squandering of the public funds were what had been shown; the public schools which, prior to 1879, had been prosperous and well attended, and were maintained at a relatively small cost, had seen the children dwindle away until now they could not muster 40 per cent. of the children receiving instruction. This retrograde movement would continue in proportion as the Catholic organization was perfected; and yet the Government dared to ask for eight millions as the price of indulging Liberal caprices. The charges of the official schools imposed upon the population were literally in the inverse ratio of their utility and the number of children to whom they afforded the means of education.

M. Malou was followed by other deputies of the Right, who added further details to his statistics, and completed the discomfiture of the Government. The Left, unable to refute the arguments brought against them, or upset these statistics in any important point, were content to interrupt and question the speakers, without bringing forward any solid argument in defence of their budget, which was, none the less, voted by the whole Liberal majority. The debate, however, has been of great utility, and cannot fail sooner or later to rouse the country. It brought out clearly that Belgium will have nothing to do with secular education, and that the July Law has been condemned by those who are the only real judges in the question—the fathers of families whose interests are at stake, and whose verdict has been unanimous and crushing. The voice of the people, which is here, if ever, the “*Vox Dei*,” has unmistakably pronounced that the nation will have nothing of the schemes of the Government; and that, notwithstanding the grinding pecuniary exactions imposed upon it, and the formidable persecution of officialism, it is, and will remain, faithful to Christian and Catholic principles. As if, however, this failure was not sufficiently disastrous, the Ministers were prepared to extend their programme to intermediate education. A new law was brought in and passed to complete the secularization of intermediate schools begun in 1850. This law is, in all essential points, the counterpart of that upon primary instruction. It comes to the aid of the Government by centralizing the control of the schools, and giving to the State the power of arbitrarily increasing their number, independently of the decisions of local authorities. The teachers are to be, henceforward, drawn exclusively from the Government normal schools—that is to say, must consist of men brought up without religion, and devoted to the secularization of their pupils. The speech of M. Olin, one of the chief supporters of the Bill, is significant enough, and avows openly what the Government concealed. In reply to the objections brought forward by Catholics, who urged that, if Liberals and freethinkers wished to found schools after their own principles, they should at least fight upon equal terms, and not monopolize the funds of the State, to the exclusion of those who advocated freedom of instruction, he answered that—

We have not the same resources. We have no jubilees nor pilgrimages, no indulgences nor miracles. You are stronger than us, and richer; therefore, competition on the ground of private instruction is a mockery from which the Church alone derives benefit. . . . The State must re-establish equality between the two opposing opinions, and furnish schools for such as disapprove of those directed by clericals.

After this cynical avowal, further comment is needless. Catholics are told in plain terms that they have the greater influence in the State, and that the freethinkers are powerless to do anything of themselves in educational matters; therefore, concludes Radical logic, the State must come to the aid of the few, and legislate against the wants of the many. No "clerical" has ever made a more damning exposition of the nature and scope of Liberal legislation.

So far the Liberal party in Parliament has been true to its inspirers, and has redeemed the pledges given to the Lodges. A glance at its action outside the Legislative Assembly will reveal the same sectarian spirit at work everywhere. Foremost amongst the allies of the Government in its irreligious campaign has been the so-called "Commission d'Enquête." This is the famous Committee of Enquiry referred to in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last October, instituted ostensibly for the purpose of taking a census of the school population, and ascertaining the methods employed for drawing children both to the communal and the free schools. This Commission has become, in the hands of the deputies selected by the Chamber to represent it, a little Liberal Inquisition, traversing the country, and holding sessions in every province for the sole purpose of outraging the faith and harassing the clergy and faithful. Composed exclusively of the most fanatical and intolerant of the Radical deputies, it has divided itself into a number of sub-committees, which have been told off to make tours through the respective provinces, much in the fashion of judicial circuits in this country. The odious, persecuting spirit with which these committees have shown themselves animated has been happily redeemed at times by the utter folly and absurdity of their proceedings. For this reason, and also on account of the gross partiality and violence of the inquisitors, it is to be hoped that the Commission may be productive of as much good as harm, in bringing home to the peasants and the citizens of provincial towns the true character of their deputies. The inquisitorial courts thus formed lost from the outset all appearance of impartiality, and at once resolved themselves into tribunals for judging the alleged offences of the clergy, the Catholic burgomasters, and the free school committees. The school census was at once put aside, and the instances of pressure exerted by the authorities to force parents into sending their children to the Government schools were not considered. As the inquiry was to be conducted, as they resolved, on behalf of Government, few or no witnesses were cited on the opposite side. On the other hand, every imaginary grievance against the priests has been carefully brought forward and magnified, only witnesses in proof being admitted. In this respect the inquisitors have



carried out their task in the full spirit of their instructions. The questions put to the curés have been characterized by the grossest insolence and the most openly averred partiality, diversified now and then by the vulgarity and grotesque ignorance of religious matters displayed by these would-be judges. They took advantage of their position and their parliamentary immunity to indulge in the most outrageous language towards the priests and Catholic witnesses (?) brought before them, laying down the law to the former as to the manner in which they should follow their sacred calling, and the true nature of their duties as ministers of God. After a short admonition in this sense, accompanied by a severe rebuke upon the manner in which the accused had misinterpreted those duties—coupled, perhaps, with a direct insult or an accusation of mendacity when any defence was submitted—he was dismissed, and the witnesses to prove the charges against him were summoned. Any attempt to reply was at once checked as a breach of respect to the court. The witnesses now called consisted of all the idlers, do-nothings, and doubtful characters of the commune, who were cited to testify to the violent language used by the curé in his sermons against the Government and their education law, and his attempts to interfere with the liberty of conscience of his parishioners. It was quite immaterial that the majority of these witnesses never entered any place of worship; their hearsay evidence was accepted, and no one was called to refute them. After these came the turn of the official schoolmasters and mistresses, and on these occasions full play was given to the more diverting side of this extra-parliamentary buffoonery. In some cases the court was gravely occupied with the grievance of a schoolmistress who complained of the curé not giving her sufficient holy water at the Asperges; another declared, on the other hand, that her parish priest gave her too much, to the destruction of her bonnet and dress; whilst a third complained of the conduct of the Catholic school-children, who, she said, were in the habit of tilting up her bench at Mass on Sundays. Some schoolmasters were aggrieved because the places allotted to them and their pupils at church were not sufficiently comfortable, and contrasted unfavourably with those of the Catholic children. But the palm of martyrdom was awarded to one unfortunate teacher, who brought forward a sad tale of woe and persecution. His villagers, egged on, he presumed, by the priests, refused to supply his house with water, which he was consequently forced to fetch himself, and finally broke off the handle of the pump to which they had made him resort. These and other depositions equally ludicrous were received and taken down in the minutes in all seriousness by the inquisitors, who rarely troubled even to inquire whether they were true. They would, on the contrary,

seize the occasion to praise the constancy and heroism of these devoted servants of their country, and wound up the proceedings by a little discourse upon the shameful intolerance of the clergy. The same farce was carried on in each district visited by the Commission, and voluminous reports were prepared and published by the Government. If by any fortunate chance these annals of the Parliamentary Commission are preserved for posterity, they will stand forth as a fitting monument to Radical tyranny and imbecility. It is needless to add that the expenses of these Parliamentary promenades, as well as of the publication of the reports, are borne by the country; and, as they are to be continued during each recess, they promise to furnish another heavy item in the bill which the Government's theories upon education have cost the unfortunate taxpayers.

Another system of legislation devised by the Government of "National Defence," is that of local administration carried on by Special Commissioners. As we have already stated, many of the communal administrations are both attached to the faith, and unwilling to surrender their rights of self-government to the centralizing tendencies of the Cabinet. Perhaps no tradition is more cherished in the Flemish provinces than that of the independence and autonomy of the communes in all matters that concern their own administration. It happens constantly, therefore, that the municipalities rebel against the arbitrary impositions of the Government; they consider themselves the best judges of the needs of their districts in the matter of schools, and refuse to ruin their finances by building and endowing houses of education on the vast scale decreed by the Ministry of Public Instruction. Again, they have been in the habit of lending public buildings belonging to their communes to religious or charitable societies, and have not thought fit to alter this state of things, where it has been of public utility, for the sake of flattering the secularist propensities of the present Government. In these cases the decisions of the town councils and provincial deputations are annulled in the next issue of the official *Moniteur*, and two successive warnings are addressed to the refractory administration. If the behests of the Cabinet are not then complied with, the Minister of the Interior authorizes a Special Commissioner, armed with extraordinary powers from the Executive, to proceed to the offending district and forcibly carry them out. The action of the Local Government is for the time suspended, and the command of the police transferred from the Burgomaster to the Commissioner. In this manner the Ministers have been enabled to overrule the lawful decisions of the authorities on every occasion where it has suited their pleasure. If an excommunicated person dies and is refused

burial in the Catholic cemetery, a Special Commissioner appears, who orders the exhumation of the body, and effects its sacrilegious interment in consecrated ground. If the Local Government refuses to build a certain school the Special Commissioner is at hand to see to its construction. Commissioners are despatched to enforce the payment of the salaries awarded to the official schoolmasters for the services rendered to the State in their deserted schools. They are ready, whenever it is a question of driving Catholic school-children from their classes held in the presbytery, for that, the Government says, is State property, and cannot be used for such purposes. At other times they come down to expel the religious orders from the hospitals and public buildings, and to see that the town halls are never placed at the disposal of Catholic associations, especially of those devoted to education. It will signify nothing if the communal council, which surely possesses the best right of indicating the uses to which its property may be put, has unanimously accorded such a permission; the Special Commissioner thinks otherwise, and his word is law. Since the State has no religion, it is a desecration for public property to be employed for the furtherance of dogmatic teaching. As may readily be surmised, these despotic and harassing measures have not always been enforced without resistance on the part of the populace, unaccustomed to this novel system of administration. Thus, at Bruges, the expulsion of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul from the civil hospices of the town, where they had been installed for years with the cordial assent of the municipality, and to the great profit of the poor of the city, was opposed by an angry crowd of workmen; and it was with difficulty that the Commissioner, with the help of the police, which had previously been taken out of the control of its lawful superior, the Burgomaster, effected his task. At Heule, near Courtrai, the expulsion of a Catholic club from the premises of a public hall, lent to it by the "Bureau de Bienfaisance," was attended by actual bloodshed. The gendarmes, provoked by the jeers of the infuriated populace, wantonly fired upon the crowd, killing one man and mortally wounding another; and it was only the presence of mind of a curate of the parish that prevented the people, maddened by this atrocious act, from falling upon and massacring the Commissioner and his satellites. It will be seen from this that the policy of liberty and progress, inaugurated by the Government to save society from priestly thralldom, is carried out only at the imminent risk of civil war. A tribunal, composed of Liberal judges, has recently acquitted the gendarmes and condemned the brave priest to a term of imprisonment as the promoter of the riot!

Another system, frequently adopted for thwarting the action-

of the local authorities, is the refusal to nominate Catholic burgomasters. Where the composition of a municipal council would force them to select an influential or popular Catholic for the office, they prefer to create an interregnum, and leave the town without any chief magistrate. Such is liberty under Liberal rule!

The policy we have described is naturally only followed in the case of municipal and communal councils where the majority is Catholic. Where the council is Liberal the case is very different. No warmer advocate of the merits of local self-government can be found than the Minister of the Interior when he has to deal with bodies composed of men of the same political opinions as himself. Nothing is then illegal—the fullest measure of autonomy ought then to be allowed to the magistrates chosen of the people. They may tax the communes as heavily as they please; they may dispose of public property as they think fit; they are at full liberty to surrender public edifices to Masonic Societies and Liberal Clubs. No Special Commissioner will appear to trouble the peaceful life of the municipalities of those enlightened districts which have recognized that clericalism is the foe of humanity, and are at war with their bishop and their curé. This is, indeed, not surprising, for the acts of the Commissioner himself are as nothing in comparison with those of the Councils chosen from amongst the well beloved of Liberalism. Of these, the most conspicuous, both for the importance of its functions and the ultra-Radicalism of its members, is the Municipality of Brussels. The offspring of the Liberal Association of the capital, and chosen by it, as we shall see presently in referring to the nature and constitution of this electoral agency, its sole end and object is the persecution of Catholic interests. Under such conditions, and given the well-known violence and fanaticism of the dominant Liberal clique in Brussels, it is easy to surmise of what a type of administrators this Council is composed, and in what spirit they set about their work. In their endeavour to harass Catholics and advance the Masonic propaganda, they totally ignore all principles of equity or tolerance. The Government schools, all under their direction, are completely secularized—the very name of God being banished from them—and placed in the hands of masters who are avowed freethinkers, whilst the most odious pressure is put upon the employés of the town in order to force them into sending their children to these schools. Those of the Catholics, on the other hand, are subjected to every annoyance and persecution that the Council can devise. Religious processions are stopped, and Catholic meetings prohibited on the most futile pretexts of danger to public order. Those organized by Liberals are aided and encouraged. The privileges contemptuously refused to Catholic

institutions are showered upon Atheistic and Radical associations. The Catholic religion may be openly insulted and outraged in the streets, as on the occasion of the disgusting carnival processions, and the police will never be called upon to interfere; but any attempt at a Catholic demonstration is summarily put a stop to. Indeed, a stranger knowing nothing of Brussels might imagine himself in a town where atheism was established by law, and Christianity barely allowed a certain toleration. It would be tedious to bring forward in detail all the instances that might be quoted in support of what we have advanced, but we shall cite two typical examples of the odious and intolerant character of the tyranny exercised by the Brussels Ediles over their townsmen. One of these is the case of the *crèche*, or infant school, which was originally under religious surveillance, but has now been laicized in the spirit of the law of 1879. The former directors have been dismissed, and the little children under seven who frequent it have been confided to guardians untainted by clericalism. This was not enough in order to give a proof of the lengths to which sectarian fanaticism can go; a more flagrant display of impiety was needed. Not long since two children died at the *crèche*; and, either because the parents were dead, or too poor to pay the expenses of their burial, the cost of the funeral fell upon the authorities, who deemed the occasion propitious for a public manifestation of their opinions. They therefore decreed the civil interment of the two poor little babies; and in order to surround their action with greater publicity, went so far as to distribute invitations to the workmen of the district to attend the impious ceremony. This, to make a greater impression upon the people, was carried out with great solemnity, but without any religious rites whatsoever. One can hardly credit that such acts of wanton and inhuman barbarity are possible, much less that they should be authorized by the administration of a civilized capital, professedly directed by honourable and impartial men. Yet the fact, as here narrated, is notorious, and has never been disavowed by those responsible for it, whilst it has met with unqualified approbation in the organs of the Liberal press. Unhappily, the exertions of the municipality in favour of heathen burial have too often been crowned with success, and have resulted in a great increase in the number of civil interments. The calculating and Satanic spirit which prompts their infidel propaganda, manifests itself conspicuously in their conduct towards the lower classes. The town has established the rule that it will only defray the cost of burial of the indigent poor upon the condition of the funeral being strictly civil, and refuses absolutely to allow anything for a religious service. This proscription of Christianity, even in the case of the dead, is defended on the customary plea of liberty of

conscience, because the State, knowing no religion, cannot provide funds for a funeral according to the rites of a particular creed!

The second example to which we have alluded is of an equally detestable character. A few months ago a charitable society of ladies applied for permission to hire, as they had done annually, a portion of the park reserved for public concerts, and which had never hitherto been refused to such societies as applied for the use of it, on condition of their defraying the necessary expenses. The committee of the association—one devoted to visiting and relieving the poor in their own homes—followed the usual formality of addressing a request to the Hôtel de Ville for permission to use the garden in question for a concert to be given in aid of their funds. The answer returned by the municipality, through the medium of the first "Echevin," is a model of bigotry and intolerance.

In consequence [he writes] of abuses on former occasions, the communal administration has been compelled to refuse, for the future, the use of the public promenades and establishments to all works of charity which are not of an exclusively public nature. I regret to inform you that the assurance you have given that the society distributes its relief in the most tolerant manner, and makes no religious propaganda, is not in accord with certain items in your accounts, which speak of sums expended on masses, first communions, and sermons.

This answer is the more revolting because it was well known that this society gave relief in the most impartial manner to the poor of all creeds. It is only when a Christian society advances a claim to enjoy equal rights with Freemasons that the above reasoning is employed; Catholic charity being proscribed as a dangerous enemy of the public good. For, not only the same piece of ground, but the whole park, and even the streets, are constantly given over to Liberal Clubs and Masonic Lodges for their public demonstrations, on the plea that they are philanthropic bodies unconnected with any special religious creed; and more than once the public has been excluded from its recreation ground by reason of a fête given in support of the Liberal schools. Indeed, there was no objection raised by the municipality to the letting of a theatre under their direction, to a club which gave a dramatic representation on Good Friday in aid of the Secular Education Fund.

The Liberal municipalities of other large towns, as those of Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, &c., are animated by the same spirit as those of the capital. The theory of liberty of conscience embodied in the Constitution, is only invoked where Catholics are concerned, in order to rob them of their civic rights. They find

everywhere, at the hands of the dominant sect, the same contemptuous disregard of justice, the same proscription of their schools, the same refusal to allow their meetings and processions to take place; whilst hostile demonstrations are unblushingly sanctioned and encouraged. The town of Liège, only the other day, rejected in the most insulting terms the request of the Catholic School Committee that, on the occasion of the forthcoming Royal visit, when there was to be a defile of the poor school children before the king, the Catholic children might also be permitted to appear and contribute their share of homage to His Majesty. Infidels and Radicals were alone to have the privilege of being loyal—the religious, the sober and the honest, form a pariah class, that growing civilization must drive away from the peaceful haunts of progressive Liberalism.

It may, perhaps, be asked, how such a state of things can continue to exist in a free land. For instance, in Brussels, it will be urged, granting that the Liberal party is in a majority, the vast bulk of the population is still Christian. Why, then, do the electors tolerate this system of persecution? What advantages, our readers may ask, do the citizens obtain under the present administration to compensate them for this odious mode of government? Is it that the town is indebted to the authorities of the Hôtel de Ville for an excellent administration, or for a prudent management of its finances? Is it the good order and regularity with which public affairs are conducted that induce the electors to overlook the other faults of their Ediles, and prevent them from revolting against this system of legal tyranny? Not at all so; the communal administration of the capital is notoriously incapable. It is true the late burgomaster, M. Anspach, redeemed in the eyes of some citizens the harsh intolerance of his rule by numerous improvements in the way of beautifying the town and adorning it with fine streets and handsome buildings, and thus acquired during his lifetime great popularity. But on his death it was revealed that this was effected in a lavish manner, and at an expense out of all proportion to the requirements and resources of the city. The same system perpetuated by his successors has terminated in the financial ruin of the metropolis. Exorbitant loans have been raised, the rates and taxes have been tripled and quadrupled within the last few years, and the town has paid for the privilege of being ruled by its present Liberal Ediles with the unenviable distinction of standing first amongst the capitals of Europe in the amount of personal impositions levied upon the citizens. But not only this; the administration in the hands of incapable sectarians has become totally disorganized; the police, gas, water-works, sewage commission are all involved in a hopeless and inextricable confu-

sion. Gigantic abuses have crept into all of these departments, frauds and peculation are being brought to light every day, and when those responsible for these abuses have resigned or been dismissed, their accounts and other compromising documents are not to be found. The townspeople, who see the neglect and disorder around them, and look for some equivalent for their ever-increasing taxes, can find nothing but a vast addition to the primary and middle class schools, to which the most respectable take care not to entrust their children. The crowning scandal of all has recently been brought to light, and is of such a disgraceful nature that we may hope it will at last arouse the electors from their apathy, and recall them to a better sense of their interests. The burgomaster suddenly resigned his office, at a moment when the Hôtel de Ville was already in a state of complete disorganization. This resignation was provoked by the disclosure of one of the most discreditable transactions ever connected with a public authority. He had sold a house which he had just inherited from his family, to have it converted into a house of ill fame, in the success of which vile enterprise the contract gave him an interest, and the College of Echevins (aldermen) had been summoned to give the necessary licence for carrying out the project. Since his resignation no one has been found to succeed him, and the Corporation of Brussels now remains without a burgomaster—the first Echevin performing the functions of chief magistrate until the next election, when it is to be hoped a better class of men will be entrusted with the municipal government. So much for the ultra-Liberal municipality of the capital. Those of the provincial towns, although not disgraced by such glaring scandals, have, as a rule, proved themselves equally blundering and incapable of transacting business.

How, then, the reader may again ask, are we to explain their existence? The answer is not difficult to find. They are the result of the system of caucus elections; these administrations are elected not by the people, but by the Liberal Associations to which we shall now refer. Prominent amongst these, both for its marvellous organization and the influence it exercises over the electoral corps, is the Liberal Association of Brussels. This body has all but entirely usurped into its hands the functions of the electors. The Liberals, knowing that their only hope of retaining power depends upon their union and discipline, have surrendered to the chiefs of the party the task of selecting suitable candidates and managing the business of elections. Availing themselves of this necessity of centralized action, the Radical leaders have established the so-called Liberal Association; by their zeal and activity they have won the confidence of the more important



Liberal electors, and have, little by little, arrogated to themselves the direction of the affairs of the party. Freemasonry has thrown its weight into the balance, and has naturally exerted its vast influence in favour of its most unscrupulous partisans. Thanks to the apathy and indifference of the great mass of the citizens, the political club thus formed has substituted itself for them as the arbiter of elections. In case of any disobedience to its dictates, the Liberal electors are threatened with the danger of a Catholic representation; any division in their ranks, any hesitation in their votes, will open the door to reactionary candidates, and expose the country to the designs of an ever-watchful clerical party. Union is our sole force, it urges, therefore you Liberal and neutral electors must obey us or be prepared to pass again under the yoke of the priests. All Liberals who wish to rise in their party have to bow down to the caucus; for them there is no other road to success. It may easily be imagined what an association of this nature can effect in a town like Brussels, where a majority of the electors, if not actually Liberal by inclination, are indifferent as regards public affairs, and easily played upon by the sophisms and calumnies propagated against the Catholic party. They have remained passively under its tyranny, and suffered themselves to have their eyes bandaged until it was too late to shake off the yoke. At the present moment, the electoral force of the capital, made up of some thirty thousand voters, returning to the Chamber of Representatives alone fourteen deputies—a ninth of the total representation of the country—has become a mere instrument for ratifying the decisions of an Association, the supreme council of which only numbers from three to five hundred men, but a small proportion of whom are themselves electors. When an election for the Communal Council or the Legislature is at hand, various meetings of the Association are held, the chiefs only of the various sections being summoned. The claims of the different candidates are here discussed; they address the assembly in turn, explain their programmes, and, in fact, go through all the forms of a competitive examination in socialistic atheism. After being tested before the different branches of the Association, a poll is taken—some three hundred associates generally voting—and the candidate who receives at the final poll the most votes is selected and gazetted in the Liberal press as the candidate-elect of the Association, his competitors being required to efface themselves. The contest for the council, or the deputation, as the case may be, is now virtually decided, the Association being content with addressing a circular to the citizens informing them of its decision, and demanding their attendance at the polling booths to register and put the legal sanction upon it. They are never for one moment

consulted as to whether they approve of the candidate or not; they are considered to have resigned all liberty of choice in the matter, and are summarily told to vote as desired. The result is a foregone conclusion; the bulk of the electors are disheartened and dare not resist; at the same time, they do not care to vote for candidates who have never solicited their suffrages, and of whom they have no means of forming a judgment; consequently, only from a thousand to fifteen hundred of them go to the poll at all on the day of the election, and these record their votes as they have been directed. The same proceedings take place in the other large towns which are blessed with Liberal Associations modelled after that of the capital: and thus the representatives of the nation are chosen, as far as the Liberal party is concerned, by the suffrage of a clique of demagogues and wire-pullers, possessed of the confidence of a mere handful of the population. This, then, is the solution of the problem, and gives a reason for the otherwise inexplicable fact that a nation—reputed free, and endowed in an eminent degree with sound common-sense—has submitted to the incapable and disastrous administration of the men who now preside over its destinies. Here we have a striking example of the deplorable state of things which may be brought about, when those who have a right to vote forget that at times it may also be a duty, and prefer, from want of energy, or a culpable sacrifice to party principles, to abdicate their rights and leave the direction of their country to a noisy minority. The leading spirits of the Liberal Association know well that their opinions are not shared by any considerable section of the nation, and that they can only hope to enforce them on the country by returning to office men entirely subservient to themselves, and who will never murmur against their behests. It is clear that they have not usurped the authority of the electors for the sake of allowing freedom of judgment and independence of action to the elected. Their main object being the destruction of religion, cost what it may to the country, and the triumph of their sectarian doctrines upon the ruin of the ancient order of things, it was evidently not to men of large and upright views that their cause could be confided. Those who would only use their influence for the good of the whole nation; who were capable, not only of recognizing, but of acting on the principle that good government consists in legislating for each and all, and not only for such as thought with themselves, would clearly refuse to be guided in public life by the narrow and petty policy of a clique. Consequently, the Liberal Association has jealously excluded such politicians from public affairs. And this is natural; for to put power into the hands of those who were bent upon legislating on the principles of justice, be they Liberals or

Catholics, would be a suicidal act, and the surest means of defeating its own ends. Its mandatories, therefore, must look only to the advancement of Liberal principles; common justice must be justice for Liberals only; every consideration opposed to the realization of the Radical programme, no matter how conducive it may be to the moral and material good of the country, must be set aside. In proof of our theory, it is only necessary to read the accounts of the examinations which Liberal candidates have undergone at the meetings of the Association. To go to Mass or attend Easter duties was pronounced a disqualification for political distinction. In April of last year the caucus rejected for a senatorial election three candidates; two because convicted of having been to confession; a third for having contributed to the building of a church, notwithstanding that he was able to prove satisfactorily that he had only done so as a commercial speculation, and that personally he never entered a place of worship. At another election two candidates presented themselves before the Association, whose only possible claims to a seat in the Chamber, were based upon the intensity of their hatred of religion, neither offering to bring forward any other test of capacity as a legislator. The choice eventually fell upon the President of the Society "*La Libre Pensée*," although his opponent eloquently pleaded that he also had a stake in that noble society, and, moreover, that he had two sons, neither of whom had ever been baptized? It is hardly necessary to say more upon this subject, and our readers will no longer be surprised that an administration composed of such despicable individuals is not likely to give proof of any great ability in the management of affairs. What precedes will be sufficient to show whither Belgium Liberalism is tending, and in what utter ruin it must involve the country if it is ever successful in attaining its ends. We can conceive of no system of despotism more crushing than this, no more complete destruction of all that constitutes the true and healthy life of a nation. Local and provincial liberties, the greatest safeguard of political freedom, have, as we have seen, been virtually annulled; the real force of Representative Government has been paralyzed, and its benefits transformed by reason of the encroachments of the Liberal Associations upon the rights of the elector. Yet this is only a first step; the designs of Freemasonry extend over a much wider field, and are directed towards the establishment of a far more complete dominion, not only over men's actions, but over their minds and souls. The negro under the most cruel of masters, the most oppressed serf in the darkest province of Russia, was a free man compared with what the peoples of the Continent will become, unless they arouse themselves and throw off the iron yoke which modern Liberalism

is fastening around them. The tyranny which it seeks to establish is more harsh and grinding than any the world has yet witnessed; it is one that seeks to interfere with what men think and say as much as with what they do; its aim is to take the child from the custody of its parents, to stamp out alike largeness of principle and individuality of character, to reduce free nations to the veriest associations of slaves, curbed under one degrading and inexorable law. Reverence of God, loyalty to men, honour, virtue, are all vain words; are ignored, if not prohibited, in the godless creed which it is sought to substitute for the ancient precepts of Christianity; the equality which it writes on its banner is not that which would raise us by directing the human mind to imitate what is higher and nobler, but what would fain lower everything to one dead, unworthy level; its fraternity would develop hatred; its liberty we have seen means slavery. Catholics are then called upon to defend the noblest of causes; they stand, almost alone, the advocates of liberty and the true rights of man. The old type of Liberalism, in Belgium as in France, is fast disappearing, its followers are rapidly dwindling under the exigencies of the New School, and the struggle is being concentrated between Radicals and Catholics. Upon the latter devolves the task for the future of upholding not only their faith, but the independence of their country, and its political and municipal liberties. It is well, perhaps, that it should be so; now that the contest has been confined to its real issues, we may hope that a day will arrive when the triumph of the religious party will prove once for all that in the modern state true progress can only be made in maintaining the union of Government and Religion, and that those who are now unwittingly forging the chains with which the Secret Societies seek to bind them, will finally acknowledge that a recognition of the rights of God is the only guarantee for the security of those of man.



#### ART VIII.—THE DAYS OF CREATION. A REPLY.

**T**HE article in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last April, entitled "The Days of the Week and the Days of Creation," has evoked a sharp controversy and a voluminous correspondence in the pages of the *Tablet*. Some critics have expressed their doubts and fears regarding the orthodoxy of the writer. It is not necessary I should enter into any explanation on this point; such fears can only be entertained by persons who are unacquainted with the decisions of the Church, the writings of S. Augustine, and the

liberty allowed by the Church and by theologians on all questions connected with the history of Creation, concerning which the Church has not thought fit to pronounce an authoritative judgment. The subject treated of in the essay is one about which the Fathers of the Church and Catholic theologians have freely adopted distinct and even opposite views. There is no attempt in the essay to dogmatize, or to claim for the views therein expressed any further assent than what may be gained by the arguments by which they are supported. Much less is there any wish to forestall or gainsay any decision which the Catholic Church may at any future time think proper to pronounce on the questions treated of in the essay, the Catholic Church being the one divinely constituted and authoritative judge of the true meaning of every portion of Holy Writ. Apart from the question of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, objections have been raised of a more legitimate nature against the explanation given in the Article. Several correspondents have complained that the theory is set forth without sufficient proof being advanced in its support. It seems, at all events, in the opinion of some that my proofs lack clearness: this I will endeavour to supply. A correspondent, who signs himself "M.," writes to the *Tablet* on the 28th of May:—

While recognizing the Bishop's explanation to be quite admissible as an hypothesis, there are not a few who will desire some more distinct proof than the article in the DUBLIN REVIEW affords, that his theory is correct. "When it is said (the Bishop writes) that certain works were performed on certain days of the week, nothing more is implied than that those days are consecrated to the memory of the works referred to." Now, passing by the question whether or not anything *more* is implied, there is some difficulty about discovering on what precise argument, or arguments, the Bishop relies to demonstrate that *this* at least is implied.

The argument on which I rely is twofold. First, I have endeavoured to prove that the words of Moses admit of being so interpreted; therefore, the proposed interpretation *may* be the true one. Secondly, I have adduced a large body of evidence to show that, while this interpretation removes all ground of conflict between the words of Moses and modern science, it harmonizes, in a most striking manner, with all that we know of the office, the character, and the mission of Moses, with the manners and customs of the people amongst whom he lived and for whose instruction and guidance he wrote, with the particular class of errors and dangers against which he had to contend, and the truths he had to impress upon his people; it is, moreover, in harmony with science as it was in the days when Moses wrote, and

in which he was learned. A similar mass of evidence has never been adduced in support of any one of the various other interpretations which have hitherto been proposed. Since, therefore, the words of Moses *may* be so interpreted, and since, when so interpreted, they are found on the one hand to avoid all collision with scientific facts, whilst on the other hand they are shown on independent evidence to be in wonderful harmony with the persons, manners, customs, and other circumstances of the time when they were written, there is certainly grave reason for concluding that the proposed meaning is the one intended by Moses himself. The argument may not amount to a demonstration; indeed, it may be doubted whether demonstration is possible in a question of this nature, but the evidence is strong in itself, and certainly stronger than that adduced in support of any other interpretation.

In order to show that the words of Moses *may* be interpreted in the manner indicated, I have had to establish two propositions. The first is this: That if a statement asserting that a given event took place on a certain day forms part of an historical narrative, the ordinary usage of language requires us to accept that statement in its literal sense, and as fixing the date on which that event occurred; but that it is otherwise if the statement occurs, not in an historical, but in a ritual connection, as, for instance, in a calendar of festivals, or in a liturgy, or in a sacred hymn; for in such cases nothing more need be implied than that the event is commemorated on the day specified. This rule of interpretation is supported in the essay by examples, the force of which has remained unchallenged. Opponents of the essay have restricted their objections to my second proposition—viz., that the language of Moses regarding the six days of Creation does not form part of an historical narrative, but occurs in a sacred hymn or a ritual ordinance. This proposition is supported in the essay both by the authority of learned men and by internal evidence. Some further proofs I will adduce presently; but first I shall endeavour to remove what seems to be a misconception of my meaning when I have spoken of the words of Moses having been used in a *ritual* connection. "We are told," writes the same correspondent "M.," "that the hymn with which Genesis opens was connected in some way with the Jewish ritual. Is there no scrap of evidence to show that the Jews did commemorate by some ritualistic observance the creation of light? A festival in the Jewish Calendar, entitled 'The Epiphany' (of light), would seem the most suitable complement of this dedication of Moses."

I have included under the term "ritual" all statements having reference to, or arising out of, the religious observances of a people, in contradistinction to statements that are strictly historical.

Thus the heathen dedication of the days of the week to the sun and planets—the names of *Sun-day*, *Moon-day*, *Mars-day*, &c.—is neither an historical nor astronomical arrangement. It was made for reasons connected with the idolatrous rites of the peoples. Hence, I call it a *ritual* arrangement. In like manner, and for a similar reason, I have designated as a *ritual* arrangement the dedication made by Moses. I am not aware that any special festival among the heathens took its rise from the fact of the first day of the week having been dedicated to the sun: why, then, should anything of the kind be sought for as a complement to the dedication made by Moses? Each dedication was a work complete in itself, and there it ended. “Well, what came of it?” inquires “M.” I reply that the heathen dedication of each day of the week to a false divinity became a powerful means of keeping alive idolatry amongst the people. The counter dedication of Moses was a powerful agent in the contrary direction. Nothing more was expected to come of it, and nothing did. A festival of “The Epiphany” of light would not have been a fit complement of the dedication of Moses. The great truth that Moses at all times was anxious to press on the minds of the people was, that God is the Creator of *all things*. He would not refer to God as Creator of some *particular thing* (such as light), unless there were some special reason for doing so. The special reason in the case of the dedication of the days of the week is obvious, because (as explained in the essay) in no other way could he dedicate each day of the week to the true God, and at the same time distinguish one day from the other.

Turning to the objections directed against the assertion that the words of Moses regarding the six days do not occur in an historical but in a ritual connection; Exodus, it is urged, is beyond doubt an historical book, and in Exodus we read (xx. 11):—“In six days the Lord made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are in them, and rested on the seventh day, therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.” The answer is, that Exodus is indeed an historical book, but it contains other things besides history. The Canticle of Moses, for instance, which is inserted in chapter xv., is undoubtedly poetry, and must be construed according to the rules of poetry. Many ritual ordinances are recorded in Exodus, and these (like the Canticle) do not change their character because they happen to be recorded in a book of history. Exodus is not a history of the Creation of the world, but of the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt. Amongst other things it records the promulgation of the ten commandments, one of which enjoins that the seventh day of the week shall be kept holy. It is a ritual ordinance, a special covenant between God and the Jewish people, which

ceased to be in force at the abrogation of the Jewish dispensation. This has been clearly shown in the essay. The circumstance that this ordinance is recorded in an historical book does not in any degree alter the ritual character of the ordinance itself. The words, "For in six days the Lord created heaven and earth," are not part of the history of Exodus, but form part of the ritual ordinance therein recorded. The six and seventh days, spoken of in verse 11, as the days in which God made the world and then rested, are no other than those spoken of in verses 9 and 10—viz., the days of the week: and when a ritual ordinance recites that the first six days of the week are those on which God worked, and that the seventh is the day on which He rested, the statement must be interpreted like other ritual documents, that those days are commemorative of those facts. The ordinance does not cease to be a ritual ordinance by the fact of its being recorded in a book of history.

To the arguments brought forward in the essay in proof of the first chapter of Genesis not being an historical narrative but a sacred hymn, I would add the following: A correspondent who signs himself "T.," in the *Tablet* of May 14th, calls attention to the use made in Genesis of the word *toledoth* which the Vulgate translates "generationes." Without entering upon a discussion as to the various shades of meaning assigned by scholars to this word, it is sufficient for our purpose to remark that its import is always to announce a history of some kind. The use made of it by the writer of Genesis deserves special attention. He comprises the history of the Jewish people from the beginning of the world down to the time when they established themselves in Egypt, under ten sections, each of which he prefaces by the words, "These are the generations," *toledoth*, of so-and-so. The sections are as follows:—

1. "These are the generations of the heaven and the earth"—Chap. ii. 4, to end of chap. iv. This section contains the history of the Creation and the Fall.

2. "This is the book of the generation of Adam"—Chap. v. to chap. vi. 8. A list of the descendants of Adam down to Noe.

3. "These are the generations of Noe"—Chap. vi. 9, to chap. ix. 29. The history of the deluge, and subsequent events, down to the death of Noe.

4. "These are the generations of the sons of Noe"—Chaps. x. to xi. 9. Enumeration of the descendants of the three sons of Noe, and history of their dispersion.

5. "These are the generations of Sem"—Chap. xi. 10–26. A list of the descendants of Sem down to Thare, the father of Abraham.



6. "These are the generations of Thare"—Chap. xi. 27 to chap. xxv. 11. The history of Thare and his family—viz., Abraham, Nachor, Aran, and Lot. Ends with the death of Abraham.

7. "These are the generations of Ismael"—Chap. xxv. 12–19. A brief account of Ismael, eldest son of Abraham.

8. "These are the generations of Isaac, the son of Abraham"—Chap. xxv. 19 to chap. xxxv. 29. The history of Isaac and his family, from the time of the death of his father, Abraham, down to his own death.

9. "These are the generations of Esau, the same is Edom"—Chap. xxxvi. The history of the descendants of Esau.

10. "And Jacob dwelt in the land of Chanaan, wherein his father sojourned, and these are his generations"—Chap. xxxvii. 1, to the end of Genesis. The history of Jacob and his family, from the time of the death of his father, Isaac, down to his own death and the establishment of his sons in the land of Egypt.

Here, then, we see that the whole of Genesis is divided by its author into ten distinct narratives, each of which is prefaced by the heading, "These are the generations" of so-and-so. These ten narratives, "generations," *toledoth*, cover the whole of the Book of Genesis, *with the exception of the first chapter*. If this chapter be really an historical narrative of how the world was created in six days, what would have been more appropriate than the heading, "This is the book of the generations (*toledoth*) of the heaven and the earth"? Yet this is the only portion of Genesis to which such a title has been denied by its author. Why so? Surely for the very reason that it is not a narrative or history, but something quite distinct—viz., a dedicatory hymn.

In the essay I had said, "That which we call the first chapter of Genesis forms, in reality, no portion of that book. It is a composition complete in itself, and as totally distinct from all that follows as the Epistle to the Romans is distinct from the Epistle to the Corinthians, which is the next in order." I added, "There is nothing, however, to prevent our supposing that Moses not only wrote this hymn, but that he himself assigned to it the position which it occupies at the head of his works." Thus the only connection assigned between the hymn and the history was one of order and juxtaposition, which might be due either to Moses himself or to some later compiler of his works. The learned Fr. Corneli, S.J., professor of Sacred Scripture in the Gregorian University in Rome, in a kind and complimentary letter addressed to me on the subject of my essay, has remarked that the interpretation advocated in the essay is strengthened, rather than weakened, if we regard the first chapter of Genesis as forming an integral portion of the book. He regards the five books of

the Pentateuch as parts of one continuous work, the arrangement no less than the authorship of which he assigns to Moses. In that case, he remarks, the hymn contained in the first chapter of Genesis forms a fitting poetic prologue to the whole work, and the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy is its poetic epilogue. There is force in this remark, and I certainly think that the learned professor is right in claiming for the hymn a more intimate connection with the rest of Genesis than I had ascribed to it in my essay. It is a composition complete in itself, and was probably written and in use before the history was begun, but it was prefixed to the history by the author himself, as a fitting prologue to the work of which it henceforward formed an integral portion.

A critic has expressed astonishment that any Catholic should call in question the fact of the first chapter of Genesis forming an integral portion of that book, in opposition to what he considers to be the express declaration of the Council of Trent. But if he had carefully attended to the words of the Council, he would have seen that his astonishment was not well grounded. The Council declares that the five books of Moses, with all their parts, as they are contained in the ancient Latin Vulgate edition, are to be accepted as sacred and canonical: and so they are accepted by every Catholic. But it does not declare that every portion of those books, as they now stand in the Latin Vulgate, formed part of the same books as they originally came forth from the hand of the author. It is not an article of Catholic faith that Moses wrote the account of his own death and burial. The thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, in which these facts are recorded, is acknowledged to have been added to the original book of Moses by a later hand. But, whoever was the writer and whatever the date at which the addition was made, Catholics accept that chapter as sacred and canonical, because it forms part of the book of Deuteronomy as contained in the old Latin Vulgate, every portion of which the Sacred Council has declared to be sacred and canonical. In like manner, the first chapter of Genesis, as contained in the Vulgate, is undoubtedly sacred and canonical. But whether Moses originally wrote it as a portion of that book, or as an independent composition, which was afterwards prefixed to the book, is a question which may be mooted *salva fide*.

I think I have said enough regarding the proof brought forward in support of my first two propositions, from which I have drawn the conclusion that the interpretation given by me does no violence to the words of Moses, and therefore *may* possibly be the true one. As for the large body of evidence which I have brought forward in the essay to show that the proposed interpretation harmonizes in a perfect way with all that we

know of Moses, his office, his mission, his learning, the times in which he lived, and the people with whom he dealt, it has been simply ignored by those who have assailed the essay. Yet it is on this evidence the value of the proposed interpretation mainly depends. For, if it be granted that a given interpretation *may* be true, what stronger proof can be adduced that it *is* the actual meaning intended by the author than to show the perfect harmony of such an interpretation with all the author's surroundings? Such proof is indirect in its nature, but it gains force from that very circumstance, provided the harmony be established on a sufficiently wide scale. Assuredly the proofs set forth in the essay to show the harmony between the proposed interpretation and the surroundings of the author are such as cannot be adduced in favour of any other interpretation.

There are some subordinate statements in the essay (writes the correspondent "M.") that require confirmation; one is the following: "A day means the space of twenty-four hours in this as in other portions of the writings of the same author." The Bishop's argument requires that the premiss shall be accepted as a universal affirmative; but this is simply irreconcilable with such a text, for instance, as Genesis ii. 4:—"In the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth," &c.

The words in the essay are not used as a premiss to an argument, but occur in the summing up at the close of the essay. All that they are intended to imply is that, when Moses speaks of the *six days*, he is speaking of days of twenty-four hours, in the ordinary sense of the word, and not of indefinite periods of time, as the advocates of the "period" theory maintain. There is no intention to deny either that the word "day" in Genesis ii. 4, is taken in the wider sense of *time* (as when we speak of the "day of sorrow" and the "day of joy"); or that in Genesis i. 5, it is taken in the more restricted sense of that portion of the day which is illumined by the light of the sun. There was no reason why I should enter into these details in the summing up of the essay. These are uses of a word which are readily understood; but they give no support to the "period" theory, which assumes that throughout the first chapter of Genesis the definite statements of Moses concerning the six days may be understood in the same indefinite sense as in chap. ii. 5. For questions of this kind we must be guided by the usages of mankind.

If I speak of "the day when the wild Northman ravaged the coasts of England," everybody understands what I mean; nor would anybody suppose me to imply that the period of devastation was limited to twenty-four hours any more than that the havoc

was done by a single Northman. But if I were to state that four days elapsed between the landing of Julius Cæsar on the coast of Britain and the landing of William the Conqueror; that the Romans held Britain one day; that on their departure the Saxons got possession and held it from morning to evening of the second day; that from morning till evening of the third day it was held by the Danes; that on the fourth day the Saxons again got possession, till, finally, on the fifth day the Normans conquered the country and held it—such language would be judged to be contrary to all established usage; nor could it be justified on the ground that the word “day,” as everybody admits, may sometimes be used in the indefinite sense of a period of time.

The essay in the DUBLIN REVIEW has caused alarm in the minds of some of its critics. They regard it as truckling to “modern theories.” So long as Catholic writers, treating on subjects which come within the limits or touch on the boundaries both of revealed truth and of scientific research, are careful to keep themselves informed of what has been decided in such matters by the authority of the Church, and what has been left open to inquiry by the same divinely appointed guide; so long as they do not advance their opinions on such grave matters rashly and impertinently, but show grave and probable reasons in support of their views; so long as they do not dogmatize or offend against charity; and so long as they unreservedly admit that on these, as on all other questions, it belongs to the Church to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures, the discussion of such questions in a scientific Catholic Review can give no just cause for alarm. There would be far more reason for alarm if Catholic students and Catholic writers showed apathy or contempt of what are in truth among the burning religious questions of the day. Many of the questions which have agitated the Church in former times, and which still remain of deep interest to theologians, attract but little notice from the present generation of mankind. The wonderful discoveries of modern science, on the other hand, possess an immense fascination for all thoughtful minds, both old and young. The conclusions at which scientific men have arrived, concerning the early stages of our globe and of our race, have undoubtedly the appearance, in more instances than one, of being irreconcilable with what we find recorded in Holy Scripture on these same subjects. These apparent contradictions are a real stumbling-block in the path of many believers, as well as of sincere inquirers after religious truth. It is the office of the apologist to strengthen the faith of the former and to aid the researches of the latter. Difficulties are not removed and faith is not strengthened by a few flippant sneers directed against scientific men, or by a few platitudes about the liability

of all men to err. Instead of strengthening the faith of waverers, such treatment disgusts and repels men who have made themselves acquainted in any degree with the conscientious and patient researches on which scientific men ground their facts and theories. The only way in which the apologists of Revelation can expect successfully to meet those theories is either by pointing out the fallacies, where fallacies exist, in the arguments of scientific men, or by explaining how it is that the statements of science and of Holy Scripture are not really at variance with each other. It is not to be expected of the Christian Apologist that he should be able to give a full and satisfactory solution of every new difficulty as it arises, any more than that the man of science should be able to assign at once the *vera causa* of what he does not hesitate to accept as an undoubted fact. Both are often obliged to be content at first with a tentative solution of the difficulty, and it frequently happens that only after many failures the real solution is arrived at. Hence the advantage of putting forward theories such as the one propounded in the late essay in the DUBLIN REVIEW. Each new suggestion, if supported by reasonable arguments, even if ultimately it be found untenable, tends to further the cause of harmony and truth. The novelty of the theory is no argument against its truth. If the explanations hitherto given of the first chapter of Genesis prove to be unsatisfactory (and no one of them has so far met with general acceptance), it stands to reason that the true explanation, whenever it shall be forthcoming, must be to some extent a new one. The writings of the Fathers of the Church can only afford us limited aid in researches of this kind. The objections we have to meet had no existence in their days; for they are founded on discoveries which, for the most part, do not date further back than half a century. The Fathers and the Scholastics met scientific objections with arguments drawn from the science of their days. It would be unreasonable to regard as satisfactory solutions of the problems of to-day answers which were framed to meet problems of an entirely different nature. New objections require new answers. "New wine they put into new bottles" (Matt. ix. 17), and "Every scribe instructed in the Kingdom of Heaven is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth from his treasury new things and old" (Matt. xiii. 52).

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## CONSTITUTION OF POPE LEO XIII.

REGARDING THE BISHOPS AND REGULAR MISSIONARIES IN  
ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

### LEO EPISCOPVS

SERVVS SERVORVM DEI

AD PERPETVAM REI MEMORIAM.

**R**OMANOS Pontifices Decessores Nostros paterno semper caritatis affectu inclytam Anglorum gentem fovisse, et monumentis suis testatur historia, et felicitis recordationis PiuX IX., in Litteris *Universalis Ecclesia* iii kalend. Octobris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MDCCCL. datis, graviter ac diserte demonstravit. Quum autem per eas Litteras episcopalem hierarchiam idem Pontifex inter Anglos restitueret, cumulavit quodammodo, quantum temporum ratio sinebat, ea benefacta quibus Apostolica Sedes nationem illam fuerat prosequuta. Ex dioecesium enim restitutione pars illa dominici gregis ad nuptias Agni caelestis iam vocata, ac mystico Eius corpori sociata, pleniorē veritatis atque ordinis firmitatem per Episcoporum gubernationem et regimen rursus adepta est. *Episcopi quippe*, inquit S. Irenaeus,\* *successionem habent ab Apostolis, qui cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt*; atque inde fit, quemadmodum S. Cyprianus monet†, *ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constitutur, et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem Praepositos gubernetur.*

Huic sane sapienti consilio mirifice respondit eventus; plura nimirum Concilia provincialia celebrata, quae saluberrimis legibus religiosa dioecesium negotia ordinarunt: latius propagata in dies catholica fides, et complures nobilitate generis et doctrina praestantes ad unitatem Ecclesiae revocati: clerus admodum auctus: auctae pariter religiosae domus, non modo ex regularibus ordinibus, sed ex iis etiam recentioribus institutis, quae moderandis adolescentium moribus, vel caritatis operibus exercendis optime de re christiana et civili societate meruerunt: constituta pia laicorum sodalitia: novae missiones novaeque Ecclesiae quamplures erectae, nobili instructu divites, egregio cultu decorae; permulta etiam item condita orphanis alendis hospitia, seminaria, collegia et scholae, in quibus pueri et adolescentes frequentissimi ad pietatem ac litteras instituuntur.

Cuius quidem rei laus non exigua tribuenda est Britannicae gentis ingenio, quod prout constans et invictum est contra vim adversam, ita veritatis et rationis voce facile flectitur, ut proinde vere de ipsis

\* *Adv. haer.* lib. IV., cap. 26, n. 2.

† *Epist.* 29 *ad lapsos.*

dixerit Tertullianus *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subiecta*.\* At praecipuum sibi laudis meritum vindicant cum assidua Episcoporum vigilantia tum Cleri universi docilis ad parendum voluntas, prompta ad agendum sollertia.

Nihilominus quaedam ex ipsa rerum conditione ortae difficultates dissensusque inter sacrorum Antistites et sodales ordinum religiosorum obstiterunt, quominus uberiores fructus perciperentur. Illi enim, cum praescripta fuisset per memoratas Litteras Praedecessoris Nostri communis iuris observantia, rati sunt se posse omnia decernere quae ad ipsius iuris executionem pertinent, quaeve ex generali Ecclesiae disciplina Episcoporum potestati permissa sunt. Plures contra gravesque causae prohibebant, ne peculiaris missionum disciplina, quae iam inveteraverat, repente penitus aboleretur. Ad has propterea difficultates avertendas et controversias finiendas Angliae Episcopi, pro sua in hanc Apostolicam Sedem observantia, Nos adire rogantes, ut suprema auctoritate Nostra dirimerentur.

Nos vicissim haud gravate eam postulationem excepimus, tum quia nobilem illam nationem non minore quam Decessores Nostri benevolentia complectimur, tum quia nihil Nobis est antiquius, quam ut sublatis dissidii causis stabilis ubique vigeat mutua cum caritate concordia. Quo gravius autem et cautius a Nobis indicatio fieret, non modo iis quae ultro citroque adducebantur iuribus et auctoritatibus diligenter animum adiecimus, sed etiam sententiam perrogavimus Congregationis specialiter deputatae aliquot S. R. E. Cardinalium e duobus sacris Consiliis, quorum alterum Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis expediendis praest, alterum christiano nomini propagando. Hi, cunctis accurate exploratis quae in deliberationem cadebant, et rationum momentis, quae afferebantur utrinque, religiose perpensis, fideliter Nobis exposuerunt quid aequius melius de singulis quaestionibus decernendum sibi videretur in Domino. Audito itaque memoratorum Cardinalium consilio causaque probe cognita, supremum iudicium Nostrum de controversiis ac dubitationibus quae propositae sunt per hanc Constitutionem pronunciamus.

Multiplex licet varieque implexa sit congeries rerum quae in disceptationem vocantur, omnes tamen ad tria potissimum capita commode redigi posse arbitramur, quorum alterum ad familiarum religiosarum exemptionem pertinet ab episcopali iurisdictione; alterum ministeria respicit, quae a regularibus missionariis exercentur; tertium quaestiones complectitur de bonis temporalibus deque usu in quem illa oporteat converti.

Ad regularium exemptionem quod attinet, certa et cognita sunt canonici iuris praescripta. Scilicet quamvis in ecclesiastica hierarchia, quae est *divina ordinatione* constituta, presbyteri et ministri sint inferiores Episcopis, horumque auctoritate regantur;† tamen quo melius in religiosis ordinibus omnia essent inter se apta et connexa, ac sodales singuli pacato et aequabili vitae cursu uterentur; denique

\* Lib. *adv. iudaeos* cap. 5.

† Concil. Trid. *sess* 23, *de sacram. ord.* can. 7.

ut esset incremento et perfectioni *religiosae conversationis* \* consultum, haud immerito Romani Pontifices, quorum est dioeceses describere, ac suos cuique subditos sacra potestate regundos adtribuere, Clerum Regularem Episcoporum iurisdictione exemptum esse statuerunt. Cuius rei non ea fuit causa quod placuerit religiosas sodalitates potiore conditione frui quam clerum saecularem; sed quod earum domus habitatae fuerint iuris fictione quasi territoria quaedam ab ipsis dioecesibus avulsa. Ex quo factum est ut religiosas familiae, quas iure communi et Episcopis propter hieraticum principatum, et Pontifici maximo propter primatum Pontificium immediate subesse oporteret, † in Eius potestate esse perrexerint, ex Episcoporum potestate per privilegium exierint. Quum autem re ipsa intra fines diocesium vitam degant, sic huius privilegii temperata vis est, ut sarta tecta sit dioecesana disciplina, adeoque ut clerus regularis in multis subesse debeat episcopali potestati sive ordinariae sive delegatae.

De hoc itaque privilegio exemptionis dubitatum est, num eo. munitur religiosi sodales, qui in Anglia et Scotia missionum causa consistunt: hi enim ut plurimum in privatis domibus terni, bini, interdum singuli, commorantur. Et quamvis Benedictus XIV. in Constit. *Apostolicum Ministerium*, iii kalen. Iunii anno Incarnationis Dominicae MDCCLIII, memoratos missionarios regulares privilegio perfrui declaraverit, subdubitandum tamen Episcopi rursus in praesens existimabant, eo quod, restituta episcopali hierarchia, rem catholicam ad iuris communis formam in ea regione gubernari oportet. Iure autem communi ‡ constitutum est, ut domus, quae sodales religiosos sex minimum non capiant in potestate Episcoporum esse omnino debeant. Insuper ipse Constitutionis Auctor visus est ponere privilegii causam in "publici regiminis legibus . . . quibus coenobia quaecumque prohibentur;" hanc vero causam compertum est fuisse sublatam, quum plures iam annos per leges illius regni liceat religiosis sodalibus in collegia coire.

Nihilominus haec tanti non sunt, ut reapse privilegium defecisse iudicemus. Nam quamvis hierarchiae instauratio faciat, ut res catholica apud Anglos ad communem Ecclesiae disciplinam *potentialiter* revocata intelligatur: adhuc tamen res ibi geruntur eodem fere modo atque in missionibus geri solent. Iamvero sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando pluries declaravit, Constitutiones Clementis VIII *Quoniam* ix kal. Iulii MDCLII, Gregorii XV *Cum alias* xvi kalen. Septemb. MDCXXII, Urbani VIII *Romanus Pontifex* v kalen. Septemb. MDCXXIV, itemque Constitutiones Innocentii X non esse de domibus atque hospitiiis missionum intelligendas. § Ac merito quidem; nam quum dubium iamdudum fuisset propositum Clementi VIII, utrum religiosi viri ad Indos missi in culturam animarum existimandi essent quasi vitam

\* S. Gregor. M. Epist. III. Lib. IX.—Bened. XIV. Epist. Decret. *Apostolice servitutis*, prid. Idus Mart. 1742.

† Concil. Vatic. Constit. *Pastor aeternus*, cap. 3.

‡ Innocent. X Constit. *Instaurandae*, die 15 Octob. 1652. Constit. *Ut in parvis*, die 10 Februar. 1654.

§ S. Cong. de Prop. fide 30 Ianuarii 1627; 27 Martii 1631; 5 Octobris 1655; 23 Septembris 1805; 29 Martii 1834.



degentes extra coenobii septa, proindeque Episcopis subesse Tridentina lege iuberentur, Pontifex ille per Constitutionem *Religiosorum quorumcumque* vi Idus Novembris MDCI decreverat eos "reputandos esse tamquam religiosos viventes intra claustra" quamobrem "in concernentibus curam animarum Ordinario loci subesse; in reliquis vero non Ordinario loci, sed suis superioribus subiectos remanere." Neque aliud sensit indicavitque Benedictus XIV in suis Constitutionibus *Quamvis* v kalen. Martii MDCCLXVI; *Cum nuper* vi Idus Novembris MDCCLI, et *Cum alias* v Idus Iunii MDCCLIII. Ex quibus omnibus liquet, etiam hospitia ac domos quantumvis incolarum paucitate infrequentes huius, de quo agitur, privilegii iure comprehendi, idque non in locis solum ubi Vicarii apostolici, sed etiam ubi Episcopi praesunt; de Episcopis enim in Constitutionibus, quas memoravimus, agebatur. Apparet insuper rationem potissimam exemptionis missionariorum regularium in Anglia non esse exquirendam in legibus civilibus, quae coenobiis erigendis obsessent; sed magis in eo salutari ac nobilissimo ministerio quod a viris apostolicis exercetur. Quod non obscure Benedictus XIV significavit inquiring, "regulares Anglicanae missioni destinatos illuc proficisci in bonum sanctae nostrae religionis." Eademque causam pariter attulerat Clemens VIII, cum de sodalibus religiosis ad Indos profectis docuerat, ipsos antistitem suorum iussu illuc concessisse, ibique sub disciplina praefecti provinciae versari "ad praedicandum sanctum Dei evangelium et viam veritatis et salutis demonstrandam." Hinc post sublatas leges sodalitiis regularibus infensas, et hierarchia catholica in integrum restituta, ipsi Britannorum Episcopi in priori Synodo Westmonasteriensi testati sunt, rata sibi privilegia fore, "quibus viri religiosi suis in domibus vel extra legitime gaudent" quamvis "extra monasteria ut plurimum degant."

Quamobrem in praesenti etiam Ecclesiae catholicae apud Britannos conditione declarare non dubitamus: Regulares, qui in residentiis missionum commorantur, exemptos esse ab Ordinarii iurisdictione, non secus ac regulares intra claustra viventes, praeter quam in casibus a iure nominatim expressis, et generatim in iis quae concernunt curam animarum et sacramentorum administrationem.

Praecipuam hanc quam definivimus controversiam altera excipiebat affinis, de obligatione qua teneantur Rectores missionum creditam habentes animarum curam, eorumque vicarii, alique religiosi sodales, facultatibus praediti quae missionariis conceduntur, ut intersint iis Cleri conventibus, quos *collationes* seu *conferentias* vocant, neque non Synodis dioecesanis. Cuius quaestionis vis et ratio ut intelligatur praestat memorare quod in Concilio Westmonasteriensi Provinciali iv praecipitur his verbis: "Si duo vel plures sint sacerdotes in eadem missione, unum tantum primum designandum, qui gerat curam animarum et administrationem Ecclesiae. . . . ceteros omnes curam quam habent animarum cum dependentia a primo exercere."\* Comperta itaque natura facti de quo agitur, et semota tantisper ea quaes-

tionis parte quae Synodus respicit, ambigi nequit, quin Rectores missionum adesse debeant iis Cleri coetibus, qui *collationes* dicuntur. Namque eorum causa eadem ferme est ac parochorum; parochos autem etiam regulares ea obligatione adstringi et docuit Benedictus XVI. Constit. *Firmandis* § 6 viii. Idus Novembr. MDCCXLIV, et sacrum Consilium Tridentinis decretis interpretandis pluries declaravit.\* Recta igitur in praedicta Synodo Westmonasteriensi fuit constitutum "Ad suam collationem tenentur convenire, respondere parati, omnes sacerdotes saeculares et regulares, salvis eorum iuribus, qui curam habent animarum." Aliter dicendum videretur de vicariis, aliisque religiosis viris apostolica munia obeuntibus. His enim integrum quidem est de *iure constituto* a memoratis collationibus abstinere, prout alias fuit a sacra Congregatione Concilii declaratum.† At Nos minime praeterit Concilium Romanum habitum anno MDCCXXV. auctoritate Benedicti XIII. iussisse confessarios omnes etiam ex ordinibus regularibus intra fines provinciae commorantes coetus illos celebrare "dummodo morales in eorum conventibus lectiones non habeantur." Quum autem quod sine effectu geritur id geri nullo modo videatur, sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando merito existimans domesticas regularium collationes in quibusdam missionum locis parum fructuosas ob exiguum sodalium numerum futuras, cunctis et singulis illic munere perfurgentibus imperavit, ut Cleri conventibus interessent. Hisce igitur rationibus permoti declaramus, omnes missionum rectores Cleri collationibus adesse ex officio debere, simulque decernimus ac praecipimus ut iisdem intersint vicarii quoque, aliique religiosi viri missionariis facultatibus concedi solitis instructi, qui hospitia, parvasque missionum domos incolunt.

De officio conveniendi ad Synodum explorata Tridentina lex est‡: "Synodi quoque dioecesanæ quotannis celebrentur, ad quas exempti etiam omnes, qui alias, cessante exemptione, interessi deberent, nec capitulis generalibus subduntur, accedere tenentur. Ratione autem parochialium aut aliarum saecularium ecclesiarum etiam adnexarum, debent ii qui illarum curam gerunt, quicumque illi sint, Synodo interesse." Quam legem egregie illustravit Benedictus XIV.§ Neque vero putamus cuiquam negotium facessere decretum Alexandri VIII, iii. kalen. Aprilis MDCXCI quo cavetur, ut ad synodum accedant Abbates, Rectores, Praefecti, omnesque antistites domorum religiosarum quas Innocentius X. Episcoporum potestati subiecerat. Quum enim Innocentianæ Constitutiones viros apostolicos, qui in sacris missionibus versantur, non attingant, facile intelligitur, neque decretum Alexandri VIII. ad eos, de quibus modo apud Nos agitur, pertinere. Quare huic posteriori quaestionis parti hoc unum respondemus; standum esse decretis Synodi Tridentinae.

Proxima est quaestio quae respicit appellationem ab interpretatione, quam Episcopi ediderint, decretorum synodalium. Namque hisce

\* *Forosempronien.* 5 Septemb. 1650 Lib. 19 Decret.

† *Forosempronien.* 12 Maii 1681 Lib. 53 Decr. fol. 258 *Aquipendien.* VV. SS. LI. 12 Martii 1718.

‡ Sess. 24 cap. 2. *de reform.*

§ *De Synod. dioec.* lib. 3 cap. 1 § ii.

decretis pareant oportet etiam religiosi sodales in iis quae ad curam animarum et sacramentorum administrationem referuntur,\* ceterisque in rebus "in quibus eos Episcoporum iurisdictioni subesse canonica praecipunt instituta."† Prefecto dubitare non licet quin ab iis interpretationibus ad Sedem Apostolicam provocatio sit; "siquidem, Gelasio I.‡ et Nicolaus I.§ auctoribus, ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerunt: ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus." Quare huius appellationis tantummodo vis et effectus potest in dubitationem adduci. At haec dubitatio facile tollitur, si apta fiat causarum distinctio. Fas est nimirum Regularibus appellare *in devoluto* tantum, quoad interpretationem decretorum, quae de iure communi, sive ordinario sive delegato, Regulares etiam afficiunt; quo vero ad interpretationem aliorum decretorum etiam *in suspensivo*. Authentica namque interpretatio quae manat ab Episcopis, qui Synodorum auctores sunt, tanti profecto est, quanti sunt ipsa decreta. Ex quo illud omnino est consequens, licere religiosis sodalibus a primo decretorum genere appellare eo iure et modo, quo licet cuilibet e dioecesi appellare a lege communi, scilicet *in devoluto*.|| At vero ad reliqua decreta quod attinet, ea certe lata contra regulares vim rationemque legis amittunt: quare constat illos sic exemptionem a iurisdictione episcopali possidere uti ante possederint; donec Pontificis maximi auctoritate iudicetur, iure ne an secus cum iis actum sit.

Hactenus de exemptionis privilegio; nunc de iis quaestionibus dicendum, quibus ministeria quaedam per regulares exercita occasionem praebuerunt. Excellit inter haec munus curationis animarum, quod saepe, ut innuimus, religiosis viris demandatur intra fines ab Episcopis praestitutos; locus autem iis finibus comprehensus *missionis* nomine designatur. Iamvero de his missionibus disceptatum fuit, an et quomodo fieri possit ab Episcopis earum divisio, seu, ut dici solet, dismembratio. Nam qui Regularium iura tuebantur, negabant hanc divisionem fieri posse nisi legitimis de causis, adhibitisque iuris solemnibus quae praescripta sunt ab Alexandro III.¶ et a Concilio Tridentino.\*\* Alia vero erat Episcoporum opinatio.

Perfecto si divisio fiat paroeciae veri nominis, sive antiquitus conditae, sive recentiore memoria iure constitutae, dubitandum non est quin nefas sit Episcopo canonum praescripta contemnere. At Britannicae missiones generatim in paroecias ad iuris tramites erectae non sunt: idcirco sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando anno MDCCCLXVI officium applicandi missam pro populo ad Episcopum pertinere censuit, propterea quod dioecesium Britannicarum non ea sit constitutio, ut in veras paroecias dispositae sint. Itaque ad divisionem missionis simplicis ea iuris solemnia transferenda non sunt, quae super dismembratione paroeciarum fuerunt constituta; eo vel magis quod

\* Concil. Trid. sess. 25 cap. 11 *de regular.*

† Innoc. IV. cap. I. *de privileg.* in 6.

‡ Epist. 7 *ad Episc. Dardan.* ann. 495 Tom. 2 collect. Harduini.

§ Epist. 8 *ad Michael-Imperat.* Tom. 5 collect. Harduini.

|| Bened. XIV. *de Sined Dioec.* Lib. 13 cap. 5 § 12.

¶ Cap. *ad audientiam* de Eccles. aedific.

\*\* Sess. 21 cap. 4 *de reform.*

propter missionum indolem et peculiare circumstantias, numero plures ac leviores causae possint occurrere, quae istarum divisionem suadeant, quam quae iure definitae sint ut fiat paroeciarum divisio. Neve quis urgeat similitudinem quam utraeque inter se habent: cum enim obligatio servandi solemnia iuris libertatem agendi coerceat, ad similes causas non est pertrahenda. Silentibus itaque hac super re generalibus Ecclesiae legibus, necesse est ut Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis valeat auctoritas, cuius hoc decretum est: "Non obstante rectoris missionarii deputatione, licebit Episcopo de consilio Capituli, intra limites missionis cui praeponitur, novas Ecclesias condere ac portionem districtus iis attribuere, si necessitas aut utilitas populi fidelis id requirat." Quae cum sint ita, ad propositam consultationem respondemus: licere Episcopis missiones dividere, servata forma sancta Concilii Tridentini,\* quoad missiones quae sunt vere propriae dictae paroeciae; quoad reliquas vero, ad formam Synodi I Provincialis Westmonasteriensis.† Quo melius autem missioni quae dividenda sit, eiusque administris prospiciatur, volumus ac praecipimus, ut sententia quoque rectoris exquiratur, quod iam accepimus laudabiliter esse in more positum: quod si a religiosis sodalibus missio administretur, Praefectus Ordinis audiatur; salvo iure appellandi, si res postulet, a decreto episcopali ad Sanctam Sedem *in devolutivo* tantum.

Peracta missionis, cui regulares praesint, dismembratione, alia nunquam quaestio suboritur: utrum nempe Episcopus in praeficiendo Rectore missioni, quae nova erigitur, ipsos religiosos sodales ceteris debeat praeferre.—Quamvis illi hanc sibi praerogativam adserant, obscurum tamen non est, haud leves exinde secuturas difficultates et offensiones. Ceterum in ea, de qua sermo est, nova erectione necesse est alterutrum contingere; nimirum ut paroecia veri nominis, aut mera missio constituatur. Si primum fieret, per quam alienum esset ab Ecclesiae disciplina e religiosa familia accessitum parochum praeferrere; sic enim iure quod modo viget arcentur regulares a parochi munere, ut illud suscepturi venia Apostolica indigeant. Ad rem Benedictus XIV. in Constit. *Cum nuper*, vi Idus Novembris MDCCLI, "Quemadmodum, inquit, negari nequit, ex veteri canonum lege, monachos et regulares ecclesiarum parochialium regiminis capaces fuisse, ita certum nunc est ex recentiori canonica disciplina interdictum esse regularibus parochiarum curam adsumere sine dispensatione Apostolica." Hinc sacrum Consilium Tridentinis decretis interpretandis‡ ad dubium "an annuendum sit precibus Patrum Augustinianorum de nova paroecia iisdem concedenda" rescripsit—negative et amplius—. Sin autem, quod secundo loco posuimus, mera missio erigitur, ius certe non obest religiosis viris ne inter eos eligatur rector; ast ne iis quidem praeferrere obtantibus suffragatur. Rem itaque integram et in sua potestate positam aggrediens Episcopus, libertate sua utatur oportet; ubi enim iura silent, loco legis est Praesulis auctoritas; praesertim vero quod, ut doctorum fert adagium, Episcopus *intentionem habet in iure fundatam*

\* Cap. 4 sess. 21 de reform.

† De regimine congregationum seu missionum n. 5.

‡ In Ianuen. *dismemrationis* xxv. Ianuarii MDCCLXXIX.

in rebus omnibus, quae ad dioecesim suam administrandam attinent. Quamobrem praelatio quoad novam missionem, a Regularibus expetita, aut nulla iuris subsidio fulcitur, aut in disertam iuris dispositionem offendit.

Officium curationis animarum sedulitati Regularium commissum alias etiam dubitationes gignit; eaeque loca spectant finibus comprehensa missionum quae ab ipsis reguntur. Coepit enim ambigi utrum coemeteria et pia loca, intra fines illarum sita, Episcopus visitare possit. Ast in coemeteriis facilis ac prona suppetit distinctionis adeoque finiendae controversiae ratio. Nam si de coemeteriis agatur quae solis religiosis familiis reservantur, ea plane ab Episcopi iurisdictione, proindeque a visitatione exempta sunt; cetera vero fidelium multitudini communia, quum uno ordine haberi debeant cum coemeteriis paroecialibus, iurisdictioni Ordinariorum subsunt indubitate, ac propterea optimo iure ab Episcopo visitantur, quemadmodum statuit Benedictus XIV in Constit. *Firmandis* viii Idus Novembris MDCCLXIV. Haud absimili distinctione de locis piis quaestio dirimitur, ea secernendo quae exempta sunt ab iis quibus praeest Episcopus sive ordinario iure, sive delegato. De utrisque igitur, tum coemeteriis tum piis locis, sententiam Nostram paucis complectimur pronunciantes; sacrorum canonum et constitutionum Apostolicarum praescripta esse servanda.

Superioribus dubiis arcto iungitur nexu illud quo quaeritur an Episcopis subesse debeant scholae pauperum, quae *elementares* etiam, *primariae*, *puerorum* nuncupantur; est enim sanctissimum docendi ministerium, et proximum piis locis ordinem tenent scholae de quibus agendum est. Quo illae pertineant ex ipso nomine dignoscitur; intendunt nimirum ad puerilem aetatem primis litterarum elementis primisque fidei veritatibus, ac morum praeceptis apte instituendam: quae quidem institutio omnibus est temporibus, locis et vitae generibus necessaria, ac multum habet momenti ad universae societatis humanae, nedum singulorum hominum, incolunitatem; ex puerili enim institutione pendet, ut plurimum, qua quis ratione sit reliquae aetatis spatium acturus. Itaque quid a doctibus eo loci praecipue praestandum sit sapienter Pius IX significavit scribens, "In hisce potissimum scholis omnes cuiusque e populo classis pueri vel a teneris annis sanctissimae nostrae religionis mysteriis ac praeceptionibus sedulo sunt erudiendi et ad pietatem morumque honestatem, et ad religionem civilemque vivendi rationem accurate formandi, atque in iisdem scholis religiosa praesertim doctrina ita primum in institutione et educatione locum habere ac dominari debet, ut aliorum cognitiones, quibus inventus ibi imbuitur, adventitiae appareant."\*—Nemo ex hinc non intelligit istam puerorum institutionem in Episcoporum officiis esse ponendam, et scholas, de quibus agitur, tam in urbibus frequentissimis, quam in pagis exiguis inter opera contineri quae ad rem dioecesanam maxime pertinent.

Insuper quod ratio suadet lux historiae confirmat. Nullum quippe

\* Epist. ad Archiep. Friburg. *Cum non sine maxima* xiv Iuli MDCCLXIV. *Acta* vol. 3.

fuit tempus quo singularis non eluxerit Conciliorum cura in huiusmodi scholis ordinandis ac tuendis, pro quibus plura sapienter constituerunt. Eorum nempe decretis prospectum est ut illas Episcopi in oppidis et pagis restitui et augeri curarent,\* puerique ad discendum admitterentur, qualibet, si fieri posset, impensa remissa.† Eorundem auctoritate dictae leges, quibus alumni religioni ac pietati operam darent,‡ definitae dotes et ornamenta animi, quibus magistros praeditos esse oporteret,§ iisque imperatum, uti iurarent iuxta formulam catholicae professionis:¶ demum scholarum curatores constituti qui eas adirent, ac circumspicerent nequid inesset vitii aut incommodi, neve quid omitteretur ex iis rebus, quas de illarum disciplina leges dioecesanæ sanxissent.¶¶ Ad haec, quum Patres Conciliorum probe intelligerent parochos etiam pastoralis ministerii competes esse, partes haud exiguas iisdem tribuerunt in scholis puerorum, quarum cura cum animarum curatione summa necessitate iungitur. Placuit igitur in singulis paroeciis pueriles scholas constitui,\*\* quibus nomen est *parochialibus* impositum:†† iussi sunt parochi munus docendi suscipere, sibi que adiutricem operam magistrorum et magistrarum adsciscere:‡‡ iisdem negotium datum scholas regendi et curandi diligentissime:§§ quae omnia si non ex fide integreque gesserint, officium deseruisse arguuntur,||| dignique habentur in quos Episcopus animadvertat.¶¶¶ In unum ergo collineant argumenta ex ratione et factis petita, ut scholae, quas pauperum vocant, institutis dioecesanis et paroecialibus praecipuo iure adnumerandae sint; eaque de causa Britannorum Episcopi ad hanc usque aetatem in missionibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus easdem pro potestate sua visitare consueverunt. Quod et Nos probantes declaramus: Episcopos ius habere quoad omnia visitandi huiusmodi scholas pauperum in missionibus et paroeciis regularibus aequè ac in saecularibus.

Alia profecto causa est ceterarum scholarum et collegiorum, in quibus religiosi viri secundum ordinis sui praescripta iuventuti catholicae instituendae operam dare solent; in hisce enim et ratio postulat et Nos volumus firma atque integra privilegia manere quae

\* Synod. I Provincial. Camerac. tit. *de scholis*, cap. 1.—Synod. provinc. Mechlin. tit. *de scholis*, cap. 2. † Synod. Namurcen. an. 1604 tit. 2 cap. 1.

‡ Synod. Antuerpien. sub. Mireo tit. 9 cap. 3.

§ Synod. Cameracen. an. 1550.

¶ Synod. II. Provinc. Mechlinien. tit. 1 cap. 3.

¶¶ Synod. II. Provinc. Mechlinien. tit. 20 cap. 4.—Synod. Provin. Pragen. an. 1860, tit. 2 cap. 7.

\*\* Synod. Valens. an. 529, can. 1.—Synod. Nannet. relat. in cap. 3. *de vit et hon. clericor.*—Synod. Burdigal. an. 1583 tit. 27.

†† Synod. I. Provin. Mechlin. tit. *de scholis* cap. 2.—Synod. Provin. Colocen. an. 1863, tit. 6.—Synod. Provin. apud Maynooth anno 1875.

‡‡ Synod. Nannet. sup. cit.—Synod. Antuerp, sup. cit.—Synod. Prov. Burdig, an. 1850. tit. 6 cap. 3.

§§ Synod. Prov. Vienn. ann. 1858, tit. 6 cap. 8.—Synod. Prov. Ultraieci. an. 1865, tit. 3 cap. 2.

||| Synod. Prov. Colocen. an. 1863, tit. 6 cap. 5.—Synod. Prov. Colonien. an. 1860, tit. 2 cap. 23.—Synod. Prov. Ultraieci. an. 1863, tit. 9 cap. 5.

¶¶¶ Synod. I. Prov. Cameracen. tit. *de Scholis*, cap. 2.

illis ab Apostolica Sede collata sunt, prout aperte est declaratum anno MDCCCLXXIV a sacro Consilio christiano nomini propagando, quam acta expenderentur Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis iv.\*

Quum res in vado sit quod ad scholas attinet et collegia regularium iam constituta, adhuc tamen est in ancipiti, si de novis erigendis agatur. De his enim quaeritur; an et cuius superioris venia sit impetranda? Porro cum latius ea dubitatio pateat et ecclesiarum quoque ac coenobiorum erectionem pertingat, omnia haec unius quaestionis et iudicii terminis complectimur. Atque hic primo occurrunt Decretales veteres, quibus est cautum ne quid huiusmodi quisquam institueret absque Sedis Apostolicae licentia speciali.† Postmodum Tridentina Synodus in eodem genere quidquam operum fieri prohibuit "sine Episcopi, in cuius dioecesi erigenda sunt, licentia prius obtenta:"‡ quo tamen Concilii decreto haud est superioribus legibus derogatum, veniam ab Apostolica Sede impetrari iubentibus. Quapropter cum ea in re liberius passim ageretur, Urbanus VIII§ pravam consuetudinem emendaturus, opera eiusmodi improbavit tam quae sine venia Episcopi, quam quae sola illius auctoritate susciperentur et veterum canonum simul Conciliique Tridentini leges omnino in posterum sevari decrevit. — Huc etiam spectavit Innocentius X in Constitut. *Instaurandae* Idibus Octobris MDCLII, qua praecipit ut nemo ex familiis regularibus domos vel loco quaecumque de novo recipere vel fundare praesumat absque Sedis Apostolicae licentia speciali." Quare communis hodie sententia est, cui favet passim rerum iudicatarum auctoritas, non licere Regularibus, tam intra quam extra Italiam, nova monasteria aut conventus sive collegia fundare, sola Episcopi venia impetrata, sed indultam quoque a Sede Apostolica facultatem requiri.¶ Iisdem insistens vestigiis sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando pluries decrevit, veniam Apostolicae Sedis et Episcopi aut Vicarii Apostolici ecclesiis collegiisque erigendis, etiam in missionibus, ubi religiosi sodales domos sedesque habeant, esse omnino necessariam.¶ His ergo de causis ad propositum dubium respondemus: sodalibus religiosis novas sibi sedes constituere, erigendo novas ecclesias, aperiendove coenobia, collegia, scholas, nisi obtenta prius expressa licentia Ordinarii loci et Sedis Apostolicae, non licere.

Fieri solet utique subtilior inquisitio, an duplex ea venia sit impetranda, si non prorsus novum opus regularis familia moliatur; sed ea quae sunt instituta velit in alios usus convertere. Verum neque obscura neque anceps erit futura responsio, si varios, qui accidere possunt, casus distinguamus. Initio enim quis serio dubitet, an ea quae pietatis religionisque causa instituta sunt liceat in usus a religione et

\* Decret. 26.

† Cap. Religiosorum, § *confirmatas de relig. domib. et cap. Ex eo de excess. praelat. in 6.*

‡ Concil. Trident. sess. 25 cap. 3 *de Regular.*

§ Constit. *Romanus Pontifex* xiii. kalen. Septembris 1624.

¶ Bened. XIV, *de Synod dioeces.* lib. 9, cap. 1, num. 9.—*Monacelli formul. legal.* part 1, tit. 6, form. 19, num. 31.

¶ Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide in coetibus habitis diebus 22 Mart. 1669 3 Nov. 1688, 1704, 1768; 23 Aug. 1858; 30 Maii 1864; 17 Iulii 1865.

pietate alienos convertere? Restat itaque ut de tribus hisce dumtaxat quaeratur, utrum nempe liceat dimovere de loco instituta alioque transferre: aut immutare in usum consentaneum, qualis esset si schola in ecclesiam, coenobium in collegium, in domum pupillis aegrotisque recipiendis, vel vicissim mutaretur; aut demum, priore usu retento, novam causam sive usum inducere. Iam vero quominus duo illa prima, privata ipsorum auctoritate, religiosi sodales efficiant, obstat decretum Bonifacii VIII, qui eos vetuit "ad habitandum domos vel loca quaecumque de novo recipere, seu hactenus recepta mutare."\* Rursus qui fieri potest ex duobus illis alterutrum, nisi res recidat in foundationem novam "Monasteriorum, Collegiorum, domorum, conventuum et aliorum Regularium locorum huiusmodi?" Atqui id perfici prohibuit Urbanus VIII per Constitutionem *Romanus Pontifex*, nisi "servata in omnibus et per omnia sacrorum canonum et Concilii Tridentini forma." Sic unum superest de quo contendatur; num priore usu retento, nova causa vel usus adici valeat. Tunc autem pressius rem urgere oportet et accurate dispicere, utrum ea inductio alterius usus ad interiorem administrationem, disciplinamque domesticam spectet, velut si tirocinium aut collegium studiorum causa iunioribus sodalibus in coenobio constituatur; an fines interioris administrationis sit excessura, puta si inibi schola fiat aut collegium quod pateat etiam alienis. Plane si dictos fines excesserit, res redit ad alterutram illarum, quae a Bonifacio VIII et Urbano VIII fieri pro libito, ceu diximus, prohibentur. Sin autem intra limites domesticae disciplinae mutatio contineatur, suo certe iure Regulares utentur; nisi forte leges foundationis obsistant. Ex quibus singillatim perpensis manifesto colligitur: Religiosis sodalibus non licere ea quae instituta sunt, in alios usus convertere absque expressa licentia Sedis Apostolicae et Ordinarii loci, nisi agatur de conversione, quae, salvis foundationis legibus, referatur dumtaxat ad internum regimen et disciplinam regularem.

Nunc ad illud progredimur controversiae caput, in quo de temporalibus missionum bonis disputatum est. Ex liberalitate fidelium ea parta bona sunt, qui cum sua sponte et voluntate dona largiantur, vel intuitu missionis id faciunt, vel eius qui missioni praeest. Iam si missionis intuitu donatio contigerit, ambigi solet, an viri religiosi quibus donum sit traditum, accepti et expensi rationem reddere Episcopo teneantur. Atque istud quidem fieri oportere, sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propogando super dubio proposito ob missiones Britannicas religionis Ordinibus sive Institutis commissas die xix. Aprilis MDCCCLXIX., rescripsit in haec verba: "1. Missionarii regulares bonorum temporalium, ad ipsos *qua regulares* spectantium, rationem Episcopis reddere non tenentur. 2. Eorum tamen bonorum, quae missioni, vel regularibus *intuitu missionis* tributa fuerunt, Episcopi ius habent ab iisdem missionariis regularibus, aequae ac a Parochis cleri saecularis, rationem exigendi." Quo vero tabulis accepti et expensi ratio constaret; sacer idem Coetus die x. Maii anno MDCCCLXVIII., in

\* Cap. *Cum ex eo* de excess. praelat, in 6.



mandatis dederat ut bona missionum diligenter describerentur, ea secernendo quae propria missionum essent ab iis quae ad sodalitia sodalesve singulos pertinerent.

Nihil enimvero in his decernendis vel praecipendis est actum, quod iuris commuuis doctrinis vulgatissimis apprime non congruat. Nam quaevis oblatio parcho aut alteri Ecclesiae Rectori data piae cuiusdam causae intuitu, ipsimet piae causae acquiritur. Ex quo fit, ut qui rem pecuniamve oblatam accepit administratoris loco sit, cuius est illam erogare iuxta mentem et consilium largitoris.\* Quoniam vero administrantis officio incumbit rationes actus sui conficere, eique reddere cuius res gesta fuit,† ideo parochus vel Ecclesiae Rector facere non potest quin rationes reddat Ordinario loci, cuius est iurisdictio et causae piae tutela.‡ At missiones, de quibus apud Nos actum fuit, pleno iure ad Episcopum pertinent; huic ergo cuiusque oblationis earum intuitu collectae rationes oportent exhibere. Neque haec ex eo infirmantur, quod Urbanus II. in Concilio Claromontano, alique post eum Romani Pontifices decreverunt§ circa Ecclesias parochiales, quoad temporalia Monasteriis injunctas, teneri vicarios respondere Episcopis de *plebis cura*, de temporalibus vero non ita cum monasterio suo sint obnoxii: siquidem seposita etiam ratione historica unde ea profecta est iuris dispositio,|| certum exploratumque est, in iis pontificiis decretis ac litteris appellatione temporalium, beneficii fructus et quae beneficiati personae adhaerent compendia significari.

Quocirca ea confirmantis quae a S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide rescripta et mandata sunt, statuimus, religiosos sodales, redditus Episcopo rationibus, docere debere de pecunia, intuitu missionum sibi allata, et quantum de ea et quos in usus impenderint aequae ac missionarios Cleri saecularis, iuxta praedictas resolutiones eiusdem Congregationis die xix Aprilis MDCCCLXIX, et Instructionem diei x Maii MDCCCLXVIII.

Tandem ne quis obrepat error aut dissensus in his quae modo iussimus exequendis, definiendum censemus quae pecuniae, quaeque res viris religiosis oblatae intuitu missionum intelligantur. Namque receptum est hac in re, spectari primum oportere quid largitor voluerit; quod si non appareat, placuit, parcho vel rectori ecclesiae collatam donationem praesumi.¶ At multum ab hac regula recessum est propter consuetudinem, quam quidam ecclesiastici iuris periti fere communem evasisse docent, cuius vi “hodie pene solae oblationes quae in Ecclesia sub missis ad altare fiunt et quae pro administratione

\* Fagnan. in cap. *Pastoralis*, de his quae fiunt a Praeclatis, n. 29—Card. de Luca in *Conc. Trid.* discurs. 18, n. 5—Reiffenst. Lib. 3 *Decret.* tit. 30, n. 193.

† L. 1 § officio ff. de tutela et rat. distr.—L. 2 § et sane ff. de negot. gest. L. Curator. L. Tutor Cod. de negot. gest.

‡ Sac. Cong. Concilii Nullius, seu Nonantulan. iurium parochialium 27 Iunii 1744 ad dub. XII.

§ Lucius II. ad Priorem S. Pancratii in Anglia, Alexander III. ad Monaster. S. Arnulphi, Lucius III. ad Superior. Praemonstrat. et ad Abbatissam S. Hilarii in diocesi Fesulana. || Gonzal. Comment. in cap. I. de Cappel. Monach.

¶ Argum. ex cap. *Pastoral.* 9 de his quae fiunt a Praelet. cap. *Transmissa*, de Verb. sign. ae praesertim cap. I. de Statu Monach.

sacramentorum, pro benedicendis nuptiis aut mulieribus post partum, pro exequiis et sepulturis, aut aliis similibus functionibus specialiter offeruntur, ad parochum spectant; consuetudine reliquas ferme omnes ecclesiis ipsis aut sacellis aut aliis certis finibus applicante.”\* Praeterea si in parochum rectoremve, a quibus spiritualia adiumenta fideles accipiunt†, haud inconcinne praesumi potest collata liberalitas, ubi Ecclesia bonis praedita sit, per quae religionis decori et ministrorum tuitioni prospiciatur, longe aliud iudicium esse debet ubi eam honorum copiam Ecclesia non habeat, ac liberalitate fidelis populi unice aut potissimum sustentetur. Tunc enim largitores putandi forent voluisse consulere cultus divini splendori et religionis dignitati, ea ratione et modo quem ecclesiastica auctoritas decerneret. Ideo apud christianos primaevos lege cautum fuerat ut pecunia omni dono accepta, inter Ecclesiam, Episcopum, Clericos, et egenos divideretur. Legis porro sese interponens auctoritas, si largitionum tempora et causas praestituat, illud efficit quoque, ne fideles semper pro arbitrio possint modum et finem designare in quem oblatam stipem erogari oporteat; nequit enim facere privatorum voluntas, ut quod a legitima potestate in bonum commune praecipitur certo destituatur effectum. Haec Nobis considerantibus visi sunt prudenter et opportune egisse Patres Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis II, cum partim interpretantes piam et aequam donantium voluntatem, partim ea, quae Episcopis inest, utentes potestate imperandi pecuniae collationes decernendique quo tempore et qua de causa conferri oporteat, statuerunt in capite *de bonis ecclesiasticis*, quid censendum sit intuitu missionis collatum. Iubet igitur ratio, itemque Nos constituimus, hac in re religiosos ad leges Westmonasteriensis Synodi sese affatim accommodare oportere.

Sublatis controversiis cognitioni Nostrae propositis, confidimus, curam a Nobis in iis componendis adhibitam eo valituram, ut ad tranquillitatem et incrementum rei catholicae in Anglia non leviter conferat. Equidem pronunciationes Nostras ad iuris et aequitatis regulam studiose religioseque exegimus, nec dubitamus quin in iis exequendis par diligentia et religio eniteat illorum inter quos iudicium protulimus. Sic enim fiet, ut Episcoporum ductu et prudentia religiosi sodales de Anglicis missionibus apprime meriti strenue et alacriter e laboribus suis fructus salutis ferre pergant laetissimos, atque utrique (ut voce utamur Gregorii Magni ad Angliae Episcopos) *communi. . . consilio, concordique actione quae sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant unanimiter, recte sentiant, et quae senserint, non sibimet discrepando perficiant.*‡ Concordiam hanc postulat paterna caritas Episcoporum in adiutores suos et mutua Cleri in Episcopos observantia; hanc concordiam flagitat finis communis qui situs est in salute animarum iunctis studiis ac viribus quaerenda; hanc eamden exigit necessitas iis resistendi qui

\* Reiffenst. *L. 3 Decretal.* tit. 30 n. 193, Van Espen *iur. eccles. univ.* part 2, sect. 4, tit. 2, cap. 10, nn. 20 et 21.

† Argum. ex cap. *quia Sacerdotes* 13 caus. 10 quaest. 1.

‡ Apud Bedam *Histor. Angl.* II. 29.

catholico nomini infensi sunt. Haec vires gignit et infirmos quoque pares efficit ad grandia quaeque gerenda; haec signum est quod sinceros Christi discipulos ab iis disternat qui se tales esse mentiuntur. Ad hanc igitur singulos et universos enixe cohortamur in Domino, rogantes cum Paulo ut impleant gaudium Nostrum, ut idem sapiant eandem caritatem habentes, unanimes, idipsum sentientes.\*

Demum ut firmiter ea constant quae constituimus, volumus atque decernimus, praesentes Litteras et in eis contenta quaecumque, etiam ex eo quod praedicti religiosi sodales et alii quicumque in praemissis interesse habentes cuiusvis status, gradus, ordinis et dignitatis existant, seu alias specifica mentione digni iis non consenserint, nec ad ea vocati et auditi, causaeque propter quas praesentes emanaverint sufficienter adductae, verificateae et justificatae non fuerint, aut ex alia qualibet etiam quantumvis iuridica et privilegiata causa, colore et capite etiam in corpore iuris clauso, nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis vel obreptionis, aut nullitatis vitio seu intentionis Nostrae, vel interesse habentium consensus, aliove quolibet, quantumvis magno et substantiali, individuamque expressionem requirente defectu impugnari infringi, retractari, in controversiam vocari, aut ad terminos iuris reduci, seu adversus illas restitutionis in integrum aliudve quodcumque iuris remedium intentari vel impetrari; sed ipsas praesentes Litteras semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere et fore, quibuscumque iuris seu facti defectibus, qui adversus illas ad effectum impediendi vel retardandi earum executionem quovis modo vel quavis de causa opponi possent minime refragantibus, suos plenarios et integros effectus obtinere, easque propterea, omnibus et singulis impedimentis penitus reiectis, ab illis ad quos spectat, et pro tempore quandocumque spectabit inviolabiliter servari; sicque et non aliter in praemissis per quoscumque iudices Ordinarios et delegatos iudicari ac definiri debere, ac irritum fore et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

Non obstantibus praemissis, et quatenus obus sit Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae Regula *de iure quaesito non tollendo*, aliisque Apostolicis ac in Universalibus, Provincialibus et Synodalibus Conciliis editis constitutionibus et ordinationibus, nec non quorumcumque Ordinum, Congregationum, Institutorum, et Societatum, etiam Iesu, et quarumvis Ecclesiarum et aliis quibuslibet, etiam iuramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, ac praemissorum etiam immemoralibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et Litteris Apostolicis quomodolibet in contrarium praemissorum concessis, editis et factis ac licet plures iteratis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi pro illorum derogatione specialis forma servanda foret, tenores earundem praesentibus pro plene ac sufficienter expressis habentes ad praemissorum effectum dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Quocumque autem modo earundem praesentium Litterarum

\* Philip. ii. 2.

exempla in Anglia publicata fuerint, volumus ut statim post huiusmodi publicationem omnes et singulos quos concernunt vel concernent in posterum perinde afficiant, ac si unicuique illorum personaliter intimatae ac notificatae fuissent.


Nulli ergo hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrarum decisionum, declarationum, decretorum, praeceptorum et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerari contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se noverit incursum.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo octingentesimo octuagesimo primo Octavo Idus Maii Pontificatus Nostri Anno IV.

C. CARD. SACCONI PRO-DATARIUS—T. CARD.  
MERTEL

Visa

De Curia I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS.

Loco  *Plumbi*

*Reg. in Secret. Brevium*

I. Cugnonius.

## ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON POLITICAL POWER.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Primatibus Archiepiscopis et  
Episcopis Universis Catholici orbis gratiam et communionem cum  
Apostolica sede habentibus.*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES.

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Diuturnum illud teterrimumque bellum, adversus divinam Ecclesiae auctoritatem susceptum, illuc, quo proclive erat, evasit; videlicet in commune periculum societatis humanae, ac nominatim civilis principatus, in quo salus publica maxime nititur.—Quod hac potissimum aetate nostra factum esse apparet. Cupiditates enim populares quamlibet imperii vim audacius hodie recusant quam antea: et tanta est passim licentia, tam crebrae seditiones ac turbae, ut iis qui res publicas gerunt non solum denegata saepe obtemperatio, sed ne satis quidem tutum incolumitatis praesidium relictum esse videatur. Diu quidem data est opera, ut illi in contemptum atque odium venirent multitudini, conceptaeque flammis invidiae iam erumpentibus, satis exiguo intervallo summorum principum vita pluries est aut occultis insidiis aut apertis latrociniiis ad internecionem expetita. Cohorruit tota nuper Europa ad potentissimi Imperatoris infandam necem: attonitisque adhuc prae sceleris magnitudine animis, non verentur perditos homines in ceteros Europae principes minas terroresque vulgo iactare.

Haec, quae sunt ante oculos, communium rerum discrimina, gravi Nos sollicitudine afficiunt, cum securitatem principum et tranquillitatem imperiorum una cum populorum salute propemodum in singulas horas periclitantem intueamur.—Atqui tamen religionis christianae divina virtus stabilitatis atque ordinis egregia firmamenta reipublicae peperit, simul ac in mores et instituta civitatum penetravit. Cuius virtutis non exiguus neque postremus fructus est aequa et sapiens in principibus et populis temperatio iurium atque officiorum. Nam in Christi Domini praeceptis atque exemplis mira vis est ad continendos tam qui parent, quam qui imperant, in officio; tuendamque inter ipsos eam, quae maxime secundum naturam est, conspirationem et quasi concentum voluntatum, unde gignitur tranquillus atque omni perturbatione carens rerum publicarum cursus.—Quapropter cum regendae Ecclesiae catholicae, doctrinarum Christi custodi et interpreti, Dei beneficio praepositi simus, auctoritatis Nostrae esse iudicamus, Venerabiles Fratres, publice commemorare quid a quoquam in hoc genere officii catholica veritas exigat; unde illud etiam emerget, qua via et qua ratione sit in tam formidoloso rerum statu saluti publicae consulendum.

Etsi homo arrogantia quadam et contumacia incitatus frenos imperii depellerè saepe contendit, numquam tamen assequi potuit ut nemini pareret. Praeesse aliquos in omni consociatione hominum et communitate cogit ipsa necessitas; ne principio vel capite, a quo regatur, destituta societas dilabatur et finem consequi prohibeatur, cuius gratia nata et constituta est. Verum si fieri non potuit, ut e mediis civitatibus politica potestas tolleretur, certe libuit omnes artes adhibere ad vim eius elevandam, maiestatemque minuendam; idque maxime saeculo XVI, cum infesta opinionum novitas complures infatuavit. Post illud tempus non solum ministrari sibi libertatem largius quam par esset multitudo contendit; sed etiam originem constitutionemque civilis hominum societatis visum est pro arbitrio confingere. Immo recentiores per plures, eorum vestigiis ingredientibus qui sibi superiore saeculo philosophorum nomen inscripserunt, omnem iniquam potestatem a populo esse; quare qui eam in civitate gerunt, ab iis non uti suam geri, sed ut a populo sibi mandatam, et hac quidem lege, ut populi ipsius voluntate, a quo mandata est, revocari possit. Ab his vero dissentiunt catholici homines, qui ius imperandi a Deo repetunt, velut a naturali necessarioque principio.

Interest autem attendere hoc loco, eos, qui reipublicae praefuturi sint, posse in quibusdam caussis voluntate iudicioque deligi multitudinis, non adversante neque repugnante doctrina catholica. Quo sane delectu designatur princeps, non conferuntur iura principatus; neque mandatur imperium, sed statuitur a quo sit gerendum. Neque hic quaeritur de rerum publicarum modis; nihil enim est cur non Ecclesiae probetur aut unius aut plurium principatus, si modo iustus sit et in communem utilitatem intentus. Quamobrem, salva iustitia, non prohibentur populi illud sibi genus comparare reipublicae, quod aut ipsorum ingenio, aut majorum institutis moribusque magis apte conveniat.

Ceterum ad politicum imperium quod attinet, illud a Deo proficisci

recte docet Ecclesia; id enim ipsa reperit sacris Litteris et monumentis christianae vetustatis aperte testatum; neque praeterea ulla potest doctrina cogitari, quae sit magis aut rationi conveniens, aut principum et populorum salutis consentanea.

Revera humani potentatus in Deo esse fontem, libri Veteris Testamenti pluribus locis praeclare confirmant. *Per me reges regnant, . . . per me principes imperant, et potentes decernunt iustitiam.\** Atque alibi: *Praebete aures vos qui continetis nationes, . . . quoniam data est a Deo potestas vobis, et virtus ab Altissimo.†* Quod libro Ecclesiastici idem continetur: *In unamquamque gentem Deus praeposuit rectorem.‡* Ista tamen, quae Deo auctore didicerant, paulatim homines ab ethnica superstitione dedocti sunt; quae sicut veras rerum species et notationes complures, ita etiam principatus germanam formam pulcritudinemque corrumpit. Postmodo, ubi Evangelium christianum affulsit, veritati vanitas cessit rursusque illud dilucere coepit, unde omnis auctoritas manat, nobilissimum divinumque principium.—Prae se ferenti atque ostentanti Praesidi romano absolventi condemnandi potestatem, Christus Dominus, *non haberes*, respondit, *potestatem adversum me ullam, nisi tibi datum esset desuper.§* Quem locum S. Augustinus explanans, *Discamus*, inquit, *quod dixit, quod et per Apostolum docuit, quia non est potestas nisi a Deo.||* Doctrinae enim praeceptisque Iesu Christi Apostolorum incorrupta vox resonavit tamquam imago. Ad Romanos, principum ethnicorum imperio subjectos, Pauli est excelsa et plena gravitatis sententia: *Non est potestas nisi a Deo; ex quo tamquam ex causa illud concludit; Princeps Dei minister est.¶*

Ecclesiae Patres hanc ipsam, ad quam fuerant instituti, doctrinam profiteri ac propagare diligenter studuerunt. *Non tribuamus*, S. Augustinus ait, *dandi regni et imperii potestatem nisi vero Deo.\*\** In eandem sententiam S. Ioannes Chrysostomus, *Quod principatus sint* inquit, *et quod alii imperent, alii subiecti sint, neque omnia casu et temere ferantur . . . divinae esse sapientiae dico.††* Id ipsum S. Gregorius Magnus testatus est inquit: *Potestatem Imperatoribus ac regibus caelitus datam fatemur.‡‡* Immo sancti Doctores eadem praecepta etiam naturali rationis lumine illustranda susceperunt, ut vel iis, qui rationem solum ducem sequuntur, omnino videri recta et vera debeant. Et sane homines in civili societate vivere natura iubet, seu verius auctor naturae Deus: quod perspicue demonstrant et maxima societatis consiliatrix loquendi facultas et innatae appetitiones animi perplures, et res necessariae multae ac magni momenti, quas solitarii assequi homines non possunt, iuncti et consociati cum alteris assequuntur. Nunc vero, neque existere neque intelligi societas potest, in qua non aliquis temperet singulorum voluntates ut velut unum fiat ex pluribus, easque ad commune bonum recte atque ordine impellat; voluit igitur Deus ut in civili societate essent qui multitudini imperarent. Atque illud etiam magnopere valet, quod ii, quorum auctoritate respublica administratur,

\* Prov. viii. 15–16.

† Sap. vi. 3, 4.

‡ Eccl. xvii. 14.

§ Ioan. xix. 11.

|| Tract. civi. in Ioan. n. 5.

¶ Ad Rom. xiii. 1, 4.

\*\* De Civ. Dei, lib. v. cap. 21.

†† In epist. ad Rom. homil. xxiii. n. 1.

‡‡ Epist. lib. ii. epist. 61.

debent cives ita posse cogere ad parendum, ut his plane peccatum sit non parere. Nemo autem hominum habet in se aut ex se, unde possit huiusmodi imperii vinculis liberam ceterorum voluntatem constringere. Unice rerum omnium procreatori et legislatori Deo ea potestas est: quam qui exercent, tamquam a Deo secum communicatam necesse est. *Unus est legislator et iudex, qui potest perdere et liberare.\** Quod perspicitur idem in omni genere potestatis. Eam, quae in sacerdotibus est, proficisci a Deo tam est cognitum, ut ii apud omnes populos ministri et habeantur et appellentur Dei. Similiter potestas patrum-familias expressam retinet quamdam effigiem ac formam auctoritatis quae est in Deo, *a quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur.* † Isto autem modo diversa genera potestatis miras inter se habent similitudines, cum quidquid uspiam est imperii et auctoritatis, eius ab uno eodemque mundi opifice et domino, qui Deus est, origo ducatur.

Qui civilem societatem a libero hominum consensu natam volunt, ipsius imperii ortum ex eodem fonte petentes, de iure suo iniquunt aliquid unumquemque cessisse et voluntate singulos in eius se contulisse potestatem, ad quem summa illorum iurium pervenisset. Sed magnus est error non videre, id quod manifestum est, homines, cum non sint salivagum genus, citra liberam ipsorum voluntatem ad naturalem communitatem esse natos: ac praeterea pactum, quod praedicant, est aperte commentitium et fictum, neque ad impertiendum valet politicae potestati tantum virium, dignitatis, firmitudinis, quantum tutela reipublicae et communes civium utilitatis requirunt. Ea autem decora et praesidia universa tunc solum est habiturus principatus, si a Deo augusto sanctissimoque fonte manare intelligatur.

Qua sententia non modo verior, sed ne utilior quidem reperiri ulla potest. Etenim potestas rectorum civitatis, si quaedam est divinae potestatis communicatio, ob hanc ipsam causam continuo adipiscitur dignitatem humana maiorem: non illam quidem impiam et perabsurdam, imperatoribus ethnicis divinos honores affectantibus aliquando expetitam, sed veram et solidam, eamque dono quodam acceptam beneficioque divino. Ex quo subesse cives et dicto audientes esse principibus, uti Deo, oportebit non tam poenarum formidine, quam verecundia maiestatis, neque assentationis causa, sed conscientia officii. Qua re stabit in suo gradu longe firmitus collocatum imperium. Etenim istius vim officii sentientes cives, fugiant necesse est improbitatem et contumaciam, quia sibi persuasum esse debet, qui politicae potestati resistunt, hos divinae voluntati resistere; qui honorem recusant principibus, ipsi Deo recusare.

Ad hanc disciplinam Paulus Apostolus Romanos nominatim erudit; ad quos de adhibenda summis principibus reverentia scripsit tanta cum auctoritate et pondere, ut nihil gravius praecipere posse videatur. *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt . . . . Ideo necessitate subditi estote non solum*

\* Jacob. iv. 12.

† Ad Ephes. iii. 15.

*propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam.\** Et consentiens est Principis Apostolorum Petri in eodem genere praeclara sententia: *Subiecti estote omni humanae creaturae propter Deum, sive regi quasi prae excellenti, sive ducibus tamquam a Deo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei.†*

Una illa hominibus caussa est non parendi, si quid ab iis postuletur quod cum naturali aut divino iure aperte repugnet; omnia enim in quibus naturae lex vel Dei voluntas violatur aequae nefas est imperare et facere. Si cui igitur usuveniat, ut alterutrum malle cogatur, scilicet aut Dei aut principum iussa negligere, Iesu Christo parendum est reddere iubenti *quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, quae sunt Dei Deo,‡* atque ad exemplum Apostolorum animose respondendum: *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.§* Neque tamen est, cur abieccisse obedientiam, qui ita se gerant, arguantur; etenim si principum voluntas cum Dei pugnat voluntate et legibus, ipsi potestatis suae modum excedunt, iustitiamque pervertunt: neque eorum tunc valere potest auctoritas, quae, ubi iustitia non est, nulla est.

Ut autem iustitia retineatur in imperio, illud magnopere interest, eos qui civitates administrant intelligere, non privati cuiusquam commodo politicam potestatem esse natam: procuracionemque republicae ad utilitatem eorum qui commissi sunt, non ad eorum quibus commissa est, geri oportere. Principes a Deo optimo maximo, unde sibi auctoritas data, exempla sumant: eiusque imaginem sibi in administranda republica proponentes, populo praesint cum aequitate et fide, et ad eam, quae necessaria est, severitatem paternam caritatem adhibeant. Huius rei caussa sacrarum Litterarum oraculis monentur, sibimetipsis Regi regum et Domino dominantium aliquando rationem esse reddendam; si officium deseruerint, fieri non posse ut Dei severitatem ulla ratione effugiant. *Allissimus interrogabit opera vestra et cogitationes scrutabitur. Quoniam cum essetis ministri regni illius, non recte iudicastis, . . . horrende et cito apparebit vobis, quoniam iudicium durissimum his qui praesunt fiet . . . Non enim subtrahet personam cuiusquam Deus, nec verebitur magnitudinem cuiusquam, quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et aequaliter cura est illi de omnibus. Fortioribus autem fortior instat cruciatio.||*

Quibus praeceptis rempublicam tuentibus; omnis seditionum vel caussa vel libido tollitur; in tuto futura sunt honos et securitas principum, quies et salus civitatem. Dignitati quoque civium optime consulitur: quibus in obedientia ipsa concessum est decus illud retinere, quod est hominis excellentiae consentaneum. Intelligunt enim, Dei iudicio non esse servum neque liberum; unum esse Dominum omnium, divitem *in omnes qui invocant illum¶* se autem idcirco subesse et obtemperare principibus, quod imaginem quodammodo referant Dei, *cui servire regnare est.*

Hoc vero semper egit Ecclesia, ut christiana ista civilis potestatis forma non mentibus solum inhaeresceret, sed etiam publica populorum

\* Ad Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 2.

† I. Petr. ii. 13, 15.

‡ Matt. xxii. 21.

§ Actor. v. 29.

|| Sap. vi. 4, 5, 6, 8.

¶ Ad Rom. x. 12.



vita moribusque exprimeretur. Quamdiu ad gubernacula reipublicae imperatores ethnici sederunt, qui assurgere ad eam imperii formam, quam adumbravimus, superstitione prohibebantur, instillare illam studuit mentibus populorum, qui simul ac christiana instituta susciperent, ad haec ipsa exigere vitam suam velle debebant. Itaque pastores animarum, exempla Pauli Apostoli renovantes, cura et diligentia summa populis praecipere consueverunt, *principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto obedire*.\* item orare Deum pro cunctis hominibus, sed nominatim *pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt: hoc enim acceptum est eorum Salvatore nostro Deo*.† Atque ad hanc rem omnino praeclara documenta christiani verteres reliquerunt: qui cum ab imperatoribus ethnicis iniustissime et crudelissime vexarentur, numquam tamen praetermiserunt gerere se obedientes et submisce, plane ut illi crudelitate, isti obsequio certare viderentur. Tanta autem modestia, tam certa parendi voluntas plus erat cognita, quam ut obscurari per calumniam malitiamque inimicorum posset. Quamobrem qui pro christiana nomine essent apud imperatores publice caussam dicturi, in hoc potissimum argumento iniquum esse convincebant in christianos animadvertere legibus, quod in oculis omnium convenienter legibus in exemplum viverent. Marcum Aurelium Antoninum et Lucium Aurelium Commodum filium eius sic Athenagoras confidenter alloquebatur: *Sinitis nos, qui nihil mali patramus, immo omnium . . . piissime iustissimeque cum erga Deum, tum erga imperium vestrum vos gerimus exagitari, rari, fugari*.‡ Pari modo Tertullianus laudi christianis aperte nabit, quod amici essent Imperio optimi et certissimi ex omnibus: *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut ipsum diligit et revereatur et honoret et salvum velit cum toto romano imperio*.§ Neque dubitabat affirmare, in imperii finibus tanto magis numerum minui inimicorum consuevisse, quanto cresceret christianorum. *Nunc pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine christianorum, pene omnium cives christianos habendo*.|| Praeclarum est quoque de eadem re testimonium in *Epistola ad Diognetum*, quae confirmat solitos eo tempore christianos fuisse, non solum inservire legibus, sed in omni officio plus etiam ac perfectius sua sponte facere, quam cogentur facere legibus. *Christiani obsequuntur legibus quae sancitae sunt, et suae vitae genere leges superant*.

Alia sane tum caussa erat, cum a fide christiana, aut quoquo modo ab officio deficeret Imperatorum edictis ac Praetorum minis iuberentur: quibus temporibus profecto displicere hominibus quam Deo maluerunt. Sed in iis ipsis rerum adiunctis tantum aberat ut quicquam seditiose facerent maiestatemve imperatoriam contemnerent, ut hoc unum sibi sumerent, sese profiteri, et christianos esse et nolle mutare fidem ullo modo. Ceterum nihil de resistendo cogitabant; sed placide atque hilare sic ibant ad tortoris equuleum, ut magnitudini animi cruciatuum magnitudo concederet.—Neque absimili ratione per eadem tempora

\* Ad Tit. iii. 1.

† I. Timoth. ii. 1-3.

‡ Legat. pro Christianis.

§ Apolog. n. 35.

|| Apolog. n. 37.

christianorum vis institutorum spectata est in militia. Erat enim militis christiani summam fortitudinem cum summo studia coniungere disciplinae militaris: animique excelsitatem immobili erga principem fide cumulare. Quod si aliquid rogaretur quod non esset honestum, uti Dei iura violare, aut in insontes Christi discipulos ferrum convertere, tunc quidem imperata facere recusabat, ita tamen ut discedere ab armis atque emori pro religione mallet, quam per seditionem et turbas auctoritati publicae repugnare.

Postea vero quam respublicae principes christianos habuerunt, multo magis Ecclesia testificari ac praedicere institit, quantum in auctoritate imperantium inesset sanctitatis: ex quo futurum erat, ut populis, cum de principatu cogitarent, sacrae cuiusdam maiestatis species occurreret, qua ad maiorem principum cum verecundiam tum amorem impelleret. Atque huius re caussa, sapienter providit ut reges sacrorum solemnibus initiarentur quod erat in Testamento Veteri Dei auctoritate constitutum. Quo autem tempore civilis hominum societas, tamquam e ruinis excitata imperii romani, in spem christianae magnitudinis revixit, Pontifices Romani, instituto *imperio sacro*, politicam potestatem singulari ratione consecraverunt. Maxima quidem ea fuit nobilitatis ad principatum accessio: neque dubitandum quin magnopere illud institutum et religiosae et civili societati semper spectavissent. Et sane quietae res et satis prosperae permanserunt quamdiu inter utramque potestatem concors amicitia permansit. Si quid tumultuando peccarent populi, praesto erat conciliatrix tranquillitatis Ecclesia, quae singulos ad officium vocaret, vehementioresque cupiditates partim lenitate partim auctoritate compesceret. Similiter si quid in gubernando peccarent principes, tum ipsa ad principes adire, et populorum iura, necessitates, recta desideria commemorando, aequitatem, clementiam, benignitatem suadere. Qua ratione pluries est impetratum, ut tumultuum et bellorum civilium pericula prohiberentur.

Contra inventae a recentioribus de potestate politica doctrinae magnas iam acerbitates hominibus attulerunt, metuendumque ne extrema malorum afferant in posterum. Etenim ius imperandi nolle ad Deum referre auctorem, nihil est aliud quam politicae potestatis et pulcherrimum splendorem velle deletum et nervos incisos. Quod autem iniquum ex arbitrio illam pendere multitudinis, primum opinione falluntur; deinde nimium levi ac flexibili fundamento statuunt principatum. His enim opinionibus quasi stimulis incitatae populares cupiditates sese efferent insolentius, magnaue cum pernicie reipublicae ad coecos motus, ad apertas seditiones proclivi cursu et facile delabentur. Revera illam, quam *Reformationem* vocant, cuius adiutores et duces sacram civilemque potestatem novis doctrinis funditus oppugnaverunt, repentini tumultus et audacissimae rebelliones praesertim in Germania consecutae sunt: idque tanta cum domestici deflagratione belli et caede, ut nullus pene locus expers barbarum et cruoris videretur. Ex illa haeresi ortum duxit saeculo superiore falsi nominis philosophia, et ius quod appellant *novum*, et imperium populare, et modum nesciens licentia, quam plurimi solam libertatem putant.

Ex his ad finitimas pestes ventum est, scilicet ad *Communismum*, ad *Socialismum*, ad *Nihilismum*, civilis hominum societatis teterrima portenta ac pene funera. Atqui tamen tantorum malorum vim nimis multa dilatare conantur, ac per speciem iuvandae multitudinis non exigua iam miseriarum incendia excitaverunt. Quae hic modo recordamur, ea nec ignota sunt nec valde longinqua.

Hoc vero est etiam gravius, quod non habent principes in tantis periculis remedia ad restituendam publicam disciplinam pacandosque animos satis idonea. Instruunt se auctoritate legum, eosque, qui rempublicam commovent, severitate poenarum coercendos putant. Recte quidem; sed tamen serio consideratum est, vim nullam poenarum futuram tantam, quae conservare respublicas sola possit. Metus enim, ut praeclare docet sanctus Thomas, *est debile fundamentum; nam qui timore subduntur, si occurrat occasio qua possint impunitatem sperare, contra praesidentes insurgunt eo ardentius, quo magis contra voluntatem ex solo timore cohibebantur.* Ac praeterea *ex nimio timore plerique in desperationem incidunt: desperatio autem audacter ad quaelibet attendenda praecipitat.\** Quae quam vera sint, satis experiendo perspeximus. Itaque obediendi altiorem et efficaciorum causam adhibere necesse est, atque omnino statuere, nec legum esse posse fructuosam severitatem, nisi homines impellantur officio, salutarique metu Dei permoveantur. Id autem impetrare ab iis maxime religio potest, quae sua vi in animos influit, ipsasque hominum flectit voluntates, ut eis a quibus ipsi reguntur, non obsequio solum, sed etiam benevolentia et caritate adhaerescant, quae est in omni hominum coetu optima custos incolumitatis.

Quamobrem egregie Pontifices Romani communi utilitati servisse indicandi sunt, quod *Novatorum* frangendos semper curaverunt tumidos inquietosque spiritus, ac persaepe monuerunt quantum ii sint civili etiam societati periculosi. Ad hanc rem digna, quae commemoretur, Clementis VII sententia est ad Ferdinandum Bohemiae et Hungariae regem: *In hac fidei causa tua etiam et ceterorum principum dignitas et utilitas inclusa est, cum non possit illa convelli quin vestrarum etiam rerum labefactionem secum trahat; quod clarissime in locis istis aliquot perspectum sit.*—Atque in eodem genere summa providentia et fortitudo enituit, Decessorum Nostrorum, praesertim autem Clementis XII, Benedicti XIV, Leonis XII, qui cum consequentibus temporibus pravaram doctrinarum pestis latius serperet, *sectarumque* audacia invalesceret, oppositu auctoritatis suae aditum illis intercludere conati sunt. Nos ipsi pluries denunciavimus quam gravia pericula impendant, simulque indicavimus quae sit eorum propulsandorum ratio optima. Principibus ceterisque rerum publicarum moderatoribus praesidium religionis obtulimus, populosque hortati sumus ut summorum bonorum copia, quam Ecclesia suppeditat maxime uterentur. Id nunc agimus, ut ipsum illud praesidium, quo nihil est validius, sibi rursus oblatum principes intelligant: cosque vehementer in Domino hortamur, ut religionem tueantur, et, quod interest etiam reipublicae,

\* De Regim. Princip. i. 1, cap. 10.

ea Ecclesiam libertate frui posse sinant, qua sine iniuria et communi pernicie privari non potest. Profecto Ecclesia Christi neque principibus potest esse suspecta, neque populis invisa. Principes quidem ipsa monet sequi iustitiam, nullaque in re ab officio declinare: at simul eorum roborat multisque rationibus adjuvat auctoritatem. Quae in genere rerum civilium versantur, ea in potestate supremoque imperio eorum esse agnoscit et declarat: in iis quorum iudicium, diversam licem ob causam, ad sacram civilemque pertinet potestatem, vult existere inter utramque concordiam, cuius beneficio funestae utriusque contentiones devitantur. Ad populos quod spectat, est Ecclesia salutis cunctorum hominum nata, eosque semper dilexit uti parens. Ea quippe est, quae caritate praeunte mansuetudinem animis impertit, humanitatem moribus, aequitatem legibus: atque honestae libertati nusquam inimica tyrannicum dominatum semper detestari consuevit. Hunc, quae insita in Ecclesia est, bene merendi consuetudinem paucis praecclare expressit sanctus Augustinus: *Docet (Ecclesia) reges prospicere populis, omnes populos se subdere regibus: ostendens quemadmodum et non omnibus caritas, et nulli debetur iniuria.\**

His de causis opera vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, valde utilis ac plane salutaris futura est, si industriam atque omnes, quae Dei munere in vestra sunt potestate, ad deprecanda societatis humanae vel pericula vel incommoda Nobiscum contuleritis. Cura ac providete, ut quae de imperio deque obediendi officio ab Ecclesia catholica praecipiantur, ea homines et plane perspecta habeant, et ad vitam agendam diligenter utantur. Vobis auctoribus et magistris, saepe populi moneantur fugere vetitas sectas, a coniurationibus abhorrere, nihil seditiose agere: iidemque intelligant, qui Dei causa parent imperantibus, eorum esse *rationabile obsequium*, generosam obedientiam. Quoniam vero Deus est, *qui dat salutem regibus,†* et concedit populis *conquiescere in pulchritudine pacis et in tabernaculis fiduciae et in requie opulenta,‡* Ipsum necesse est orare atque obsecrare, ut omnium mentes ad honestatem veritatemque flectat, iras compescat, optatam diu pacem tranquillitatemque orbi terrarum restituat.

Quo autem spes firmior sit impetrandi, deprecatores defensoresque salutis adhibeamus, Mariam Virginem magnam Dei parentem, auxilium christianorum, tutelam generis humani: S. Iosephum castissimum sponsum eius, cuius patrocinio plurimum universa Ecclesia confidit: Petrum et Paulum Principes Apostolorum custodes et vindices nominis christiani.

Interea divinorum munerum auspicem Vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero et populo fidei vestrae commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXIX Iunii A. MDCCCLXXXI, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

\* De morib. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 80.

† Psal. cxliiii. 11.

‡ Isai. xxxii. 18.

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Scuola Cattolica.* 31 Maggio; 31 Luglio, 1881.  
*Legitimacy and Catholics.*

THE *Scuola Cattolica* is issuing a series of articles on a subject of much interest, especially at the present day, because it has led to grave disagreement amongst Catholics, particularly in France. Many see no hope of salvation save in the restoration to the throne of the legitimate branch of the old Bourbons. Christian France, they say, cannot be saved but by a Christian monarchy, and such a government is possible only by the triumph of the Comte de Chambord. Hence their aim is to endeavour to upset the Republic, in order to the furtherance of this object. Others judge differently, and consider that the Church ought not to connect itself with political parties. Let us not, they say, create irritation by striving to overturn an established Government, powerfully supported by men who will unite in one common hatred both the Church and the party who oppose them for the Church's sake. Legitimacy, moreover, they contend, is a vanquished cause, and its adherents, being impotent to prevail, are impotent also to hinder the persecutions which their fruitless efforts would excite, to the prejudice of religion. To the Legitimists such language is intolerable, implying, as it does, the sacrifice of the hereditary prince's lawful rights.

Clearly there is here a double question for consideration—the claims of legitimacy, as such, and those of the only pretender who will avowedly devote himself to the restoration of Christian order. The former is a speculative, the latter a practical question; and it is well not to confound the two. The reviewer first treats the speculative question. It is one which does not concern France exclusively, for throughout Europe, and particularly in Italy, there are other dispossessed sovereigns, at the head of whom must be placed the Vicar of Jesus Christ. But, since his rights as a sovereign are of a higher order, owing to their connection with his spiritual rights, the reviewer defers that subject until later on. In the present article he inquires what legitimacy is, whether it can be lost, and for what causes. Legitimacy, with Catholics, can, in the abstract, only be *right* in conformity to the eternal law. In the concrete, royal legitimacy is the right which a prince possesses, not only as regards the origin of his authority, but also as respects its exercise in conformity with the principles of justice. Can this right be forfeited? He answers affirmatively. God has often set aside bad princes; and, although God is absolute in His power, He never acts without a reason. The

Church also, acting by the authority He has entrusted to her, has at times discharged subjects from their oaths of fidelity. This is sufficient to prove that legitimacy is not necessarily inadmissible. The divine right of the ruler does not import the direct election by God of any determined individual, but that, as all authority is from God, so he who wields it is entitled to respect and obedience. Legitimacy can, therefore, speaking speculatively, be lost, for the reviewer is alluding only to the loss of a just title, not to the practical infliction of the penalty incurred. This caution is needful, lest the doctrine here laid down should seem to lend a sanction to revolutionary principles. It is not therefore a question here by whom and in what manner a legitimate prince who has become a tyrant may or can be despoiled of his power, but simply if legitimacy can be lost. As to its effective privation, this is a grave question of prudence, and one often practically insoluble, from the difficulty of finding a proper judge between the prince and his subjects, and also because tyranny is frequently preferable to the evil results of sedition. The Catholic Church, accordingly, does not leave it to the will of the people to rise at their pleasure in revolt against unjust princes, which would often entail more detriment to society than does their misrule.

For what causes can legitimacy be forfeited? Following the doctors of the Church, the reviewer first mentions habitual incapacity to rule. The king is for the kingdom, not the kingdom for the king. The Merovingians were legitimate, but the Carolingians were substituted for them, with the sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff, the supreme judge. And if such incapacity, which is a negative fault, be an adequate cause for the forfeiture of a legitimate right, what of the active misconduct of a prince who positively works the ruin of the commonwealth by his misrule? S. Thomas enumerates among the offences which incur this loss, first, infidelity, the apostasy of the Catholic ruler of a Catholic nation; next, intolerable exaction and the habitual disregard of the just rights, spiritual or temporal, of his subjects. Note, however, that such deficiency in his duties as ruler must be considerable and persistent, in order to render it proportionate to the penalty incurred. It may be asked, would a prince forfeit his legitimate rights who should commit any such offences, constrained thereto by a Constitution to which he has sworn? Undoubtedly he would, in spite of every chart or Constitution whatever. The prince cannot despoil himself of his free will and the personal responsibility which every man incurs by his voluntary acts. In this sense there can be no such a being as an irresponsible sovereign.\* Is it, however, lawful to question the legitimacy of any prince who, in spite of his misrule, continues to receive the homage of the world at large? And when does such consentient recognition possess a practical authority? The reviewer replies, when it corresponds with the Church's unerring judgment. Human nature in itself is liable to the grossest aberrations from truth and justice, and if, descending to the concrete, we cast an

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\* This subject was treated at length in a recent number of the *Scuola Cattolica*.

eye at modern Europe, which has abandoned so many lawful sovereigns to the violence of the Revolution—and especially the Roman Pontiff himself—which has practically abolished the law of nations, set aside the obligations of solemn treaties, and which, urged on by the tyranny of the Masonic sects, has precipitated itself into the most degrading anti-social apostasy, which denies all legitimacy and oppresses right by force, what value, it may well be asked, can be placed on its decisions?

But, now, what are some of the practical inferences to be drawn from this doctrine by Catholics of the present day? The reviewer premises that there are persons who exaggerate the rights of royal legitimacy, and impute a species of sacredness to it which no dereliction of duty on the part of those possessing it can in the least impair. This is not Catholic doctrine. If subjects have duties towards the sovereign, so have sovereigns duties towards their subjects, which they cannot habitually violate with impunity. Now, to apply this doctrine to modern history, it must be sorrowfully confessed that there is scarcely a legitimacy existing in the true sense of the word; society is in a state of agony, and can the authors or abettors of the crimes which have led to this state, and against which the Church for three centuries has been protesting, have preserved their legitimacy? The Catholic submits, and is patient, but well-nigh everywhere lives under governments simply such *de facto*, whose system is war against truth and justice, and whose title is complicity with the Revolution, which is all one with negation of every right. Right has perished. What, then, is the practical consequence of this condition as regards their behaviour? The first is the duty of refraining from flattery. Flattery is always odious; but when the person flattered is high in authority and abuses his power for evil, it is doubly criminal. It is servility which has mainly led to the loss of legitimacy. If, therefore, on some only devolves the duty of raising their voice against an unworthy ruler, all are bound to abstain from applause, and to give him, at least, the lesson of silence. But, further, if all are bound to prevent evil and promote good, so far as lies in their power, certainly they must be so bound when it is a question of liberating the commonwealth from tyranny. The Catholic, therefore, while abstaining from sedition, as has been observed, in order to avoid worse evils, will feel it his duty to make an active use of his civil rights, of which the Sovereign Pontiff has in Italy specified the sphere. Finally, the reviewer declares that he considers the French Legitimists as worthy of all praise, in that they solemnly proclaim that Christian France can never be saved but by a Christian monarchy, showing thereby that they do not so much look to the restoration of an ancient dynasty as to the eminently Christian character of its present representative. If they rested their claims in his behalf solely on the sacredness of his hereditary rights, it is plain that the reviewer would not coincide with them, inasmuch as he considers that the Bourbon sovereigns of France were guilty, and that persistently, of offences amply sufficient for the forfeiture of their legitimacy, although it was an unoffending scion of their race who became the scapegoat of their misdeeds.

He concludes with aspirations for the return of a Christian monarchy to heal this France, which is a rock of offence to the world, and the cause of so much sorrow to the Church and to humanity; adding his earnest desire for the exaltation of one whose head is already encircled with so splendid a crown of virtues. May he, in the name of the Christian idea, keep himself before the eyes of France, of Europe, and of modern society, prepared to carry out that idea which can alone form the basis of true civilization and morality. For, if the old dynasty can confer anything more upon him, this can only be on the condition of a Restoration which shall be true and substantial, and free from unreasonable prejudices.

We have no space for the barest analysis of the second article which appeared on July 31, and contains much valuable matter, but must content ourselves with giving the heads of its contents, which will sufficiently indicate the subjects discussed and the line of argument followed. 1. Can a usurper acquire legitimacy? 2. Society cannot, even for an instant, remain ungoverned. 3. A usurpation begins to become a government of fact, and worthy of respect, when the impotence of the pretender and the power of the usurper have been manifested. 4. It becomes a government of right if the impotence of the legitimate pretender be irremediable, and if the usurper upholds true social order. 5. Objections considered: Sanctity of the right of the pretender; successful injustice, as treated of in the sixty-first Proposition of the Syllabus. 6. Rights and conduct of the Church. 7. Practical difference between governments of fact and those of right.

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Both the *Scuola Cattolica* and the *Civiltà Cattolica* have had articles on the outrages offered during the night of July 13 to the body of our late Holy Pontiff; the latter, in its issue of August 6, treats the subject at considerable length, and, after graphically narrating the facts, examines the state of the internal conflict of the two Romes: the one apostate and pagan, but chiefly made up of strangers, their very voices and speech betraying them on that terrible night; the other Christian and indigenous, having at their head the successor of Peter, the prisoner of the Vatican, who could not issue thence without danger of being flung into the Tiber. It then inquires upon whom rests the culpable responsibility of this conflict, and, finally, what may be its probable consequences. Both of these distinguished Catholic periodicals continue to bestow considerable attention on the philosophy of Rosmini, and the *Scuola Cattolica* pursues its commentary on the Syllabus.

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A short article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (August 20), gives a curious account of the extraordinary hold upon popular belief which the current prophecy that the world will end next November has taken in Italy. You can scarcely speak to a peasant or set foot in a shop without hearing of this impending catastrophe. "Never," exclaimed an



intelligent countryman, "was the world in a readier state to be gulled than it is now, when it pretends not to believe even in God, and is inflated like a bladder with compulsory instruction and science." This remark of the countryman the reviewer takes, so to say, as his text for a few observations. Such credulity at a time when unbelief is in the ascendant, and such ignorance in an age which boasts of its enlightenment, surpasses all that has been imputed to the middle ages, the object of so much ridicule and scorn. Men, who affect to have no faith in the teaching of the Church or in divine revelation, blindly accept the most shallow impostures, and, recalling the particulars concerning the end of the world predicted in the gospel, they mix up there-with their own wild imaginings, and pretend to infer therefrom the immediate propinquity of the great day, and even to fix its precise date. Startled at this confident announcement, the herd of credulous folk are filled with alarm, as though, forsooth, God had appointed the charlatans and unbelieving scribes of the press to be the interpreters of His hidden mysteries and divulgers of that day and hour which no man knoweth, not even His own angels. The reviewer proceeds to set before his readers the different hypotheses maintained, or allowably maintainable, as to the means by which the conflagration of our globe might be brought about, supposing the Creator should be pleased to avail Himself of natural causes; and then passes on to notice the chief signs which shall precede the last day, as recorded by the Evangelists. He concludes by declaring the utter inanity of the argument which would deduce from the appearance of some comets and the conjunction of two planets with the earth on the 12th of November that the world will come to an end on the 28th day of the same month.

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#### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*La Controverse: Revue des Objections et des Réponses en matière de Religion.* 16 Août: 1<sup>er</sup> Septembre, 1881. Lyon et Paris.

IT will be a good work to introduce to our readers' notice this new serial, which appears fortnightly, and has now reached its twenty-first issue. The pages of the *Controverse* are exclusively dedicated to a statement—couched in as popular a style as solidity and brevity permit—both of objections raised against Catholicity or against Revelation, and of those principles of science, faith, and reason, the particular application of which forms the sufficient reply thereto. The Holy Father has already expressed the importance of being *au courant* with the scientific difficulties and objections of the day as a first condition of successfully replying to them with the principles and doctrine of S. Thomas. The force of this advice will be evident when we recall that the value of a reply to any such objection is not merely or so much that it should satisfy the mind of the respondent and of all those who think with him, as that it should be based on reasoning and expressed in terms that are familiar to the objector himself, and may probably bring conviction to those who think with

and are misled by him. Mis-statements, objections, accusations against our holy religion, the editors observe, are scattered through almost every book, newspaper, or periodical—it is their object to gather into the pages of the *Controverse* solid Catholic replies and counter-statements. The size of this new serial—56 octavo pages per fortnight—necessitates that both the detraction and the defence should be worded as briefly as possible; but this is a boon to the reader who remembers that life is short, and it is a great advantage, further, if any opponent ever dips into its pages; as one of the first conditions of success for such a work is that the acrimony of controversy should be conspicuously absent.

A number of learned Catholics—many of them men whose names alone will give weight to their statements even with opponents—have united to make the pages of the *Controverse* of solid worth. Among the contributors we notice Professors de Harlez, Ph. Gilbert, Lefèbve, of the University of Louvain; Fathers de Bonniot, Brucker, Haté, and others of the Society of Jesus; M. Valson, the Dean of the Catholic Faculty of Science at Lyons; and very many others. A glance at a few among the articles that have appeared will give a better idea of the work here accomplished: it will be seen that with very few exceptions the subjects are of scarcely less interest to English than to French Catholics. The first half-yearly volume contains papers on difficulties and objections drawn from natural science, and also from theology, Scripture, philosophy, social and political economy, history, archæology, &c. Père de Bonniot has contributed a reply to the pretended explanation of miracles as the effect of imagination, and in the June number two articles on the now much vaunted miracles of Buddha. A series of vigorously written papers appeared from March to June, “Le Clergé et le service militaire,” from the pen of Père Desjacques, S.J., and by the same writer replies to M. Lenormant on the truth of Genesis. Professor de Harlez has written on the civilization produced by Brahmanism and the pretended superiority of Zoroasterism over Christianity. We may note also articles on “The Church and Bible Criticism,” by A. Faivre; and another by the same writer, “The Angel and the Bloody Sweat at Gathsemani;” “Prehistoric Archæology and the Bible,” an interesting series by M. Hamard; on “Galileo and Infallibility,” by Professor Gilbert; on “Christian Charity and Modern Social Science,” by M. Heryé Bazin; and on “Mr. Spencer’s New Basis of Morality,” by M. Elie Blanc. To end mere enumerations, we will note a series of six articles by Professor J. B. Lefèbve, “Le progrès indefini en matière de religion,” that appeared from June to August. This excellent study is directed in reply to those who, whilst acknowledging the great good effected by Christianity, and refusing to join the ranks of anti-Christian scoffers, nevertheless are equally hostile to it by their assumption that Christian teaching is subject to the same law of progress that dominates all branches of science and human knowledge, that, in fact, religion, such as it now is, has by this law of progress been evolved from the idolatries of antiquity, as they from the savage beginnings of human history. The writer shows that *à priori*

the primitive religion must have been monotheism ; next, that *de facto* it was ; that the true religion preceded false religions. The proposed rationalistic explanation of progress, he also shows, is contradicted by the manner in which the Gospel was propagated among the nations of Europe. Considering the excellent aim of the *Controverse*, the good quality of the articles so far contributed, and their combination of learning with a very readable style ; and, lastly, the fact that the average length of an article is only twelve pages, it ought to find a large circle of readers among intelligent English Catholics : even, and with very good results, among educated women, who may not care to attack technical treatises, and whose position obliges them to listen to a large amount of anti-Catholic doubt and objection, not always by any means put forward in malice, and to which they might, with a little more knowledge, efficaciously reply.

“La Vision des Chérubins du Prophète Ezéchiel” is the title of two articles that appear in the two numbers of the *Controverse*, placed at the head of this notice. They are from the pen of the Abbé Vigouroux, so favourably known to Bible students by his “La Bible et les Découvertes modernes,” the fourth volume of which has just been published. The vision of the Cherubim with which the book of Ezechiel opens is, it is well known, full of difficulties and mysteries : so full, a note in our English Douay tells us, that the old Hebrews, according to St. Jerome, would not allow any to read it until they were thirty years old. And it has remained obscure since to readers of more than twice thirty. No wonder, then, that Rationalists, as M. Vigouroux says, used to laugh at it as too *bizarre* for divine inspiration. Strange to say, however, modern Assyrian discoveries have so changed the tactics of the objectors that they now reject the “pretended vision” of Ezechiel as a description pure and simple of those Assyrian works of art that, by their novelty to him and their magnificence, had deeply impressed the imagination of the Hebrew writer. The aim of the present articles is to show that God, when He revealed Himself to His prophet Ezechiel, made use merely of the imagery that the prophet had before his eyes in exile—somewhat as Mr. Gilbert Scott (in his recent work) cleverly and forcibly contends S. John, in his great vision of heaven, had before him an idealized Christian temple.

God in revealing Himself to His prophet made use—as a means of manifestation—of the sights around Ezechiel at the time. The points of resemblance between the vision of the Cherubim and the Chaldean monuments are too numerous and striking to deny them. But it must also be well noted that if the prophet has borrowed from Chaldean Art, he has in no wise copied it. If it be just, and even useful to an understanding of the vision, to recognize the resemblances, it is no less necessary not to exaggerate them. The seer has only made use as a *point de départ* of what was before the eyes of the Hebrews exiled with him. God wished that, like all the sacred writers, he should borrow his colours, figures, metaphors, his “imagery,” as the English say, from objects around him and well known to his readers. The sacred author acted together with God ; his copying is not servile ; but by new and original combinations he has expressed, by means of his symbols, exalted and sublime truths which it belongs to theologians to expound to us.

The greater part of the emblems that he has given us we find scattered here and there through Assyrian sculptures and bas-reliefs, but nowhere do we find them all together united as they are in the vision. Thus we find the man, the bull, the lion, and the eagle constantly used as religious symbols; we find winged bulls and lions with human faces—but nowhere any monument in which all these characters are united in one. Neither do we find *Kirubi* provided with the human hands and the four wings of Ezechiel's cherubim, yet we do find human figures with four wings and winged lions with human hands. As to the movements of the mystic animals, it is evident that it is peculiar to the vision shown by God to the prophet.

Readers familiar—as who is not?—with the colossal Assyrian *kirubi*, or winged bulls with human faces, and *nirgalli*, or winged lions with human faces, in the works of Layard, in the British Museum or the Louvre, will follow the Abbé Vigouroux's lengthened comparison of these with the mystic animals of the prophet's vision with great interest. A visit to the Assyrian Museum at the Louvre, he says, will elucidate the language of the vision more readily than commentaries—the mere sight of the winged bulls explaining the mystic creatures of the first chapter of Ezechiel better than the *ex professo* treatises of Kaiser and Hufnagel. The men painted in colours on the walls of Ezech. xxii. 14, 15, are there; the verses are, in effect, a technical description of the palace walls of Khorsabad; indeed, M. de Longpérier, in his Guide to the Museum, for his description had only to copy these words of the prophet. The 10th verse of chapter viii. can equally be seen. The writer's comparison of the "vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord" (Ezech. i. 26—ii. 1), in his second article, is still more interesting. The light thrown on the meaning of such words as amber (*hasmal* = *electrum* of the Vulgate) in that passage is noteworthy.

If the colossal and brilliantly decorated *chef-d'œuvres* of Assyrian art, he says, strike with such awe the Arab excavators who find them in their ruined desolation, what impression must they have made on the impressible Jews who trod their vast spaces in the days of living magnificence? But the prophet was an artist, who painted to the ear of the exiled Jew with the very figures and details whose splendour seemed unrivalled, a picture of the grandeur and magnificence of the true God, the God of his fathers, beyond even the grandeur and magnificence of the Chaldeans. The infinite beauty and greatness of their God was taught them through the beauty and greatness before their eyes. That God should have revealed truths to Ezechiel, under these images and symbols, offers no difficulty; it is, on the contrary, in keeping with God's way in His revelations to Moses in the book of Exodus, to David in the Psalms, to Daniel, and to S. John. The writer concludes:—

It is right, however, to acknowledge that the progress made of this kind, in the interpretation of the Sacred Books is only secondary; if Assyriology has dissipated clouds and cleared up doubtful points, its service is limited to that. The sense of the prophecies remains the same. What the Fathers and old commentators wrote and taught remains true. If some superficial changes be introduced in the manner of representing

the mystic creatures, nothing essential has to be altered, and we may repeat to day, with Catholic tradition, that this vision shows what is the glory of God and His sovereign dominion over all creatures.

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GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, COLOGNE.

I. *Katholik.*

IN the May and June issues Professor Probst, of Breslau University, writes on "The Liturgy of the African Church in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries." Like many other countries, Africa witnessed during this period a reformation in the liturgy, although it was far less extensive than the reforms elsewhere. But, unlike other countries which were called upon to struggle against Arianism (which heresy gave rise to a change in the Preface in the Mass), Africa had to oppose only the schism of the Donatists, and hence preserved the old form of the preface, which was a prayer of thanks to Almighty God for his creation and providence. Our author next reconstructs the African liturgy from the writings of S. Augustine, an extremely difficult task, owing to the destruction by the Vandals of whatever liturgical books of the Catholic Church they happened to meet with. Again, the writings of S. Fulgentius, the disciple of S. Augustine, point to the "epiklesis," or invocation of the Holy Ghost, after the consecration of Our Lord's body and blood in the Mass. According to S. Fulgentius, the Holy Ghost descends on the altar not personally, but through his graces, to sanctify, not Our Lord's body and blood, but the mystical body—viz., the congregation. Professor Probst, in concluding his able article, says:—"This is the form of the African liturgy during the fourth and fifth centuries. A copy of its liturgical books no longer exists—a fact to be deplored all the more, as this liturgy, far more than any other, would have given to us the oldest Mass-rites in the Western Church."

The July issue contains a study, from the pen of the Rev. — Nürnberg, of S. Boniface's work, "De Unitate Fidei." That the apostle of Germany wrote a work bearing this title is generally known, from his biography edited by St. Willibald. The work was a detailed profession of faith, which he gave to Pope Gregory II. before his consecration. Some fragments of it are contained in the "Collection of Canons," by Cardinal Deusdedit, which Mgr. Martineau, from a Vatican manuscript, published at Venice in 1869. But Herr Nürnberg was happy enough to discover in a Vatican Codex (4,160, fol. 49), another fragment, hitherto unknown, of St. Boniface's work. All the writings of St. Boniface breathe his intense love for the centre of unity and his zeal for the purity of clerical life.

The Rev. — Beissel contributes an able article on the history of the "Episcopal Crosier." He commences with the staff as a sign of authority in the heathen world and Old Testament history, and advances hence to the crosier of Christian times. For centuries, the

crozier was a staff, bearing on its top a globe, or a globe with a cross, or a transom. The ultimate form was a crook or crozier. A staff, with a globe on the top, is still preserved in the treasury of Cologne Cathedral; and, according to the legend, it came from St. Peter, who sent it to St. Maternus, the first bishop of Cologne. The same July number of the *Katholik* contains an essay on "Dante's Ideas of Pope and Emperor." The author very strongly vindicates the great Catholic poet from the charge of being an enemy of the Holy See—(whatever may be his opinions about the *persons* of several Pontiffs)—and still more from the charge of supporting the spirit of revolution, or of the so-called Reformation. I contribute to the same number a long *critique* of Fr. Bridgett's "History of the Holy Eucharist in England," and Dr. Lee's "Church under Queen Elizabeth."

2. *Historich-politische Blätter*.—The most important contribution is a series of three articles by Dr. Falk, a parish priest of the Mainz diocese, on the foundations and offices of "Cathedral preachers" in Germany during the Middle Ages. Wherever the Catholic Church was not prevented by public calamities or iniquitous laws, we find her fulfilling her divinely intrusted mission of preaching God's word. As far back as we can go in German history, we find that sermons were preached in the vulgar tongue. Dr. Falk shows, from the testimony of innumerable documents, that foundations were made in German cathedrals for providing eminent preachers of Catholic doctrine; and he traces the life of those pious and learned men who unwearingly fulfilled their sublime office. It was only a slander of the Reformers to attack the Catholic Church for having, during the Middle Ages, neglected the sermon. Mainz, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Basel, Constanz, Augsburg, Würzburg, Regensburg, Bamberg, Trèves, and Merseburg had special foundations for the support of preachers. The office of cathedral preacher in Trèves belonged to the auxiliary bishops of the diocese till 1560, when the Jesuits undertook it. It is also a fact worthy of mention that the last bishop of Merseburg, a city near the place where Luther opposed the Catholic Church, on all great feasts entered the pulpit, "and the people came in great crowds and most diligently heard the Word of God." Bishop Adolfs, of Merseburg, died in 1526.

The July issue contains a *critique* on the learned work, "Junilius Afrikanus," by Prof. Kihn, of Würzburg University. Hitherto Junilius Africanus has been generally regarded as a bishop of an African diocese. It is to Prof. Kihn's accurate and laborious research that we now owe an exhaustive biography of this author. He was not a bishop, but a layman who occupied a high office in the Roman empire, and, what very often occurred at that period, pursued theological and biblical studies. Professor Kihn opens his article with a long account of Bishop Theodore, of Mopsuestia, and the influence and importance of the exegetical school of Antioch, over which he presided. In the second part Junilius is considered as an interpreter, and his opinions on prophecy and inspiration are examined. The third part draws very instructive pictures of the large spread of Nestorianism in Persia, and of the schools of Nisibis and Edessa, the very strongholds of this heresy.

Junilius, for seven years (545-552), was a "quaestor sacri palatii" in Constantinople, and it was in this capital that he met with Paul of Persia, professor, and afterwards metropolitan, of Nisibis. This man provided Junilius with "The Methodical Introduction to the Divine Law." At the request of his countryman, Pirmasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, he translated this work into Latin, with the title, "Instituta Regularia." Professor Kihn shows that this title is the original one, and substitutes it for the title hitherto employed: "De Partibus Divinæ Legis." To the same number I contribute an examination of Br. Foley's fifth volume of the "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus."

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.—Fr. Baumgartner describes Italy during the last three years. Fr. Wiedenman contributes a very well written article on the "Attacks of modern German philosophy on the doctrine of Redemption." The man who impiously recommends to Germany the systems of Monism and Pantheism is Prof. Von Hartmann, of Berlin University. He is kind enough to teach the German public the following doctrines:—"Real beings are the incarnation of the divine essence; the world's development is the history of the incarnation of the incarnate God, and likewise the way for redeeming God crucified in the flesh; morality is co-operation for shortening this way of suffering and redeeming." One cannot help feeling disgust and annoyance at having forced on us by this author blasphemies unusual with even the most powerful and virulent enemies of the Church in the first period of Christianity. Prof. Hartmann clothes his ideas in a very fascinating form; hence the popularity he enjoys, hence the deplorable fact that his anti-Christian opinions are taken up by thousands of readers.

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## Notices of Books.

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*The Metaphysics of the School.* By THOMAS HARPER, S.J.  
Vol. II. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

THIS second volume of a work, which impresses the reader and the scholar more and more in proportion to its growth, is concerned with the principles of Being, and with the four Causes. A less scientific description of its contents may be given by saying that it treats of the principle of contradiction, and of the constitution of bodily substance. The aim of Father Harper, the reader may be reminded, is to write Scholastic and Thomistic philosophy in English; in good English words and phrases, and with reference to English contemporary thought. If his terms are at times somewhat strange, and his phrasing a little uncouth, no one need be astonished or repelled. Science must have its technicalities, and scientific progress is im-

possible without scientific terms. The medical writers, or the artistic writers, who contribute to the pages of widely read contemporary periodicals, make no scruple of using language, which is professional and even pedantic. Father Harper is never pedantic—that is, he never uses technicalities or impressive phrases merely for the purpose of display. But he rightly does not hesitate to use his English tongue as a master would use it; widening its significance, happily innovating on its usages, and by a skilful turn, bringing out new lights in the massive structure of its idiom. Take the following paragraph from his long and interesting discussion of the “atomic theory” of matter; and observe how neatly and cleverly a demonstration, familiar to us in our text-books, is turned into English speech, which does not contain more than a word or two that an ordinarily educated man can misunderstand. He is speaking of the atomic theory in general—

Looking at it metaphysically it is a failure; first, because it does not reach the ultimate constituents of bodies. First of all, it does not even reach their ultimate *integrating* parts; though it may approximate to those ultimates enough for the practical purposes of physics, on the hypothesis that their projection subserves these purposes, which is a subject of grave doubt. The plain reason why it cannot reach the ultimate integrating parts is that the feat is simply impossible. For quantity and quantified material substances are indefinitely divisible. So long as there is extension—part outside part—further division is possible; and any integral part, however minute, of any body, must have extension. You cannot, however persevering may be your efforts, mince extended bodies into mathematical points. It is true, S. Thomas admits that physically it is possible to reach an ultimate beyond which division is impossible. But if such ultimate could practically be attained, what would be its condition? It is obvious that so long as the substance is informed by quantity, it is physically capable of further division; because it has part outside part in space. Wherefore, the said ultimate would have been denuded of its quantification, and consequently would cease to be a body, though remaining in some way or other an integral material substance (p. 231).

In treating of “principles” of Being, Father Harper establishes that the principle of contradiction—“it is impossible that a thing should both be and not be at one and the same time”—is the first in the order of metaphysical reduction. His refutation of Sir William Hamilton’s objections to this thesis is very good; but it is not so easy to see that he is successful in disposing of the counter principle of Gioberti, Romano, Brownson, and Rosmini. We ourselves hold very distinctly that the principle, “God creates existences,” is so far from being the ultimate principle in the logical order, that it is not even a principle at all, but an inference. But to say, as Father Harper says, that it is a contingent principle, and that, therefore, if all human knowledge rested on it, human knowledge would be contingent, is not to say anything that a Giobertian would care to dispute. And Father Harper’s appeal to “common sense” in this matter, might, perhaps, be without much difficulty turned against himself. But probably the learned author will have another opportunity of treating the cardinal point of the ontologistic school, and of demonstrating the futility of attempting to identify the ontological order with the logical, or of setting up an



“intuition” which is not very easily distinguishable from veiled pantheism.

The great question of the constitution of corporeal substance is discussed at length, from page 183 to the very end of the volume. There is, probably, no subject in all the Scholastic metaphysics so difficult to grasp in language as the doctrine of Matter and Form. The conception itself, of the grand and fertile generalization which is indicated by these two words, is one which requires the finest efforts of the imagination to hold firmly in the mind's vision. The many theories and views which thinkers of every age have thought out and expressed, on a question which always has seemed imperatively to demand a solution, are so many disturbing influences which prevent the philosophic inquirer from giving his undivided thought to the profound analysis of Aristotle and St. Thomas. From Anaxagoras to Sir William Thompson there have been countless systems of atoms and molecules, elements and forces, to account for what we see in the visible world—the perpetual change, and the unbroken identity which underlies all change. The oldest philosophers, like the most recent, have held that “*fieri est alterari*”—that no substance is made afresh, but only altered; that the elements, atoms, or forces, change their arrangement and their mutual relations, like the dancers in a complex dance, or the units of a flock of wild geese as they journey in a body from one horizon to the other; but that no deeper, no “substantial” change takes place. With these philosophers, bread and a stone, water and the strongest spirit, flesh of an animal and grass of the field, are not really different, but only different “arrangements.” The scholastic analysis is the view of common sense; that, over and above any arrangement of parts, integrant or mechanical or chemical, there is also a “form,” an “actuality,” a binding and unifying influence, which is the reason of the special qualities of a special thing; that, take the smallest possible particle or atom of any material substance, such form exists therein whole and perfect, giving a kind of life, even in lifeless things, to that base or substratum of all matter which is the same in all the corporeal universe. Father Harper translates “*materia prima*” by primordial matter. The word may perhaps be objected to, as seeming to imply a kind of existence for this “matter” which it cannot have; for “primordial” seems to connote existence. But the truth is, the root of the difficulty lies in the word “matter.” It would be better to have got rid of it in this connection. Matter, in English, is not at all the term for “incompleteness” which *ἄλη* was to Aristotle. Even “*materia*,” in Latin had not, in St. Thomas's day, become a synonym for all that is most real and most impressive to the sense. “*Materia prima*” means the “primary passive element” in things corporeal; and though this is a clumsy phrase, it is a question whether the getting rid of the obtrusive phantasms conjured up by the word “matter” would not be cheaply purchased by the attempt to naturalize it. Primordial matter, however, will pass. All that the learned author says in treating of the nature, the causality, and the effect of this mysterious element, seems good and sufficient. His discussion of modern theories, atomic and

other, is most interesting, and in many places most convincing; but it would have been desirable to have had a somewhat fuller statement of the "dynamic" theory—some forms of which are extremely interesting, though their elucidation belongs rather to physical science than to metaphysical. The question of "forms" is brighter and more promising than that of "matter." Father Harper devotes twenty-five or thirty pages to the proof that "substantial forms" exist in Nature. We have never before seen the first of these proofs handled as he handles it—that is to say, the proof of "forms" throughout Nature, from the analogy of what our own consciousness tells us of our own being. Most readers would say at once, the analogy breaks down at inorganic nature. I am conscious, on my own part, of an identity which gives a unity to all the changing incidents of my existence; and from what I see of the "life" of living things, I may, without hesitation, predicate the same thing of the organic universe. But what unity is there in a rock or a liquid, which might not be the merely phenomenal effect of an "arrangement" of atoms? Father Harper's answer to this must be read. To many students his exposition of the analogy here indicated will be new and convincing. He is by no means content, however, with this one proof, but proceeds to give others, of which two at least are treated in a way that is striking and novel, and developed with illustrations taken from the best and most recent physical science.

Many readers will turn with interest to a discussion which is entitled "Appendix A"—"The teaching of St. Thomas touching the genesis of the material universe." The author shows very clearly, what, indeed, no competently informed person doubted, that St. Thomas's idea of creation was by no means the successive springing up of fully formed crops, or forests, or troops of animals. At first the world was matter, under a few elementary forms; in this chaotic mass the "seminales rationes," or formative power (heat, light, electricity—if there is any ultimate difference among them), were created by God, and began to work. Plants and animals were produced "from the elements by the power of the Word." We wish that Father Harper had explained what he considers St. Thomas to have meant by this last phrase. Whence did LIFE come? Was the first living thing the result of a special creation? Or was organic life evolved by chemical processes from inorganic matter? From a paragraph on page 739 (which, however, we are not at all sure we understand), it would appear that Father Harper holds the possibility of the latter alternative. If he does, we certainly cannot agree with him. It is a wide question. As to the soul of man there is no doubt. The soul is created by a distinct act of creation, when each man begins to be a man, and can by no possibility have been evolved from anything else. But whence are the souls of animals, or the living principles of plants? Nay, whence are the "forms" of chemical compounds? Some of Father Harper's longest sections are occupied in explaining what is meant by one of the least satisfactory of Thomistic or Aristotelian utterances—that the forms of natural things are "educed out of the potentiality of the matter." But when all is said—and Father Harper says it admirably—

there seems still to remain the question: "Whence are material forms?"

The best praise of a book is to use it. This work is not only the production of a masterly and original metaphysician, but it is also a *répertoire* of Thomistic teaching. It will be, in the hands of students, we trust, both an assistance and a stimulus. They will study it for its solid exposition and information, and they will be urged to the highest aims in philosophic study by seeing how one writer can match, on the ground of the true and Christian philosophy, the ablest metaphysical thinkers of the day. To reorganize an empire is a much more difficult thing than to make a dash into an enemy's country. Father Harper has to stand by old truth and defend forgotten positions. That he has done this so brilliantly is a subject of congratulation to all who love the cause of Catholic wisdom, and an encouragement to follow where he leads the way.

*Le Positivisme et la Science Experimentale.*

Par M. L'Abbé de BROGLIE. Deux tomes. Paris: Victor Palmé. 1880.

THE author of these volumes tells us in his preface that for more than twenty years he has been seeking for an efficient method of defending sound philosophy against the attacks of MM. Comte, Taine, and their followers. But in the eclectic school, in which he had been brought up, his search was fruitless. It was only when circumstances made him acquainted with the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastic Philosophy that he discovered the method and the materials required for his task. He formed therein what we may call the Philosophy of Common Sense; a philosophy based upon principles, and built up by methods, which are accepted without hesitation by the good sense of mankind, even by the philosophers themselves, when they leave their books and face the realities of life. And from this intellectual Acropolis he found that he had complete command of the Positivist position. He has used his advantage with effect. He has dropped a shell into their magazine, and blown them up with their own ammunition; in plain terms, he has proved by the Positivist method that the Positivist doctrine is false. He has shown, from experimental science, as taught by purely scientific men (*par les purs savants*) that the realities hidden beneath phenomena are neither unknowable nor unknown.

The work consists of an introduction (lxxiv pages), stating the main features of the problem; a preliminary book (76 pages), on his method of solving it; a first part (522 pages), on Substance; and a second, on Cause. An analytic table of contents concludes each volume.

The limits of a notice forbid us to speak as fully as we should wish of this valuable work. The preliminary book is full of useful and suggestive matter. Calling attention to the Babel of philosophical tongues which at present confounds the learned world, to the widespread rebellion against principles and facts of the clearest evidence, he infers that the only course left open is to fall back upon the principles and the language of common sense. He then discusses the relation of

common sense to logic and to scientific inquiry, and shows its value in dealing with the antinomies, or contradictions, on which the Positivists build their theory of nescience.

The treatise on "Substance revealed by pure Observation," after explaining the meaning of "Substance" to be, in plain terms, persons and things, shows that we have experience of personality, spiritual substance, through Consciousness, and of corporeal substances (bodies or things), through sensible perception. Concerning sensible perception, he establishes the Scholastic doctrine that it has bodies for its direct objects, and that these objects and their extension in space are realities.

The second part treats, but always in the light of experimental science, of Cause and of Law, of the principles of induction, and of causality. Finally, the author brings all these rays of experimental science into a focus upon the Positivist dogma: "Nothing can be known but facts and their laws," and after showing its utter falseness, concludes that Science is not positivist, and that Positivism is not scientific.

In spite of the subject matter, the style of the work is clear and picturesque. The author has our congratulations, and our best wishes.

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*The Catechumen: an aid to the Intelligent Knowledge of the Catechism.*

By Canon WENHAM. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

CANON WENHAM has already earned the gratitude of school managers and teachers by the works he has published, either as hand-books for teachers, reading books for children, or guides for school managers. His interest in religious instruction, and his solicitude for intelligent study of the Catechism, are so sincere and well directed that all his labours have been readily appreciated, and his works have found their way into every school. The tone and character given to his first school books, the "Religious Readers," have been well maintained in the series which has succeeded them; and we have now to notice what will probably be considered his best work—a very valuable and much needed explanation of the Catechism, entitled "The Catechumen." All school managers will welcome the book as a compendium, simple yet adequate, of Catholic Theology. No one, unless possessing a mind imbued with theological principles, and a memory stored with pastoral experiences, could in such condensed and simple form explain so clearly the dogmas, rules and counsels of our holy religion. There is no lack of books which profess to expound the elements of Christian doctrine contained in the Catechism, but this is certainly the best we have yet seen. In his preface, Canon Wenham states his aim thus:—

With the view of helping those who are aiming at making religious knowledge more intelligent and practical . . . . I have written the following pages. The book does not pretend to be anything very original, or higher and better than other books of religious instruction, but rather something less than they are—something more simple and intelligible, dressed up to meet a present want. Certainly, it is intended to do more

than can be done by compendiums, abridgments, and other cram books, which, if useful in their own place, yet tend to make religious knowledge—and sometimes this is professed and acknowledged—an affair of memory. The aim of this little book is, on the contrary, to make it interesting and intelligent.

It is hard to find fault with expressions of humility uttered with such candour, and so we leave those who are concerned in teaching children to give their verdict as to the merits of this book being “something less” than others. We have only to say that the aim of the author has been gained, and all the promises of these sentences have been fulfilled. We have simplicity of language issuing in intelligent explanation of Christian doctrine, and an adequate and even comprehensive course of theology put into elegant language and made most interesting. The order of the book is logical and clear: the paragraphs are headed in large type with the subject of which they treat; and almost every topic suggested by the questions and answers of the Catechism receives a clear and full explanation. The division of the subject is thus stated by the author:—

As supernatural religion must be founded on supernatural knowledge, the first part is concerned with this knowledge. It treats of Faith—*what must we believe*, in order to be saved? But as knowledge of God is of no use without serving Him, the second part is on Christian practice—*what must we do*, in order to be saved? And the third part is concerned with the Sacraments and Prayer, as *the chief means* of obtaining that supernatural assistance, without which we cannot do what is necessary to obtain a supernatural reward.

Under these three heads the whole Catechism receives a clear and comprehensive explanation. If we might suggest any views different from those of the learned author, it would only be upon questions of minor importance. We would venture to suggest that in the paragraphs which treat upon Faith, it be described as a “habit” as well as an “infused virtue;” and we might question the accuracy of the definition of implicit Faith, which is described as “believing in whatever *God makes known to us*, whatever it is.” A little oversight may perhaps be suggested by the expression on page 80 that “He was born in the womb of the Blessed Virgin.” At least, one school of theology would question the accuracy of a statement on page 81, which represents Mary’s merits as antecedent to, and the occasion of, her exalted dignity. The limitation of the exemptions from fasting to four classes, and the suggestion that those who are outside these four classes commit sin, by dispensing themselves without consulting, or stating their reason to, the priest of the parish, might be thought to have the savour of a little rigorism. But such trifling faults, if our judgment is correct, do not mar the excellence of this most useful, comprehensive, and trustworthy handbook of Christian doctrine; and we most cordially and confidently recommend it to managers and teachers as a book which will supply every need and give the most complete satisfaction.

*The Life and Selections from the Correspondence of William Whewell, D.D.* By Mrs. STAIR DOUGLAS. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

THIS work, although it appears when many who anxiously looked for a memoir of Dr. Whewell, are no longer here to be charmed with the reminiscences of one greatly admired and loved, must still prove attractive to a wide circle of readers who have inherited the traditions of a former generation of literary and learned men. Few contemporaries of Dr. Whewell survive, and distance has dimmed the majestic outline of "The Great Master" for younger eyes, whilst the rapid rate at which we are now whirled through life and the multiplicity of objects which clamour for attention prevent our realizing the intellectual stature of those who towered high in their generation. Any attempt to preserve the likeness and lineaments of such a one, and to picture him as he appeared in his own time, must meet with consideration and gratitude. The great difficulty experienced in finding amongst Dr. Whewell's numerous friends a biographer who felt he would do justice to his exceptional and many-sided talents, proves the high estimation in which he was held.

The task was taken up by one after another and thrown down again as too arduous, until at last it was decided that the work should be executed in three divisions, and by three different hands—the history of his literary and scientific labours, the history of his academic work, and the history of his social life. The first part was undertaken by Mr. Todhunter, who has been somewhat unfairly blamed for the dryness of his two volumes, a defect which ought rather to be attributed to the exclusively categorical nature of his portion of the task. The second and third portions of the proposed memoir were finally merged into one; and only those who are aware of the overwhelming mass of correspondence from which the author had to select her materials, can fully appreciate the difficulty and intricacy of the task which Mrs. Stair Douglas has accomplished. And yet this volume, appearing as it does, when the former two are almost forgotten, gives but an imperfect idea of one who contributed so largely to the scientific and literary work, and was on terms of intimate friendship, and in constant correspondence with most of the men of eminence of his day; and it is to be regretted that a *résumé* at least of Mr. Todhunter's work does not accompany the present memoir.

It appears at first sight strange that it should prove so difficult to portray a character in itself so marked, and to describe a man who stood out in such high relief among his contemporaries, to the eyes of a later generation. "In his published works," says Dr. Lightfoot, in his funeral sermon, "he has covered a wider field than any living writer; and those who have conversed with him in private, record with wonder his familiar acquaintance with the farthest outlying regions of knowledge in its lower as well as in its higher forms. What value will be attached by after ages to his various literary and scientific works, it would be vain to predict; but this at least we may say,

that in our own generation and country he has held the foremost rank, if not in precision, at least in range and vigour of intellect."

To many it seems almost incomprehensible that, with his quenchless thirst for knowledge and his eagerness to grasp all that could be discovered on any subject, Dr. Whewell should never have turned his thoughts to the study of theology. This may partly be accounted for by the extreme reverence he had for religion, and a great dislike to make it a subject of controversy. From his boyhood he had a sensitive reserve on this point. In a letter written at the age of seventeen to his talented little brother of eight, he says, speaking of some verses the latter had sent him :—" Your subject, I perceive, is generally of a religious nature. I do not know whether I dare venture to find fault on that head, but to tell the truth (and I do assure you it is not from want of regard for religion) I myself dare not as yet engage in it. The subject is so awful, that before the mind is ripened, it seems to me fitter for contemplation than for description." The same feeling may be traced in subsequent letters, yet he was a man of great and deep religious sentiment. The *form* of religion he accepted as it came to him, without question.

The pursuit of science supplied for him an outlet for the yearnings of his soul after the Highest Good and the supreme end of existence. The further he penetrated into the depths of knowledge, or unravelled the speculations of philosophy, unlike the many whose researches lead them away from the Great Creator in a vain seeking after natural causes, "the world of matter without, the world of thought within, alike spoke to him of the Eternal Creator." Natural theology formed the subject of his earliest writings; and in his last sermon, preached in his College Chapel, he spoke of Him "who is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending;" and, passing on from the creation of the world to its dissolution, he painted the great and final crisis :—

No mountains sinking under the decrepitude of years, or weary rivers ceasing to rejoice in their courses; no placid euthanasia silently leading on the dissolution of the natural world, but the trumpet shall sound—the struggle shall come. This goodly frame of things shall expire amid the throes and agonies of some fierce and sudden catastrophe. And the same arm that plucked the elements from the dark and troubled slumbers of their chaos shall cast them into their tomb.

In a fragment of "Reflections on God," inserted in Mr. Todhunter's book, Dr. Whewell speaks of the strong and peculiar pleasure derived from success in discovery, which he ascribes to the joy of finding "the expression of the Creator's thoughts." "The pride of discovery, the elevation of spirit which we feel when a new principle dawns upon us, the triumph with which it fills our minds . . . all these feelings are hallowed and sanctified, because they arise from that tendency which draws us to the Divine Mind, and makes us seek the perfection of our nature in Him." We cannot tell why one so Catholic in mind and heart never knew of that great spiritual Creation, the Church of God, of which the wonders of the material world are but types and shadows; but not a doubt that the Church of Rome was other than a state of

Egyptian bondage—a tyrant requiring a slavish submission and surrender of intellect and will, according to the form in which it was represented to him by the Protestant tradition with which he was surrounded, ever seems to have crossed his mind. Yet his fairness and honesty led him to reject the popular version of Galileo's sufferings in the dungeons of the Inquisition and do justice to the intellectual labours of mediæval monks. And in theory he seems now and again to have realized the necessity of a living Teacher and Guide in faith and morals.

As to Dr. Whewell's moral character, it was as singularly pure and blameless as if he had been trained in the strictest Catholic principles. "The temptations of youth," writes a friend and contemporary, "left him unscathed and unstained. Pure in deed, he was also pure in word, and even in his youth, when a bad fashion corrupted many, he religiously abstained from the use of profane oaths or of any word unbefitting Christian lips." His charity, too, both in spirit and in its outward expression, was such as would have been remarkable even in a Catholic. The writer just quoted says on this point—"He was tolerant and charitable towards those of a different creed, and was never heard to impute unworthy motives to those who differed from him." He quickly and readily forgave those who offended and injured him, and at the same time that he keenly felt any injustice or unkindness he never resented it. He had also the still more rare quality of never bearing any ill-will towards those whom he had offended. His almsgiving was all but unlimited. Wealth flowed in upon him, and he held it lightly and dispensed it with unsparing hand. His munificence towards his college and university we need not dwell upon, but few are aware to what an extent he relieved the poor and suffering, or how largely he helped on any good work that was brought to his notice. As an instance of his ready generosity we may adduce the following anecdote:—"A lady, much employed in good works, called on one occasion at Trinity Lodge to ask the Master for his name and a small subscription towards some temporary case of distress. His immediate response was to place in her hand a ten-pound note. Not expecting so large a donation she looked up in silent surprise, when Dr. Whewell, misinterpreting the expression on her face, quickly said—'Oh, if it is not enough you shall have some more.' The tears came into the good lady's eyes as she explained that it was more than enough, and she needed to seek no further help." What a character showing such noble outline might have become if permeated and glorified by the full radiance of the light of faith we can but dream; and what might have been had his life been spared a little longer we cannot now tell. In the latter years every hard trait of his character was softened down, the tight curb was relaxed, and his affectionateness and sympathies were allowed freer scope. With this also came a toning down of traditional prejudice and a very sweet humility. It seemed as though some slight interest at least was awakened in the great intellect to understand what God had revealed to "little ones," and yet this was apparently more to find out in what the attraction of the Catholic Church for certain minds consisted, than as if he were



himself attracted by her; but this might have led further had time been granted.

Many students of science, who, had Dr. Whewell been a Catholic, would reject as unworthy of notice all that he has written on this subject, may gather their first germs of belief from his writings, and thus we may regard him as a workman who with strong and vigorous stroke hews the rock from the quarry, and with saw and chisel and cunning carving prepares the stone, that later on, without stroke of axe or ring of hammer, is placed silently in the ever-rising walls of the Temple of God.

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*Thomas-Lexicon, das ist Uebersetzung und Erklärung der in den Werken des heiligen Thomas von Aquin vorkommenden Termini technici.* Von Dr. LUDWIG SCHUETZ. Paderborn: Schoeningh. 1880

DR. SCHUETZ, the learned professor of philosophy in the ecclesiastical seminary at Treves, is favourably known in Germany by his able "Introduction to Philosophy." He now deserves still higher recognition for his recent volume explaining the technical terms occurring in the works of S. Thomas. Before the old tradition of theology and philosophy was destroyed by the French Revolution, dictionaries of a similar kind were largely in use with Catholic scholars. We may, for example, draw the reader's attention to Reeb's "Thesaurus Philosophorum," recently edited by Fr. Cornoldi. It is impossible to doubt of the necessity of such books; they help students to overcome a great many difficulties in the way of an appreciative perusal of S. Thomas. Professor Schuetz has supplied this want in a manner deserving high praise. Philosophical as well as theological terms are thoroughly explained, the explanation being supported by texts principally gathered from both the Summas. We would also lay considerable stress on the fact that the quotations are made with extreme care, and that the text of Aristotle is given in Greek. As instancing the vast learning brought by the author to the composition of this book we would direct the reader's attention to the articles "corpus" "intentio" and "principium," which are perhaps the most exhaustive of all. The letter "A" includes no less than two hundred terms. Hence this dictionary is far richer than that of Signoriello, the second edition of which appeared at Naples, in 1872. For these reasons we venture to recommend this Dictionary of S. Thomas to all students of scholastic philosophy and theology. B.

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*Memorie storico-critiche archeologiche dei Santi Cirillo e Metodio e del loro apostolato fra le genti Slave.* Per DOMENICO BARTOLINI, Prete del titolo di S. Mario, Cardinale della S. Romana Chiesa, Prefetto della S. Congregazione dei Riti. Roma: Tipografia Vaticana. 1881.

THE admirable encyclical "Grande munus" of September 30th, 1880, in which Pope Leo XIII. drew attention to the great

apostles Cyril and Methodius, has given rise to this learned work of Cardinal Bartolini. The author has dedicated it "to the Slav pilgrims, his brethren in the faith," who, only a few weeks ago, came to Rome, to express their heartfelt thanks to Pope Leo, and strengthen those bonds of faith and charity which unite them to the Holy See. In the Introduction, the author examines and thoroughly weighs the authority of the documents from which his notices are derived. First come ancient legends of different peoples concerning their great apostles. The Italian, or, to speak more correctly, the Roman, legend claims special notice. It was written by Ganderich, Bishop of Velletri, who was in very intimate intercourse with Cyril and Methodius during their stay in Rome, and probably witnessed their consecration at the hands of Pope Hadrian II. The Pannonian legend—one of great importance—relates that S. Methodius was not only deposed, though illegally, but also detained in gaol for more than two years, by Alwin, Archbishop of Salzburg. Bishop Anno, of Freising, and Bishop Hemerich, of Passau, great historians, have refused to accept the truth of these facts alleged in the legend. But from out of the immense treasures of the British Museum (add. MSS. n., 8873) Professor Peter Ewald brought, two years ago, a good many Papal letters hitherto totally unknown, and amongst them also letters of John VIII. to the aforesaid bishops, who are rebuked for their temerity, and cited before the Pope's tribunal. Hence the truth of the Pannonian legend is unanswerably established.

The main incidents in the lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, rehearsed in our recent article on the Russian Church,\* need not be repeated here. Among the special features of the volume before us it may be noticed that Cardinal Bartolini establishes the truth of the consecration to the episcopate of both the brothers by Hadrian II., against several authors denying this dignity to Cyril. S. Cyril died in Rome in 869, and was interred in the basilica of S. Clement, where the remains of S. Clement I., which he had brought to Rome, had been deposited. The ceremonies observed at his funeral by Pope Hadrian II. are manifestly tantamount to a solemn canonization (Bartolini pp. 66, 67). Perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is the fourth chapter, together with the appendix (p. 184-254). All scholars of Christian art and archæology ought to read it attentively. Here the learned Cardinal comments at length on the tombs and relics of our Saints and the Roman frescoes recording their history. The old basilica of S. Clement's, at Rome, where S. Cyril was buried, was erected in the time of the Emperor Constantine, and his relics were transferred to the new basilica, built exactly above the old edifice in the eleventh century, after the devastation of Rome by Robert Guiscard. These relics were destroyed by the French when they occupied Rome at the end of last century. An arm of S. Cyril, preserved in the Collegiate Church of S. Peter, Brünn (Moravia), met with a like sad fate. Of S. Methodius no relics whatever are preserved. The Roman basilica of S. Clement is still, however, in possession of two

\* DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1881, pp. 422-7.

precious frescoes representing S. Cyril being sent by the Greek Emperor Michael to the Khazars, and baptizing king Rastiz of Moravia. According to the opinion of De Rossi they must belong to the ninth century. There is, besides these, in the treasury of the Vatican basilica a picture, stamped with a Byzantine character, representing Our Lord, attended by SS. Peter and Paul. Above the heads of the two apostles we read their names in the Slav language. The lower part of the picture represents a Pope blessing a bishop kneeling before him, and two Greek monks kneeling on either side. We cannot here follow the details of Cardinal Bartolini's long inquiry, but we may briefly state that, after an exact examination made by himself and Professors Fontana and Lais (the former an architect, the latter a painter), it can no longer be doubtful that the picture belongs to the ninth century. Hence it is the Cardinal's opinion that the bishop kneeling before the Pope is S. Methodius in the act of being entrusted with the mission to the Slavs, and being appointed legate after Cyril's death, while the two Greek monks at the sides designate himself and his brother Cyril. He further believes that S. Methodius had this picture painted by Greek artists in Rome, and afterwards presented it to S. Peter's in memory of his mission to the Slavs.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Præcipua Ordinis Monastici Elementa e Regula S. Patris Benedicti adumbravit, testimoniis ornavit* D. MAURUS WOLTER, Abbas S. Martini de Beuron et B.M.V. de Monteserrato-Emaus, Pragæ; Superior generalis Congregationis Beuronensis, O.S.B. Brugis: Desclée, de Brouwer et Soc. 1880.

THIS splendidly printed volume is the gift offered by Dom Maurus Wolter, an abbot of the Beuron Benedictine congregation, to the holy patriarch of Western monks, on the occasion of his fourteenth centenary. From the preface, it appears that, in 1868, a meeting of German Benedictine abbots was convened at Salzburg, Austria. It aimed at bringing into closer union the various Benedictine monasteries of Germany and Austria, and laying down once more the great principles on which the order is established. In the present learned work these rules, or elements, as the abbots styled them, are sketched and commented on at great length. The classification is as follows:—1. Religious life within the precincts of the monastery (*Vita claustralis*, pp. 40–109). 2. The work of God (*Opus Dei*, pp. 109–241). 3. Holy poverty (*Sancta paupertas*, pp. 241–341). 4. Chastity (*Sancta mortificatio—castitas*, pp. 341–480). 5. Holy labour and obedience (*Sanctus labor—obedientia*, pp. 480–613). 6. Works of charity (*Opera charitatis*, pp. 613–703). 7. Government (*Regimen*, pp. 703–825). How far the work will be accepted, as authoritative by the wide-spread Order of St. Benedict, we do not inquire here; but it deserves the most respectful attention. Each chapter is uniformly arranged. Starting with a declaration of the Benedictine rule, the author adduces the Councils, Pontiffs, and

Fathers of every century as witnesses to the important work of the religious orders. It must have cost the author almost incredible labour to search out and bring together letters of Popes, decrees of Councils, works of Fathers, and constitutions of congregations now-a-days all but forgotten and unknown. Besides, it ought to be borne in mind that every document is so skilfully selected as to develop the Rule of the order from another view. But Dom Wolter's work claims a far greater importance, as being a storehouse of the principles of spiritual life. Scarcely a question concerning that life but will be here found fully treated, and in a masterly manner. Let us instance only the single article "Oratio." Whoever will take the pains to go through it will be impressed with the sublime idea of the heavenly work daily prescribed to the Catholic priesthood. This volume, therefore, will be found of immense help to all persons desirous of enlightenment in the duties of the spiritual life, and will be invaluable to those who, as confessors and preachers, need that enlightenment also for the benefit of others committed to their care. The value of the book, to these latter, is enhanced by the four excellent indices appended. B.

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*Die Marienverehrung in den ersten Jahrhunderten.* Von Hofrath  
Dr. F. A. VON LEHNER. Stuttgart: F. G. Cotta. 1881.

**H**ERR VON LEHNER, director of the Museum of His Royal Highness Prince Charles Anthony of Sigmaringen—the only branch of the House of Hohenzollern which remained faithful to the Catholic Church—here gives us a very learned and, it may be added, an extremely useful work, on Our Blessed Lady. Whether regarded from the stand-point of the theologian or of the artist, his treatise deserves very high praise, since it fully testifies to its author's learning, not only in Christian art, which he especially cultivates, but also in theology. Dr. von Lehner proves himself to be about as solid and lofty a theologian in this particular department as any whom we know. We can only indicate the headings of his chapters:—Introduction (p. 1-9); The Virgin (9-37); The Mother (37-86); St. Joseph's Wife (86-120); The Everlasting Virgin (120-144); Mary's Soul (144-172); Mary helping to bring about our Salvation (172-182); Devotion to Our Lady (182-222); Mary in Poetry (222-283); Mary in Art (283-342). The Appendix contains eighty-five pictures of Our Lady, traced from paintings in the Catacombs, from gilded glasses, or from old Christian sarcophagi.

We cannot help wishing that the author had brought more forcibly into prominence the all-important fact, that the books of the New Testament are inspired by the Holy Ghost, and that their absolute truth is perpetually warranted by the infallible voice of the Catholic Church. Besides, we cannot agree with Herr von Lehner when he writes (p. 8):—"The wonder of the Immaculate Conception must at first have been believed in congregations possessing the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. But, that it was known also *before*, may be taken as beyond any doubt." This phrase lays itself open to

misconception; since, from the history of Christianity, it is evident that the belief in the perpetual virginity of Our Lady was a portion of the *depositum fidei*, which is independent of the gospels, and was possessed by the Catholic Church in full integrity before the gospels were known. But putting aside such inaccuracies, we feel justified in calling Herr von Lehner's work a standard book, that fills up a gap in our literature, since it traces devotion to Our Lady back from the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) to the beginnings of Christianity. This great Council of Ephesus solemnly confirmed to Mary the title of *Θεοτόκος*, and rejected the frivolous attacks of Nestorius. That this decree was in full keeping with the belief of the centuries gone by, Herr von Lehner succeeds in solidly establishing, by his most diligent collection of whatever the ante-Ephesian fathers, either Syrian, Greek, or Latin, have written about Mary. One of the most instructive parts of the work seems to be "Mary helping in the work of Salvation," a doctrine so eagerly objected to by the Reformers, and yet so familiar in the first three centuries. The last two chapters examine into the poetical and artistic works of ancient Christianity, as referring to Our Lady and the *cultus* she received in the Early Church; and a new light is shed upon her whom all generations call blessed, from the precious documents preserved through the storms of nearly 2,000 years. These remarks will suffice to draw the attention of English Catholics to Herr von Lehner's work and to commend it to them.

BELLESHEIM.

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1. *The Deluge*. A Poem. London: Elliot Stock. 1881.
  2. *On the Sunrise Slope*. By KATHERINE E. CONWAY. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1881.
  3. *Rhymes of the Roadside*. By MAC-ALLA. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1881.

"THE DELUGE" is an introduction in four parts, called books by the writer, which, if favourably received, is to be followed by the Poem itself, in which the author proposes to propound his theological theories anent the Deluge. It is more than probable we shall be spared another Deluge. We fail to see either in the matter or the manner of the author anything encouraging a wish for further acquaintance. He has evidently read Milton, and his reminiscences have an odd way of cropping up, like "King Charles" in "Mr. Dick's" famous memorial. Here is a fair specimen of the author's average style:—

Perfection art Thou! Sole Perfection, Lord!  
To man's best sight Thy works are perfect all.

There is plenty more of the same sort. Taking the author at his level best, we find nothing so good as the first lines of Book third—

Now twilight came along—a lovely Boy  
Of gentle mien, with golden hair, and face  
Ruddy and bright with smiles: thus much was he

An image of his sire, the blue-eyed Day;  
 But his dark flashing glance and bosom brown  
 Show'd like his mother, silent, swarthy Night!  
 He had within his father's warm embrace  
 Been softly held; but now, with dewy feet,  
 He brushed the greensward as he swept along,  
 Each parent holding to a hand; but soon  
 His faltering footsteps pity drew, and Night,  
 With quiet movement, raised his feeble form,  
 And, in her dark cloak wrapping him around,  
 With gentle murmur hush'd him into rest.

We fancy there is a reminiscence here; but memories are treacherous, and then some people may like this sort of refresher.

Those who, undaunted by a preface (not written by Miss Conway) which begins, "Yielding at last to the importunities of friends," and is throughout in the worst possible taste, dip into "On the Sunrise Slope," will find some graceful verse, though of very unequal merit, but much of which is pretty and full of religious pathos. We should like to have quoted "Mary Lee" and "Remembered," had space permitted.

If not of very powerful note, Mac-Alla is still a sweet singer, and his or her "Rhymes of the Roadside" have a tuneful ring and true poetical appreciation of Nature's beauties. Mac-Alla has learned, as it is prettily put in the modest proem . . . . to hold communion with

The Spirit of green lanes.

"A Ballad of the Chase" is very spirited, but too long to quote. And in an "Olla Podrida," made up of various translations, there is still better work.

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*An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture prior to the Separation of England from the Roman Obedience.* By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, F.S.A., sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1881.

WE hasten to say a word of welcome to this very thoughtful essay. A recognition of its high literary and artistic merits would be only a matter of justice, if we differed much more widely than we do from the writer on matters of taste and on the numerous questions of interpretation raised in its pages. Mr. G. Gilbert Scott calls his volume a "little work," which excess of modesty, we take it, is not countenanced either by the bulk of his solid and well-illustrated quarto, or by the largeness of philosophical view and masterly grouping of materials in its pages, or yet by the amount of research that its composition must certainly have cost him. The volume does not reach us early enough for that amount of space to be devoted to it in our present number which its merits deserve. This, however, must not prevent us giving to the reader some idea of its contents.

The Essay is really a philosophy of the history of church architecture—"a broad and rational view of mediæval architecture"

in itself and in its relations with anterior styles. Our mediæval churches are not only the descendants, in a distant clime, of the first Roman and Eastern Christian church buildings, but the law of their growth and the circumstances determining their variations from the infant type can be traced and described.

My object throughout has been to exhibit the history with which it attempts to deal as one continuous fact, having an origin, which can be quite accurately ascertained, and an orderly evolution determined by the conditions, internal and external. . . . It has been my aim to exhibit the architectural art of Christendom as a part of the great fact of Christianity, to deal with the church architecture of our own country as but a portion of a great whole, and to display the essential solidarity of the history of christian art in England with that of christian art in general and of Christianity itself. . . . Ecclesiology in England did not start into being—an Athene sprung adult from the brain of Zeus—at the bidding of St. Augustine. Our ancestors, upon their conversion, but took up the threads of—but fell with the stream of—a tradition already venerable from its years. Or rather—and this is of the essence of the matter—they came by that event under the influence of two traditions so distinct in their history that as we follow back their parted streams we find no common channel till we reach the common fountain-head. It should, however, be clearly understood at the outset that this distinction in the ecclesiological and ritual tradition existed side by side with identity of faith, complete intercommunion, hierarchical subordination, and organic unity (Pref. i.).

The double ecclesiological tradition of which the writer makes so much use in this Essay, is that which the Roman missionaries of the sixth century introduced into England, and that older one of the British Church which they found in the island, and which soon re-asserted itself and largely influenced Roman methods and details. Indeed, Mr. Scott contends that our English architecture is what may be called the resultant of these two conflicting forces. The salient point of the Roman usage was the apsidal termination; that of the British tradition, on the contrary, was the square east end. The Roman type Mr. Scott traces down from the basilican model of the churches built after the deliverance of the Church from persecution. The square end marks the more primitive type of Christian church that existed long before Constantine, originating, doubtless, in the oratories or chapels formed in rooms in the houses of converts to the faith. This is the British model.

The question remains, whence came the british model? The only probable answer seems to be, that this peculiar type prevailed in this island before the time of Constantine; that it dates, in fact, from the first introduction of Christianity into this country—whether by St. Joseph of Arimathea, St. Paul, or by later missionaries: and that the apse, an introduction of the roman immigrants, was foreign to the traditions of the native Church, and never became naturalized here. This square-ended plan has survived, in a remarkable manner, repeated attempts to supplant it by the apse. The first we have just alluded to—the constant immigration of Romans, bringing with them the ecclesiastical customs of their own country. Again, the roman missionaries to the Saxons naturally introduced the roman plan, but the primitive british tradition again re-asserted itself, as we shall see as we proceed. At the norman

conquest a similar struggle between the two types occurred. Again the british plan triumphed. Let us hope that from its present struggle with an unnatural imitation of continental architecture and a feeble affectation of novelty it may issue again successful (p. 37).

A still fuller *résumé* of the same struggle and its results is to be found on p. 130, so important is it held to be. The apparent anomaly of English churches dating from various early periods, and having apses is explained with great ingenuity and *vraisemblance*. Space compels us to refer the reader to the Essay itself. The writer is very severe on those who would introduce apsidal chancels on to English soil; they betray ignorance of the venerable antiquity of the square-ended form; still worse, a taste for apses in England is "ignorant caprice or a morbid craving after novelty." There is enough, however, in these able pages calling for appreciation to enable us to quite overlook a little enthusiastic purism. And the writer also carefully points out, more than once, that the diverse methods of arrangement witness nevertheless to liturgical uniformity. Thus the square end of our old English churches never supports "a sideboard" altar. The altar is a free table set at a distance from the wall, leaving space between for the seats of bishop and clergy—an arrangement identical in result with that of the basilican apse.

We can do no more than make mere mention of some few of the most interesting opinions set forth at length in this Essay. Christian art had made great progress before Constantine; the Diocletian persecution shows the immense number of Christian churches then existing; the form of these had become traditional, and was carefully followed in the great churches erected by Constantine. The basilican type did not originate from the conversion of basilicas into churches, as is often supposed—Mr. Scott says he knows of not one authenticated instance—but from the adoption of the basilica, a smaller forum, as the model for the public place of the new religion, the church. For the church in early times was much more than it now is; it was the centre of Christian common life, "at once the house and dwelling-place of God, and the meeting-place of the citizens of his kingdom—the *Civitas Dei*." How the Christian basilica was elaborated from the Pagan model is told in the first chapter: the account is most interesting in its details. Read, for example, how the baldachino—a thing Gothic purists used to laugh at—was evolved from the curtains round the holy table of the primitive church, &c. As to the orientation of churches—on which Mr. Scott has a very able *discursus*—it ought apparently to be rather the orientation of the celebrant. His eastward position has never varied, and has been always a point of great importance; but whilst in early times the people were before the priest and faced westward, in later times they are behind the priest, and together with him face eastward.

The second chapter, which traces the history of English architecture from its dim beginnings to the Norman invasion, is particularly full and deserving of attentive perusal. The old cathedral church of Canterbury, from Eadmer's description of which we have a long extract, had an apse at both ends;—we must refer again to the Essay for



Mr. Scott's clever conjecture, that hereto, as the requirements of the monastic choir grew, we may trace the change of the altar from the west, its position in the Early Church, to the east end in the mediæval. The conjectural plan (Plate IX.) of the cathedral previous to the fire of 1067 gives clearness to the explanation of this conjecture. This portion of the Essay, dealing as it does with a period so little known (under an art aspect) as England before the Norman period, is especially valuable under the treatment of a masterly hand. The line of separation between ancient and modern architecture is not the invention of the Gothic arch—it is the development of the Romanesque by the Normans. Speaking of St. Albans Abbey, that, being built of brick, was plastered interiorly and exteriorly and beautifully decorated within, Mr. Scott has some severe, but not unmerited, strictures on the would-be restorers who are fain to despoil the interior of its plastered beauty and who regard that early style (when thus despoiled of its charms), as rude and barbarous. "A Norman interior," he concludes, "serves to illustrate the barbarism not of the eleventh century, but of the nineteenth." The *discursus* on the painted ceilings of St. Albans contains information well worth noticing, and is one of the many places in which we have been struck with the author's fine appreciation of every variety and school of real art. The broadness of his sympathies is indeed refreshing in a work professedly in favour of the claims of English architecture. The catholicity (in a lay sense) of his task has been doubtless at least helped by his learned appreciation of Catholic doctrine and history.

The departure from classical models and rules of proportion, and the evolution of the "pointed" style, is told with much vigour and interest in the fourth chapter. As to the much debated origin of the pointed arch, Mr. Scott is of opinion that we learned it from the East through the Crusades. To intercourse with the East is also traced the introduction into Europe of ornamented and coloured glazing. The subsequent progress in glass-staining was a chief cause in bringing about that notable change in window tracery that is a chief mark of the perpendicular period. The beautiful flowing tracery of "decorated" windows may have begun to cloy by its very luxuriance, but the change was chiefly wrought from an artistic effort to make accommodation for the figure-designs of the now skilled glass-painter in the traceries as well as in the lights.

Mr. Scott contends for a distinction between perpendicular and Tudor of kind, not merely of degree; for, not only were new forms introduced, but new principles of construction also. The innovations of the "perpendicular" artists were barred-tracery and the four-centred arch; that of the "tudor" was the fan-groin—"of all forms of groining the most mathematical and the most elastic." Another advance in groining—"one to be wondered at rather than admired"—the "truly audacious roof" of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey, "with its vault resting apparently on nothing, and exhibiting, where the pillars once stood, only a series of great pendants floating in mid-air," was a *tour de force* that "fitly closes the history of the gothic style."

It might be naturally expected that we should concern ourselves more with the ecclesiological than with the purely architectural portions of the Essay. Mr. Scott has new, or less common, views on not a few topics concerning ancient ritual, art effort, &c., to some of which we should prefer to recur when more space might be devoted to their discussion. Of his views about the orientation of ancient and mediæval churches we have already made mention. Another point on which Mr. Scott holds an opinion new to us and unexpected, is on the construction of the chasuble. Old convictions are dislodged slowly: this must be our excuse for not feeling convinced by the first perusal of the author's certainly ingenious theory:—

The true conception of the chasuble is that of a semi-circular piece of some woven material, folded in two so as to form a quadrant, the two edges of which are sewn together from the circumference to the centre, with the exception of a small portion at the summit of the angle left unsewn for the passage of the head (p. 113).

This dogmatic statement, the point of departure, in fact, of Mr. Scott's explanation, rests on no other proof apparently than the practical absurdity of the seamless circle of cloth pierced by a central head hole. We fail—at least yet—to see the absurdity. But his theory, explained at length in a special *discursus*, merits to be read and weighed. Its further discussion would necessitate frequent reference to Plate XXII., in which the changes of the chasuble are represented by diagrams.

A criticism that occurs to us, viewing the newly-read book as a whole, is that the author allows too little play in the history of Christian art to symbolism, or the mere ingenuity of artistic imagination steeped in religious feeling: whether a church or a chasuble, neither of them has the cross *impressed* on them of purpose—it is, in both cases, a growth of construction. On the other hand, nothing can be more pleasing than the feeling maintained throughout the volume towards forms of art not English and Gothic. In nothing does Mr. Scott show more clearly his right to be heard as an architectural critic than in this. His singular appreciation of the purpose of builders of every age, though it may naturally sometimes fail him, has much to do with this impartiality. It is high but deserved praise to say of Mr. Scott that he is, in this Essay, emphatically the *Christian* artist, rather than the partisan of any style. If he can see in the old Roman basilicas, as in the old British and Irish chapels, in the classical Italian churches as in the Norman and pointed cathedrals and abbeys, both beauties of construction and defects—and in the primitive forms traces of a greater concern to guard strictly the traditional methods of meeting ritual requirements—we think he is right. Gothic, with all its excellences is by no means the only deserving outcome in art of Catholic feeling and Christian sentiment; though we should add that this is our hurried and perhaps clumsy attempt to formulate a sentiment pervading the book, which the writer does not formulate anywhere in words of his own.

We had marked several passages for quotation, but shall be unable

to find room for them. Mr. Scott writes not only with great force, ease of diction, happiness of illustration, and a use of antitheses suggestive of Macaulay, but also with great originality of thought. There is an abundance of discursive matter in both text and notes, but scarcely any we should not have been sorry to miss, so happily are his sentiments and conclusions stated: and we feel this even when we dissent from some of them. We choose one passage for quotation, as summarizing the drift of the book—a drift to which we may not have done justice in spite of our desire.

It is to Rome, to Constantinople, and to the East, that we must look for the earliest existing examples of church architecture. For the same local centres from which we derive our religion itself is derived also the art which is its material embodiment. In the same manner all through the history we shall have to refer from time to time to influences which have affected its progress in our own country, but which came to us from without. Such influences cannot properly be called foreign. To a Christian no portion of Christendom is foreign soil; and until the schism of East and West, and the troubles of the Reformation period had divided the one society, its unity was realized in a practical intercommunication of all the churches, which affected in the most direct manner the history of Christian art. We shall see from the fourth to the seventh century the same type of church-building prevailing in Central Syria, in Byzantium, in Greece, and at Rome, which we find to prevail in France, in Germany, in Saxon England, and, with slight modifications, in Celtic Ireland. For the prototype of the architecture employed by St. Augustine at Canterbury, we shall seek naturally at Rome and at Ravenna. The future of English art, after the Norman Conquest, was determined by that great impulse which stirred the whole of the Western Church at the preaching of Peter the Hermit, of Amiens. Its subsequent progress, until the fourteenth century, cannot be studied apart from the history of the art in France, while the movement which ultimately overthrew the gothic style in this country, as elsewhere, was distinctly Italian in its origin. Anxious as the English Reformers were to cut us off completely from the unreformed churches of the continent, they still could not prevent their influence upon our church architecture. We had rejected Roman doctrine, but we could not escape the influence of Roman art. Our religion might be national, but our church architecture became Italian. Canterbury had broken absolutely with the Vatican, but St. Paul's Cathedral would have been impossible but for the erection of St. Peter's.

Let us say, finally, that we heartily wish this Essay the wide sale that it deserves. It will be invaluable to antiquarians and to Catholics of every class who have any artistic appreciation of the treasures yet remaining to us of native ecclesiastical art. So many points of ceremonial and ritual interest are raised in its pages, that priests—whether intending “to build” or not—will read it with special interest. The wonderful explanation of St. John's Apocalypse (pp. 27-34), as showing that primitive Christianity was æsthetic, not iconoclastic, in its spirit and practice, is worthy of being recommended to notice. Through a detailed examination Mr. Scott seeks to prove that the imagery of St. John's vision was taken from a primitive Christian temple, and the vestments of the Christian hierarchy—glorified and transformed, of course, under the pen of the inspired writer.

*Sister Augustine, Superior of the Sisters of Charity at the St. Johannis Hospital at Bonn.* Authorized translation from the German "Memorials of Amalie von Lasaulx." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

A BOOK with the above title-page and with a vignette of Sister Augustine in the head-dress of a nun as its frontispiece, may well be mistaken for a volume of Catholic biography. Indeed, the copy before us was sent by unsuspecting friends as a feast-day present to an inmate of an English Convent. A word of warning may, therefore, not be inopportune. "Sister Augustine" is the biography of a German nun who was a strenuous opponent of the dogma of Papal Infallibility; "a pillar of the opposition," as the biographer delights to call her. By word and by letter she encouraged the opposition of priests and others; she persistently refused obedience even on her deathbed, being willing to die without the Sacraments rather than submit her judgment to the decrees of the Vatican Council. If to this we add that when a superioress who had been trying to win her to a better spirit asked her if she believed at least in the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, she replied, No, not as a dogma—we shall have said all that need here be said. Our regret for the stubbornness and sad death—isolated and without the hope of Christian burial—of this misguided lady does not of course oblige us to refuse admiration to her for her life of sacrificing self-devotedness to the sick; but there is nothing in this part of her life, so far as we can recall, that may not have been philanthropy as much as the dictate of religious vocation. We have an abundance of lives, in every language, of noble Catholic women, whose charity far excels that of Amalie von Lasaulx, and which are not under any such dark cloud as spoils hers. She is called a Sister of Charity, but the religious head-dress of her portrait is not the world-famous *cornette*, and readers learning that the *maison mère* of her order was at Nancy, will therefrom gather that Sister Augustine was not one of the "Sisters of Charity." Whatever the order to which she belonged, its Superiors treated her, as the biography abundantly shows, with great patience and consideration. They are not injured by her fault. But it would have doubly surprised us had she been a daughter of St. Vincent de Paul, at the Paris Novitiate of whose Order there is every day "perpetual adoration:" two of the novices constantly succeeding each other in their half-hour of adoration and prayer before the Blessed Sacrament for the welfare and intentions of the Pope, and where also devotions in honour of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady are a conspicuous feature, and date from a long distant time before the decree was even dreamed of.

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*Christian Truths.* Lectures by the Right Rev. FRANCIS SILAS CHATARD, D.D., Bishop of Vincennes. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1881.

OUR American cousins are an inquiring race. They love to ask questions, and are always most emphatically "wanting to know." They uniformly listen to any explanations vouchsafed them about our holy faith, with marked courtesy and attention. And if in result, conversions to faith are not more frequent—and they are frequent—we have long known that though Paul may plant and Apollo water, it "is God who giveth the increase." Bishop Chatard's volume, "Christian Truths," is eminently likely to meet with acceptance and do great good amongst a people ripe for instruction and so readily reached by reason. The lectures are designed "to furnish our young Catholics with a manual which will be useful to them in meeting the vital questions of the day in a manner suited to parry the attacks against faith." Amongst the subjects of the lectures, originally delivered, some in America, others in Rome, are "The Personality of God," "Existence of the Soul," "Relation between God and the Soul—Revelation," "Faith and its Requisites," "Infallibility," "The Liturgy," "Penance," "Eucharist," and "Early Christianity." These lectures are admirably adapted to their purpose. Always logical in their argument, everywhere most effectively appealing to reason; in style clear and lucid, and though without any special aim at rhetorical effect, they have the eloquence of earnestness. Though primarily intended for young Catholic laymen, the lectures are full of matter which would be valuable to many a hard-worked priest. As a valuable help towards accounting for the faith which is in us, we trust this little volume will have a wide circulation, not only in America, but also here in Great Britain.

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*A Plain Exposition of the Irish Land Act of 1881.* By the Very Rev. Canon W. J. WALSH, D.D., President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin: Browne & Nolan; and M. H. Gill & Son. 1881.

THIS admirable analysis of the Irish Land Bill, which has just passed the Legislature, is already widely known and appreciated in Ireland. We cannot do better than recommend it to thoughtful readers in England and Scotland as well. Very few Englishmen have as yet grasped the idea of Mr. Gladstone's bold measure. Irish soil may now practically belong to the Irish people; and no landlord will be a whit the worse, or need part with anything except his pride. Dr. Walsh, with clear and patient exposition, follows all the intricacies of the Act, and puts its provisions into plain and intelligible language. He describes the new Land Court, and the way in which "statutory tenancy"—a really revolutionary creation—is to come into existence. He sets forth the provisions by which a tenant may be helped to become a proprietor; and he shows the effect of the Act in regard to the reclamation of land, to emigration, and the improvement of the condition of the farm labourers. Many of us are expecting a "Land Act" for Scotland and for England. It is well to be prepared and informed.

## BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING.

1. *Contemplations and Meditations on the Passion and Death, and on the Glorious Life, of Our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Method of St. Ignatius.* Translated from the French by a SISTER OF MERCY. Third edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
2. *Familiar Instructions and Evening Lectures on all the Truths of Religion.* By Mgr. DE SÉGUR. Translated from the French. Vol. II. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
3. *St. Bernard on the Love of God.* Translated by MARIANNE CAROLINE and COVENTRY PATMORE. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.
4. *The Following of Christ.* A New Translation. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
5. *Instructions for First Communicants.* Translated from the German of the Rev. Dr. J. SCHMITT. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1881.
6. *The Three Tabernacles: a Golden Treatise.* By THOMAS À KEMPIS. Edited by the Rev. M. COMERFORD. New edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1881.
7. *The Will of God.* Translated from the French by M. A. M. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1881.
8. *The Happiness of Heaven.* By F. J. BOUDREAUX; S. J. Third edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
9. *Life of St. Frederick.* By FREDERICK G. MAPLES, Missionary Apostolic. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
10. *The Confraternities, their Obligations and Indulgences.* Compiled from authentic sources, by the Rev. W. J. B. RICHARDS, D.D., Oblate of St. Charles. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.
11. *Rules of the Associates of the Holy Angels.* Dublin: H. M. Gill & Son. 1881.
12. *Letters and Writings of Marie Lataste, with Critical and Expository Notes by two Fathers of the Society of Jesus.* Translated from the French by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: H. M. Gill & Son. 1881.
13. *First Communicants' Manual: a Catechism for Children preparing to receive Holy Communion for the first time, and for the use of those charged with the Duty of instructing them.* By Father F. X. SCHOUPE, S. J. Translated from the French by M. A. CROSIER. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

1. **T**HESSE are very useful and effective meditations, not too diffuse, but well-expressed, and not without unction. The little work is in great part a second edition, but the writer or translator has added a fresh part to the book, containing meditations on the Risen Life of our Blessed Saviour.

2. Notwithstanding a little exaggeration and some fanciful explanations, Mgr. de Ségur's "Familiar Instructions" will be found both edifying to readers and useful to priests and catechists. The work, of which this is the second volume, is handy and attractive, and the translation is very fairly done.

3. Mr. Coventry Patmore, in finishing and editing the translation of the series of beautiful excerpts from St. Bernard, which his wife had begun, has presented his readers with a precious and welcome volume of spiritual reading. Some of the ardent language of the holy Doctor's Sermons on the Canticles, used indiscriminately and apart from its context, would no doubt be found in these days of disrespect to be rather too strong and suggestive. Some readers may be disposed to object to this little book on the same grounds. But, after all, we cannot lay aside the venerable works of saints because modern associations may have touched with their coarseness the spiritual purity of their contemplations. At least, if there are any for whom such associations are too strong, they are to be pitied, but their case is no rule for all.

4. A new edition, which is also a new translation, of the "Imitation of Christ," is proof, if any proof were needed, that whilst men dispute about its authorship they do not neglect to study its contents. This new translation is beautifully brought out, and enriched with woodcuts in the robust German style, which has grown so familiar during the last twenty years. Although it professes to be "new," the translation retains most of the old mistakes. For instance, in I. 1, we have "know the whole Bible outwardly," instead of "know" (it) "by heart;" in II. 9, the phrase, "does not fall back upon comforts," should be "rely upon," &c.; the curious sentence in II. 12, "ecce in cruce totum constat et in moriendo totum jacet," is very inadequately rendered.—"Behold in the Cross all doth consist, and all lieth in our dying;" whilst the phrase, "with the same equal countenance," (III. 25) is not English, and should be "indifferently."

5. We have in this translation of Dr. Schmitt's "Instructions" a well-meant and, to some extent, useful *répertoire* of matters connected with first communion. The form of the work is not attractive, however, and the style is heavy. The translation seems to be correct; but there is in the greater number of German spiritual books a want of finish, which is always reflected in their translations. There are one or two inaccuracies of language. For instance, it should not be asserted that the institution of the Holy Eucharist *in both kinds* was *necessary* in order that it should be a Sacrifice (p. 127). And the reason given for this is almost more than misleading—"these separated kinds, *exhibiting* to us the Body and Blood of Christ as separated, are *emblems*, &c. . . . *represent* His Sacrifice upon the Cross." The same language occurs in pp. 93, 94, though the true doctrine is also stated. The reality of the Sacrifice of the Mass and its representative characters, are two different things.

6. We need do no more than note this new edition of one of the most genuine and beautiful spiritual books ever written. The translation is that of Dr. Willymott, a Cambridge University dignitary, and was first published in 1722. Father Comerford has done little more than efface the evidences of Protestantism.

7. "The Will of God" is a little book of edifying reading on the duty and advantages of resignation. But either the author or the translator has got into difficulties with the "form" of the exhortation. The first section begins as if our Lord were speaking to the faithful

soul, as in the "Imitation:" "My son, you know the prayer I addressed to my heavenly Father," &c. At the end of the second section, without warning, we come upon what seems to be a direct speech of the Eternal Father: "Giving up my only Son," &c. The rest of the book appears to be written, for the most part, in the author's own person.

8. Père Boudreaux's learned and exact treatise on "The Happiness of Heaven," translated, is also a new edition. It is an excellent book of its kind, and ought to prove useful and suggestive on one of the most difficult of subjects. There are some who look forward to a carnal heaven, some to an insipid one, and many to a very vague one. Theology, and devout but accurate meditation, have here provided the means of correcting all such views.

9. One whose Christian name happens to be Frederick, naturally presents the question, which other people sometimes ask, "Was there ever a St. Frederick?" Father Maples undertakes, in an attractive little book, to inform such persons that St. Frederick was a Bishop of Utrecht, martyred in 838 for his apostolic zeal. An interesting point is connected with the "Prayer" of St. Frederick, here printed (p. 28). It is evidently an (very brief) extract from the Athanasian Creed, with two or three phrases of a devotional character added, and was intended for popular use. We know that St. Frederick, assisted by St. Odolph, had to wage serious war against Arianism and Sabellianism. The discovery of the "Utrecht" Psalter, containing the earliest known text of the Athanasian Creed, and ascribed by some to the very century in which St. Frederick lived, has given us an interesting relic, which the Saint himself may have read or possessed.

10. In the day of a multiplication of Confraternities, such a guide-book as this little *brochure* by Dr. Richards is most welcome.

11. "The Association of the Holy Angels" seems to be intended for the profit of young girls at school, who are to wear a "preparatory" ribbon, and then a ribbon of full admission; who are to draw a billet on the first Tuesday of every month, &c. The rules are simple and really edifying, and the devotions are touching and attractive.

12. There are many, especially of those who have read Mr. Healy Thompson's admirable "Life of Marie Lataste," who will welcome this companion volume of her "Letters and Writings," translated by the same accomplished scholar. The volume, however, is by no means equal in point of interest or value to the former one. Whatever a saint writes carries a weight and effectiveness of its own; and Marie Lataste, though not a canonized saint, may be prudently held as a woman of heroic sanctity. But, apart from this consideration, her utterances on the Christian mysteries and the spiritual life are not remarkable; and the notes of the good Jesuit Father who "explains" her, and vouches for her orthodoxy in one or two perilous collocations, weight still more heavily a book that can hardly be called attractive reading.

13. Father Schoupe has done much to bring exact theological science to bear upon popular religious instruction; and this translation, by a competent person, of his "First Communicants' Manual," will be found useful by priests and teachers.



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