

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



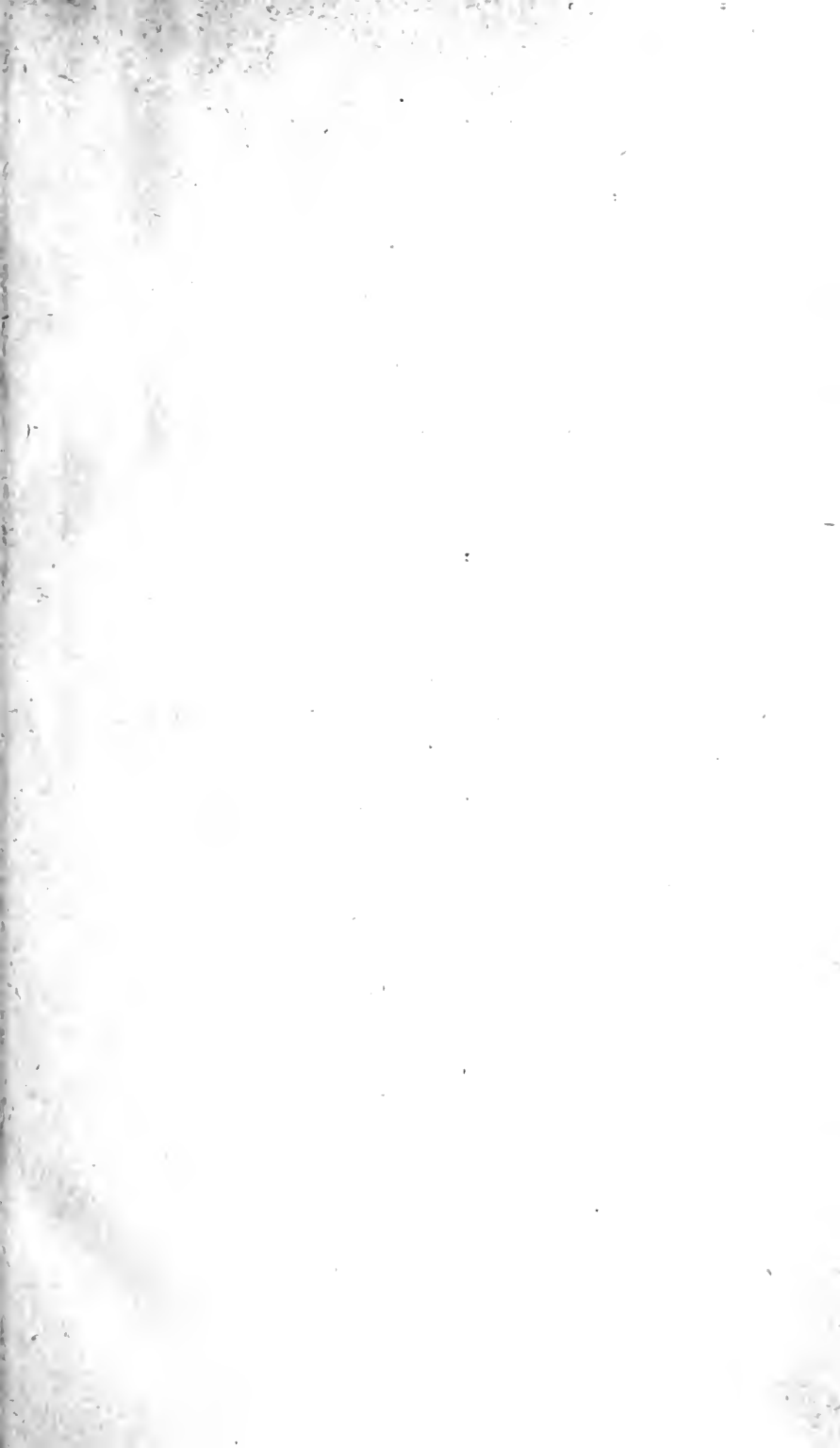
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JANUARY, 1890.

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ART. I.—UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

THE question of University Education in Ireland has come once more to the front. Since Mr. Balfour's celebrated declaration in the House of Commons towards the close of last Session, public men of every party have touched upon the question, and the tone of their observations is very significant. Mr. Balfour said that, in his opinion, something ought to be done to give a higher University education to Roman Catholics in Ireland; that it was perfectly clear that nothing which had been hitherto done would really meet the wants and wishes of the Roman Catholic population in Ireland; and that we have nothing but to try and devise some scheme by which the wants of the Roman Catholic population should be met other than those which, up to the present, had been attempted. He was not on that occasion ready to suggest even the outlines of what the scheme ought to be, but that "they ought, if possible, carry out such a scheme as would satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Roman Catholics he entertained no doubt."

Nearly all the newspapers and a good many of the politicians at once rushed to the conclusion that Mr. Balfour, in these words, had formally promised to charter and endow a Roman Catholic University in Ireland during the coming year—a project, whether real or imaginary, which was at once denounced from various quarters and from very different motives. It was a deep-laid scheme to sow dissension between English and Irish Radicals; it was an attempt to draw a red-herring across the Home Rule scent, and thereby divert keen-nosed politicians from their pursuit of that *summum bonum*; it was a Greek gift to seduce the Irish hierarchy from their allegiance to the national cause; it was the price to be paid for the Papal condemnation of

boycotting and the plan of campaign; it was a concession to certain reactionary Irish Bishops; it was, in a word, a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. A few ultra-Orangemen in Belfast, Liverpool, and Glasgow also raised their tiny voices in protest against Mr. Balfour's project; but what is much more surprising, this supposed project was denounced by leading Catholic members of the Home Rule party, because it was a Denominational scheme of education. Mr. T. P. O'Connor said at Peterborough that, for his part, "he should be sorry to see the college of any sect endowed by the Government, and that the Nationalists of Ireland, like himself, did not think any man to be the better or worse for his religion."\* Mr. Michael Davitt likewise, in his letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, expressed himself as opposed to Denominational education as it is usually understood. He had a better scheme of his own, which he has not yet propounded, but which will doubtless appear in due course. Mr. Justin McCarthy, however, does not go so far as this, but in the *Contemporary Review* for September he wishes to press another question on the attention of the English public; and it is this—"Whether the whole settlement of the question about Irish University Education had not better be left to an Irish National Parliament?" It is not to be wondered at that many of the Irish Catholics, taking note of the views held by prominent Irish Nationalists, like Messrs. Davitt and O'Connor, answer Mr. McCarthy's question in the negative, and think it by all means far safer to settle the question now, if, as Mr. Balfour says, it is at all possible.

We think it a very great misfortune that Irish Catholics should allow their views on the Education Question to be warped by political considerations of any kind. It is essentially a religious question; it is above and beyond politics; it ought to be discussed and decided on its own merits, that is, from the standpoint of justice and conscience alone. It is a matter that cannot be sold or bargained for, and that ought not to be deferred or subordinated to any temporal question whatsoever. A sound Catholic education is, in the estimation of all true Catholics, a precious pearl beyond price, because it is intimately connected with the salvation of immortal souls. We propose to discuss this question, therefore, on its own intrinsic merits, leaving aside all purely political considerations. Let others discuss it, if they will, on the ground of expediency; we shall discuss it merely on the ground of what is just and right.

Mr. Balfour admits that in this matter of University Educa-

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\* *Daily News*, October 5.

tion, Irish Roman Catholics have a want and a grievance. Mr. Gladstone has himself admitted the same in still more emphatic language. Years ago he said the state of things was scandalously bad, and last autumn he declared, when criticizing Mr. Balfour's observations, that in his opinion in this matter the Roman Catholics have not yet got justice in Ireland; that, like the Minister, he desires with all his heart to provide for the higher education of the Roman Catholic population, and that Mr. Balfour's declaration that a grievance exists, which ought to be remedied, "is a truism to which the whole population of the country, Catholic and Protestant, must alike assent." As Lord Hartington put it:

We have the authority of Mr. Gladstone, as well as of Mr. Balfour, that this question of University Education in Ireland has not yet been solved, and that it is not yet insoluble. By the authority of both it is the duty of some one to make another attempt to solve this question, and it does not lie in the mouth of one who, like myself, was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1873, which attempted to settle this question, to declare now that it is a question insoluble by the British Parliament, and which can only be solved by giving power to an Irish Home Rule Parliament to do that which, at the same time, we declare to be wrong and monstrous of an English Parliament to do.\*

It must be borne in mind, too, that Mr. Parnell, at the urgent request of the Irish hierarchy, pressed upon the Government to take up this question, and do justice by removing the admitted grievances of Irish Roman Catholics, especially in this matter of University Education. When the leaders of all the political parties in the House of Commons admit the grievance, and the duty of promptly redressing it, the Government can, we should think, very well afford to despise the protests of a few ultra-Orangemen on the one hand, and of a few extreme and anti-Catholic Radicals on the other.

Mr. Balfour has more recently taken the public into his confidence, and given us an outline of his intentions in this matter of doing educational justice to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He tells us what would be just and right to do, if he could get everybody to help him in doing it, and if the Irish would cordially accept the generous boon which he has in store for them. If Mr. Balfour were Minister in a Utopian Republic, he might perhaps talk in this fashion, but he ought to know that no Irish Question ever was, or probably ever will be, settled in this pleasant way. He announces clearly enough that he will

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\* Speech at Aberdeen, October 2. See *The Times*, October 3.

not give us a Catholic University in Ireland with the power of granting degrees and all the other privileges of a university. Neither will he endow any theological chairs with public money, nor any religious sect as such. Even if he were disposed to make any proposals of this kind, it is quite evident that he could never carry them through the Imperial Parliament—it would be simply to rush on destruction.

Even the imaginary proposal supposed to have been made by Mr. Balfour of chartering and endowing a Catholic University seems to have awakened very considerable alarm and opposition in various quarters, and the Minister has found it necessary to declare that he never contemplated anything of the kind. Yet such a solution of the question would undoubtedly be most in accordance with the abstract justice of the case. For if Trinity College, an institution Protestant in its flavour, and complexion, and practical working, as Mr. Balfour admits, has not only all the privileges of a University, but enormous revenues for the benefit of a small section, and that the richer section, of the population, why in the name of justice and common sense should not the Catholic majority be entitled to at least equal rights and privileges in this matter of higher education?

We shall not discuss this question, however, on the principles of abstract justice. We admit the difficulties by which it is surrounded, and we shall consider what is practicable, and reasonable even from an English and Scotch point of view, rather than from an Irish point of view. And yet the fact that it is to a Scotch audience that Mr. Balfour unbosoms himself on this question, and that it is *their* assent he asks for, not ours, is a very significant one. We shall take the liberty of putting forward some other considerations that must be taken into account in the settlement of this matter, and we are at least as well entitled to discuss it as any of Mr. Balfour's numerous correspondents.

The past history of this question will serve to throw much light on the problem now awaiting solution. The blunders and failures of the past in dealing with this question have been frankly admitted; yet too often statesmen, misled by the same false principles, fall into similar errors. This was signally the case with Mr Gladstone in 1873. He undertook to remedy the grievances of Catholics, which notoriously arose from the mixed system, that had been forced upon them, and yet his proposal was simply a measure to extend and consolidate that very mixed system, the *fons et origo* of all the mischief. The fundamental mistake which English statesmen have made in this, as in many other questions, is the assumption that they know better what suits Ireland than Irishmen themselves do. This has been

shown in every successive attempt to deal with the Education Question, and especially with Higher or University Education.

On the 31st of July, 1845, the royal assent was given to "An Act to enable Her Majesty to Endow New Colleges for the Advancement of Learning in Ireland." We may acquit the authors of this Bill of any purpose hostile to the Catholic religion; we may even credit them with the sincere purpose of legislating solely for the advancement of learning in Ireland. This is admitted in the Synodical Address of the great Synod of Thurles, which was issued the year after these colleges first came into operation.

The system may have been devised—say the Fathers—in a spirit of generous and impartial policy; but the statesmen who framed it were not acquainted with the inflexible nature of our doctrines, and with the jealousy with which we are obliged to avoid everything opposed to the purity and integrity of our Catholic faith. Hence these institutions, which would have called forth our profound and lasting gratitude, had they been framed in accordance with our religious tenets and principles, must now be considered as an evil of a formidable kind, against which it is our imperative duty to warn you with all the energy of our zeal and all the weight of our authority.

These are weighty words, which any English statesman undertaking to legislate for Ireland would do well to remember, for they point out the true cause of much subsequent agitation and mischief. The Queen's Colleges had been already condemned by the Holy See before they came into operation, on two occasions, in 1847, and again in 1848; that condemnation was now solemnly promulgated by the entire hierarchy of Catholic Ireland; yet the English Government made no real attempt to modify their constitution, or bring them into harmony with the wants and wishes of the Catholic people of Ireland. Once more in their ignorance of Ireland, they miscalculated. They were hoping that by the money prizes, and by the great educational advantages which were offered in the new colleges to a people who always loved learning, they might be tempted to disobey their pastors, and perhaps be gradually weaned away from that affectionate allegiance to their priesthood, which English statesmen have never liked. With this view, £1500 per annum was set apart in each of the colleges for exhibitions and other money prizes, so that there were almost as many exhibitions and scholarships as students in Galway and Cork—exhibitions mostly at that time of sufficient value to support, and clothe, and lodge, and procure books for the poor students, whose parents and families were just emerging from the black shadow of a desolating famine—yet the bait was spurned by those very middle classes for whom the colleges were especially instituted.

During the twenty-two years that elapsed, from 1849 to 1871, the statistics of which I have now before me, the average number of Catholics who matriculated in Belfast was three, in Cork twenty-seven, in Galway forty-three—a number not half that which would have entered one of these colleges if they were so modified in constitution as to admit within their walls those conscientious Catholics who thought an exhibition too dear to be purchased with peril to their faith. Yet these colleges were maintained during all these years, and are still maintained, at enormous expense to the public purse, whilst the Catholic youth of the middle classes frequent the unendowed Catholic colleges that are to be found in every county in Ireland, and several of which, like Clongowes and Blackrock, have more students in Arts than Cork and Galway put together.

In 1866 the first attempt was made to provide a remedy for this state of things, which was at once a grievance and a scandal—a grievance to Catholics, and a scandal in a nation professing the civil and religious equality of all its subjects before the law. In the previous November, several leading statesmen, including Mr. Gladstone, had an interview with the four Catholic Archbishops of Ireland. The Archbishops communicated the substance of the interview to their brother prelates in Ireland, and the result was that, on the 14th of January, 1866, a meeting of the Bishops was held in Dublin, at which a statement was adopted and forwarded to Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary. In this document the Bishops ask her Majesty's Government to grant them "not all that we have a claim to, but to introduce modifications in the existing system of Academical education which will enable Catholic students to obtain University degrees without the sacrifice of principle or conscience of which we complain. We shall be thankful for such changes if they do not interfere with Catholic teaching, and if they tend to put us on a footing of equality with our fellow-subjects of other religious denominations . . . ." This was certainly a modest and reasonable demand—liberty of conscience and liberty of teaching, with the right to obtain University degrees, and, of course, some endowment, which might tend in this respect also to put Catholics on a footing of equality with their fellow-subjects of other religious denominations. Then the prelates point out how this may be effected in detail:

1st. That the University founded by the Roman Catholic Bishops (in Dublin) will be chartered as a College within the new University (which the Government proposed to establish) in such a manner as to leave the department of teaching Catholics altogether in the hands of Catholics, and under the control of the Bishops, its founders.

2ndly. That in order to place this new Catholic College on a footing

of equality with other institutions, a suitable endowment be given to it; since it will be frequented by the great mass of Catholics, as it would be manifestly unfair to oblige them to tax themselves for the support of their own College, while institutions, which they, on conscientious grounds, condemn and shun, are supported out of the public funds, to which they contribute equally with others.

3rdly. That, for the same reason, burses and scholarships be provided either by the application of existing, or the creation of new endowments, so as to place the reward of merit equally within the reach of all.

4thly. That the Catholic University College be empowered to affiliate colleges and schools to itself.

5thly. That the tests of knowledge be applied in such a manner as to avoid the appearance of connecting, even by the identity of name, those who avail themselves of them, or co-operate in applying them with a system which their religion condemns.

6thly. That the tests of knowledge be guarded against every danger of abuse, or of the exercise of any influence hostile or prejudicial to the religious principles of Catholics; that they may be made as general as may be, consistently with a due regard for the interests of education, the time, the manner, and matter of examinations being prescribed, but not the books or special authors, at least in mental and social science, in history, or in cognate subjects; and that, in a word, there be banished from them even the suspicion of interference with the religious principles of Catholics.

7thly. That the Queen's Colleges be re-arranged on the principles of the denominational system of education.

We have quoted the salient points of this document at full length; because it is an authoritative exposition of the views of the Bishops, and enters more into detail than any other document emanating from the same source that has come to our knowledge. As such it is worthy of careful perusal by every one who will have any influence in the settlement of this great question. The general principle laid down is perfectly clear. First, the prelates want a system by which Catholic students can obtain University degrees without sacrifice of principle or conscience; secondly, they want their students, in the effort to obtain these degrees, to be placed on a footing of equality with their fellow-subjects of other religious persuasions. No right-minded man can object to these two demands—to refuse either of them is simply to re-impose civil disabilities on account of religion. The Bishops then suggest a way of carrying out these two principles in practice. The answer of Sir George Grey is even more significant than the petition of the prelates, because it exhibits those points of disagreement between the Catholic demand and the Liberal programme, which it is essential to bear in mind in any future settlement of the question.

Sir George first re-iterates what was long ago admitted, that the founders of the Queen's Colleges meant well; and he adds that her Majesty's Government are still of opinion that the principle on which they were founded is a sound one—a somewhat superfluous if not impertinent observation in the circumstances of the case. But it has this important consequence—that her Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of proposing any alteration in the principle on which these Colleges are conducted—in other words, in the mixed system of University Education. This was a point-blank refusal to No. 7 of the Episcopal demands—namely, that the Queen's Colleges should be modified or re-arranged on the Denominational system of education. It is, however, mainly a question of squandering public money. If Catholics are placed on that footing of equality to which they are entitled, it is really a very secondary matter how money is spent on the empty halls of Cork and Galway. But it shows how the Liberal Government thought they understood the wants and wishes of Catholic Ireland at the time so much better than Catholic Irishmen themselves. The Government, however, admits that a large number of Irishmen entertain conscientious objections both to the Queen's Colleges and to Trinity College, and consequently have no means of obtaining a degree in Ireland if they aspire to a liberal profession. This they admit is a grievance, and with a view of providing a remedy Sir George Grey simply proposes to assimilate the Queen's University to the London University, and thereby enable it to confer degrees on all comers who pass the examination. This was not much of a boon, for the London University gave its degrees even to Irishmen in exactly the same way; and even at a later date sent over its examiners to certain centres in Ireland, where a considerable number of students was to be found. The Government were, however, willing to grant a "Charter of Incorporation" to the institution founded in Dublin by the Roman Catholic Archbishops, but not in the form of the Draft Charter which the Prelates had sent over with their memorial. They would grant no endowment, at least beyond the expenses for examinations; and they would not give power to affiliate other colleges or schools to the Central College. This was, as they alleged, the exclusive prerogative of an University. As to the two paragraphs about the tests of knowledge and their application, they did not, they said, clearly understand their drift, but the Senate of the new University would be constituted in such a way as to entitle it to the confidence of the various religious bodies, and all the details of the examinations had better be left to this Senate.

The Bishops, in reply to Sir George Grey, very naturally asserted that there was no effective step taken in this scheme to place Catholics on a footing of equality with their non-



Catholic fellow-subjects, but they reserved their definite reply until they should have an opportunity of seeing the two new Charters—that is, of the new University and of the Catholic College. The latter never appeared, and the former which is known to history as the Supplemental Charter, was an abortion, and only survived a brief period. It was issued in June, 1866, and authorized persons other than students of Queen's Colleges to be admitted to examinations, honours, and degrees; but it appears that it was an illegal document, and the Master of the Rolls, on the application of three graduates of the Queen's University, granted an injunction forbidding the Senate to make any further use of that precious document, and so the Supplemental Charter disappeared from Irish University life; and, we believe, no one regretted its premature extinction.

It will be seen from the history of these transactions what ideas the *doctrinaires* of the Liberal Government in 1866 had about placing Catholics on a footing of educational equality with their fellow-subjects; and how much better they knew what was good for us in Ireland than we possibly could know ourselves.

Even the poor boon of allowing certain Catholic Colleges to be affiliated to the Incorporated College in Dublin they curtly refused on grounds that, as a matter of fact, are not true, and even, if true, would furnish no adequate reason for their refusal. Liberty and equality—certainly we will give you both and degrees too! but of money—and all that money can procure, buildings, professors, books, museums, exhibitions and rewards—not a shilling. These are not for conscientious Papists, if you won't come to our Colleges in spite of your Bishops and your consciences, you must do without those things—such aids to learning are not for you. And an enlightened press applauded loudly, and proclaimed, at the corners of all the streets, how fairly and how justly English statesmen governed Ireland!

Mr. Fawcett's Act was the next move. The Catholic claim was indefeasible. The Liberals felt it; and although they were not prepared to do anything in reality, nevertheless, they wished to appear to do something. That would answer just as well, and what is more, save their consistency. Trinity College was a Protestant institution, as it is to this day, and will be for many generations to come. It had 200,000 acres of the soil of Ireland; splendid buildings erected at the public expense; a large number of rich livings in its gift to reward its faithful servitors, but all secured to members of the Established Church; whilst the poor Papists in Stephen's Green would not get from the public funds what would glaze a broken pane of glass. It was clear that this state

of things could never last; so the Liberals took heart of grace, and resolved to throw open, *on paper*, everything in Trinity to Roman Catholics, as well as to Protestants; knowing well that Trinity would continue to be quite as great a stronghold of Protestantism after the Act as it was before it, and perhaps a trifle more so. We do not say that Mr. Fawcett knew all this, but the Trinity men knew it well. Outwardly, they gave a reluctant consent; but they were glad in their hearts, for was it not in their own hands to hold what they had got, whilst the passing of the Bill would save them from the Philistines? Conscientious Churchmen, however, were strongly opposed to Mr. Fawcett's Bill. They declared that Trinity College was founded by a great Protestant Queen, that it was endowed with Protestant funds, that it was the mainstay of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and they strongly objected to its secularization, as they justly called it. The Roman Catholics, too, loudly declared that opening Trinity College would not satisfy them; they did not ask it; and they would not have it. The project would only add one more to the existing Queen's Colleges. These views were tersely summed up by an observation of the present Lord Emly, then Mr. Monsell, in the House of Commons. "The scheme," he said, "would deprive Trinity College of the confidence of the Protestants, and would not gain for it the confidence of the Catholics."

In July, 1867, Mr. Fawcett's motion for throwing open Trinity College was lost only by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Conservative Government, then in power, saw clearly that they must at once either do justice to the Catholics by conceding their demands, or adopt Mr. Fawcett's Bill to save themselves and Trinity College from an adverse vote of the House of Commons.

The Earl of Mayo now appears upon the scene, and announced the Government proposals in the House of Commons on the 10th of March, 1868, and a few days afterwards sent a memorandum to the Archbishop of Cashel, in which he proposes for the first time to create a Catholic University, "which, as far as circumstances would permit, should stand in the same position to Roman Catholics as Trinity College does to Protestants: that is to say, that the governing body should consist of, and the teaching should be conducted mainly by, Roman Catholics, but that full security should be taken that no religious influence should be brought to bear on students who belonged to another faith." This was hopeful so far; but in carrying out these general principles Lord Mayo made some fatal mistakes.

The proposal now made is as follows:—

That a Charter for a Roman Catholic University should be granted.

to the following persons to be named in the Charter :—A chancellor, a vice-chancellor, four prelates, the President of Maynooth, six laymen, the heads of the colleges proposed to be affiliated, and five members to be elected, one by each of the five faculties in the affiliated college or colleges.

The future Senate should be formed as follows :—A chancellor, to be elected by Convocation ; a vice-chancellor, to be appointed by the chancellor ; four prelates, to be nominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy ; the President of Maynooth ; six laymen, to be elected by Convocation : the heads of the affiliated colleges ; five members, to be elected by the faculties, as before mentioned. The Senate would be twenty in number, all being members of the Roman Catholic Church. Convocation to consist of the Chancellor, Senate, Professors, and Graduates.

Until the colleges are firmly established it may be proper to postpone the question of endowment. It is one of great difficulty, and need not form an indispensable portion of the plan.

It may, however, be necessary to ask Parliament to provide a sufficient sum for the payment of the expenses of the examinations, for the foundation of a certain number of University Scholarships, and the giving away of prizes, and also the payment of the salaries of certain officers and servants of the University, and perhaps some provision for a University hall and examination rooms.

Dr. Leahy of Cashel, and Dr. Derry of Clonfert, were deputed to confer with the Ministers on this project, and in their observations, which they committed to writing, they raise two main objections, and offer two suggestions, that deserve to be carefully noted. They object to the Senate having a veto on the appointment of the heads and professors of the affiliated colleges, but that was a point which very likely the Government would not press ; and, secondly, they object to the Chancellor and the six lay members of the Senate being chosen by Convocation, and not by the Senate itself. It does not appear to be a matter of vital importance, at least so far as the election of the six laymen is concerned.

The suggestions made are of much greater importance. It was suggested :

First—That the Chancellor should be always a Bishop, and that the first Chancellor should be Cardinal Cullen.

Secondly—That as faith and morality may be injuriously affected either by the heterodox teaching of professors, lecturers, and other officers, or by their bad moral example, or by the introduction of bad books into the University programme, the very least power that could be claimed for the Bishops on the Senate, with a view to the counteraction of such evils, would be that of an absolute negative on such books, and on the first nomination of professors, &c. &c., as well as on their continuing to hold their offices after having been judged by the

Bishops on the Senate to have grievously offended against faith or morals.

Here is the rock on which the whole project was wrecked. Except the power indicated in this paragraph were *in some way* secured to the Bishops it could not be called a Catholic University at all, and the Bishops could not, without foregoing a right essentially inherent in their office, take any part in its government as a Catholic institution. Any other point they might concede—but this point they could not concede without at the same time foregoing the exercise of a divine right which belongs to them, and to them alone, as pastors of their flocks. The two prelates put it as clearly and curtly as possible. “According to the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church it is not competent for laymen, nor even for clergymen of the second order, however learned, to judge authoritatively of faith and morality. That is the exclusive province of the Bishops.” Yet the Government replied to this clear *non possumus* of the Bishops with an equally emphatic *non volumus* :—

“The proposition that the episcopal members of the Senate should possess any power greater than their lay colleagues is one that her Majesty’s Government cannot entertain.” And so Lord Mayo’s famous proposal to create a Catholic University came to grief.

Later on, Mr. Fawcett took advantage of Lord Mayo’s failure to pass his own Bill for throwing open the offices, honours, and emoluments of Trinity College to all persons without religious distinction; but, as was so clearly anticipated, the Catholic grievance was not thereby removed. At a meeting of the Irish Bishops, held in Maynooth on the 18th of August 1869, it was unanimously resolved in the case of the establishment of one National University in this kingdom for examining candidates and conferring degrees, that the Catholic people of Ireland are entitled in justice to demand that in such a University or annexed to it—

(a) They shall have a distinct college conducted upon purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in the privileges enjoyed by other colleges of whatsoever denomination or character.

(b) That the University honours and emoluments be accessible to Catholics equally with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

(c) That the examinations and other details of University arrangement be free from every influence hostile to the religious sentiments of Catholics, and that with this view the Catholic element be adequately represented upon the Senate or other Supreme University body by persons enjoying the confidence of the Catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland.

The Bishops furthermore declare that "a settlement of the University Question to be complete, and at the same time in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic people of Ireland, must include the re-arrangement of the Queen's Colleges on the Denominational principle."

Since the failure of Lord Mayo's attempt to create a Catholic University it was felt that the prospects of obtaining a distinct University for Irish Catholics were now considerably diminished. But the Liberals were again in power, and hopes were held out of creating one great National University, in which full justice would be done to Catholics both as to degrees and endowments. Mr. Gladstone, too, had just succeeded in Disestablishing the Protestant Church; and it was hoped that he would also disestablish Trinity College, and either level up or down in the matter of endowment by dividing its revenues with the Catholic College, or endowing the latter on an equally liberal scale. It is hardly necessary for us to explain at any length how these sanguine hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Minister persisting in his own views with wilful blindness succeeded in producing a scheme which, though ushered in with a great flourish of trumpets, pleased nobody and wrecked his own Government. To fail in an honest effort to do justice, where it had been long denied, would be to fall with honour; but Mr. Gladstone's project and Ministry both fell amidst a universal shout of disapproval. His persistence in that unhappy scheme in the face of the repeated declarations of the Irish Catholic bishops and priests and people seems to have been nothing short of infatuation. It was confidently hoped that he would charter and endow a Catholic College in the great National University, which he proposed to found, and which would secure the double advantage of the highest standard of education with the widest range of competition, and yet leave freedom and autonomy to the Catholic institution to enable it to follow its own principles. The language in which the Prime Minister at first announced his project was eminently calculated to foster this hope. He admitted that, as regards Catholics, the provision for University Education was "miserably" and "scandalously" bad; he proposed to redress this grievance; yet, as the Irish prelates solemnly declared whilst the Bill was yet before the House, "he brought forward a measure singularly inconsistent with his professions, because, instead of redressing, it perpetuates that grievance, upholding two out of three of the Queen's Colleges, and planting in the Metropolis two other great teaching institutions, the same in principle with the Queen's Colleges." And in the matter of endowments, the Catholics as such got nothing at all. Trinity College was left its £50,000 a

year, with all its splendid buildings, and libraries, and museums; the new University was to get £50,000 more for its own purposes; Belfast and Cork were each to have about £10,000 a year, but for the Catholic College in Stephen's Green, not a shilling. The Bishops declared they would not affiliate their College to this new University, "unless the proposed scheme be largely modified;" and they had the same objection to the affiliation of any other Catholic colleges in Ireland. This declaration sealed the fate of the Bill. Attacked by the Secularists on one flank, by the Catholic prelates on the other, and by the Conservative Opposition in the front—even though Mr. Cardwell declared that nothing in the Bill was essential—it was found impossible to modify it so as to please the assailants. It came down, and brought the Government with it. The division was taken for the second reading on the 11th of March 1873, and the Ministry resigned on the 13th of March.

The debate on the second reading is full of interest and instruction. The champions of the contending interests put forth all their strength. It was a war of giants, for which the rival orators had long been preparing, for this Irish University measure had been set forth in the Queen's Speech as the principal measure of the Session. Major O'Reilly's speech was remarkable for the frankness and fulness of detail with which he spoke on behalf of the Irish Catholics, as well as the vigour with which he attacked the Queen's Colleges. He declared that he would not send his sons to any college which did not teach his own religion. He could not expose them to the risk of having their cherished faith assailed in lectures on history and philosophy. He would have them taught in a thoroughly Catholic atmosphere, and by a Catholic professor; whereas Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges were institutions essentially Protestant. All the same, as a citizen and a tax-payer, he demanded educational equality for the institution in which he and Catholics like him meant to educate their sons—that is, State recognition, and a proportionate share of the honours and emoluments granted by the State in aid of University Education. About the same time, Mr. John George McCarthy, the present Land Commissioner, in a letter to the *Spectator*, pertinently asked and answered the question:—"Why don't I send my sons to 'mixed' colleges? For the same reason that my fathers did not send their sons to the Protestant Churches, because of conscientious objections. Our fathers endured disabilities for their religious opinions in one case, our sons will endure disabilities for their religious opinions in the other case. But the first infliction is now called persecution; the second is called equality." It would be impossible to put the Catholic case in briefer and more cogent form.

On the other hand, all the friends of a liberal education were indignant at the Ministerial proposal to exclude philosophy and modern history from the curriculum of University studies. This was designed as a sop to propitiate the Catholics, but the Catholics repudiated the illiberal boon. It was bad enough to have a mixed University, but a University without philosophy and history was a misnomer—it was neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring; it was attacked from all quarters, stoned to death by all the people, and no attempt has been even made to resuscitate it. The Royal University in this respect occupies a much more honourable position. Philosophy and modern history hold a high place in its programme, as well the proofs for the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, and the other great truths of Natural Religion.

For the next seven years nothing further was done or attempted. The Liberals had tried their hands twice and failed; the Conservatives had tried in 1868 and failed also—a failure which, for our own part, we always regretted, because with a little compromise on both sides we think the measure might have been made a good one, and more in accordance with Catholic principles than anything we have since got. Notwithstanding this first failure they resolved, after a considerable interval, to make another effort to remedy the Catholic grievance, and this time they were partially successful, at least to the extent of producing the Royal University.

This latest “Act to Promote the Advancement of Learning, and to extend the benefits connected with University Education in Ireland” received the Royal Assent on the 15th of August 1879. By this Act and the Royal Charter issued under its provisions, the Queen’s University was dissolved, and the new Royal University constituted which, whatever be its shortcomings, has certainly surpassed in its general success and popularity the most sanguine expectations of its founders. That success is due, in the first place, to the fact that the University grants its degrees to all matriculated students, no matter where or by whom educated, if they “satisfy the Senate that they are qualified on point of learning to obtain the same;” and we are told on official authority that no less than 3130 persons presented themselves at the various Academical Examinations for the year 1888. Secondly, the Senate is enabled to offer from its Parliamentary grant, which is yearly to be expended in exhibitions, scholarships, studentships, and other prizes, a very considerable sum of money, as rewards for high proficiency in the various subjects of examination. At the same time, with a view to secure, as far as possible, these prizes for the students of unendowed colleges and schools, it has been most wisely pro-

vided by Act of Parliament that no student holding any exhibition or other valuable prize in any University or College endowed with public money shall hold any of the exhibitions or other prizes of the Royal University without taking the value of such previous exhibition or prize into account and deducting the same from the value of the Royal University prize or exhibition. By this means the prize money is to some extent secured for the successful students, who are trained in the unendowed colleges, or by private tutors.

The statutes also empower the Senate to elect twenty-nine Fellows, with a salary of £400 a year each; but if the Fellow be a Fellow or Professor of any other College or University endowed with public money, his salary in such other institution must be deducted from £400, and he can only receive the difference from the Royal University. By this provision, although half the Fellowships are assigned to the Queen's Colleges, the amount of money which they receive from the Royal University does not average more than about £80 a year for each Fellowship. On the other hand, the twelve Fellows at present assigned to University College, Stephen's Green, and the Single Fellow assigned to Magee College, Derry, receive each £400 a year, which to that extent provides an indirect endowment for the professors of these two Colleges.

This system, however, of indirect endowment has two serious drawbacks. In the first place it is altogether inadequate to place these Colleges on a footing of equality with the Queen's Colleges, and in the second place, it seriously interferes with the due performance of the primary function of the Royal University as an Examining University. These are two points which we must be allowed to develop at some length, and for this reason, until these two defects are remedied, neither the Catholic students, nor the general body of the students coming for their degrees to the Royal University, can or ought to be satisfied, because, as a matter of fact, they can have neither equality nor perfect fair play. The prizes and degrees of the Royal University are, with the restrictions already explained, open to all comers—to the private student, to the students of the Unendowed Colleges, and also to the students of the Queen's Colleges, and of Trinity College, from which last they come in very considerable numbers, when there is anything likely to be gained thereby; and they have the additional advantage of being on the spot even for the honour and degree examinations. Now, in Trinity College they have enormous revenues, splendid buildings, a highly-trained and highly-paid and most efficient staff of professors; they have all the appliances of study, which every year are becoming more elaborate and more expensive. They



have similar aids to learning provided at the public expense in the Queen's Colleges—professors, buildings, books, and apparatus of every kind. Some £10,500 a year, in fact, is spent in procuring for each of these Colleges all these elaborate and indispensable aids, both animate and inanimate, to the acquisition of knowledge.

Surely the heads or defenders of these institutions will not say that the money spent in procuring this splendid educational machinery is not well spent. Be it so, then. But can the students who have none of these things provided for them from the public purse, who must, in fact, go against their consciences or do without them either wholly or in part—can these students, when they come up to the Royal University to be examined with their rivals from Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, be regarded as fairly matched in this race for honour and reward? Surely no one will venture to assert it.

Then, again, in many cases the Queen's College students can gain a double set of prizes—first in the Royal University, and afterwards in the Queen's College. "A student who has obtained an exhibition in the Royal University is eligible for a scholarship or an exhibition in the Queen's Colleges,"\* and no deduction will in that case be made, or, indeed, can be made, if the student gains his exhibition *first* in the Royal University, and *then* goes down to one of the Queen's Colleges and stands his examination for another exhibition or scholarship. Students, therefore, coming from the unendowed Colleges can get only one exhibition, whilst the Queen's College student of the same standing, and perhaps less knowledge, can gain two exhibitions, or an exhibition and scholarship for one year, on condition of attending his course of lectures in the Queen's College, which is the very thing that a conscientious Catholic will not and cannot do. Is this equality or fair play?

It is true, indeed, that University College has the advantage of having some twelve of the salaried Fellows of the Royal University assigned to it to teach in its halls. But this is the only advantage it has. It has not, like each of the Queen's Colleges, £1500 a year to offer in prizes to its students. It has no buildings erected at the public expense, no libraries, no museums, no laboratories—so essential for medical and scientific teaching—no apparatus of any kind, no paid officers, none of the other aids to learning which are so liberally supplied to the Queen's Colleges. Surely this is not equality or fair play; and surely the Catholic students of University College in this matter have a grievance that impera-

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\* See Dr. Moffat's Report for 1884-5, p. 17, and Dr. Porter's Evidence before the Commission of 1884, p. 4.

tively calls for redress. But there are other Catholic Colleges which do more work and better work than either Cork or Galway, that have a still greater grievance, for University College gets something, but they get nothing at all. Last year, 1888-89, there were only 41 students in the Faculty of Arts in the Queen's College, Cork, and 55 in Galway. During the last five years these Art Students of Cork College gained in the Royal University 21 exhibitions and 65 honours; the Galway men during the same period gained 11 exhibitions and 52 honours; whilst University College, Stephen's Green, gained 44 exhibitions and 168 honours; and Blackrock University College secured nearly as many—37 exhibitions and 118 honours. It will thus be seen that of the highest kind of educational work each of the Catholic Colleges has done more than the two Queen's Colleges taken together. Clongowes, Carlow, Mungret, St. Malachy's, Belfast, and other Catholic Colleges have likewise a considerable number of University students, and frequently win the highest places in the lists of the Royal University. But not one of these colleges has one shilling of endowment, direct or indirect, from the public purse.

Is this equality, or fair play, or justice, or public economy, or anything else that it ought to be? Will the Government perpetuate this state of things, or will they not rather give the money where the work is now done without it, and where it will be much better done with it; or, if they will retain Cork and Galway—as we think they ought to do—then, in the name of justice and common sense let them, as the Bishops so often asked, so modify the constitution of these colleges that the Catholics of these two provinces can safely utilize them, and then we shall in a few years find them as successful in the South and West as Belfast has been in the North. Those who are most intimately acquainted with the working of the Royal University feel this injustice and this inequality most keenly, and we have reason to believe that there is not a single representative of the Queen's Colleges on the Senate of the Royal University who would not gladly see something done to remedy this glaring inequality. The Royal University has done this one signal service at all events: it has proved to the world that the students of our Catholic colleges can more than hold their own against all comers if they get anything like fair play; and it has also served to place in a clearer light before the world the great disadvantages under which our Catholic colleges necessarily send up their students to its examinations.

The second great drawback to the full success of the Royal University arises from the fact that its Fellows are at once teachers and examiners—that is, examiners both of their own

students and of outsiders, who have not the advantage of attending to the course of lectures given by the examiner in the very subject in which he examines. This system is intrinsically dangerous to the impartiality of the examinations, for no matter how painstaking and conscientious the examiner may be, he is naturally inclined to set those questions which are before his own mind with special prominence, and to which he most likely called special attention in his own lectures. It is very obvious that in that case a student attending the course of lectures given by the examiner will have in most subjects a very decided advantage over the student who never heard that examiner open his lips. And when in answer to the questions put the examiner gets back his own views, he is more likely to think them correct in those subjects where a divergence of opinion is inevitable than the views of other men. It is very difficult, therefore, for the examiner to act with perfect impartiality as judge between the students taught by himself and those taught by another person in the same subjects. Even his very anxiety to be honest may cause him to be unfair to his own men, as we know to have sometimes happened, but generally speaking it will be the other way; an unconscious bias for his own views and opinions will lead him to set his own favourite questions, and to give perhaps more than their due weight to those answers in which they are carefully reproduced to his own great mental delectation. Considerations of this character are not forgotten by the Senators of the Royal University, and it is an undoubted fact that they are most anxious, as far as possible, to secure a set of examiners who would have nothing to do with the teaching of any of the candidates in those subjects in which they examine. With this view the Senate of the Royal University quite recently made a regulation that the examiners should not continue to examine in the same subject for a longer period than four consecutive years. This was done partly to give outsiders a chance, and partly to prevent the examinations running in the same groove for an indefinite period, with the obvious result that grinders and clever students made themselves perfectly up beforehand in all the points and crotchets of the examiner as exhibited in his questions and in his lectures. Yet an eminent Dublin doctor, who is a Senator of the Royal University, and also a professor in one of the Dublin Schools of Medicine, bitterly complained of this regulation, because, although there were eight medical examiners of the Royal University in that school, yet in their turn they should have to vacate the office at least one year out of five, and thereby lose the salary which, it was alleged, was given to the examiners as an indirect endowment for that particular School of Medicine. This is precisely the root of the evil. The system of

indirectly endowing a school or college by giving large salaries to its professors as University examiners, with the duty of testing the relative merits of their own pupils and of outsiders, is essentially a dangerous and unsatisfactory system. It cannot last in the Royal University, and it must be changed in the interests of justice and fair play. Endow the working colleges by all means, so as to place them on a footing of equality in coming up for the honours and rewards of the University, but let it be done some other way.

The present arrangement of Fellowships, as a means of giving a small indirect endowment to one or two Colleges, was never intended to be permanent—it was a makeshift for the time, and served a useful purpose for a while, but the sooner it is got rid of the better for all parties concerned. The Archbishop of Dublin stated some years ago, as well as we recollect, that it was a system essentially based on injustice. We are very far from assenting to that proposition, but we think it is dangerous and open to abuse in spite of all the precautions that the Senate has undoubtedly adopted to prevent by every means in its power any possibility of unfairness. It is said by the defenders of the present system that in most subjects it is impossible to get competent University examiners, who are not also teachers of the same subjects, and some of whose pupils would not present themselves at the examinations of the Royal University. That may be—but the danger, at least, should be minimized. It is a standing rule of the Intermediate examinations, that no examiner can examine his own pupils in any subject which he has taught them; and we do not see why a similar rule could not apply to University examinations, with, perhaps, a very few exceptions.

It must be borne in mind, too, that although the first set of Fellows in the Royal University were elected by the Senate without examination, still the Act of Parliament provides that the Fellowships, like the other prizes of the University, shall be open to all students matriculating, or who have matriculated in the University; and the scheme *may propose* that they shall be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, &c. The Senate is anxiously awaiting the time when it will be free to throw open the Fellowships, like all other prizes, to the competition of its own graduates; and there is no doubt that such free competition would be for the “Advancement of Learning in Ireland.” But this can never be done while the Senate continues to impose the obligation of teaching in certain colleges on a fixed number of the Fellows. Suppose a number of vacancies occurred, as they did lately in University College, and a Belfast graduate, or two or three of them in succession happened to win the Fellowships, it would be highly inconvenient to send

them to teach in University College, Stephen's Green, and if the Senate did not do so that institution would lose the endowment previously derived from these Fellowships. It is obvious, therefore, that the existing system of indirect endowment is unsatisfactory in many ways, and must, in fact, be done away with as soon as possible.

And now arises the most important question of all—What is to take its place? We have neither the right nor the duty to undertake to give a positive answer to this weighty question. But the past history of the question will enable us to guess very well, what will not do, and even to conjecture with some probability, certain concessions that would certainly tend to a solution of the difficulty.

First of all, it must be borne in mind that the Irish Catholics in this matter of University Education now demand, and have always demanded, to be placed on a footing of equality—perfect equality—with their fellow-subjects of other religious denominations. This has again been asserted in all the resolutions drawn up by the Irish prelates for the last forty years, and it has been asserted with more emphasis of late years than ever. Many persons, it is well known, are by no means over-anxious to press the Catholic claims in this matter on the Imperial Parliament, lest perchance Parliament might at length do justice to Ireland in this matter, and thereby weaken the argument in favour of Home Rule. If Mr. Balfour, after his declaration in the House of Commons, can not, or will not, induce his party to settle this question, then all we can say is, that such a fact will furnish an unanswerable argument in favour of the need of Home Rule for Ireland, and will strike a heavier blow at the Union than it ever received before. If the thing, as all concede, ought to be done, and you admit that still you cannot do it in London, then, in the name of common sense, let us try our hands in Dublin. At any rate, our failure cannot be more signal than yours has been.

But what, it may be asked, is this equality that you want? How are we to measure or to gauge it? We think it is mainly a matter of statistics. What is the actual number of Catholic and non-Catholic University students in Ireland, including the students of Maynooth, who will and ought to graduate in Arts where they can do so in a becoming way? And, secondly, What would be the relative proportion of these students, if the Catholics had got for the last generation the same facilities for obtaining University education as their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen? Let these questions be answered, and it will be found that the Catholics are entitled to get at least as large an endowment as all non-Catholic students taken together. If Trinity College gets £40,000 a year, are not the Catholics en-

titled to as much? Nay, they should, in fair play, get more, for the endowments of Trinity College are reserved for the wealthier classes, who, as a rule, are perfectly well able to take care of themselves, and go anywhere they choose for a University education. It must be borne in mind, too, that a much larger number of Roman Catholics would strive to secure a University degree, both of the professional and non-professional classes, if the same facilities for acquiring a University education were offered to them as are offered to their Protestant fellow-subjects. It is the case in Scotland, where there is one University student for 860 of the population; and why should it not be also the case in Ireland, where at present the proportion is only one in 2800 of the population? There is no doubt, too, that with the more equal distribution of property in Ireland, and the increasing wealth and independence of the middle classes, a much greater number of Catholics especially will, in the coming years, try to give their sons a University education than have attempted to do so in the past. All these considerations go to show that at least as ample provision should be made for the endowment of Catholic education in the future as has already been made for the endowment of non-Catholic. If the question of principle is once honestly and fairly conceded, then all must admit that the educational provision made should be adequate and liberal, if it were only to make some reparation for the spoliation and injustice of the past.

But there is another point which is far more essential than the amount of the endowment, and that is the conditions under which it is to be given. Here, too, we may learn much from the history of the past. If Mr. Balfour will not follow in the footsteps of Lord Mayo, who offered to charter an independent and self-sufficing University for Catholics, but prefers to follow the example of Sir George Grey, he will do well to take careful note of the objections that were raised to that scheme, and ultimately caused it to be withdrawn. If a Catholic College (without the power of giving degrees) were to be chartered and endowed, the Bishops not only required such an endowment as would place them on a footing of equality with non-Catholics, but also that it should be chartered "in such a manner as to leave the department of teaching Catholics altogether in the hands of Catholics, and under the control of the Bishops, at least in all things appertaining to faith and morals." There can be no doubt that the Bishops will still insist on this as an essential condition. They have always insisted on it; if it were not granted the College, or Colleges, would be only Catholic in name, not in reality. You cannot have the play without Hamlet; you cannot have a Catholic College without effective episcopal

control in those things, which essentially and exclusively appertain to episcopal authority. There may be a possibility of compromise in other things, but not in this. As the Bishops pointed out most distinctly, both to Sir George Grey and Lord Mayo, it would necessarily imply in a Catholic College the power of vetoing the appointment or continuance in office of heterodox or immoral professors, the use of bad or immoral books, as well as all lectures of an anti-Catholic or irreligious tendency. It would, in all probability, be very seldom necessary to exercise this power, but its possession would be an essential safeguard for the working of a Catholic College, and would of itself render it unnecessary in most cases to have recourse to its exercise.

This power, therefore, must *in some way* be secured to the representatives of the Catholic Hierarchy in the government of every Catholic college. But in whom is it to be immediately vested? In the statement submitted by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Clonfert, in the name of their colleagues they suggest that this power should be given to the Bishops on the Senate of the Catholic University College; but in the Draft Charter which was sent to Sir George Grey in the name of all the Bishops, and which was probably drawn up by Cardinal Cullen (see his "Collected Works," Vol. II., p. 460), it was proposed: "That the four Roman Catholic Archbishops for the time being shall be visitors of the said college, and their authority shall be supreme in questions regarding religion or morals, and in all other things in the said college."

There can be no doubt that the latter would be the simplest and perhaps the most satisfactory way of securing to the Bishops that supreme control in all those things relating to faith and morals which has been indicated above. It would be found very inconvenient in practice to give to the episcopal members of the Senate a power which was not shared by their clerical or lay colleagues on the same Board. No doubt the members of the Senate—especially of a Catholic Senate—would generally defer at once to the ascertained views of the Bishops on questions of this kind. But by reserving an appeal to the archiepiscopal visitors, if any difficulty arose, and holding their decision as final, every objection would be removed, and the rights of the Hierarchy in faith and morals would be effectively safeguarded. And surely when there is question of a Catholic College nothing can be more natural than to have ecclesiastical Visitors, and it might very fairly be assumed that they would not act in any narrow or illiberal spirit, and that whatever might be their prejudices, as Churchmen or politicians, when they were appealed to as judges, they would temper justice with mercy, and act in a spirit of large-minded equity. It has been suggested that in that case it

would be useful to add to the four Catholic Archbishops one or two of the Catholic judges whose knowledge and experience would be valuable on questions of law, and who, doubtless, would not be over-anxious to mix themselves up in questions of faith and morals. The supreme control would still be effectively secured according to Catholic principles to the episcopal authority. This is a point on which we cannot offer any definite opinion; but it is obvious that in the way which the Bishops themselves have indicated in the Draft Charter may be found a simple and easy solution of this critical question.

It was also provided by the same Draft Charter that the "four Visitors shall be trustees of all property belonging to the College." They were also to be *ex-officio* perpetual governors of the College, and eight other prelates were to be associated with them as life-governors of the institution; but it was not proposed to give a share in the "government" to any layman or cleric of the second order. Many people will doubtless consider that a Senate composed exclusively of Bishops is more suited for the government of an ecclesiastical college than of a Catholic University College, primarily established and endowed with public money for the education of laymen. And it is satisfactory to find that in their negotiations with Sir George Grey, the Bishops did not insist on this point, and were ready to admit a certain number of laymen to a share in the government of the College, but they preferred to have them elected by the Senate itself rather than by the Convocation of Graduates.

The important point is that, although the Bishops would prefer a Catholic University of their own, with the power of granting degrees, they were willing to accept an Incorporated College within the new University endowed by Government so as to place it on a footing of equality with other institutions, and at the same time with effective episcopal control over its teaching, its books, and its morals. There is, we presume, no reason, either in policy or the nature of things, why Mr. Balfour could not incorporate a Catholic college as well as Sir George Grey; and there is every reason in the nature of things why a Conservative statesman should be more friendly to such an institution than either a Liberal or a Radical—the latter being, as a rule, the avowed champions of a mixed or godless education. It was, in fact, a Conservative, Sir R. Inglis, who first applied to the Queen's Colleges the opprobrious epithet of "godless" colleges.

And if a central Catholic College is to be chartered, there can be no real objection to allow the Chartered College to affiliate a limited number of other Catholic Colleges to itself. The Government in 1866 alleged that this was the peculiar privilege



of a University, forgetting that it was proposed in 1846 by the Government of the day to allow the Queen's Colleges to affiliate to themselves certain medical schools as tributaries and feeders.\* This affiliation after all really means very little, and can hardly lead to any serious abuse in lowering of the educational standard, seeing that neither the students of the Central College, nor of the affiliated colleges, can obtain any University degrees or diplomas, or certificates, except by passing the examinations of an external and perfectly independent tribunal, which is open to all comers on equal terms. Let the Senate, or other governing body of the Incorporated College, fix, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, the conditions and privileges of affiliation, restricting it carefully to those institutions where the staff, the numbers, the appliances, and the work already accomplished, will clearly show that they are competent to afford University instruction to their students. Let them be required, if necessary, to come up for certain courses of lectures to the Central College; let some, but not all, the scholarships and exhibitions of the Central College be thrown open for competition amongst the entire body of the students of the affiliated colleges, and be tenable for one year in the affiliated college, but for a second or third year only in the Central College. We do not see how there can be any objection to such a system of affiliation so conditioned and restricted. It has nothing at all to do with the religious question, and we are quite certain that it would greatly tend to the development and success of the Central College, as well as to the general advancement of learning in Ireland.

Let there be by all means but one Central College thoroughly well equipped for all the educational work, which it will have to perform. Let it have a complete staff of competent professors with liberal salaries, for otherwise the services of the most competent men cannot be secured. We do not want any endowment for theological chairs out of the taxpayers' money; let the theological faculty, as at present, be confined to the College of Maynooth. But a very large sum will be required for the purchase or construction of suitable collegiate buildings, and an equally large sum for their complete equipment—that is, including library, museum, laboratories, and all the other varied and expensive educational appliances necessary in the medical and scientific departments. £100,000 was granted by Parliament as a first instalment for the building of the Queen's Colleges, and they have been receiving large sums for maintenance every year since. It would take a very considerable sum to build a hall at all approaching in grandeur the magnificent library of Trinity

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\* See Sir James Graham's "Official Memorandum," Jan. 1846.

College. Yet this is a thing that can hardly be done piecemeal—it ought to be done at once.

Such a college thoroughly equipped and amply endowed would, in a short time, attract to its halls all the Catholic youths in Ireland seeking a University education. We do not believe there are fifty Catholics in all Ireland who would by preference send their sons either to Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges if they had such an institution in Dublin. It is not for love of mixed education that a few persons do send their sons to these colleges at present, but because many of them have practically no choice. Such a great Catholic College would realize in a brief time Cardinal Newman's lofty ideal by its influence in raising the intellectual tone of Society, in cultivating the public mind, in purifying the national taste, in supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm, and fixed aims to popular aspiration, in giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, in facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life. Residence for a shorter or longer period in this clear and pure atmosphere of sober thought should be made indispensable for obtaining all its higher academic prizes.

This is our grievance—that at present we have examinations enough and to spare in the Royal University; but we have no adequate means of preparing for them—no centre of light and culture for the teaching and residence of our students, which alone can give a truly liberal education. Residence without examinations, said Newman, come nearer to the idea of a University than examinations without residence. On this point we have very striking official testimony from Lord Emly, the present distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University. “For the majority of the people (of Ireland),” he says, “not one endowed lay college exists, and consequently the majority of our students of the Royal University are absolutely shut out from university and college life. They have to compete with their fellow-countrymen—English, Irish, and Scotch—and enter into the combat of life at grievous disadvantage. Until these students, who are now scattered through Stephen's Green, Blackrock, Carlow, and other unendowed colleges, badly equipped, insufficiently manned, and struggling with penury, are united together in a college, *in all respects equal to Trinity College*, they cannot be on an intellectual level with their fellow-countrymen. We have a striking instance of this inferiority before our eyes. Look at our University calendar; you will be struck by the fact that while in other branches of the University course the students of the unendowed colleges have earned a fair proportion of prizes and honours in mathematical science they have hardly won any.” Why? for want of suitable appliances and competent professors.

Yes, that is exactly what we want—"a thoroughly equipped college," in all respects equal to Trinity College. This is not, perhaps, the place to discuss its constitution or its government. Mr. Balfour has before him, in the proposals submitted to Sir George Grey and in the Draft Charter, ample means of ascertaining what is likely to be accepted as a satisfactory working arrangement. Lord Mayo, too, laid down one invaluable principle, equally applicable, whether there be question of a Catholic College or of a Catholic University. "If, therefore, a Catholic University is founded, it should be constituted in such a manner that, while it would be almost independent of State control, it would be subject to a constant influence of public opinion, and governed by a body who, acting in the light of day, would be likely to frame its rules and conduct its teaching so that the new University (or College) would at once enter into active competition on equal terms with the older Universities" or Colleges of the kingdom.

There is not a single clause in this sentence that does not enumerate an important principle, to which no friend of education can reasonably take exception. No University College, and least of all a Catholic College, should be a mere Government *lycée*, managed by a Minister of Public Instruction, or by any other official of the Government. The interference of the Government ought to be limited to two things—to start it and keep it in working order; or, better still, to endow and constitute it so that the institution will be self-governing and self-sustaining, and thus be enabled to keep itself in working order. Competition and publicity will do the rest. Hence we think that the principle of independence of State control laid down in the first paragraph is an admirable one. The less the Government has to do with such an institution once it is fairly started the better. No doubt it is the right and the duty of the Government to see that the country gets value for its money, and that a College endowed from the public purse does not become the nursery of sloth and incompetence. But the examinations of such a body as the Royal University will effectively and clearly tell the world what is the quantity and quality of the work done. It has already shown this in the case of the Queen's Colleges. Belfast has been shown to be a successful institution; so successful that no one grudges its endowment, or questions its right to what it has, or even to more, if necessary, for its efficient working. The Royal University has already done the same for our Catholic Colleges. It has shown clearly the quantity and quality of the work done, and will, in the near future, as we hope, be a still more efficient and impartial *jury d'examen* for all the rival colleges in the country.

But it is also of supreme importance that the Government should commit the management of the new College to a body that will command the public confidence, both as Catholics and as Educationalists. The "advancement of learning on a sound Catholic basis" is the whole purpose of its existence; and this, doubtless, will be best secured by the choice of moderate men representing the various political parties, but about whose Catholicity and culture and educational experience there can be no question.

It will be observed that the prelates always demanded that the Queen's Colleges should be so modified as to make them practically Denominational Colleges. In the case of Belfast that is so already—not, indeed, in theory, but certainly in practice; and therefore Belfast is a success. It has been so from the beginning. They began there with four Catholic students who matriculated there in the year 1849-50; for the next twenty-one years the average number was only three; and we believe that is about the number down to the present time. The staff was from the very beginning mainly Presbyterian; some few, it is true, were Episcopalians, but there was only one Catholic, and his might be called an honorary chair, given to save appearances. It was the chair of Celtic, which was filled by John O'Donovan, the illustrious editor and translator of the "Annals of the Four Masters." But the working staff then and since has been to a great extent Presbyterian. Dr. Henry, the first President, was a Presbyterian; Dr. Andrews, the Vice-President, was a Presbyterian; and the majority of the remaining officers and professors were Presbyterians. Using the wider inclusive term of Protestant, every single officer and professor on the establishment, with the single exception of O'Donovan, was a Protestant, and that has been the practice down to the present time. There can be no difficulty about giving Belfast to the Presbyterians; it is theirs already, and they know it well, and have claimed its Presidency as such from Mr. Balfour.

The question is about Cork and Galway. Is it statesman-like to leave them as they are in the midst of a Catholic population, who would most gladly avail themselves of the educational facilities which they afford if they were conducted on denominational principles? Let them become Catholic as Belfast is Protestant, governed by Catholics, taught by Catholics, and frequented by Catholics, with the sanction of their pastors, and all will be well. Let there be, by all means, a conscience clause which will secure, as Lord Mayo proposed, "that no religious influence should be brought to bear on students who belonged to another faith." If any non-Catholic students living in Cork or Belfast choose to attend lectures in these colleges when

under Catholic management, so long as they are endowed with public money, they cannot reasonably be excluded—at least so long as they have no college of their own in the same city. And they are entitled to be secured against any undue religious influence being brought to bear upon them against their own wish, or the wish of their parents and guardians. They are entitled to this much; but they are entitled to no more. They have Trinity College if they are Episcopalians; they have Belfast if they are Presbyterians; but it cannot reasonably be expected that they should also have Cork and Galway governed and officered according to their views, so as to meet their wants. The Catholics also, who compose the great bulk of the population, especially in these two provinces, must be taken account of, and something must be done to provide for them so as to meet their wants and wishes. They ask for nothing unreasonable, for nothing, strictly speaking, exclusive—they merely ask for equality; give us in our way as much as you give our Protestant fellow-subjects in their way, that is all.

There is one objection we heard brought against this scheme, that considerable private endowments for various useful purposes were given to Cork College, especially as a mixed college, and on the faith that it would continue to be a mixed college, and which never would have been given by the donors if they imagined it were to become a practically Catholic college. It would be unjust and unfair, they say, to divert these legacies to purposes for which they were never intended. Our answer is that it would be still more unfair to allow such a reason to obstruct the performance of a great act of public justice. There need be no shadow of wrong done to these benefactors of Cork or Galway either, if it has any. If either themselves or their representatives should object to the proposed changes in the constitution of these colleges, then, we say, let the Government pay them over the amount of the original benefaction, whatever it was, and they cannot complain of the least shadow of wrong or injustice. So far as they are concerned, they get back their own to do what they please with, and they can ask for nothing more in reason.

There is a double argument of the greatest weight in favour of this change, first, that it is due as a matter of plain justice to Catholics, for otherwise they will not be placed on an equality with non-Catholics. But there is the second equally imperative argument, that under the present system these two colleges are a failure, and will continue to be a failure so long as that system is continued. It does not need many words to prove this proposition. It has been proved again and again, and has, indeed, been repeatedly admitted by friends as well as by enemies. The Rev. John Scott Porter, in his evidence before a Royal Com-

mission, so far back as March, 1857, says: "I do not think that the number now attending all the three Queen's Colleges as great—certainly not greater—than ought to be found in one of the three if they had succeeded as their founders anticipated, and as we their friends expected." The numbers, however, in Belfast has, since that period, steadily increased; especially of late years, its success has been very marked. On the other hand, Cork and Galway have been going from bad to worse. The examinations of the Royal University conclusively prove that some of the Catholic colleges which do not derive a shilling from the public purse do better work, and have more students in their halls than either of these richly-endowed colleges which cost the nation nearly £12,000 a year each.

Mr. Balfour, if he is to be taken as quite serious in the speech which he made on the 2nd of December, at Partick, places himself in a very inconsistent position. He practically admits everything that we have been arguing for in these pages, in favour of Catholics—indeed, he makes a stronger case for justice to Catholics than any Minister ever made before, yet declares it is absolutely impossible for him to do anything except with general consent, and so hampers his proposals with extraordinary conditions that it is impossible to regard them as anything but illusory. He finds that there are four colleges in Ireland enjoying public endowments, yet, although the Catholics form the great majority of the population, only one in seven of the students in these colleges belong to the Catholic faith. He admits that for conscience sake they have absented themselves from these colleges, and prefer at considerable sacrifice and expense to attend their own unendowed colleges in Dublin and elsewhere. There are, at least, one thousand Catholics receiving a University education in these institutions, while there are not two hundred and fifty in the four richly-endowed State colleges. He admits that, as we pointed out, Trinity College, though not exclusively Protestant, is mainly a seat of Protestant learning, having only six per cent. of its students Roman Catholic. It is, in fact, now what it has always been a great Protestant institution in its composition, flavour, and complexion. He admits that Belfast, though in theory unsectarian, is practically a Presbyterian College, in which the vast majority of the students are Presbyterian, and a great number of them are being educated for the Presbyterian ministry. He has nothing at all to say in favour of Cork and Galway, and his silence is their strongest condemnation. He admits, too, that in Ireland the current of popular feeling is strongly in favour of denominational colleges and schools of every kind. The present, he admits, is not a creditable state of things. The Roman Catholics ought to get a thoroughly

well-equipped college, so as to obviate their undoubtedly conscientious objections to the existing institutions. But, admitting all this, he will not touch the question except with the consent of all parties in the State.

If Mr. Balfour merely said that he was not prepared to make this a Cabinet question, seeing the avowed attitude of many of those for whose benefit this great boon is intended, we confess that in our opinion he could not be blamed. No one can expect him to forge a weapon which might be used to strike down his own Government, and it has been avowed that it would most assuredly be so used if opportunity offered. As a matter of fact, too, we think his proposals are more likely to meet with general acceptance when his adversaries know that they can be withdrawn without injury to the strength and prestige of the Government.

But the Minister goes much further than this, and lays down three conditions precedent to any action on his part, which he frankly admits are altogether unlikely to be fulfilled. First, he requires his proposals to be cordially accepted as a solution of higher educational difficulty; secondly, his adversaries must not take advantage of his proposals as a means of striking a political blow at the Government; and thirdly, there must be a general consensus of opinion amongst Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen in favour of granting this particular boon to the Roman Catholics. Heretofore it was considered enough to have the opinion of the majority in Parliament in favour of a measure, but we must now have the general opinion of three Kingdoms in favour of this particular measure, including, we presume, extreme Radicals and extreme Orangemen. We are not disposed to be too hard on Mr. Balfour's conditions, because we know the difficulties he has to deal with, and the prejudices he has to overcome. But the least we might expect is, that without at all endangering his Government, he might make an honest effort to solve this question. Coercion is not the whole duty of a Minister. Distributive justice has something to do with it. Has not he himself declared that "there is no task to which the Government of the United Kingdom might more fitly devote itself than that of passing measures for the amelioration of the condition of our brethren in Ireland, which might raise to prosperity those in misery and diminish the friction which unhappily exists between the classes?" This is a lofty purpose, but how is it to be accomplished? Not surely by Drainage Bills, or Railway Bills, or even Land Purchase Bills alone. There is another means—a most efficacious means—of elevating the Irish people that the Minister, both in justice and policy, is bound to adopt. "It is indisputable," said Sir Lyon Playfair, a most competent authority, "that poor countries require greater facilities for education than

rich ones ; and that the *only way* in which a poor country with no natural resources can be made prosperous is by extending the demand for intellectual labour, so as to compensate for the absence of material industry. . . . . With small material resources, except those for agriculture, it is above all things essential that the intellectual resources of Ireland should supplement her natural resources."

Let Mr. Balfour make an honest effort to give us the capital necessary to work these rich intellectual resources of Ireland, which we so much want. Of the 715 candidates for examination in Arts in the Royal University, only 173 came from the endowed Colleges during the year 1887-88 ; the remaining 542 came from the unendowed Colleges or from private tuition. It is just and wise to give these students the same material advantages to aid in developing their intellectual resources as the minority already possess. It is something far more important, and more statesmanlike than either drainage or railways in the congested districts. Let us hope that Mr. Balfour in his latest speech was only striving to educate his own followers. He knows well that on this question the Union is on its trial, and that if the Imperial Parliament persistently denies us, Irish Catholics, those educational advantages which he and every other statesmen of name admits we are entitled to, so much the worse for the claim of that Imperial Parliament to rule Ireland. If the men who keep the vast revenues of Trinity College intact will give nothing to the Catholics of Ireland, the day will surely come when Trinity College will have to disgorge and give us our proportionate share. Mr. Balfour has already proved that as an administrator he is not afraid of Mr. Healy or Mr. Davitt, and he need not fear them in this matter either. There is a limit beyond which even they dare not go. It is a noble task for any statesman—to overcome prejudice and religious intolerance, to diffuse the blessings of equal and impartial law throughout the Empire, and accomplish that task, so often tried in vain, of doing justice to Irish Catholics in this matter of University Education by placing them on a footing of perfect equality with their fellow-citizens of other religious denominations.

JOHN HEALY, D.D., *Senator of the Royal University.*



## ART. II—DARWINISM.

*An Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection, with some of its Applications.* By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, LL.D., F.L.S., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

ACCORDING to promise, we now propose to consider carefully the above interesting volume, briefly noticed by us in our last issue. To consider it carefully, however, it is by no means necessary to pass in review any large portion of the mass of details and varied subjects it contains. It will be amply sufficient for our purpose to note certain of the author's essential principles which appear to us to bear with decisive effect upon the validity of the hypothesis Mr. Wallace sets out to defend. His defence does merit practical consideration, for though it appears in the guise of an onslaught upon the Anti-Darwinian forces, it is in fact a last defence on the part of the surviving chief of the encompassed and besieged citadel of Darwinism.

Attention and consideration the work must certainly command, owing to the attractive style in which it is written, and the multitude of interesting natural-history details with which it is filled. In these respects it only harmonizes with Mr. Wallace's previous works, all of which are full of charm for the student of nature.

After explaining what he means by "species" and their "origin," Mr. Wallace proceeds to treat, in a succession of chapters, of "the struggle for existence," "variation" and "selection;" certain difficulties and objections; hybridism, coloration, geographical and geological relations, and the question of man.

In his chapter on the struggle for existence, Mr. Wallace makes some excellent remarks on the sufferings of animals. He observes (p. 37) :—

There is, I think, good reason to believe that all this (*i.e.*, certain assertions made by Professor Huxley) is greatly exaggerated; that the supposed "torments" and "miseries" of animals have little real existence, but are the reflection of the imagined sensations of cultivated men and women in similar circumstances; and that the amount of actual suffering caused by the struggle for existence among animals is altogether insignificant. In the first place, we must remember that animals are entirely spared the pain we suffer in the anticipation of death—a pain far greater, in most cases, than the reality. This leads, probably, to an almost perpetual enjoyment of their lives, since their constant watchfulness against danger, and even their actual flight from

an enemy, will be the enjoyable exercise of the power and faculties they possess, unmixed with any serious dread. There is, in the next place, much evidence to show that violent deaths, if not too prolonged, are painless and easy; even in the case of man, whose nervous system is in all probability much more susceptible to pain than that of most animals. In all cases in which persons have escaped after being seized by a lion or tiger, they declare that they suffered little or no pain, physical or mental. A well-known instance is that of Livingstone, who thus describes his sensations when seized by a lion:—"Starting and looking half round, I saw the lion just in the act of springing on me. I was upon a little height: he caught my shoulder as he sprang, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier-dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It causes a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain or feeling of terror, though I was quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe, who see all the operations, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake annihilated fear, and allowed no sense of horror in looking round at the beast."

This absence of pain is not peculiar to those seized by wild beasts, but is equally produced by any accident which causes a general shock to the system. Mr. Whympers describes an accident to himself during one of his preliminary explorations of the Matterhorn, when he fell several hundred feet, bounding from rock to rock, till fortunately embedded in a snow-drift near the edge of a tremendous precipice. He declares that while falling, and feeling blow after blow, he neither lost consciousness nor suffered pain, merely thinking calmly that a few more blows would finish him. We have, therefore, a right to conclude that when death follows soon after any great shock, it is as easy and painless a death as possible, and this is certainly what happens when an animal is seized by a beast of prey. For the enemy is one which hunts for food, not for pleasure or excitement, and it is doubtful whether any carnivorous animal in a state of nature begins to seek after prey till driven to do so by hunger. When an animal is caught, therefore, it is very soon devoured, and thus the first shock is followed by an almost painless death. Neither do those which die of cold or hunger suffer much. Cold is generally severest at night, and has a tendency to produce sleep and painless extinction. Hunger, on the other hand, is hardly felt during periods of excitement; and when food is scarce the excitement of seeking for it is at its greatest. It is probable, also, that when hunger presses, most animals will devour anything to stay their hunger, and will die of gradual exhaustion and weakness not necessarily painful, if they do not fall an earlier prey to some enemy or to cold.

Now let us consider what are the enjoyments of the lives of most animals. As a rule, they come into existence at a time of year when food is most plentiful and the climate most suitable, that is, in the spring of the temperate zone and at the commencement of the dry

season in the tropics. They grow vigorously, being supplied with abundance of food; and when they reach maturity their lives are a continual round of healthy excitement and exercise, alternating with complete repose. The daily search for the daily food employs all their faculties, and exercises every organ of their bodies. While this exercise leads to the satisfaction of all their physical needs.

In our own case, we can give no more perfect definition of happiness than this exercise and this satisfaction; and we must therefore conclude that animals, as a rule, enjoy all the happiness of which they are capable. And this normal state of happiness is not allayed, as with us, by long periods—whole lives often—of poverty or ill-health, and of the unsatisfied longing for pleasures which others enjoy, but to which we cannot attain. Illness, and what answers to poverty in animals—continued hunger, are quickly followed by unanticipated and almost painless extinction. Where we err is, in giving to animals feelings and emotions which they do not possess. To us the very sight of blood, and of torn and mangled limbs, is painful, while the idea of the suffering implied by it is heartrending. We have a horror of all violent and sudden death, because we think of the life full of promise cut short, of hopes and expectations unfulfilled, and of the grief of mourning relatives. But all this is quite out of place in the case of animals, for whom a violent and a sudden death is in every way the best. Thus the poet's picture of

“Nature red in tooth and claw  
With ravine,”

is a picture, the evil of which is read into it by our imaginations, the reality being made up of full and happy lives, usually terminated by the quickest and least painful of deaths.

We have cited this passage at length, because we consider it a very salutary antidote to the poisonous pessimism with regard to nature which is not unknown even amongst ourselves.

That “natural selection” acts—that, as we have elsewhere said, “it restrains variation within the bounds of physiological propriety”—is what we have constantly affirmed; and no thoughtful person for centuries past has denied the truth, familiar to the scholastic, that even no trees in a forest are absolutely similar.

What we have also affirmed, and what Mr. Wallace cannot bring evidence to refute, is that variation can neither be indefinite nor unlimited. He shows abundantly that there may be much oscillation on either side of a mean, and this is made especially evident in two diagrams of variations in birds, depicted on pages 63-65. We strongly suspect, however, that close criticism would reduce or invalidate not a few of his instances. We judge this from his diagram of variations in lizards, which is exclusively based upon measurements taken by Professor Milne-Edwards very many years ago, without note of sex and of most doubtful accuracy

as to specific distinctions. These measurements and Mr. Wallace's diagram (p. 48) must be entirely disregarded on these accounts, and such a failure in one instance throws grave doubts and and suspicion upon others.

The one supereminent characteristic of Darwinism is that the mere fact of the position it assumes renders refutation extremely difficult. It says the cause of every characteristic organization and every habit or instinct is "utility"—a utility either existing at the present time, or utility in the past to some hypothetical ancestors under some imaginable circumstances. This hypothetical proposition having been affirmed, ignorance is constantly appealed to as evidence in its favour. It is obviously impossible to deny that we are ignorant as to such past possibilities, nor would a Theist seek to maintain that the organization of any animal is futile and useless. Did we all, then, know even by certain revelation that Darwinism was false, the arguments in its favour derived from ignorance and from mere possibilities, would remain as plausible as ever. Thus as to the origin of the mammary gland Mr. Wallace remarks (p. 129), that "the very earliest mammals . . . *may* have been nourished by a fluid secreted from the interior surface of the marsupial sack. And who can reply that this is impossible, although there is much reason to doubt whether the first mammals had any marsupial sack at all? These appeals to ignorance occur again and again, *usque ad nauseam*.

The case of the Potto, however, the first finger of which is quite rudimentary, remains as significant as ever. All that Mr. Wallace can say in reply to our previous objections, drawn from that source, is (p. 139) that it is an "ancient type," and that its habits and past history are completely unknown. We consider, therefore, the case of the Potto (which must grasp the less securely from the absence of this finger) to be as triumphantly decisive as any such case can be, though, of course, we cannot say that accompanying that character there may not be some favourable peculiarity of heart, lungs, liver, brain, which may give it a physiological superiority. Another still more striking instance of the preservation of an apparently rather harmful characteristic is that power which certain plants possess of forming galls when pierced by the insect Cynips, as mentioned in our last issue,\* although, as we then said, no doubt some Darwinian will explain it by piling hypothesis on hypothesis for the purpose.

It is a notorious fact that, from whatever cause, hybrids are apt to be sterile *inter se*, though they are by no means universally

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See "Dublin Review" for October, 1889 (p. 288).

so. It is also notorious that, from whatever cause, close interbreeding does produce bad effects.

Now, when Mr. Wallace comes to speak (p. 163) of hybrid plants, after mentioning a case in which "after a time the fertility decreased," he adds "presumably from the same cause, too close interbreeding." But the presumption is unwarranted, for it is surely quite as open to me to believe that the infertility in this case was due to the same cause as that which occasions the admitted general infertility of hybrids, which are instances of the very opposite to interbreeding. Mr. Wallace fully admits (p. 195) that changes of colour in animals, produced by the tints of surrounding objects, do occur; but he endeavours to attenuate the admission by saying, that "these facts are comparatively rare and exceptional in their nature,"—as if the admission of the *principle* that such direct action could take place, had not the most far-reaching consequences. We have sometimes to be grateful to him (and we gladly record it) for exposing the fallacies of some of his Darwinian brothers. Thus he observes (p. 198): "It is curious that, with the small tortoise-shell larva, exposure to light from gilded surfaces produced pupæ with a brilliant golden lustre; and the explanation is supposed to be that *mica* abounded in the original habitat of the species, and that the pupæ thus obtained protection when suspended against micaceous rock. Looking, however, at the wide range of the species, and the comparatively limited area in which micaceous rocks occur, this seems a rather improbable explanation, and the occurrence of this metallic appearance is still a difficulty." All honour to Mr. Wallace for this straightforward admission!

Some very far-fetched and untenable fancies are, however, put forward by him to explain other phenomena. Thus he tells us that the giraffes' heads and horns are liable to be mistaken for broken branches, and evidently supposes (p. 210) that the forked and blood-red tentacle which can be projected from the heads of the caterpillars of certain butterflies, has been formed by gradual growth through its protecting action against enemies. He further tells us that, "perhaps the most perfect example of this kind of protection is exhibited by the large caterpillar of the Royal Persimmon Moth (*Bombyx regia*), a native of the Southern States of North America, and known there as the "Hickory-horned Devil."

It is a large green caterpillar, often six inches long, ornamented with an immense crown of orange-red tubercles, which, if disturbed, it erects, and shakes from side to side in a very alarming manner. In its native country the negroes believe it to be as deadly as a rattlesnake, whereas it is perfectly innocuous. The green colour of the body suggests that its ancestors were once protectively coloured; but

growing too large to be effectually concealed, it *acquired the habit of shaking its head about* in order to frighten away its enemies, and ultimately developed the crown of tentacles as an addition to its terrifying powers.

The faith which would accept such a legend as this as the very truth is past arguing with.

But scepticism and credulity go hand in hand through the whole of this work. At page 215 we read: "The beautiful blue or greenish eggs of the hedge-sparrow, the song-thrush, the black-bird, and the lesser redpole seem, at first sight, especially calculated to attract attention, but *it is very doubtful* whether they are really so conspicuous when seen at a little distance among their usual surroundings"—dark or delicate green leaves. Now, *of course*, the eggs are less conspicuous "when seen at a little distance in the nest," than they are when held in the hand or laid down on a library table. But this fact in no way makes them less conspicuous objects as compared with the eggs of various other birds, which do almost perfectly harmonize with their environment.

In the same way he seeks to account for the instinct which leads so many cuckoos to lay their eggs in the nests of birds whose eggs are similarly coloured, by saying (p. 216), "Those cuckoos which so acted would probably leave most progeny, and so the habit would grow." No doubt Mr. Wallace would similarly account for the very small size of the cuckoo's eggs; but, as Messrs. Geddes and Thomson have lately observed,\* "To say that the small size of the cuckoo's egg is 'an adaptation in order to deceive the small birds,' seems to strain the natural-selection theory to the breaking-point."

The beauty of many birds is explained by Mr. Wallace by the need of each species to easily recognise its kind. Now our position by no means requires us to assert that different species must be so alike that no one of them can recognise its own kind, The differences here referred to are thus useful, and such utility was, no doubt, one amongst the many causes which led to the beauty of birds-of-paradise and humming-birds. As to the latter, the Duke of Argyll most justly remarks:—"A crest of topaz is no better in the struggle for existence than a crest of sapphire. A frill ending in spangles of the emerald is no better in the battle of life than a frill ending in spangles of the ruby." One final cause of such beauties may well have been their ultimate appreciation by human intelligences and by intelligences higher than human. Many concordant utilities may run parallel, and it would be strange indeed if we had to show that

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\* "Evolution of Sex," p. 277.

any characters were utterly and altogether useless, in order that we might prove *design*. But that the bare and bold utilitarianism of Darwin is not the be-all and end-all of nature, we may cite facts from Mr. Wallace himself to prove. The resemblance of butterflies of different kinds, Darwinians usually explain by the fact that one kind is uneatable, and that the other kind gains impunity by resembling its distasteful class-fellow. But there are swallow-tailed butterflies in Asia and Africa which are both distasteful; yet, though thus alike in this respect, while widely separated geographically, "they have each the same red and black colours," and "are very distinct from all the other butterflies of their respective countries."

Well may Mr. Wallace remark of this fact (p. 235) that "it is curious." He is wonderfully fertile of resources in the way of explanation, so that the most contradictory facts can be equally well explained upon his pet hypothesis—a fact which surely suggests grave doubts as to its validity on the part of impartial readers. After speaking of the unsavoury and offensive nature of many brilliant sea-anemones, and seeking to explain their brilliance as a useful sign to ward off attacks, he adds (p. 265):—"Some tropical fishes, however, seem to have acquired the power of feeding on corals and medusæ; and the beautiful bands and spots, and bright colours, with which they are frequently adorned, may be either protection when feeding in the submarine coral-groves, or may, in some cases, be warning colours to show that they themselves are poisonous and uneatable."

Similarly, he generally explains the formation of domed nests as a means of hiding conspicuous birds within them; but when this course does not appear possible, his fancy is immediately ready to suggest another cause. Thus as to the Maluridæ of Australia he remarks (p. 279):—"Here *there can be little doubt* the covered nest is a protection from rain or from some special enemies of the eggs." Mr. Wallace's fertile fancy is, indeed, one of his most notable characteristics, and it is displayed in this work in a truly noteworthy manner. Thus, after arguing as to circumstances which might have caused plants to be fertilised by insects, he continues (p. 328):—

Species thus favourably modified *might* begin a new era of development, and while spreading over a somewhat wider area, give rise to new varieties or species, all adapted in various degrees and modes to secure cross-fertilisation by insect agency. But, in course of ages, *some* change of condition *might* prove adverse. Either the insects required *might* diminish in numbers *or* be attracted by other competing flowers, or a change of climate *might* give the advantage to other more vigorous plants. Then self-fertilisation, with greater means of dispersal, *might* be more advantageous; the flowers *might* become

smaller and more numerous ; the seeds smaller and lighter, so as to be more easily dispersed by the wind ; while some of the special adaptations for insect fertilisation, being useless, would, by the absence of selection and by the loss of economy of growth, be reduced to a rudimentary form. With these modifications the species *might* extend its range into new districts, thereby obtaining increased vigour by the change of conditions, as appears to have been the case with so many of the small-flowered self-fertilised plants. Thus it *might* continue to exist for a long series of ages, till, under *other* changes, geographical or biological, it *might* again suffer from competition or from *other adverse circumstances*, and be at length again confined to a limited area, or reduced to very scanty members.

What *might* not be explained by such chains of imaginary hypotheses? We are irresistibly reminded of the old tale about the girl found crying beside a well, and who, being asked the reason of her tears, replied, "Oh, sir, I *might* live to be a woman, and I *might* be married, and I *might* have a little girl, and I *might* send her to this well, and she *might* fall in, and *might* be drowned ; and what a shocking thing that would be !"

Mr. Wallace does not contest the plain fact that dicotyledonous plants appear suddenly in abundance in the Cretaceous period, while in the earlier Mesozoic formations we seem to have, as he admits, "a fair representative of the flora of the period," amongst which were many monocotyledons, and in his diagram (p. 202) he plainly represents the latter group as antedating the former. Yet he appears to favour the view that monocotyledons are degraded dicotyledons.

He endeavours to account for the occurrence of similar plants at very distant stations by the hypothesis (p. 371) of the wind-carriage of their seeds, justly declaring (p. 369) Mr. Darwin's view of an extreme lowering of tropical temperature during comparatively recent times, to be an untenable view. But we cannot believe with our author that the wind could carry sands from Northern Europe to New Zealand or Tierra-del-Fuego, or between Australia and South America. We are confirmed in this disbelief by the fact that closely resembling snakes, lizards, insects, and plants exist in Madagascar and South America, for which no wind agency will, of course, account. We have, indeed, met with no Darwinian hypothesis which will account for it, any more than for the similarity between certain Batrachians of Europe and South America.

But not to linger over a criticism of mere details, we will devote the rest of the space at our disposal to the consideration of three principles, all of which are admitted by Mr. Wallace, but any one of which is simply fatal to that mechanical conception of nature which it is our intention, as ever before, to oppose.



We have, indeed, little need and less desire to oppose Mr. Wallace for his own sake; for the views peculiar to himself would be, if true, perfectly harmless. We oppose him only because, and in so far as, his work, so unfortunately misnamed, is taken to support true Darwinism, which affirms the bestiality of man, and practically enthrones unreason as Lord of the Universe.

The three principles to which it is the main object of this paper to direct attention are—(1) Mr. Wallace's hypothesis as to the development of colour in animals; (2) his view as to the origin of man; and (3) his conviction as to the immaterial dynamic side of the bodies which constitute the Material Universe.

The brilliant colours, peculiar markings or structural developments which so commonly distinguish male animals were explained by Darwin through what he called "sexual selection." He believed that the females, by persistently favouring those males which had such peculiarities in the most marked degree, had given rise to races and species such as now we see them. This view Mr. Wallace rejects, arguing that there is no sufficient evidence of females being thus affected, while he reasonably urges the extreme improbability that one uniform caprice of taste should animate all the females of a species for thousands of generations over vast tracts of country, sometimes extending over almost the whole habitable world. Mr. Wallace explains the difference of the sexes in quite another fashion. According to him, the soberness of female birds is due to the action of natural selection, which has eliminated all those which persisted in retaining the bright colours of the other sex. These imprudent females have, he says, been eliminated by the various beasts and birds of prey which were enabled to obtain them, through the conspicuousness of their coloration, while incubating on their nests. The brilliance of the male birds Mr. Wallace attributes negatively to their not practising incubation, and therefore not needing such protection; while he attributes it positively to general laws of growth and development, ornament being "the natural product and direct outcome of superabundant health and vigour."

He tells us (p. 275): "There seems to be a constant tendency in the male of most animals—but especially of birds and insects—to develop more and more intensity of colour, often culminating in brilliant blues or greens, or the most splendid iridescent hues. He also quotes (p. 296) with approval the following suggestive remarks of that well-known and eminent naturalist, the Rev. O. Pickard-Cambridge:—"I myself doubt that particular application of the Darwinian theory which attributes male peculiarities of form and structure, colour and ornament, to female predilection. There is, it seems to me, undoubtedly something in the male

organization of a special nature, which, of its own vital force, develops the remarkable male peculiarities so commonly seen, and of no imaginable use to that sex."

In this opinion Mr. Wallace is partly supported by a distinguished American biologist, Mr. Brooks.\* He has directed our attention to cases of coloration in lizards and fishes, which do not incubate, and to domestic birds, which breed in security. He also remarks that the fact of many structures, which are not at all conspicuous, being confined, like gay plumage, to male birds, also indicates the existence of an explanation of a fundamental nature, and one capable of explaining why the females of allied species should often be exactly alike when the males are very different.

It is strange indeed that Mr. Wallace does not appear to see the serious consequences, for his pet theory, which follow from the affirmation of such principles as these. For if the brilliant colours which decorate and distinguish the males of so many birds and insects are the spontaneous outcome of the inner nature of such organisms, how can it be pretended that they are also due to the action of natural selection? But if species thus distinguished do thus owe their distinction to something else than natural selection, then natural selection can no longer be asserted to be *the* origin of species.

Far more important than Mr. Wallace's treatment of this question, however, are his views concerning the origin of man. As to this, he tells us that even if we allow man's body to have been naturally evolved, it by no mean follows that his mental nature has been produced in a similar fashion, and he denies altogether that it can have been due to the action of "natural selection."

He illustrates the position he thus takes up by the following physical analogy (p. 463):—

Upheaval and depression of land, combined with sub-aërial denudations by wind and frost, rain and rivers, and marine denudations on coast-lines, were long thought to account for all the modelling of the earth's surface not directly due to volcanic action; and in the early editions of "Lyall's Principles of Geology" these are the sole causes appealed to. But when the action of glaciers was studied, and the recent occurrence of a glacial epoch demonstrated as a fact, many phenomena—such as moraines and other gravel deposits, boulder clay, erratic boulders, grooved and rounded rocks, and Alpine lake basins—were seen to be due to this altogether distinct cause. There was no breach of continuity, no sudden catastrophe; the cold period

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\* See his work entitled, "The Law of Heredity: a Study of the Cause of Variation and the Origin of Living Organisms." Baltimore, 1883.

came on and passed away in the most gradual manner, and its effects often passed insensibly into those produced by denudation or upheaval; yet none the less a new agency appeared at a definite time, and new effects were produced, which, though continuous with preceding effects, were not due to the same causes. It is not, therefore, to be assumed, without proof or against independent evidence, that the later stages of an apparently continuous development are necessarily due to the same causes only as the earlier stages. Applying this argument to the case of man's intellectual and moral nature, I propose to show that certain definite portions of it could not have been developed by variation and natural selection alone, and that, therefore, some other influence, law, or agency is required to account for them. If this can be clearly shown for any one or more of the special faculties of intellectual man, we shall be justified in assuming that the same unknown cause or power may have a much wider influence, and may have profoundly influenced the whole course of this development.

With respect to the mathematical faculty, he asks how its rudiments can have developed into the perfection displayed by a Newton, a La Place, a Gauss or a Cayley. As to this he says (p. 466):—

It must be remembered we are here dealing solely with the capability of the Darwinian theory to account for the origin of the mind, as well as it accounts for the origin of the body of man, and we must, therefore, recall the essential features of that theory. These are, the preservation of useful variations in the struggle for life; that no creature can be improved beyond its necessities for the time being; that the law acts by life and death, and by the survival of the fittest. We have to ask, therefore, what relation the successive stages of improvement of the mathematical faculty had to the life or death of its possessors; to the struggles of tribe with tribe, or nation with nation; or to the ultimate survival of one race and the extinction of another. If it cannot possibly have had any such effects, then it cannot have been produced by natural selection.

From the mathematical he turns to the musical and artistic faculties, as to which he observes as follows (p. 468):—"As with the mathematical, so with the musical faculty, it is impossible to trace any connection between its possession and survival in the struggle for existence. It seems to have arisen as a *result* of social and intellectual advancement, not as a *cause*; and there is some evidence that it is latent in the lower races, since, under European training, native military bands have been formed in many parts of the world, which have been able to perform creditably the best modern music.

"The artistic faculty has run a somewhat different course, though analogous to that of the faculties already discussed. Most savages exhibit some rudiments of it, either in drawing or carving human or animal figures; but, almost without exception, these

figures are rude and such as would be executed by the ordinary inartistic child. In fact, modern savages are, in this respect, hardly equal to those prehistoric men who represented the mammoth and the reindeer on pieces of horn or bone. With any advance in the arts of social life, we have a corresponding advance in artistic skill and taste, rising very high in the arts of Japan and India, but culminating in the marvellous sculpture of the best period of Grecian history. In the Middle Ages art was chiefly manifested in ecclesiastical architecture and the illumination of manuscripts; but from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries pictorial art revived in Italy, and attained to a degree of perfection which has never been surpassed. This revival was followed closely by the schools of Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, France, and England, showing that the true artistic faculty belonged to no one nation, but was fairly distributed among the various European races.

“These several developments of the artistic faculty, whether manifested in sculpture, painting, or architecture, are evidently outgrowths of the human intellect which have no immediate influence on the survival of individuals or of tribes, nor on the success of nations in their struggles for supremacy or for existence. The glorious art of Greece did not prevent the nation falling under the sway of the less-advanced Romans; while we ourselves, among whom art was the latest to arise, have taken the lead in the colonisation of the world, thus proving our mixed race to be the fittest to survive.”

He sums up his views as to these matters in the following very noteworthy manner (p. 474-476):—

The special faculties we have been discussing clearly point to the existence in man of something which he has not derived from his animal progenitors—something which we may best refer to as being of a spiritual essence or nature, capable of progressive development under favourable conditions. On the hypothesis of this spiritual nature, superadded to the animal nature of man, we are able to understand much that is otherwise mysterious or unintelligible in regard to him, especially the enormous influence of ideas, principles, and beliefs over his whole life and actions. Thus alone we can understand the constancy of the martyr, the unselfishness of the philanthropist, the devotion of the patriot, the enthusiasm of the artist, and the resolute and persevering search of the scientific worker after nature's secrets. Thus we may perceive that the love of truth, the delight in beauty, the passion for justice, and the thrill of exultation with which we hear of any act of courageous self-sacrifice, are the workings within us of a higher nature which has not been developed by means of the struggle for material existence.

It will, no doubt, be urged that the admitted continuity of man's progress from the brute does not admit of the introduction of

new causes, and that we have no evidence of the sudden change of nature which such introduction would bring about. The fallacy as to new causes involving any breach of continuity, or any sudden or abrupt change in the effects, has already been shown; but we will further point out that there are at least three stages in the development of the organic world when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action. The first stage is the change from inorganic to organic, when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared. This is often imputed to a mere increase of complexity of chemical compounds; but increase of complexity, with consequent instability, even if we admit that it may have produced protoplasm as a chemical compound, could certainly not have produced living protoplasm—protoplasm which has the power of growth and of reproduction, and of that continuous process of development which has resulted in the marvellous variety and complex organization of the whole vegetable kingdom. There is in all this something quite beyond and apart from chemical changes, however complex; and it has been well said that the first vegetable cell was a new thing in the world, possessing altogether new powers—that of extracting and fixing carbon from the carbon-dioxide of the atmosphere—that of indefinite reproduction, and, still more marvellous, the power of variation and of reproducing those variations till endless complications of structure and varieties of form have been the result. Here, then, we have indications of a new power at work, which we may term vitality, since it gives to certain forms of matter all those characters and properties which constitute life.

The next stage is still more marvellous, still more completely beyond all possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces. It is the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Here all idea of mere complication of structure producing the result is out of the question. We feel it to be altogether preposterous to assume that at a certain stage of complexity of atomic constitution, and as a necessary result of that complexity alone, an *ego* should start into existence—a thing that feels, that is conscious of its own existence.\* Here we have the certainty that something new has arisen—a being whose nascent consciousness has gone on increasing in power and definiteness till it has culminated in the higher animals. No verbal explanation, or attempt at explanation, such as the statement that life is the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm, or that the whole existing organic universe from the *ameeba* up to man was latent in the fire-mist from which the solar system was developed, can afford any mental satisfaction, or help us in any way to a solution of the mystery.

The third stage is, as we have seen, the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties—those which raise

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\* No doubt all that Mr. Wallace here really means is that we have distinguished as consentience.

him further above the brutes, and open up possibilities of almost indefinite advancement, when faculties could not possibly have been developed by reason of the same laws which have determined the progressive development of the organic world in general and also of man's physical organism.

These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate. To this spiritual \* world we may refer the marvellously complex forces which we know as gravitation, cohesion, chemical force, radiant force and electricity, without which the material universe could not exist for a moment in its present form, and perhaps not at all, since without these forces, and perhaps others which may be termed atomic, it is doubtful whether matter † itself could have any existence. And still more surely can we refer to it those progressive manifestations of life in the vegetable, the animal, and man—which we may classify as unconscious, conscious, and intellectual life—and which probably depend upon different degrees of spiritual influx. I have already shown that this involves no necessary infraction of the law of continuity in physical or mental evolution, whence it follows that any difficulty we may find in discriminating the inorganic from the organic, the lower vegetable from the lower animal organisms, or the higher animals from the lowest types of man, has no bearing at all upon the question. This is to be decided by showing that a change in essential nature (due, probably, to causes of a higher order than those of the material universe) took place at the several stages of progress which I have indicated—a change which may be none the less real because absolutely imperceptible at its point of origin, as is the change that takes place in the curve in which a body is moving when the application of some new force causes the curve to be slightly altered.

We cordially commend the above passages from Mr. Wallace's book to the careful consideration of our readers. Its author does not, of course, employ the terms of Catholic philosophy, with which he is unacquainted. But, with a few changes of terminology (of which we have suggested one or two), it seems to us to accord marvellously therewith.

Very interesting is it to us to note the substantial harmony which exists between the views here put forward, and those for which we have combated these eighteen years, and which we have recently proclaimed afresh (see "On Truth," p. 419), when we said:—"Science shows us a world, consisting of a number of separate inorganic substances, each being a substance of some definite kind, with special power and properties. It also tells us that each is an actual material substance, informed by an

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\* Here probably the term "immaterial" would satisfy Mr. Wallace's requirements.

† Here *materia prima* is evidently not what is referred to.

immaterial energy which is utterly unimaginable and inscrutable in its nature. Each material object is thus regarded as a unity having its material and its immaterial side—a *composition* of matter and of some form of energy, the both principles giving the substance those powers and properties which make it what it is."

Therein we also urged what we have so lately re-asserted\* that all analogy is in favour of the existence of a separate immaterial, dynamic principle of individualism, or soul, in every physically distinct living being, and that the existence of the human soul is "the primary and highest truth of physical science."

Such is emphatically the belief of that very estimable and most accomplished naturalist—the author of the misnamed work we are reviewing; for it is assuredly one of the most anti-Darwinian publications which has appeared for a long time. He boldly and unequivocally declares (p. 477) that, to him, "the whole purpose, the only *raison d'être* of the world—with all its complexities of physical structure, with its grand geological progress, the slow evolution of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and the ultimate appearance of man—was the development of the human spirit in association with the human body." This is a declaration, in other words, of what we almost simultaneously declared ("On Truth," p. 495):—"A successively increasing purpose runs through the irrational creation up to man. All the lower creatures have ministered to him, and have, as a fact, prepared the way for his existence. Therefore, whatever ends they also serve, they exist especially for him." No doubt, Mr. Wallace would also further, and fully agree with us, that the true end of the world's existence was "the fulfilment of the moral law—a fulfilment to be brought about after what seems an eternity to the imagination, but which reason cannot doubt to have been in its due time and season."

With the exceptions herein drawn out, we must conclude by expressing our admiration for, and our warm approval of, Mr. Alfred Wallace's work, which contains, so far as we have seen, nothing, from cover to cover, which is inconsistent or irreconcilable with a faithful adherence to the teaching of Catholic theology.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

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\* "Dublin Review," October, 1889, p. 275, 276.

ART. III.—ANGLICANISM AND EARLY BRITISH  
CHRISTIANITY.—AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON.

THE fountain of Celtic Christianity in Britain was Rome, and from Rome it flowed hither in three channels. The first was the apostleship exercised by Roman Christians who lived in this island during the Roman occupation; the second was the action of Britons who had become converts at Rome and brought home their new faith; the third, the mission established in South Wales by Pope St. Eleutherius at the instance of Lleirwg, chieftain of the indomitable Silures. No vestige of historical warrant exists to confirm the time-honoured, poetical fictions regarding the advent of St. Paul, St. Philip, or Joseph of Arimathæa; the legends connecting these illustrious names with British Christianity dissolve into fable when the finger of research approaches them. The story of Lleirwg or Lucius is so well known that I need not recount it here; two distinct and dissimilar streams of historical testimony, each sufficient of itself to establish veracity, combine to confirm the account commonly received of this prince's relation to early British Christianity—the one the records of the Church, the other the Welsh Chronicles, in which the fervid bards, with Oriental imagery, designate this Silurian potentate as *Llewer Maur*, "The Great Light."

The most powerful of the three Christian currents above referred to, both as regards consequence and origin, was that directed to this island by Pope Eleutherius; for, its origin had something of a national movement in it, and its consequence was the organisation of the British Church. The Silures formed a small but distinct tribe of the Britons, remarkable above all for tenacious adherence to their laws, customs, language and religion. They were nominally, but only nominally, subject to Imperial Rome. "Silurum gens," says Tacitus, "non atrocitate, non clementiâ mutabatur."\* A people whom neither coercion nor concession could bend, must have had a voice in their prince's action, before he gave them preachers of a new doctrine. Bound by an inviolable and strictly enforced law of *Dynwal Moelmud*,† no new doctrines could be introduced by Lucius without the consent of his people, among whom Bardo-Druidism was then supreme. Hence the Christian mission to Britain at the end of the second century partook of something of the character of a national movement.

\* Julii Agric. vita cap xviii.

† See third vol. "Myvyrian Archæology."



It is remarkable that the four missionaries sent by Pope Eleutherius into Britain were every one of British nationality. Is there not something crudely absurd then in the theory of a British Church independent of Rome? If the Silures desired such a church could they not have found means to call their own countrymen to preach to them without Papal authority? Manifestly they could, and yet they did not. This ancient tribe, unchanged by Imperial edicts, solicited the persecuted heir of the fisherman for "baptism"—their synonym for Christianity—and he gave them what they asked, as one commissioned to open to them, and to all peoples, the Gate of Light.

It is claimed that the State religion of England—which I will call broadly Anglicanism—is a religious system identical, at least in its main features, with this Early British Church. Anglicanism claims identity also with the Church founded in England by St. Augustine, and likewise proclaims that the British Church was not identical with that of St. Augustine. This is not severely logical, but it is wondrously Anglican.

The object of this paper is to test historically this alleged identity of the Church of England in the nineteenth century with the Church in Britain during the sixth and preceding centuries. And the first test I propose to apply is that of Monasticism—let us examine the relation of these two Churches in regard to this salient religious feature. And first I will take the Church of England. This Church owes her birth to the death of the monastic *spirit* in England; and on its ruins in this land she rose and throve, and she has never restored it. Some few Anglicans may, indeed, think me here refuted by the recent development of Anglican Sisterhoods. But it is quite enough, I think, to wait till Anglicans settle among themselves how far these associations of charitable ladies are really honest Protestantism, or a badly pretentious and exotic imitation of Romanism, before we trouble to characterize them. Protestantism is a protest against the ascetic spirit; and this it has not revived by a few fashionable attempts to give a number of ladies a quaint dress and a common life. Neither is Archdeacon Farrar's recent proposal for a Church of England brotherhood likely to asceticize Protestant effort.

Without the destruction of monasticism there could have been no Church of England as by law established,—the Church we know. The monks were the strongest props of the Papal power in England.

They preache as moche as they maye  
That the people with reverence  
Continue still in obedience  
Of the pope's rule nighte and daye,

Though his works be contrary  
 They say that he is goddis vicary  
 And of Christe the leftenaunte.

This is the testimony of Roy and Jerome Barlow in 1528; these worthies were two ex-friars, and the quotation given is to be found in "A proper Dyaloge between a Gentillman and a Husbandman," published under the date mentioned.

Besides their papal proclivities, the monks too were guilty of possessing property. This property was taken from them by a venal Parliament, without compensation, contrary to all sound Parliamentary precedent, and generously bestowed upon the plunderers by themselves. The altar was robbed, the dead were robbed, the poor—the living images of Christ—were robbed, and there was nothing to prevent restitution being enforced, but the creation of a bulwark against it. That bulwark was the Established Church of England. Even in Mary's reign, the sniffing hypocrites who bent the knee to Cardinal Pole, refused to repeal the Act of Supremacy until they were assured their sacrilegious spoils would be left with them. The Cardinal consented, murmuring something about Belshazzar, which they construed as a threat; so when Mary died, Elizabeth found an easy pack to muster at her call. Thus perished monasticism in England, thus arose Anglicanism, and what wonder is it then that in Anglicanism there is an abysmal want of the monastic spirit.

I now turn to the Early British Church; and there we shall find that the monastic spirit overflowed. Singular to say, we find monasteries coeval with the dawn of British Christianity, and one is tempted to believe that it would not be an extravagance to assert that all the Early Churches of Britain were monastic. It would take up too much time and space to attempt to establish this theory in the present paper. The circumstances of the country and period, the relations of the first Christian foundations with Bardo-Druidism, favour this view. In connection with this point the following extract from the First Book of the Laws of Hwyl Dda (Howel the Good), is very significant.

Whoever shall do any wrong to the *Mother Church* let him pay fourteen pounds; half of it to the *Abbot*, if he be a professor of divinity, and the other half between the priest and the cloister. . . .  
 . . . Whoever shall do any injury to another church let him pay seven pounds; half of which goes to the priest and the other to the curate.\*

I have introduced the italics in the above extract. It would

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\* Probert's "Ancient Laws of Cambria," Edition of 1823.

seem that in the tenth century, when these laws of Howel were promulgated, the Churches regarded as the "mother," or primeval Churches, were all monastic, as the allocation of the fine to the "Abbot" and the "Cloister" shows. If we are to believe Giraldus, in the days of Dewi (St. David), monasteries were built everywhere; and John of Teignmouth represents Padarn (Paternus), as having founded monasteries all throughout Ceretia.

Here I attempt to give a tabular list of the ancient British Monasteries of which record remains. For greater clearness I prefix the names of the modern Counties in which they were situate:—

County.	Title of Monastery.	Founder.	Date of Foundation.
Anglesey	Caer Gybi	Cybi	Sixth Century
"	Cor Seiriol	Einion	"
Cardigan	Llanbadarn Vaur	St. Padarn	Fifth "do.
Caermarthen	Ty Gwyn ar Dav	Pawl Hên	"
Caernarvon	Bangor Deiniol	Deiniol	Sixth "do.
"	Enlli (Bardsey)	Cadvau	"
Flint	Bangor Iscoed	Dunawd	"
"	Clynnog Vaur	St. Beino	Early Seventh do.
"	Llanelwy	St. Kentigern	Sixth do.
Glamorgan	Bangor Deilo	St. Teilo	Fifth do.
"	Bangor Ilyd	St. Germanus	"
"	Cor Eurgain	Uncertain	Uncertain
"	Cor Cenydd	Cenydd	Sixth Century
"	Llancarvan	Meirig	Fifth do.
"	Llanederyn	Edeyrn	"
"	Llangenys	Cyngar	"
"	Llangyvelach	St. David	"
Hereford	Leominster	St. David	"
"	Merthyr Clydawg	Uncertain	Sixth "do.
Monmouth	Caerlloy	St. Dubritius	Fifth do.
"	Caerwent	Tathan	Sixth do.
"	Heullan	St. Dubritius	Fifth do.
"	Llandewi (Llanthony)	St. David	"
"	Mochros	St. Dubritius	"
Montgomery	Trallwng	Llewellyn ap Bleiddyd	Sixth do.
Pembroke	Rhos (Menevia)	Uncertain	Fifth do.
Radnor	Llowes	Maelog	Sixth do.
Somerset	Bangor Wydrin	Uncertain	Uncertain
Wilts	Cor Emrys	Emrys, or Ambri	Uncertain

This list is by no means exhaustive. I could without any great stress on historical probability have extended it. For instance, the seven sons of Cynwain rescued from drowning by St. Teilo, and educated by him, led a monastic life. Their curious legend in the Book of Llandaf mentions that the stone upon which they received their food was called *Llech Meneich*, "the Monk's Stone." The place where they were educated is now called after them Llanddowror (ten miles south-west of Caermar-

then), from *Llandyfrgwyr*, "the Church of the Water Men." Was there, then, a monastery at Llanddowror? \* Afterwards they removed to Mathru, where they got the title of the Seven Saints of Mathru, and finally to Cēnarth Mawr. Were there monasteries in these places also? I could credibly argue that there were, but I have preferred to insert those only in my list which have been accepted by undoubted authorities. Neither have I included in the list cells, or hermitages, such as Llan Cyngualan, Llan Arbothdu, Llan Conuur, and Llan Pencreig, all near Landaff and Cardiff; or Bassaleg and Tintern, in Monmouthshire. My authorities have been principally the "Cambrian Biography," "Liber Landavensis," "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," "Bonedd y Saint," Rees's "Welsh Saints." &c., with such assistance as can be derived in confirmation from bardic allusions, chronicles, and well-known histories. As Welsh chronology is puzzling, to say the least, I have kept on the safe side by fixing the century of the foundation of each monastery only. I have included Clynnog Vawr in the list, because its founder, St. Beino, was more of a sixth century saint than one belonging to the seventh. Clynnog Vawr was founded about 616 A.D.

I have marked Cor Eurgain, Bangor Wydrin, and Cor Emrys as "uncertain," for both the time of foundation, and the names of the founders are only given in a hazy manner in improbable legends, unsupported by any grave testimony of history, and in some points even contrary to well-grounded historical evidence. Take Cor Eurgain, for example. Welsh chroniclers attribute its foundation to Eurgain, † daughter of Caradog ap Brân ab Llyr, the famous Caractacus. I could not accept this as a historical statement. There is not a glimpse of historical fact, either, in the accounts of the origin of Bangor Wydrin, the monastery in Inys Wydrin, *the glassy isle*, known afterwards to

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\* Ablatis filiis septem patri funesto, vir magnae pietatis nutrit eos, et ad studium literarum misit, quos in podo suo Llantelïau dimisit, ut aliis quidem sumpto loco nomine Llandyfrgwyr, eo quod nullo alio victu vivebant (ob religiosam suam vitam) nisi aquatibus piscibus, et ad numero eorum sufficientiam VII. quotidie, super saxum unum, sumpto sibi nomine, id est *Lech meneich* in Taf flumine, a Deo sibi missis. Et iterum ideo vocati sunt Dufuyr gwyr, eo quod inventi sunt in aqua, et per aquam evasi, et de aquaticis piscibus procurati: Dufuyr gwyr, id est Britannico sermone, aquatici viri. . . . Et postquam dies et tempore religiose diu in loco illo duxerunt, et alio multo tempore cum beato Dubricio conversati sunt, misit eos ad alium locum suum qui vocatur Mathru in Pepitiauc; et ibi vocati sunt *seith seint* Mathru. Et postquam ibi per aliud spatium morati sunt; inde venerunt ad Cenaud Maur. . . .—"Liber Landavensis," pp. 121, 122.

† Some chroniclers allege that Cor Eurgain was the original Bangor Iltyd, on account of the Triadic statement that *Caer Worgan* was the site of this monastery. Others place Cor Eurgain near Llan Ildid, in another part of Glamorganshire.

deathless fame as Glastonbury. No doubt both these monasteries were early foundations, and Bangor Wydrin must have early evoked high veneration, seeing how the Welsh traditions have fixed upon it as the last resting-place of that *flos regum Arthurus*, and his queen, Gwenhwyvar, with how much reason it is not easy to say. Cor Emrys (Ambresbury) was also an early foundation, but its origin is lost in fable, which the classical Geoffrey of Monmouth has almost elevated into mythology.

I have given to St. Germanus the credit of having founded Llantwit Major, for its fame as a monastery and college dates from his time. A previous foundation may have existed—probably did exist on the spot—but history is silent in regard to it. To Abbot Dunawd I have ascribed Bangor Iscoed for similar reasons. It certainly existed before his time, and it is probable that Pelagius issued from its walls. The mention of his name suggests the idea that Bardo-Druidic tenets were mingled with the theology of the Early British Church before the days of St. Germanus. The mission of the latter was to extirpate them, which he effectually did for a time. To raise up an educated body of clergy as safeguards against heresy was his motive in founding Bangor Iltyd. He seems to have re-converted Britain, and it will be noticed, from the list of monasteries I have given, that nearly all the famous monasteries of Wales date from, or after, his time. He was the instrument for infusing a new life into the British Church, and the vivifying current of that life was plainly monastic.

I draw two conclusions from the foregoing:—I. Before the Saxon invasion there were monasteries in Britain, as shown by the existence of Bangor Wydrin, Cor Emrys, and Cor Eurgain. II. The monastic life in Britain was fuller, and more vigorous after the mission of St. Germanus than before. To that mission we owe all the great saints of Wales.

Let us now take another aspect of this question suggested by our catalogue of monasteries. Thirteen counties are given there, and taking them *en bloc*, it will be seen that even this incomplete list still leaves an average of over two monasteries to each county. To the counties of England generally, I can ascribe no monasteries in British times. We have abundant reason to infer that they existed; but they were extirpated by the Saxons. Still, there is a goodly show of monasteries even in the fragments history has thrown down to us. There were cells and hermitages besides, and monasteries such as those founded by St. David\* and others, of which no clear history has been delivered to us.

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\* "Per cuncta igitur totius patrie loca monasteria construxere fratres." . . . *Vita Sancti David* in "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints."

And these monasteries of which we have record were not small. A Triad, one of the series of "memorial, record, and knowledge," known as the Historical Triads, has preserved to our times the following tradition:—

The three chief perpetual choirs of the Isle of Britain; the choir of Llan Ilyd Vawr in Caer Worgan, Cor Emrys in Caer Caradawg; and Bangor Wydrin in the Isle of Avallon: and in each of these three Bangors were two thousand four hundred saints, that is one hundred were engaged in rotation every hour, both day and night, in celebrating the praise and service of God without rest or intermission. (Triad 84.)

Henllan, Mochros, and Caerleon, must have been largely peopled, for the numerous students of Dubritius were in these places, as well as the monks. Enlli, "the Rome of Britain," "the Land of Indulgences, Absolution and Pardon, the Road to Heaven, the Gate of Paradise," as the Welsh Bards have apostrophised it, must have swarmed with monks from all parts of the mainland, who repaired to end their days on Bardsey Island. In a rhyme of mediæval times, written by Hywel ab Davydd ab Jeuan ab Rhys, of Aberdare, we read:—

"Twenty thousand saints of yore  
Came to lie on Bardseyo's shore."

Llanedeyrn had three hundred members, Llanbadarn, one hundred and twenty, Llanelwy nine hundred and sixty, and these remarkable numbers claim credence, when we remember that Bangor Iscoed, on the testimony of two credible and independent authorities,\* enclosed two thousand one hundred monks.

With respect to convents of women, so little is said in the chronicles, that many have concluded no such institutions existed in the Early British Church. I have found, however, that Wales abounded in holy women leading the recluse life such as St. Gladys, Dwywe, Cein Wryyv and Dwynwen in the fifth and sixth centuries; and probably, a passage in the life of Gwenfrewi (Saint Winifrede) points to the first regular establishment of the conventual life for women.†

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\* Bede, Hist. Eccles: lib. ii. cap. 2, and the "Myvyrian Archaeology," vol. ii., p. 364.

† "In diebus illis, totius Britannie sancti ad sinodum Wenefredi concionabantur; ad quam aliis sanctis, etiam beata Wenefreda ascendit; ibidemque omnibus ritu sinodali reliogose institutis, videlicet, ut sancti qui antea disparati singillatim vivebant, nullam habentes regulam nisi voluntatem, postea gregatim convenirent in locis ad hoc congruis, et eorum conversationum sub prioribus provectis sibi prelectis emendarent. Unde contigit beatam Wenefredam undecim virginibus esse pre-electam, ut vite, et sancte conversationis exemplum ab ea exciperent." In the fifth century, however, St. Gladys had as many as seven inmates of her convent. "Lives of the

I think no one can contemplate the extraordinary development of monasticism in Britain in early days without astonishment. Her overflowing monasteries represented so many great sacrifices, made by a poor, harassed and scattered people. Let us, for a moment, glance at the relations by which the monks were made active partakers in the life of the nation as a whole; by which they were bound to the people and the people to them. The land was less thickly populated than it is at present, hence, the monks must have represented no mean proportion of the total population. It required a host of benefactors to bestow lands upon these monasteries; and that so many could be found in that rude time of war and rapine, to make these grants, shows the estimation in which monastic life was held. Through the monastic colleges and schools passed the princes, nobles, bishops, ecclesiastics, bards, and all who had any pretension to learning in the land. By ties of kindred alone, the monks of each monastery must have been connected with half the population of the surrounding district. Pilgrims from all parts crowded to the monastery; there the weak sought refuge; the wicked, forgiveness, the holy, fresh consolation; the poor, alms, the sick an hospital; the wayfarer an asylum. The early British Church was certainly monastic\* in its character; this is as certain as that the character of Anglicanism has been from the first anti-monastic.

It would take too long, and involve too many intricate points of discussion, to attempt here to describe the lives led by these monks. I will give a general and brief account of their discipline, distinctly prefacing that the remarks I make upon this head are in no sense intended to be exhaustive.

There was no legislation apparently, that is no fixed code, such as the Benedictine Rule, for regulating the lives and observance of the British monks. The shortest method by which to obtain a knowledge of how they lived, would be to read in connection with the lives of the British Saints, the life of St. Anthony by St. Athanasius. Manual labour was a prominent feature of their discipline. I have extracted the following two passages for the purpose of showing the similarity that existed between the monks

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Cambro-British Saints," Vita Sancte Winifrede, per Elerium Britanum Monachum Anno 660 aut Robertum Salopiensem anno 1190. Ex. Cott. Lib. Brit. Mus. Claudius A.V. These "Lives" are collections from ancient Welsh and Latin MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere, published for the Welsh MSS. Society at Llandovery in 1853. Many portions are copies of very early MSS. Some authorities allege that these "lives" have not been too carefully edited, but the errors yet pointed out have been merely verbal. The Latin text, I have copied literally.

\* The character of the Church in Ireland in early times was also monastic. See "Life of Saint Patrick," by Father Morris, p. 123, and also Dr. Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 87.

of old Wales and those of the Thebaid. If the reader will compare the two passages in the note below\*, he cannot fail to have something more than a suspicion that the British monks copied St. Anthony:—"He who doth not labour should not eat," was taken literally as a Divine Command, and from an expression applied to "labour" in the "Life of St. David," it would seem that his monks regarded labour as something divine. At all events, St. David's monks built their houses and churches, made their own clothes, tilled their fields, refused all possessions, rejected the gifts of the unjust; nay, the rule of labour went so far as to prohibit the use of oxen in ploughing. The monks put on the yoke themselves, and drew the plough; so that the old chronicler in the "Lives" quaintly says, speaking of them, "and every one is an ox to himself." In the Life of St. Iltyd, it is related that when his wife, whom he left behind when he entered Llantwit Major, came some years afterwards to steal a look at him over the enclosure—or stone boundary wall of the monastery—his face was so meagre from fasting, and so begrimed with his work, that she was horrified, and for some time could scarcely recognize in the visage before her the once comely and proud features of the noble Knight Iltyd.

But labour occupied only a part of the day, chiefly, I think, the forenoon. Taking for the present, St. David's monks as the model, I will complete rapidly this short sketch. The monks rose at dawn and repaired to the church for prayer, genuflection and the "appointed oblation of the Lord's Body." Then they went to field labour, and returning after its performance, spent the afternoon in reading, writing, instruction and prayer. At the sound of the bell they rose, leaving their work at once and repaired to the church, where the psalms were sung and prayer went on until the stars came out. This was followed by a supper of bread, with herbs seasoned with salt, and a light drink. The sick and the aged were regaled on better fare. After grace, again at the ringing of the bell, they repaired to the church where three hours were spent in "watchings, prayers and genuflections; and while they pray in the church no one dare to gape,

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\* "Laborabat itaque manibus suis; audierat nempe: *Qui otiosus fuerit ne manducet*, atque hinc partim panem sibi emebat, partim egenis largiebatur." Migne's Patrologia Tom xvi. Op. omn. S. Athanasii, p. 356. "Idem etenim manuum suarum operibus par duxit vitam transigere, metuens alterius labores otiose comedere, sperens aporiamine presentis sudoris, se transmigraturum ad gloriam 'perpetue quietis,' secundum illud Psalmographi, 'Labores manuum tuarum qui manducab' et cetera. Et Apostolus 'Unusquisque vestrum manibus suis operando laboret ut habeat unde tribuat necessitatem patientibus' et rursus 'Nullus ex vobis panem ociosum comedat, et qui non laborat, nec manducet.'" Lives of the Cambro-British Saints; "Vita Sancti Cadoci," pag. 35.



or sneeze, or spit." Saturday night seems to have been spent altogether in watching in the church.

The clothing of these monks, that is their habit, was chiefly made of hair cloth and skins. The monks of Bardsey are reported to have worn black cowls. The Welsh traditions record that St. Tydecho wore a *pais rawn*—that is hair coat. I could give several references as to the "shaggy garments" of the monks of this period, but perhaps what I have said on this point will be sufficient.

The reception of a novice was a trying time for the aspirant, young or old. He was kept waiting before the doors of the monastery ten days, "tried with reproachful language," and subsequently on his admission had to labour hard for a long time, and have "his mind broken with vexatious circumstances.\* He had to give all his substance away before entering the monastery, which received not a penny from him, but he entered as though "escaped naked from a shipwreck." †

The British tonsure differed from the Roman tonsure; for, instead of leaving a circle of hair, the Britons shaved a segment of a circle in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear. This has been called, on no warrant whatever, the tonsure of Simon Magus. The error seems to have arisen from a confusion between the word "magi," and the appellative of the arch-simoniac "Magus." Some "magi" among the Druids are conjectured to have been tonsured. I doubt this. The Druid when performing certain functions—the judicial, for example—wore a wreath of oak leaves encircling the temples, and behind it a golden crescent-shaped tiara, with clips, like those of a pair of spectacles, only shaped differently, for catching behind his ears and thus supporting his tiara. The over-thick hair of an unkempt Druid may have had sometimes to be removed to make "a fit"; but it is quite incorrect to say there was any ceremony of tonsure. As the monastic tonsure was certainly connected with the "crown of life," and the "crown of thorns," and therefore symbolised a crown, the early British monks in their intense nationality may have thought it not only harmless, but laudable, to adhere to

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\* Vita Sancti David in Lives of the Cambro-British Saints.

† The only account I have read of a clothing or profession is the following, describing in a few words the clothing or profession of St. Iltyd by the Bishop of Llandaff, St. Dubritius:—

"Talibus visis, et sibi complacitis, adivit famulus Dei, beatissimus Iltutus Dubricium Landavensis episcopum, qui sibi penitentiam de transactis delictis injunxit, barbam rasit, comam totondit, coronam benedixit. Postremo, clericali habitu suscepto, secundum angelicum preceptum, in sompno revelatum, coronatus, rediit ad eundem locum." Vita Sancti Iltuti, pag. 163 (Cambro-British Saints).

that form of tonsure which in some way corresponded with the form of the national crown as represented in the Druidical tiara.

With one or two words on the constructions used as churches and monastic buildings, I will leave the question of British monasteries, which I feel only too conscious has been inadequately treated. Whoever would realise aright what a British monastic church was like, must banish from his mind all preconceived notions of a glorious abbey church. With such a building we are accustomed to evolve mental images of lofty towers, high gilded vaults, long stately aisles, soaring arches, tiled floors, shrines blazing with golden lamps, and hung with diamonds, pearls, and amethysts, marble altars inlaid with gold, lofty candelabra, stained-glass storied windows—in a word, the pomp of heaven itself; but these, all these, were for another age and another race; the simple, primitive Celt knew nothing of them. His church vessels and vestments, his quaint handbells, to which he attached extraordinary importance, were all he had of ornamental or magnificent. His church was either of wattled walls (*frondibus contexta*), or plain wood, thatched with rushes. The monastery consisted of a great number of huts of similar construction, surrounding the church, with a large granary, a cemetery on an adjoining mound, with its rude uncarved pillar-stones; the whole enclosed by a wall built, often without mortar, of huge rough stones in a truly cyclopean style. Some few stone chapels there were like those built by St. David and St. Iltyd, and generally wherever the Goidelic or Gaelic element predominated over the Brythonic or British: but in order to understand what these were like in their primitive uncouthness—more resembling mausoleums than temples—a visit should be paid to some of the remote islands lying off the Irish coast, such as Inis Scattery, where one of these early Celtic stone chapels can still be seen.

There are two salient characteristics of the British Church—Saints and Miracles—which it is enough only to mention to exhibit their blank absence from Anglicanism. No history of the British Church can be written with any pretence to completeness that would pass over her wonder-working Saints who exorcised demons, caused holy wells to flow, healed the sick, and raised the dead to life.

The language of the Liturgy may appear to be a small question, but is nevertheless important. The ideal of the Anglican Church is a vernacular Liturgy; that of the British Church was in Latin. Taliesin, the great Cymric bard of the sixth century, intersperses fragments of the liturgy in his Welsh compositions, and all his quotations are in the Latin tongue. The Britons

gave a Latin "missa" to some of the Irish congregations of saints, and received one themselves from St. Germanus.

Invocation of saints is declared by the Anglican Church to be a "fond thing vainly invented." The vain invention found a place in the early British Church, and had a strong hold upon the popular imagination, as may be seen by the following extracts from bardic compositions of the sixth century. Taliesin writes:—

"Through the intercession of saints,  
And the comprehensive sense of books,  
May the Eternal God grant to me  
The joyous feast of the region of light."

Myvyrian Archaiology, vol. 1, p. 77.

In another place the same bard alludes to St. Cynllo, and says "his prayer will not be in vain." Golyddan, the bard of Cadwallon ap Cadvan, who flourished A.D. 560-630, encourages his compatriots to invoke the saints:—

"Let them commit their cause to God and Dewi,  
Through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Prydyn."

Myv. Arch., vol. 1, p. 157.

Devotion to Our Lady—*Arglwyddes Veir*\*—was practised in the British Church. A "Lent of Mary" was one of the marked penitential seasons of the ancient Cymry, and with pardonable pride but questionable history they loved to trace the pedigrees of their more distinguished saints and princes from a cousin of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Aneurin, the rival and contemporary of Taliesin, in his "Odes of the Months," celebrates September by reference to her nativity thus:—

"A royal maid is born,  
Who has brought us from our grievous bondage."

That her festivals were of time-honoured establishment in the tenth century may be seen by reference to the Welsh laws, where they are fixed as well-known and long established term days for the performance of various public duties. As early as the fifth century St. Gwynllyw dedicated his oratory at Newport, Monmouthshire, to Our Lady. These dedications were made at all times, that is, of churches to particular patrons, but not before the eighth century was it common in Wales to call the church by any other name than that of the founder, or some local landmark. Thus Llandaff was dedicated to St. Peter in the days of St. Germanus, but was never called Lianpedyr. I merely refer to this peculiarity, because the absence of saints' names from the

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\* Literally "The Lady Mary"; so she was entitled in the very early times in Wales.

titles of early churches has sometimes been adduced as a proof that the early Welsh did not invoke the prayers and assistance of the saints.

Devotion to the Relics of Saints was carried to an extraordinary degree in the early British Church. When St. Teilo died three churches quarrelled as to which should possess his remains; St. Oudoceus and his clergy were attacked on their way to St. David's by robbers on account of the value and great number of the reliquaries which they bore. All have read of St. Germanus and his bearing away to Gaul, dust from the tomb of St. Alban. St. David's handbell, his cope and his "golden topped crozier," were held in the highest veneration.\*

The practice of praying for the souls of the Departed was prevalent in the Early British Church. It was common, popular, and universal.

"Enaid Owain ab Urien,  
Gobwyllid ei Ren ei raid:  
Rheged udd ei cudd tom las,  
Nid oedd fas ei gywyddaid."—*Taliesin*.

"The soul of Owain, the son of Urien,  
May its Lord compassionate its necessity;  
The chief of Rheged that is hidden by the green mound.  
Not low was his panegyric."

In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1849, will be found a description of a very old monument in the Church of Towyn, Merionethshire. The stone was described at a meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association by Mr. Westwood. The characters in which the inscriptions on this stone are engraved correspond with those of Irish MSS. of the seventh century. I can only find space for one of these inscriptions, but it is a living proof, so to speak, of the antiquity of the custom of praying for the dead in Wales.

#### INSCRIPTION.

✠ TENGRUGCIMALTEDGUADGAN MOLT CLODE  
TUER TRICET NITANAM.

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\* This may be an item of interest to ecclesiologists:—The emblems of the Patron Saint of Wales are a fish, a honeycomb, and a stag. The fish is the emblem of his temperate life—St. David was a total abstainer—the honeycomb of his wisdom, and the stag of his power over the old serpent. Fuller explanation may be found on reference to the "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints" *Vita Sancti David*, p. 118. In a transcript of an old Triadical commentary, I have seen this curious invocation of St. David—St. David, the waterman, pray for us! This title was given him because he drank no wine, or other intoxicant.

Ab Ithel has put this in Modern Welsh as follows:—

TAN GRUG CYVAL TEDD GADVAN  
MARTH MOLL CLOD Y DDAEAR,  
TRIGED NID ANAV.

The English translation is:—

“Beneath a similar mound is extended Cadvan\*—sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth.

*May he rest without blemish!*”

Purgatory was openly preached by St. Cadoc, and Llywarch Hên, who lived in the sixth century, thus refers to it:—

“Berwyd brâd anvad ober:

*Byddant dolur pan burer. . .”*

“Heroic Elegies,” *Yr Gog, Yn Aber Cuawg.*

“Treachery ferments every evil deed,

*That will be torture when the time of purifying comes,” . . . &c.*

The hardest Anglican will not be bold enough to aver that devotion to Our Lady, to saints and to their relics, habitual prayer for the Dead or the Doctrine of Purgatory, are characteristics of his Church.†

The Mass in early Christian Britain was accounted a sacrifice, and is referred to in the “Lives of the Cambro-British Saints,” as the Pure Oblation, the Divine Sacrifice. The history of Anglicanism for two hundred and fifty years at least is a history of sacrilegious denial and obliteration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Auricular Confession, like the observance of Fasting, disappeared as Anglicanism became the creed of England. On both these points the Church of England is poles asunder from the belief and practice of the early British Church. There is no need to cite instances of the severe fast practised by British Christians; for them fasting, as St. Cadoc tritely says, was one of the “three physicians of the soul”; prayer and almsdeeds the other two. In regard to Confession, St. Gwynllyw says to his son St. Cadoc, “Ego te ad me accercivi quatinus in extremo vite *meam confessionem audias.*” St. Teilo was the appointed confessor of King Gerennius of Cornwall, as was St. Cadoc of King Maelgwn.

\* Cadvan was the son of Eneas of Llydaw, that is Laetavia or Armorica. He came to Britain in the beginning of the sixth century.

† Some may feel surprised that I omitted referring to Geoffrey of Monmouth’s fable of Arthur’s banner of the Blessed Virgin at the Battle of Badon. An earlier authority, the “*Annales Cambriæ*,” under 516 A.D., gives the historic account thus: “*Bellum Badonis, in quo Arthur portavit crucem Domini nostri Jesu Christi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos, et Britones victores fuerunt.*”

What has become of the Holy Chrism in Anglicanism? From Gildas, John of Teignmouth, and the Life of St. Padarn we learn that it was used in the administration of Holy Orders and Confirmation in the British Church.

What Anglican Bishop has ever excommunicated King, Lord Protector—or indeed any Lord? The Book of Llandaff shows what British Bishops did in this way.

And what has become of the Sign of the Cross in Anglican usage; a marked, habitual practice of British Catholics?

So undeniably deeply engraved on the face of Early Church History in Britain are these and similar tokens of Catholicity that Woodward exclaims in his "History of Wales" speaking of the Early British Church, that it was "thoroughly indoctrinated with some of the most objectionable superstitions which have ever been identified with the Church of Rome." Such a Church could certainly not be identical with the Anglican.

Pope St. Gregory divided the Bishops of the British Church into three categories, (1) the unlearned, (2) the weak, (3) the perverse.\* He committed them all to the care of St. Augustine ordering him to instruct the first, persuade the second, and correct the third by authority. The Pope could not have looked upon these Bishops as belonging to another Church than the Roman; if he did, he would certainly not have countenanced them at all. Neither did St. Augustine regard them as of a different Church, otherwise he would not have bracketed them with those of France, and invited them to become his coadjutors. The story of what followed is too well-known to be repeated here. Two synods were held, not to settle matters of faith, but to correct abuses. The abuses were all on the side of the Britons, smarting and galled by their terrible defeats; the correction was all on the part of St. Augustine, and so the British Bishops mutinied.

If the revolt of the British Bishops was not a mutiny, but the steadfast assertion of the principle of independence of the Apostolic See, we ought to find somewhere in their annals before the coming of St. Augustine, some trace at least of the previous assertion of this principle. We ought to find it in the annals of the Universal Church; for if Britain had an independent Church, that would simply be treated as a heresy, and duly denounced from Rome. But there are no such traces in any history of these times. What then were the relations of the Roman and British Churches before the coming of St. Augustine? What were these relations after his coming and before Wales submitted to Canterbury?

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\* Bede: Hist. Eccles. lib. I. Cap. XXVII.

As well as direct submission to Papal authority, there are signs by which you can tell a Roman Catholic in his veneration for the Pope, for the Chair of Peter, for the Tombs of SS. Peter and Paul and even for the City of Rome itself. This position, I think, will be recognised at once, as being the attitude of a sincere Roman Catholic; and I propose now to show from the annals of Early Britain, that submission and veneration marked the early relations of British Christians to Rome, and continued to mark them, down to the Mutiny at St. Augustine's Oak. And I further propose to show that submission and veneration marked the attitude of Welsh Catholics to Rome after the Mutiny, and before these Catholics thought of admitting the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Indeed, it becomes a question whether the British Bishops ever mutinied against Rome at all—a question that must have forced itself on the authors of the forgery respecting Abbot Dunawd in the seventeenth century. It is obvious no Papal authority in the shape of a document was shown to the British Bishops at the synods. As archiepiscopal jurisdiction conveyed the idea of a province, it was no unusual thing in those days, to resist such an authority, on the part of any people who refused to admit that they were conquered. And we know the Britons had no mind to surrender wild Wallia to the Saxons. However this may be, let us now see what answer the records give to the questions I have put above.

The enumeration of the various references to Rome in British Chronicles will certainly be tedious, but I can hit upon no better plan than to give a few of the principal, in as short form as possible, leaving the reader to judge whether they establish the submission and veneration I conceive to be characteristic of Roman Catholics in regard to the Holy See and to Rome.

1. One of the earliest British traditions is that a certain Brân the Blessed became a Christian at Rome, and first brought the faith from Rome here. This is the testimony of the oldest and most genuine of all British traditions—the Triads. The Bards confirm it and have another tradition that he brought from Rome the science of writing Roll and Plagawd. The reference is too long to quote, see "*Barddas*" vol. i, p. 36.

2. In the same triad is mentioned Lleirwgc (Lucius) as the second of the blessed princes. The story of Lucius and his relations with Pope Eleutherius, given by Venerable Bede, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and a host of other authorities is well known. I will merely say that all these authorities are confirmed by the independent stream of Welsh tradition.

3. Three British bishops went to the Council of Arles and subscribed its decrees, which were confirmed by the Pope.

4. St. Athanasius and Sulpicius Severus establish the presence

of British bishops at the council of Sardica. They signed the decrees of that council, which in its seventh chapter establishes appeals to the Roman Pontiff to settle questions *de episcopis accusatis*.

5. British Bishops were present at the Councils of Troyes in 429 A.D., when they besought that council to assist them in overthrowing Pelagianism. Other councils are mentioned; I give those only about which certainty exists.

6. The Britons received St. Germanus and his teaching. He trained or met with nearly all their greatest saints, and was an undoubted Roman Catholic. St. Prosper of Aquitaine in two of his works expressly attributes to Pope Celestine the mission of St. Germanus.

7. St. David presided over the Synod of Victory at Caerleon about A.D. 529. The decrees of that synod were confirmed at Rome in conjunction with those of the national synod of Brevi. "Ex his igitur duabus synodis, omnes nostre patrie ecclesie modum et regulam Romana auctoritate acceperunt." . . . (Vita Sancti David p. 139.)

8. St. Brynach visited Rome and was allowed to preach there.—("Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," Vita Sancti Bernaci p. 1.)

9. "I have for the Love of God gone thrice to Jerusalem and seven times to Rome."—St. Cadoc. (Vita Sancti Cadoci, p. 56.)

10. St. Cadoc received a consecrated bell from the Pope for administering oaths. The title given to the Pope in this narration is "Summus apostolice sedis Pontifex."—(Vita Sancti Cadoci p. 59.)

11. St. David visited Rome in fulfilment of a vow. "Alio quoque tempore cum inextinguibile desiderium ad Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum reliquias visitandas haberet . . . . . perfecta salutari vota, ad monasterii claustra revertens, &c., &c."—(Vita Sancti David p. 132.)

12. St. Beino made a similar pilgrimage to Rome. (Vita Sancti Wenfrede, p. 202.)

13. Bardsey Island was called the "Rome of Britain" on account of, amongst other things, "its sanctity and dignity."—(Liber Landavensis, p. 3.)

14. Lantwit Major. "In this monastery they had, out of reverence, Bishops to sit in the Chair of St. Peter when they assembled together." (Liber Landavensis Vita Sancti Samsoni. Latin original at p. 18.)

15. St. Sampson attended a Council held at Paris, of Prelates in communion with Rome. He signed the decrees as stated by Albert le Grand in the following manner, "Ego Samso, peccator (sic) adscripsi."



16. The Church of Llandaff was founded in honour of St. Peter the Apostle.—(Liber Landavensis, p. 66.)

17. The altar of St. Peter was held in great reverence at Llandaff, and grants to the Church in the very earliest times are many of them thus worded, "To God, to St. Peter, to Saint Dubricius, &c."—(Liber Landavensis.)

18. The privileges of St. Teilo and his Church of Llandaff were confirmed by apostolical authority. (Lib. Landavensis, p. 113.) In the Latin the words "apostolical authority" are used, but in a Welsh document following the Latin, the word "Popes" occurs instead. This is the entry in Welsh to which I refer, and which I quote in its ancient orthography. There is a modernised form added as a note in the Book of Llandaff:

Lymma a cymreith ha bryeint eccluys Telian o Lanntaf a rodes breenhined hinn ha thouyssogion cymry yn tryegygydaul dy eccluys Teliau, hac dir escip oll gueti ef, amcydarnedig o awdurdant papen rufein.

The English translation of this is :

This is the law and privilege of the church of Teilo, of Llandaff, which those Kings and Princes of Wales granted to the church of Teilo, and to all its Bishops after him for ever, and was confirmed by the Popes of Rome. (Liber Landavensis, p. 113.)

It is to be noted that in the older Latin document the words used, as I have said above, are "apostolical authority," for which the "Popes of Rome" stand in the Welsh document, which as it appears to me, although an ancient text, is certainly later than the Latin. There is a note added to this section by a fifteenth century scribe, but headed "Nota," and quite separate from the context, setting forth that the *magna excommunicationis sententia* obtained by St. Teilo in *curia Romana contra invasores*, &c., was pronounced on his day in 1410 A.D. against certain persons. Anybody who takes the trouble to compare the language of the older Latin, the less modern Welsh, and the comparatively modern "Nota," cannot fail to realise the great antiquity of the sources from which the Book of Llandaff has been in part transcribed and in part compiled.

19. "The Church of Rome has dignity above all the churches of the Catholic faith." . . . . Romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholicæ fidei." . . . . (Liber Landavensis, pag. 125. Vita Sancti Oudocei.)

20. St Oudoceus went to Rome and received there the privilege of his predecessors, St. Dubritius and St. Teilo, with the "apostolical dignity."

"Sanctus Oudoceus post tempus suæ maturitatis, visitatis ab eo liminibus Sancti Petri cum accepto sibi privilegio Sanctorum

Dubricii et Teliaui, apostolica dignitate, et confirmato in perpetuo posteris suis &c. (*Liber Landavensis* p. 127).

21. St. Kentigern (Cyndeyrn) applied to Rome on the matter of his consecration as related by Nennius.

I could easily cite many more instances of the submission and veneration for the Holy Apostolic See of Rome, manifested by the children of the Early British Church, but I have given enough—perhaps more than enough for the patience of readers—to exhibit the secular obedience of those primitive Christians to the Roman See before the arrival of St. Augustine. As to the authority to be attached to two of the sources of information from which I have quoted, the strongest objection urged is that they are at best, eleventh and twelfth century transcripts of alleged older MSS., which have disappeared altogether. The two sources to which I refer are the “*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*” and the *Liber Landavensis*. Unfortunately for the objectors, the objection alluded to, has been chiefly made by those who have never once laid eyes on these records. On the other hand their authority has been admitted by those who have perused them; and especially by those whose skill in testing the value of ancient MSS. has been generally acknowledged. To enter here upon the arguments drawn from archaic forms of expression, topographical boundaries, remarkable entries and equally remarkable omissions, would carry us too far, although these and other marks would conclusively prove the antiquity and credibility of these records. I have, as may have been noticed, supported the statements I quoted in many places, by apposite quotations from other sources. The same antiquity and the same authority belong to both compilations, and the *Lives of the Saints* given in the *Liber Landavensis* are similar in tone and idea to those in the other work just mentioned; but from its more general character, the *Liber Landavensis* has attracted greater attention. Its authority has been admitted by the following historians among others, Godwin, Ussher, Spelman, Dugdale, Cressy, Wharton, Lhuyd, Nicholson, Collier, Willis, Nicholls, Tanner, and Pughe the Welsh lexicographer. I will not enter either on the question of editing, as it is a matter which however important, will not affect in any way the general historical evidence given by these works. Older MSS. than those copied into the editions from which I have quoted, have since the days of the Welsh MSS. Society been discovered, but not as yet published. The actual record of facts, varies little if any, but the effect of the publication of a more correct text will only confirm the authority of the histories contained in these valuable works. If not out of place, I would urge here, all who can to assist the efforts of Welsh archæologists, not only in the publication of these chronicles,

but in the bringing to light others of interest and importance in the general history of Wales.

A long span of centuries separates St. Augustine from Giraldus Cambrensis. During all this long period the Welsh Church was independent of the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The old feud of Briton against Saxon burned fiercely in those times; so fiercely that it is related in the "*Brut y Tywysogion*" that Owain, son of Hywel, burned Llantwit Major and Llancarvan Monasteries, for admitting Saxons as students. This occurred A.D. 959. It cannot fail, therefore, to be of interest to take a passing glance at the relations of the Church in Wales with the Roman Pontiffs during this period.

The story of Cadwallader's pilgrimage to Rome, and death there about A.D. 682, though quite in keeping with British ideas, is contrary to the testimony of the "*Annales Cambriæ*" and Nennius. In A.D. 768, Elvod, Bishop of Bangor, settled the old Paschal dispute, and the Roman custom was followed.\* But that most curious and complete code of Welsh laws called "*The Laws of Hywel Dda*," throws all the light we require upon this period, and shows beyond cavil the Papal character of the Welsh Church. It is there enacted that any Welshman who became a traitor to his lord, and absconded, should, if he afterwards sought reconciliation, after paying the double fine of *dirwy* and *galanas*, proceed to Rome, and bring back a letter certifying his absolution by the Pope before he could obtain again his patrimony. It was laid down that the absence of a man who had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome might be lawfully supplied in the courts by his advocate. If an excommunicated person had proceeded to Rome for Papal absolution, it was enacted that no suit could be entered against such an one until one year and one day after that date upon which he set out for Rome. If a debtor denied his surety, the judge, before administering the oath with the relic, was instructed to address the debtor as follows:—"The protection of God be with thee, and the protection of the Pope of Rome, and the protection of thy lord; do not swear falsely."

We must pause here for a moment on this subject of the *Leges Wallicæ*. We have already seen the little Silurian nation approach the Holy See, and receive from the hands of the Holy Pontiff, Eleutherius, the inestimable gift of the true Christian faith. Seven centuries later we behold the larger nation of Wales soliciting from the Holy See examination and approval of her national code of laws. These inexpugnable facts cannot be explained away by any cry of Papal "encroachment." In each case the nation approached the Pontifical throne; it was not the

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\* "*Annales Cambriæ*."

Pontiff who obtruded his authority on the nation. Hywel Dda, the most enlightened and beneficent of Welsh sovereigns, before codifying the laws of Wales, proceeded, with a number of his advisers, clerical and lay, to Rome, to obtain advice from the "wise men," as Caradog, of Llancarvan, puts it, as to his project. This visit took place 926 A.D., and, on his return, the king summoned to meet him at the White House upon the Tav in Dyfed—*Ty Gwyn ar Daf*—six representatives (four lay and two clerical) from every commot in Wales. There were one hundred and forty "croziers," that is, bishops, abbots, and priors, in this unique legislative assembly, which began its work by a solemn fast. This great assembly contented itself by setting out general lines of legislative procedure, and then confided the work to a committee of twelve laymen, whose secretary was the famous Blegeweyd, Chancellor of Llandaff, or, as one chronicler describes him, "Blegeweyd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the scholar; and he was a doctor in civil law and the laws of the Church." In four years the laws of Wales were codified, altered, and, where necessary, added to, and then, with the Princes of Cambria, Lambert, Bishop of St. David's, Mordav of Bangor, Cebur of St. Asaph, and Blegeweyd, once more, Howel the Good went to Rome, to have his laws certified as containing nothing contrary to the law of the Church.

One word explains this extraordinary submission of an ancient race—proud of their antiquity, and headstrong beyond most peoples—to the head of the Church. It was *faith*; they believed in the *privilegium Petri*. The popular idea is well expressed by Welsh mediæval bards, from two of whom, I will make brief extracts:—

"Nawdd Pedr *arbenig* lleithig llithion,  
Orau porthoriau, o'r porthorion."

"The protection of Peter the *peculiar* one of the throne of petitions  
Of porters the best of the porters."—*Gruffydd ab Yr Ynad Coch*.

"Arbenig" may also be rendered "chief," "superior," "excelling," and "supreme."

"Archaf arch i Dduw, ar ddorau nef  
Na ddoto Pedr glöau,  
I'm lludias."

"I will crave a boon of God, on the gates of heaven,  
That Peter place no locks,  
To hinder me."—*Einion ab Gwalchmai*.

Thus do the twelfth and thirteenth century bards reply to the modern cry of "Papal encroachment."

There is also a proof of Papal Supremacy in early Britain that

must not be passed over; I mean the forged speech of Abbot Dunawd. This forgery can have but one *raison d'être*; the evidence of what they sought to disprove was too strong for the forgers. Dunawd was fixed upon because of the mention made of him by Venerable Bede, and the erroneous deduction drawn therefrom that he was a learned man. I will here give the speech itself in Welsh as it is given in Wilkin's "Concilia," Tom. i. p. 26. I will then give its English translation; but I omit the Latin, as it throws no light upon the question of forgery or otherwise.

"*Responsio abbatis Bangor ad Augustinum monachum petentem subjectiōnem ecclesiæ Romanæ.* (Ex. MS. Cott. Cleop. E.I. fol. 56, collat. cum MS. Cott. Claudius, A. viii. fol. 76.)

Bid i pŷs a diogel i chwi yn, bod in holl un ac aral yn wid ac in ynnostingedig i eglïoys Duw, ac ir *Paab o Ruvain* ac i *boob kyar grissdion dwyul*, y garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad *perfaith*, ac i *helpio* paub o honaunt, ar air a gweithred i vod ynn blant y Duw: ac amgenach vuyddod no-hwn niddadwen i vod ir neb, ir yddich chwi yn henwi yn *baab*, ne in daad o daade: yw gleimio ac yw ovunn ar uvyddod hwn ir iddin ni yn varod yw rodidi ac yw dalu iddo ef ac i pob krisdion yn dragwiddol. Heuid ir ydym ni dan lywodrath *esgob Kaerllion ar Wysc*, yr hwn ysidd ynolygwr dan Duw arnom in y wueuthud i in gadwr ffordd ysbrydol."

Translation of the "Reply of the Abbot of Bangor," &c.:—

"Be it known, and without doubt unto you, that we all and every one of us are obedient subjects to the Church of God, and to the *Pope of Rome*, and to every *godly christian*, to love every one in his degree in *perfect charity*; and to *help* every one of them by word and deed, to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know to be due to him whom you name to be *pope* or father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually; besides we are under the government of the *Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk*; who is to oversee, under God, over us to cause us to keep the way spiritual."

I have italicized words and phrases in the Welsh original and in the English translation, which are ineradicable, internal proofs of hopeless forgery. I now set out *seriatim* all the proofs of forgery, some of which I have collected and some of which I have myself discovered.

1. The language is modern Welsh.
2. The term "*Paab o Ruvain*," (Pope of Rome,) was most uncommon, if not unknown, in the days of Dunawd. I have given the terms usually applied to the Supreme Pontiff in Wales in the sixth century in previous extracts. But, mark, while Dunawd is made to use the words "Pope of Rome" as glibly as

a modern foreign correspondent, he is also made to express ignorance of the term "Pope" in the words "*whom you name to be Pope.*"

3. The use of the word *perfaith*.

4. The employment by a Briton of the sixth century of the Saxon word *helpio*.

5. The statement concerning the Bishop of Caerleon. There was no bishop at Caerleon, in Dunawd's day, neither had there been a Bishop of Caerleon for close upon one hundred years before St. Augustine's Synods.

6. The fact that the document has no other but the following slipshod history, viz., Mr. Peter Mostyn found it and gave it to Sir Henry Spelman, representing it as an ancient document copied from one still older.

7. The expression "*grissdion dwyjuol*" "*godly christian.*" This scents seventeenth century puritanical cant to the marrow. Never was such an expression used in the Ancient British Church by any writer. Here we have the genesis of the document; a goody-goody puritan, ignorant of Welsh history—probably ignorant of the Welsh tongue—composed the thing in English; it was afterwards translated into an *ancient* document written in *modern* Welsh!

8. Dunawd was dead several years before any interview took place between St. Augustine and the Welsh Bishops.

It is only just to the memory of Sir Henry Spelman to say, that he, in all probability was imposed upon; and possibly Mr. Mostyn also. I can conceive that one or two objections may be plausibly raised against what I may term the linguistic proofs of the forgery. The first is that Dunawd would have addressed St. Augustine in Latin, so that the Welsh document would be only a translation of the speech. I admit this, but where is the text of the Latin speech? Above all, why was the Welsh translation put forth as *ancient*? The second objection might very well lie in this way: Welsh, like Hebrew, is a comparatively stable language, hence there is little difference between its ancient and its modern forms. I have given an inscription in another part of this paper which I think disposes of this objection. But above all there are those unhappy English words in the Welsh MS. Very little admixture of English with Welsh took place before the sixteenth century: absolutely none before the days of Edward I.

What manner of man was the Abbot Dunawd? Dunawd Vawr was a powerful chieftain and warrior, son of Pabo Post Prydāin. The title of Post Prydāin, "Pillar of Britain," was given to his father for his valour in fighting against the Picts and Scots. Pabo founded Llanbabo in Anglesey, and there he

was buried.\* Dunawd is celebrated in a triad as one of the three "pillars of battle" of the Isle of Britain.

Tri post C ad Inys Prydain, Dunawd Vab Pabo, Cynvelyn Drwsgyl, ac Urien vab Cynvarç.

This famous Abbot enjoyed in his youth and manhood the reputation of understanding in common with the two other "pillars," the order and conduct of a battle better than any man that ever existed outside the trio. Such is the Triadic testimony: the Triads enshrine Dunawd among the warriors not with the divines; with Urien but not with C adoc.

As to his character, we are fortunately possessed of an index to that in the famous and well-authenticated *Marwnad Urien Rheged*, the composition of the elegiac Bard, Llywarch H en, Prince of the Cumbrian Britons in the early part of the sixth century, and a man who knew Dunawd in battle only too well. Llywarch thus describes him:

"Dunawd the Knight of the warring field would fiercely rage,  
With a mind determined to make a dead corpse,  
Against the quick onset of Owain.

Dunawd, the hasty chief, would fiercely rage,  
With mind elated for the battle,  
Against the conflict of Pasgen."

And in another place in the same elegy:

— "fiercely  
Was it said in the pass of Lleç,  
Dunawd the son of Pabo will never fly."

Fly, the determined old warrior did in the end, however, but his restless spirit only sought repose in variety of labour. In his old age, he raised up the magnificent but short-lived monastic glory of Bangor Iscoed. This work he carried out under the protection of Cyngen ap Cadell, Prince of Powys, and with the aid of his three sons, Deiniol, Cynwyl, and Gwarthan. Deiniol was a learned bishop, but was, for some unrecorded reason, deposed from his high office in 584 A.D. This, however, may not have prevented him from having been amongst the learned Britons who assembled to confer with the Apostle of the Anglo-Saxons. But it is against the testimony of the only historic record extant upon the important question of the year of Dunawd's death, to affirm that he was present at any conference

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\* His tomb was opened in the reign of Charles II., and the inscription has been preserved in Rowl: Mon. Antiq. ed. 2, p. 151.


with St. Augustine. According to the "Annales Cambriæ," in 595 A.D. the fiery son of Pabo Post Prydain, slept with his fathers in the last sleep of all.

In conclusion, the writer of this paper has only to add his regret that the interesting story of Celtic Christianity belongs to the polemics of history. Catholics have not to reproach themselves with this. The history of the Early Church in Britain has been made a polemical question by the unhappy men who more than three hundred years ago broke the alliance between England and the centre of Christianity; an alliance which had existed for ten fair centuries, which had found England the hunting ground of conflicting savage hordes, and left her a nation, old in civilization, equipped to march forth to the conquest of the world. Nor will religious peace visit her borders until the covenant is renewed. Of that alliance we may well say in the words of Cicero, "Hæc est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quæ putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque jucunditas; ut et, quum hæc adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his esse non possit."\*

A MEMBER OF THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOL. ASSOCIATION.

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\* *De Amicitia*, cap. xxii.





## ART. IV.—THE POTATO.

*The Science of Potato Growing.* Results of Experiments at Rothamsted on the Growth of Potatoes. By J. H. GILBERT, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Reprinted from the *Agricultural Students' Gazette*, Cirencester.

WHEN Pizarro and his companions, while seeking for gold among the mountains of Peru, saw the Indians cultivating the plant known at first as the *Papas Peruanorum*, they certainly did not suspect the importance of their discovery, nor the services which it was destined to render to mankind. They did not foresee that the insignificant looking tuber would prove a greater boon to the people of Europe, and exercise more influence on their destiny than the more brilliant and attractive mineral products of the Cordilleras, which proved in the end to be the bane and the ruin of the Spanish nation.

For the potato, since that time, owing to the readiness with which it adapts itself to different climates, and the abundant return with which, under favourable conditions, it rewards the toil of the farmer, has become an element of the daily food of millions of the human race, as necessary and important as the different varieties of grain known to the Old World previously to its introduction.

Admitted to the tables of the rich, under some one of the many disguises created by the inventive genius of culinary art, it appears in its primitive state at those of the poor, where, served up in its "jacket," and with no other condiments than salt and hunger, it forms, only too often, the sole dish. But when, less than half a century ago, in that country which, more than any other, had relied on the potato as an article of food, a sudden blight destroyed in a few days the hopes of the husbandman, the wealthy, no less than the humble, felt the disaster, and the potato famine, by the bitter memories it left in the minds of the Irish people, and the impetus it gave to emigration, produced wide-spreading and untoward results, of which we do not as yet desery the termination.

The potato belongs to one of the most widely-diffused orders of plants, the *Solanaceæ*, the members of which, indigenous in most parts of the world, are remarkable by the variety and the opposition of their qualities, many of them being of the greatest utility to man, while the others are deadly poisons. To the first category may be referred the potato (*solanum tuberosum*), the egg-plant (*solanum melongena*), the tomato (*solanum lycopersicum*), and the capsicum. In the second are comprised the venomous deadly

nightshade (*atropa belladonna*), whose purple flowers are well known in our hedge-rows; the still more venomous mandragore (*atropa mandragora*), said by mediæval folklore to utter such fearful shrieks when torn from the ground as to drive mad whoever heard them: the *datúra stramonium* and the henbane (*hyoscyamus*). All these plants are distinguished by their narcotic properties, and their power of causing hallucinations, whence they have been employed by thieves to drug their victims, and by the sorcerers of antiquity to make their dupes see visions. At the present day some of them are still used medicinally, in very small quantities, and with proper precautions. Last, but not least, tobacco (*nicotiana tabacum*), also a member of this very comprehensive order, would probably be placed without hesitation by its votaries in the first rank of the *Solanaceæ* useful to man, while its adversaries, following in the footsteps of King James I., would quite as probably relegate it among the deadly poisons.

The first tubers known in Europe under the name of potatoes were of a different order of plants from those which now bear that name. It was during Magalhaen's journey round the world (1519-1522) that Pigafetta, an Italian naturalist who accompanied him, saw, in Brazil, the Batata, or sweet potato, one of the *Convolvulaceæ*. We do not, however, know if it was thence brought to Spain, or at a later epoch from Peru, but it was most probably the Spaniards and the Portuguese who introduced it into their colonies in the East, and it is now cultivated in India, China, Japan, the Southern States of the Union, and in Italy. In England the trade with Spain made it known as an article of commerce under the names of "potades" or "potatoes," a corruption of the Spanish, and it seems to have been in demand for making conserves and sweetmeats.

A little later, on the invasion of Peru, the Spaniards became acquainted with a root called "papa," resembling the batata, but of a hardier nature; and from the descriptions of it given by the historians of the Conquest, it would seem to be what we now know as the potato. For centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards the Peruvian Incas had paid great attention to the development of agriculture, and as the "papa" formed the principal nutriment of the inhabitants of the higher and colder regions, unsuited to the cultivation of maize or batatas, it must have been an object of special care, since the names of as many as eleven varieties are to be found in dictionaries of the Peruvian language.

Pedro de Ciesa, a companion of Pizarro\* and Garcilaso de la

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\* "Chronica del Peru, de Pedro de Cieza de Leon." Antwerp, 1554. Page 243.

Vega,\* the earliest writers who describe the "papa," state that the Indians crush the tubers to expel the water, then dry them in the sun, and thus prepare a food called *Chuño*, which can be preserved for a considerable time.

The *Papas Peruanorum* or *Hispanorum*, as it was now called, was introduced by the Spaniards about the middle of the sixteenth century into Italy; where, on account of its resemblance to the truffle, it was called *Taratufolo*. It was brought into Germany a little later. Charles de l'Ecluse (better known, perhaps, by his Latinized name of Clusius), Director of the Imperial Gardens at Vienna, under the Emperors Maximilian II. and Rudolph II., received some tubers in 1588 from Philippe de Sivry, Lord of Waldheim and Governor of Mons, who had got them from a member of the Court of the Papal Legate. These tubers had been brought from Italy, where, as Clusius says, they were already so generally cultivated as to be used for feeding pigs. He recognized their identity with the *Papas Peruanorum* described by Cieza, but the classification of the plant among the *Solanaceæ*, under the name which it still bears, of *Solanum tuberosum*, was the work of a contemporary botanist, Gaspar Bauhin, of Bâle. The latter received in 1590 from Scholtz, of Breslau, a drawing of the plant designated as *Papas Hispanorum*, and described it under its new name in his *Phytopynax*, published in 1596. In his edition of Matthioli's works (1598), and again, in his edition of the "Krœuterbuch," of Tabernæmontanus (1613), Bauhin states that the plant was already cultivated in Burgundy and in France; that the Germans knew it by the name of "Grüblingbaum," or truffle-tree, and that it had been first brought into England, and thence into France, from the "Island of Virginia." In his edition of the "Krœuterbuch," he adds to the preceding details, that the Virginians call it "Openauk," and the English, "Potatoes of Virginia." It will be shown later on whence he derived this information. When, however, Bauhin states that in Burgundy the use of these roots had been forbidden from the belief that they caused leprosy, and that they were there called "Indian artichokes," he is probably referring to the Topinambour or Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus*) which, according to Parkinson,† the French had brought from Canada, and was known in England, about the same time, under the name of "Potatoes of Canada."

The exact date of the introduction of the potato into these islands, and the name of the person to whom we owe it, are

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\* "Historia General del Peru, o Commentarios reales de los Incas." Nueva edicion. Madrid, 1800. Vol. iii. p. 31.

† Paradisi in sole Paradisus Terrestris, 1629.

still matters of uncertainty. It has always been maintained that, in 1565, Sir John Hawkins brought the potato from Santa Fé in Venezuela, and that Sir Walter Raleigh brought it into Ireland from Virginia in 1586. But the chronicler of Sir John Hawkins' travels merely states that at Santa Fé the Indians came to them with potatoes and pine-apples for sale; the word "potato" meaning at that time only, the batata, which must have been already well known as an article of commerce, while the root we now call the potato did not receive that name till many years later. Sir Walter Raleigh's claim is not better founded. He made, it is true, several unsuccessful attempts to establish a colony in North America, but he never visited Virginia. The first expedition was sent by him in 1584, under the command of Captains Philip Armadas and Arthur Barlowe, who took possession of the islands of Wokokon and Roanoake, off the coast of what is now North Carolina, and gave to the latter island the name of Virginia. The following year a second expedition of seven ships, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, brought out a colony of over one hundred persons and left them at Roanoake, with Master Ralph Lane as Governor. The colonists explored the neighbouring mainland for a considerable distance, but many of them seem to have been unsuited for the hardships of a settler's life, and they were soon anxious to return. In June, 1586, Sir Francis Drake stopped at Roanoake, on his way back from Carthage, and the colonists, disheartened at the non-arrival of a ship laden with provisions which was to have come in the spring, persuaded him to take them back to England. In 1587, a more numerous colony, comprising women and children, was sent under the command of Mr. John White, who returned to England after a few months, at the request of his companions, to procure additional supplies. He came back to Roanoake in 1590, but found none of the colonists, who had probably passed over to the mainland, and a violent storm obliged him to desist from seeking them, and to make sail for England. - A letter from him to Hakluyt, dated from his house "at Newtown in Kilmore, 1593," shows that he settled down in Ireland. Sir Walter Raleigh's patent for the discovering and planting of new lands expired in 1590, and no further attempts were made to colonize Virginia till 1606.

To a colonist therefore, returned from one of these voyages, may be ascribed in all probability our knowledge of the potato. Now, among those who took part in the second expedition was a friend and former teacher of Sir Walter Raleigh, named Thomas Heriot, whose scientific acquirements pointed him out to Master Ralph Lane, the Governor of the colony, as the most capable of composing a detailed account of the country and its products.

Heriot, in his "Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia," gives a list of "Such commodities as Virginia is known to yield for victuals and sustenance of man's life usually fed on by the naturall inhabitants as also by us during the time of our abode," and among the roots which "are found growing naturally or wilde," he places first the "Openauk." "A kind of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of walnuts, some farre greater; which are found in moist and marish grounds, growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots Beades or Pater-nostri of Santa Helena."

Heriot does not say that he brought back any of these roots to England, but Gerard, the first English botanist who described the potato, says: "Clusius reports that it grows naturally in America, since which time I have received roots hereof from Virginia which grow and prosper in my garden as in their owne native countrey. The Indians call the fruit *Pappus*, meaning the roots, by which name also the common potatoes are called in these Indian countries."

Now, the first edition of Gerard's "Herbal" was published in 1597, and the immediately preceding edition of the "Rariorum Plantarum Historia" of Clusius in 1583. It would therefore seem that Clusius, who did not receive the tubers from Italy till 1588, must have described the *Papas Peruanorum* from the work of Cieza de Leon, published at Antwerp in 1554, and from the "Historia Generale de los Indios" of Gomara (Antwerp, 1554), and that, when the Virginian roots were brought to Gerard he identified them with the Peruvian plant. Gerard then goes on to compare them with the *Battatas Hispanorum*, or sweet potatoes, described in his preceding chapter, and then known in England by the names of *Potatoes*, *Potatus*, and *Potades*; and says, "because it (the new plant) hath not onely the shape and proportion of potatoes, but also the pleasant taste and virtues of the same, we may call it in English, Potatoes of America or Virginia." That Gerard attached some importance to his new acquisition may be surmised from the fact that he is represented on the title-page of the "Herbal" holding a stalk of the potato with its leaves and flowers. He does not, however, mention the name of "Openauk," nor state from whom he received the tubers. It is true that the writer of a paper on the potato, in a recent number of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*,\* has pointed out that it is not known whether the figure of the potato in the first edition of the "Herbal" was engraved in England or

\* W. S. Mitchell, *Gardeners' Chronicle*, April 17th, 1886, vol. xxv.

abroad, nor if it represents the plant which grew in Gerard's garden. Bauhin, however, as we have seen, acknowledges the identity of the *Papas Hispanorum*, which he had called *Solanum tuberosum*, with the *Openauk*, of which he had learned the name from Heriot's travels,\* and the "potatoes of Virginia," the name given by Gerard. We can only conclude that, though the potato is not indigenous in the tropical regions of America, it seems to have existed in such widely-separated districts as Peru and North Carolina, and to have been brought in the same century from the former country by the Spaniards, and from the latter by the English. It is a remarkable coincidence, that about the time of Drake's return from Virginia, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a grant of a large territory in Ireland, and took over to it colonists from the South of England. The disappointed adventurers who had failed in their first attempt at emigration, may very probably have joined the new expedition. Some of them were certainly Irish, for, in the list of the persons under the command of Master Ralph Lane, are to be found the names of Edward Kelly, Edward Nugent, John Gostigo (Costigan?), and we have seen that the leader of the second colony, Mr. John White, settled in Ireland. These are the only well-ascertained facts, by means of which any date can be assigned for the introduction of the potato into England, or any foundation given for the origin of the tradition that Sir Walter Raleigh brought it to Ireland.

For many years the cultivation of the tuber made but little progress in the United Kingdom. In Scotland it became known in Kirkeudbright as late as 1725, in Stirlingshire in 1728, and in Forfarshire in 1730. It was not till 1740 that a season of peculiar severity gave the first impulse to the more extensive cultivation of a root which promised to be an effectual remedy against such a visitation. It was at that time, however, raised only by spade culture, which required more exertion than the slovenly farmers of those days cared to submit to, and it was generally believed that it could be preserved only by being left in the earth where it grew. The potato, therefore, was not grown on an extensive scale, and it was only about 1790, when farming had come to be better understood, and practised throughout Scotland, that its value was fully recognized and that it met with the attention it deserved.†

The same want of appreciation of the potato long prevailed in England. In Lancashire, where it was probably brought from

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\* Bauhin, "Prodromus Theatri Botanici," Frankfort, 1620, p. 90.

† "The Potato Rescued from Disease." William Aitken. Edinburgh, 1838. Royal Dublin Society Collection of Pamphlets, vol. 201.

Ireland, it was planted in the fields in 1634, but it is only a little more than a hundred years since its cultivation became general. When Arthur Young made his tours through England, between 1767 and 1770, he found that in very extensive tracts of the country over which he travelled, potatoes were not a common article of culture; but, that in the north, more farmers grew them than in the south or east. A Mr. Turner, of Kirk-leatham, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, seems to have been most successful, having raised as much as 1166 bushels on an acre; but the average production of all the places visited by Young was 377 bushels to the acre.

We have seen that the statement that the potato was cultivated in Burgundy in the sixteenth century may probably have referred to the Topinambour, from an erroneous belief in the identity of the two plants; but in the seventeenth it is said to have been cultivated in Lorraine and the district of Lyons.\* Turgot, however, was the first to point out its utility during a famine which occurred while he was *Intendant* of Limousin, between 1761 and 1773, and he had at first great difficulty in conquering the prejudices of the people, who only consented to make use of it after *M. l'Intendant* had had it served up at his own table.

The efforts of Antoine Augustin Parmentier in the same direction were more successful. His attention was first drawn to the cultivation of the potato by the prize offered in 1771 by the Academy of Besançon for the discovery of alimentary substances which might compensate for the deficiency of corn at a time of scarcity. He gained the prize by an essay, in which he demonstrated the nutritious qualities of the starch contained in many plants; and later, after the publication of his "*Examen Chimique de la Pomme deterre*," he obtained from the Government leave to sow with potatoes 54 acres of a sterile tract, near Versailles, called *La Plaine des Sablons*. At first, the incredulous public laughed at the seemingly hopeless undertaking; but, when the plants grew up, Parmentier presented a bouquet of the flowers to Louis XVI. The King, who had always been favourably inclined to Parmentier, accepted them willingly, and appeared in public wearing them in his button-hole. The patronage of Royalty rendered the plant at once fashionable; the prejudices existing against it disappeared, and the Government was enabled to spread its culture throughout the Provinces.

The utility of the potato was recognized at an earlier date in Germany than in France, owing chiefly to the widely-spread misery caused by the Thirty Years' War. It was known in the middle of the seventeenth century in Hesse-Darmstadt, Saxony,

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\* Meyer's "Conversations Lexicon," vol. ix.

Westphalia, and Brunswick ; in 1716 in Bamberg, Baireuth, and Baden ; but it did not reach Leipzig till 1740 ; and about the same time emigrants from the Palatinate brought it to Prussia. Its cultivation there went far to alleviate the distress resulting from the Seven Years' War ; and Frederic II. took energetic measures to spread it in Pomerania and Silesia. It became known in Sweden in 1726, in Berne in 1730, and in Bohemia and Hungary in 1770. Towards the close of the eighteenth century it was extensively cultivated throughout Germany, but it was only after the wars of Napoleon that it began to be used for the production of the potato spirit, which now forms such an important branch of German commerce.

It has been already shown that Italy was one of the first countries in Europe to receive the potato from the Spaniards, but we do not know the exact date. Targioni-Tozzetti mentions the introduction of tubers from England into Tuscany in 1767, but states that the plant was known and cultivated there long previously, and probably at Vallombrosa. Padre Magazzini, of that Monastery, in a posthumous work on Agriculture in Tuscany, printed at Venice in 1625,\* asserts that it had been brought from Spain and Portugal by Fathers of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, but assigns no date. There were, however, parts of Italy where it was not known till the end of the last century ; for, an inscription recently placed in the village of Lazzate, in Lombardy, on the house of Alessandro Volta, the inventor of the electric pile, states that "the country people in their gratitude for the American tuber, which he was the first to bring to these parts, called him the beneficent magician."

The mode of cultivating the potato, generally adopted at the present day, consists in giving the ground a first ploughing in autumn and a second in spring, followed by a harrowing. as a complete pulverization of the soil is essential for the success of the crop. The land is then ploughed into ridgelets or drills, with an interval of thirty inches between each ; and manure having been spread along the bottom of the drills, the potatoes, cut into sets, are planted upon it at every ten or twelve inches ; another ploughing then splits the drills, covering the cuttings with from four to five inches of earth. A soil of deep sandy loam, perfectly dry and well drained, and a plentiful supply of farm-yard manure, are necessary for the production of potatoes of the best quality, for the plant has a decided antipathy to a stiff wet clay, and will never flourish in a shallow retentive soil. The amount of manure it requires is larger than that employed for any other crop. In

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\* "Lezioni d'Agricoltura," II. p. 10, quoted by M. F. Dunal, "Histoire des Solanum," Paris, 1813.



Scotland it receives from 20 to 40 tons of farm-yard manure per acre, with from 5 to 10 cwts. of artificial manures; while the market-gardeners near London frequently give it 60 tons, and in some cases even as much as 100.

A series of experiments on the effect of various manures on the growth of the potato has been carried out during twelve years by Sir John Bennet Lawes, at Rothamsted, on a piece of rather exhausted land, and the results were recently published by Dr. J. H. Gilbert, Professor of Rural Economy in the University of Oxford.\* From these experiments it appears that nitrogenous manures alone, such as ammonium salts or nitrate of soda, gave less increase of produce than a mixed mineral manure alone, containing superphosphate of lime and salts of potash, soda, and magnesia. The combination, however, of ammonium salts or nitrate of soda, with mixed mineral manure, gave nearly twice as much produce as the mineral manure alone, and much more than twice as much as the nitrogenous manure alone. Farm-yard manure, containing an abundance of mineral matters, as well as organic substances rich in carbon, and about 200 lbs of nitrogen in the 14 tons applied annually per acre, gave much less produce than mineral manures combined with ammonium salts or nitrate of soda supplying only 86 lbs. of nitrogen per acre. The reason is, that by far the larger proportion of the nitrogen contained in farm-yard manure remains long inactive and is only slowly available, but the addition of nitrogen in the more readily utilizable form of nitrate of soda produces at once an effect. Farm-yard manure, however, is always largely applied to the potato. Its beneficial effects probably consist chiefly in its influence on the soil which becomes more porous and permeable to the roots; while its temperature is increased by the decomposition of the organic matter in the manure, and its mineral components are rendered more soluble by the carbonic acid evolved in the decomposition.

Among other interesting facts ascertained in the course of this remarkable series of carefully performed experiments, it was proved that the plant does not seem capable of assimilating the nitrogen supplied to it, unless when accompanied with a certain amount of mineral manures, when it takes up a very considerably increased quantity; and, further, that under the influence of a mixture of mineral and nitrogenous manures, it takes up the largest amount of potash. The effect of this constituent is to render the crop heavier, for though its exact mode of operation is uncertain, it is proved that its presence is essential for the

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\* "The Science of Potato Growing." Results of Experiments at Rothamsted in the Growth of Potatoes, by J. H. Gilbert, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Reprinted from the *Agricultural Students' Gazette*, Cirencester.

formation of the chief non-nitrogenous substances, starch and sugar.

That terrible scourge, the potato disease, which has hitherto defied every remedy that has been suggested, and by its annual recurrence continues to destroy a certain proportion of every crop, has also been the subject of careful study and research at Rothamsted. Before, however, stating the results of Dr. Gilbert's investigations, it may be well to enter into some details with regard to the history and the nature of the malady.

The entire tribe of *solanææ* seem to be liable to the same disease as the potato; but, while the plants indigenous to this country, and thriving vigorously in their wild state, are able to resist the parasitical growth; the potato, a stranger to our climate, not as yet naturalized, and enfeebled by a long course of forced cultivation, easily succumbs. After the introduction of the tuber into Europe, the first malady which attacked it was known as the "curl." In this disease the leaves shrivel and crumple, the stems are puny and the tubers rot. It was first observed in 1764, and during 60 or 70 years it ravaged districts situated in widely-separated countries.\* In the south of France it was called "*fri-folée*," in Flanders "*pivre*."† It prevailed again from 1831 to 1837, disappearing in that year and re-appearing in 1838, and was the immediate forerunner of the disease of 1845. It is now recognized as a form of the true potato murrain; and, in fact, a disease perfectly similar to the latter was described by Parmentier in 1789, and supposed by him to have been caused by undrained land and a superabundance of moisture. The present malady is said to have appeared at St. Helena in 1840, in England the following year, and at various dates about this time in North America.‡ In the year 1845 it burst out suddenly in Europe, devastating entire territories, and causing a fearful amount of misery which, in these islands especially, it is needless to describe. No efficacious remedy has been as yet discovered, but the progress of microscopical science and the greater perfection to which its instruments have been brought, have enabled us at least to ascertain and study the cause of the disease, the fungus known as *Peronospora infestans*. This fungus appears first in the leaf-cells, especially during the warm and showery weather so prevalent during the last days of July. It breaks up the cellular tissue and causes a putrescence which shows itself on the under side of the leaves in purplish or blackish spots, gradually extending till they become confluent

\* Paper by Earl Cathcart. "Journal Roy. Agricult. Soc. of England," vol. **xx.**, 1884, p. 266.

† "Histoire des Solanum," M. T. Dunal, p. 29.

‡ Earl Cathcart.

and the leaves perish. On their destruction, the fungus descends by the stem, or its spores are washed by the rain to the tubers in the ground. In either case the entire plant is reduced to a putrid mass and exhales an offensive odour.

Such are the outward and visible features of the disease, only too apparent to the most superficial observer; the more abstruse questions of the development of the fungus and the effect of its growth on the chemical composition of the tuber, have been thoroughly elucidated by the series of experiments carried on at Rothamsted. The results of these experiments show that, where there has been the most liberal supply of nitrogen, and therefore the most luxuriant growth of tubers, there will be found not only the richest juice (for 80 per cent. of the total nitrogen of the tuber is to be found in the juice) and the latest maturity (for the juice includes a good deal of not finally-fixed matter, the material for further maturation) but also the largest proportion of diseased tubers. The juice, in fact, supplies food to the fungus, especially when a wet season favours its development. In the early stage of the malady the action of the fungus on the tuber consists in the destruction of starch and the formation of sugar. The latter is decomposed in its turn and serves as nutriment to the fungus. The non-nitrogenous elements of the tuber being thus annihilated, the fungus, as the disease progresses, continues to grow by accumulating in itself the mineral matter and the nitrogenous substance, until the utter destruction of the entire tuber.

Of the various remedies suggested from time to time, with but little practical result hitherto, the best seem to be the frequent adoption of new varieties obtained by raising the plant from seed, and the careful heaping of the earth about the stems. The latter system of cultivation, recently pointed out by Professor Jansen, of Copenhagen, was known as far back as 1764, the year, as already mentioned, of the first apparition of the "curl," when the *Gentleman's Magazine* recommended moulding up monthly, or even fortnightly. It has also been thought that the *Solanum Maglia*, a species discovered by Darwin on the Chonos Islands, off the coast of Patagonia, might be better fitted to resist the cold damp climate of these islands than the *Solanum Tuberosum*, a native of a comparatively dry region. But no very active steps seem to have been taken as yet to spread its cultivation.

The chief value of the potato as an article of food consists almost exclusively in the starch which it contains; a heat-producing and fat-forming element. The amount of its nitrogenous or flesh-forming constituents necessary to repair the waste of muscular tissue is so small, that when it is employed as the prin-

cial article of diet, the addition of milk or some other nitrogenous substance is indispensable. As, moreover, by far the larger part of the nitrogen which exists in the potato as albuminoid, or flesh-forming compounds, is in a soluble condition in the juice, if the potato is peeled and put into cold water before being cooked, as is usually the custom, a large proportion of these nutritive matters, as well as the potash and phosphoric acid, is washed out and wasted. It is advisable, therefore, to imitate the more primitive, but really more scientific method of the Irish peasant, who boils and serves up the potatoes in their skins, thereby retaining the ingredients which would be eliminated by a more refined system of cookery.

The statistics collected by Dr. Gilbert, relating to the culture of the potato in fourteen countries where it is most extensively grown, show that the total area under the crop is 22,425,390 acres, of which 556,848 are in Great Britain and 798,258 in Ireland. The aggregate produce is estimated at 67,373,870 tons, of which Great Britain furnishes 3,418,591 and Ireland 3,113,304. The largest average yield per acre is in Great Britain, where it amounts to about  $6\frac{1}{8}$  tons; while in Ireland it is less than four tons. Among the Continental countries Norway stands first with an average of 6.01 tons per acre; Belgium, Holland, and Italy come next with a little over four, while Germany, where the potato occupies an area thirteen times as large as in Great Britain, produces only 3.31 tons per acre; and France, with about six times as much land under the crop as in Great Britain, produces only 2.80. The lowest average is in the United States, where four times the area, as in Great Britain, is devoted to the potato, but where the yield is only 1.87 tons per acre, or less than one-third as much.

D. SAMPSON.

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## ART. V.—“THE SACRIFICES OF MASSES.”

1. *Roman Catholic Claims.* By Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, Oxford. Third Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1890.
2. *What are the Catholic Claims?* By Rev. AUSTIN RICHARDSON, late Professor at the “Institut St. Louis,” Brussels. With an Introduction by Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

EVER since the rise of the Oxford Movement, the 31st Article of the Anglican Creed has been a difficulty in the path of Advanced High Churchmen. This Article in the plainest language proclaims that “the Sacrifices of Masses” were “blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.” Now, the Advanced High Churchman not only delights in calling the Office for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper, the Mass, but he holds, more or less correctly, as he is more or less advanced, the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Since the appearance of Tract 90, long ago refuted by its distinguished author, consolation is found in the plural form used in this article. It is maintained that the condemnation of the Sacrifices of Masses leaves untouched the Sacrifice of the Mass! Admitting, by pure hypothesis, that the words are not identical, is it possible to imagine a Catholic Christian, nay, any one possessing one spark of love and reverence, making use of such gross and outrageous terms in connection with words, whose very sound recalls irresistibly that bloodless Offering of the Lamb of God, the loving and Divine Saviour of the World?

If these words proved nothing else they would prove at least that the Established Church, in its official capacity, was utterly devoid of all decency and of all Catholic instinct.

But, as I point out to Mr. Gore in my book, “What are the Catholic Claims?” (p. 142) this explanation will not bear a moment’s serious examination. These words, “The Sacrifices of Masses,” are perfectly correct, and are the Catholic expression for denominating the repeated Celebrations of the Holy Sacrifice. The very words are used in this sense by the Council of Florence (see Decree of Union, signed by the Orientals in 1438).

The Reformers, unlike the modern Ritualists, were perfectly conversant with that Catholic phraseology in which they had been reared, and use it with theological precision when they intend to blaspheme the old religion.

Mr. Gore, in "The Roman Catholic Claims," takes other ground. He affirms that the 31st Article is aimed against the doctrine (in the words of the Article "commonly" taught) that, whereas Christ offered the Sacrifice of the Cross for the remission of Original sin, He instituted the Sacrifice of the Mass for the remission of daily Actual sin, both mortal and venial.

Here let me at once remark that no such error is condemned in the Article, or even hinted at. Not one word about the distinct effects of these two Sacrifices is mentioned. What is plainly condemned is the Catholic doctrine that "in the Sacrifices of Masses the priest doth offer Christ to have remission of pain or guilt." Now, this is precisely what the Church of God does teach.

However, as I point out to Mr. Gore, this supposed error, although utterly foreign to the dogma condemned by the Article, *was* brought against the Catholics at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and, as Bossuet relates, was as absolutely denied by them. The Catholics present were not satisfied with indignantly denying the calumny, they challenged the Lutherans to quote one of their theologians who maintained such a blasphemy; and, as Bossuet adds, this is acknowledged by the Lutherans themselves ("Variations," English Trans., vol. i. p. 112. New York: J. Doyle. 1836). I then repeated this challenge to Mr. Gore. It is his answer to my challenge in his third edition, dated 1890, which is the subject and cause of the present article. Mr. Gore quotes one, no Catholic can deny to be a great authority indeed, none other than the blessed Albert, the great Bishop of Ratisbon, the saintly Master of the Angel of the Schools, St. Thomas Aquinas. He adds these painful words:—

That this doctrine was not only once stated, but became current and prevalent is shown by the language of the Confession of Augsburg, &c.—(p. 176).

After the words of Bossuet, *which I had quoted to him*, these lines are difficult to characterize, or even to understand, when coming from the pen of so loyal and high-minded a writer as Mr. Gore, one whom it is impossible not to admire, and (for me at least) impossible not to esteem. The very question before us was the *truth* of this Lutheran accusation; and, behold, Mr. Gore brings as a proof that this doctrine not only existed, but was "current and prevalent,"—what?—*the accusation itself!*

Surely if the existence of the accusation proves its truth, the equally certain existence of the indignant denial and the challenge to produce one theologian in its favour, proves at least that it was neither "current nor prevalent," but rather unknown to the Catholics, at least in 1530.

But let me translate the quotation itself as it appears in the work of Mr. Gore.\* It is as follows:—

The second cause of the institution of this Sacrament is the Sacrifice of the Altar as a remedy for the daily ravages caused by our sins. So that as the Body of Christ was once offered on the Cross for the original debt, so is it continually offered on the Altar for our daily faults, and thus the Church has in this an offering to appease God more precious and acceptable than all the Sacraments and Sacrifices of the Old Law.†

Now, I do not deny that these words taken as they stand, apart from their context, might convey the impression they made on Mr. Gore. A cultured Anglican, unversed in the study of the Scholastics, reading this passage alone, might be tempted so to understand these words. But I cannot for a moment consider this as the slightest excuse for Mr. Gore. I deny to any serious man, writing on a serious subject, the right to be superficial. Mr. Gore has the reputation of a theologian, if he did not believe himself to be one, it would be an impertinence to address the public in such books as “The Roman Catholic Claims.” Mr. Gore is *bound* to have studied Scholastic Theology. He has no right, like a Dr. Littledale, to dip into a work of 24 folio volumes, and to extract a detached sentence. He knows—he must know—that the Scholastics took theological matters very seriously; that, as in duty bound, they looked upon a doctrine from all its possible points of view, that they carefully analyzed it by numerous thoughtful distinctions, and then, gathering up these various elements, each one of which had been made clear and plain to the student, they formed them into definitions, which the wisdom of modern times has rarely found it necessary to modify.

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\* In Mr. Gore's book the passage is in Latin.

† *Secunda causa institutionis hujus sacramenti (Eucharistiæ) est Sacrificium Altaris, contra quam quotidianam delictorum nostrorum rapinam. Ut sicut corpus Christi semel oblatum est in cruce pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro nostris quotidianis delictis in Altari, et habeat in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deus, super omnia Legis Sacramenta vel sacrificia pretiosum et acceptum (De Sac Euch Sacrament Sermones op B. Alberti, Ed. Lugduni, 1651, tom. xiii. p. 250. I may mention incidently that the “Opusculum De Sac Euch Sacrament Sermones” is not *certainly* by the B. Albert. It is ascribed by some to St. Thomas Aquinas himself, and is very much in his style. It is to be found in the Roman Edition of his works, Inter Opuscula, N. LVIII. Item in Editione data Vendisi, 1593, tom. 17, opus 58, Item Parmæ 1852-69, tom. 17 2<sup>a</sup>, Pars opus 51, p. 135. Quetif & Echard, tom. i. Scriptores Ord Præd, p. 340, col. 2, consider it the work of the B. Albert. If by St. Thomas, the authority is even greater, and the true doctrine concerning the all-sufficiency of Christ's redemption, passion, and death on the Cross, is as clearly taught in his works as in those of his great Master.*

What, then, is the doctrine of the blessed Albertus Magnus consistently taught throughout his voluminous works, on the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Altar?

I am writing this article for the general reader; my aim is to make this important matter clear to any one of ordinary culture. I will therefore abstain from technical terms, and from the peculiar Latin of the Schools, as far as is compatible with a thorough examination of the subject. I will endeavour to show, not only the beauty, but the necessity of these distinctions. They are not a mere subtle play upon words, they are on the contrary a careful, methodical, necessary analysis of the doctrine of man's Redemption and of his reconciliation with an offended God.

I maintain, then, the following Theses:—

I. The Catholic Church teaches, and has ever taught, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by His sacred Passion and precious death on the Cross, consummated once and for ever the meritorious work of man's Redemption. That on the Cross He offered a full, perfect, and superabundant satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, original and actual.

II. That this doctrine was never denied by any approved theologian, either before or after the Reformation.

III. That, in particular, the blessed Albertus Magnus plainly and repeatedly teaches this doctrine, not only in various parts of his works, but in the very treatise quoted by Mr. Gore.

IV. The words quoted by Mr. Gore do *not* deny this doctrine, but they are merely an application of a truth recognized by all Catholic theologians.

As for the first Thesis, I have only to refer the reader to the sublime—I had almost said Divine—teaching of the Council of Trent,\* especially those chapters and canons having to do with Justification and the Holy Eucharist.

As for the second Thesis, I affirm it as a fact, and leave, as it is my right to do, the task of proving that any approved Catholic theologian has denied Catholic doctrines, to my adversary.

In this article I am concerned only with Theses III. and IV.

I say, then, firstly, that the blessed Albertus Magnus plainly and repeatedly affirms the Catholic doctrine of the sufficiency of Christ's Sacrifice upon the Cross (regarded as the consummation and the crown of His Incarnation and Divine life).

I have given much time and labour to collect for myself and to verify, indications kindly sent me by learned theologians, whose

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\* See Can. and Dec. of Trent, translated by Rev. J. Waterworth. Burns and Oates.



names I give with my grateful acknowledgments at the end of this article.

In the British Museum I found the edition quoted by Mr. Gore (Lugduni, 1651). It is a magnificent work in 24 fol. vols., bound in white vellum, with a coat of arms stamped in gold on the covers.

The blessed Albertus Magnus gives us his doctrine concerning the mystery of man's Redemption in his great work on the Sentences. Had Mr. Gore examined the 15th and 16th Vol. of the edition he quotes, he would have spared himself the injustice of attributing heresy to this saintly doctor.

To quote all that he teaches concerning the sufficiency of the Sacrifice of the Cross for the satisfaction, not only of original, but also of actual sin, it would be necessary to transcribe almost all that is said under *Distinctio XIX.*, pages 187 and 188 of Vol. XV., but a few examples will suffice. Among many other questions regarding our Lord's Passion and Death, he asks: “In what manner does Christ by His death redeem us from Satan and from sin?” “How and from what penalties does Christ redeem us by His Death?” “Does Christ's Passion redeem us from both eternal and temporal penalties?” and in his answers to all these he plainly shows that he is speaking not only of original but *more especially of actual sins* when he proves that we obtain redemption from them *all* by Christ's death.

He asks again: “If our justification from sin is the work of Christ's Passion?” “If Christ by His death destroyed *by this one sacrifice* all the effects of sin?” “If by the shedding of the blood of Christ the sinless victim, the entire handwriting (*chirographa*), or condemnation against all sins, was effaced?” and to all these he answers in the affirmative.

Under *Distinctio XX.*, he asks: “Whether Original sin only, or Actual sin also, rendered a Redeemer necessary. He first gives seven reasons to prove that Christ's Passion and Death effect redemption, not only from Original sin but also from Actual sin. He then brings up three objections or difficulties, and, lastly, gives the doctrine which is to be held “*Dicendum, quod consentiendum est rationibus primis.*” He then solves the three objections.

But not only in this volume, and as we shall show later on, in those parts of his works when the blessed Albert is speaking, *ex professo*, of the Blessed Sacrament, does he maintain that Our Blessed Lord offered full satisfaction for all sins upon the Cross; but in the very treatise quoted by Mr. Gore, *only a few lines distant* from the words he condemns, does our holy Doctor plainly teach this truth. Thus, in explaining the words of the

Psalm lxxviii., "Persecuti sunt me inimici mei injuste : quæ non rapui, tunc exolvebam, dum scilicet pro debitis omnium sufficiens sacrificium in cruce offerebam."

"My enemies persecuted me unjustly, then did I pay that which I took not away, that is to say, when I offered up on the Cross a sufficient sacrifice for the sins (or the debts due to the sins) of all." Surely we may ask if Mr. Gore really even opened any one of the 24 volumes of the Blessed Albertus Magnus, and if he did not merely content himself with transcribing an extract given him by some friend.

Lastly, I maintain that the words quoted by Mr. Gore do not contradict the doctrine of the perfect satisfaction offered for all sin by Our Blessed Lord upon the Cross, but are merely the application of a truth acknowledged by all Catholic theologians.

And, firstly, I maintain that the words quoted by Mr. Gore do not contain even an *apparent contradiction* to this doctrine. The blessed Albert does not say that the Sacrifice of the Cross was offered *only* for the remission of Original sin, but he proclaims two Catholic truths : that Our Blessed Lord offered up satisfaction for Original sin on the Cross, and that, in the holy Sacrifice of the Altar, Christ is truly offered to obtain pardon for and remission of the daily sins of mankind. Why this distinction is here drawn between Original and Actual sin I will now proceed to show.

In the above-mentioned *Distinctio XIX.*, Art. I, the Blessed Albert expresses himself thus :

Justification may be considered either in general or in particular, *i.e.*, either as applying to the whole human race fallen in Adam, or to each individual of the race. But, again, justification may be considered in its cause. As a cause, justification may be considered from four points of view. We may inquire what is (a) its meritorious cause ? (b) its efficient cause ? (c) its sacramental cause ? (d) its formal cause ?

(a) The meritorious cause of man's justification was the Passion and Death of Christ upon the Cross (considered as the consummation and crown of His Incarnation and Divine life). By His Passion he merited "in condignum" (*i.e.*, by absolute right, by paying a perfect superabundant ransom) the pardon and justification of all sin, Original and Actual.

(b) The efficient cause of man's justification is the Godhead. It was because by the Hypostatic Union Christ was not only true man, but also true God, that His sacrifice was efficacious and infinitely sufficient.

(c) The sacramental cause of man's justification, *i.e.*, the means whereby the infinite merits of Christ's death are applied to each

individual soul, is, for original sin, Baptism ; for post-baptismal actual sin, Penance.”\*

But this is also true of the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, though in a different way. In Penance the merits of Christ’s Death are applied to the individual soul by the judicial sentence of absolution for all mortal sins, and for those venial sins which are submitted to its jurisdiction. In the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar these merits are applied by offering the same holy Victim once slain on the Cross, and really present on the sacred Altar, to the Eternal Father, that by this offering, the merits of Christ’s Passion may be applied to all men, on earth and in purgatory, for the remission of pain and guilt, *i.e.*, the guilt of sin and of all penalties due to sin, not for the remission of Original sin, already effaced by Baptism, but for the remission of Actual daily sins.

However, the blessed Albertus (in lib. 4 Sent. Dist. xiii. Art. 25, Vol. xvi. p. 211) explains that the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar was *not* ordained *directly* for the remission of sin, either mortal or venial, but rather for the strengthening of our souls against that weakness which is the *effect* both of Original and Actual sin.

The Sacrifice of the Cross was *once* (semel) offered, and by it meritorious satisfaction was given for all sin, Original and Actual. In Baptism the merits of this Sacrifice are *once* (semel) applied to each individual for the remission of Original sin. No new satisfaction is given, but the merits of Christ’s Passion are applied to a particular soul.

In the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist these merits are frequently, over and over again, applied for the remission, not of Original sin already effaced in Baptism, but of Actual sin. This is why the blessed Albert speaks of the Sacrifice of the Cross being *once* offered for Original sin, and the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar being *daily* offered for Actual sin. Had he, by a prophetic vision, foreseen readers who, unlike the serious students of the Middle Ages, skim through a book instead of studying it, he would have spoken here more fully ; but as he has elsewhere explained the Sacrifice of the Cross to be the meritorious cause of man’s redemption and of all the graces of the Sacraments, and as he, in this very Treatise, explains that the Divine Sacrifices of Masses are not new and distinct sacrifices, but one and the same with that of the Cross, greater prolixity was not necessary, and would have been out of place.

The title of this treatise is “*De Sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento Sermones plane Divini,*” and takes up the portion of

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\* Loc. cit.

vol. xii., from page 247 to page 300. The blessed Albertus first treats of the Blessed Sacrament as a Communion and then as a Sacrifice. Under this last heading he shows why the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass must be often offered. He quotes Paschasius:—"Although all sins are remitted in Baptism, nevertheless the infirmity of sin remains, and because we daily fall at least into venial sin, therefore Christ is daily offered, in order that He who by dying once conquered death, so by the Holy Sacrament He may deliver us daily from our frequent falls." But to show that this is no new sacrifice, he quotes the words of St. Ambrose:—"As what is offered everywhere is one and the same Body, so it is one and the same Sacrifice. Christ once on the Cross once offered a Sacrifice for all, and the same victim we now offer."\*

The blessed Albertus, with that wonderful completeness of the best scholastics, forestalls the objection that this frequent offering of the Holy Sacrifice is an indignity offered to the Sacrifice once for all offered on the Cross. In the Fourth Book on the Sentences, *Distinctio XIII.*, he asks if the Holy Mass is a real sacrifice, and if Christ is often immolated? He distinguishes as to the sense these words may mean, and then replies that that which is consecrated and offered is rightly to be called a sacrifice, because it is a memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and holy immolation made on the Altar of the Cross. Christ died upon the Cross, and there immolated Himself; but He is also daily immolated in the Blessed Sacrament, because therein is made a commemoration (*recordatio*) of what was once done. To the question whether Christ is immolated in every sacrifice, he answers in the affirmative, and then to the objection that by these words an occasion is given to heresy (for a representation of death signifies death, and "Christ risen from the dead dieth no more"), he replies that this would only be the case if it were asserted that Christ's death was reiterated, but the contrary is maintained. Again, to the objection that an injury is done to the perfect sufficiency of the one sacrifice, by which St. Paul says Christ offered Himself *once*, if we say that Christ offers Himself every day; he answers that no injury is offered to the Sacrifice of the Cross, because the *same thing* is always offered, "et sub uno effectu;" but if some other victim were sought for slaying, or for procuring our redemption, then, indeed, an injury would be offered to Christ's death.†

Seeking the cause of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, he mentions two—"the increase of Charity, and to have a remedy for our daily infirmities. Thus St. Ambrose, If, whenever Christ's blood is shed, it is shed for the remission of sin, I must always

\* Loc. cit. Pars. vi. Sermo xxv. p. 288.

† Art. XXIII.

receive it, who am always sinning. I must ever have recourse to the remedy.” And, again, St. Augustine: “This oblation is daily repeated, although Christ suffered but once, because of our daily sins. . . . Because we fall daily, daily also Christ is in a mystical manner immolated for us.”

This, then, in a few words, is the doctrine of the blessed Albertus Magnus, plainly set forth in his works, and as plainly taught in all ages by the Catholic Church: Our Divine Lord consummated the work of man’s Redemption by His death on the Cross when He paid a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; this is the “*Causa Meritoria*” of justification, and can never be repeated. The merits of this perfect satisfaction are applied to each individual soul for the remission of Original sin once only in Baptism, and frequently in Penance for the remission of Actual sin.

In the All Holy Sacrifice of the Mass the self-same victim, once slain upon the Cross, is offered daily for the application of those satisfactory merits obtained by the death of Christ upon the Cross, not for the remission of Original sin, already effaced by Baptism, but for the remission of Actual daily sins.

I have sufficient confidence in the loyalty of Mr. Gore to believe that he will lose no time, after reading this explanation, in admitting his mistake, and in acquitting our holy Doctor of heresy, in as public a manner as he unhappily made the accusation.

Mr. Gore, in his third edition, not satisfied with his attack on the blessed Albertus Magnus, brings up, with as little foundation, the charge of a new heresy forming in the Catholic Church of the present day. He says:

A view has recently become prevalent, both popularly and in theology, in the Roman Church, which makes each Mass a substantive sacrifice, distinct from, though dependent upon, the sacrifice of the Cross. Christ, it is contended, gives Himself afresh to be sacrificed in each Mass at the hands of the priest. Each Mass is a fresh “self-emptying,” a fresh “immolation,” a renewed reduction of Christ to a state of humiliation. Without this it would not be a proper sacrifice. —(p. 176.)

In this passage many distinctions would have to be made as to the use of the words “substantive,” “distinct from,” “gives Himself afresh.”

But the Blessed Albertus has already treated the subject in the quotations we have given above. He there shows that, although with St. Augustine, we must admit that Christ is immolated daily, yet, nevertheless, no injury is thereby done to the Sacrifice of the Cross, because one and the same victim, once slain,

is offered. If the Holy Mass is a *real* Sacrifice, there must be in it a true self-emptying.

All Catholic theologians ever held that each celebration of Holy Mass is a proper, perfect, propitiatory sacrifice; *in the strictest sense of the words*, and that it contains *all* the essential qualities of a sacrifice. What has confused Mr. Gore, unacquainted with the language of the Schools, is the difference of opinion as to the exact essence of the mystical immolation of the Divine Victim; whether it consists in the mystical separation of the Body and Blood, by the separate consecration of the Species, or whether it does not rather consist in that mystical change, whereby the All Holy appears under such humble forms, and places His sacred Body and Blood in the power of the priest, not resisting even the awful profanations to which this Divine Sacrament is exposed. These differences of opinion on matters which are not revealed truths, merely prove the wise liberty of the Church, and the perfect unity of all her children on all dogmas of the Faith. "In dubiis libertas."

We Catholics have the right to complain, and to protest earnestly, against the careless levity with which seemingly thoughtful Protestants undertake to criticize our doctrines. Not to take higher grounds, Catholic theology has a sufficiently prominent place in the literary history of the world, to merit at least careful study and correct enunciation.

Like every Catholic writer, I had to suffer bitterly from this unseemly levity on the part of the critics of my book, "What are the Catholic Claims?" When such men as Canon MacColl, who passes for a theologian, and has lately given some lectures on the Nicene Creed, which are not without merit, ventures to review Catholic books like mine and those of Father Rivington, and in a cultured paper like the *Spectator*, gives such proofs of ignorance concerning doctrines very plainly taught in the Catholic child's Penny Catechism, when he calls definitions, *ex cathedra*, "if ever there have been such," speeches Pius IX. made to pilgrims at audiences granted them in the Vatican, when he imagines that, because some theologians consider the participation of three bishops in every consecration necessary, it is a proof that, therefore, they held to the necessity of three *distinct and independent consecrators*, surely it is time to cry out, and say: "Gentlemen, condemn us if you like, but at least hear first what we have got to say, so that you may know *what* you are condemning."

I cannot finish without offering my sincere and grateful thanks to Monsignor Abbeloos, Rector Magnificus of the famous University of Louvain, the Rev. Father Dommermuth, O.P., of the same University, and Rev. Father De Augustinis, S.J., the

learned Professor of the Roman University, for their valuable help. Without their indications I fear that I should never have been able to shape my article into a concise form, and I might have taken months and years to discover what I wanted with much labour, whereas, working under their guidance, my few weeks of study and research have been, for me, a most delightful, and, I trust, a profitable task.

AUSTIN RICHARDSON.

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ART. VI.—AËROPÆDIA.

**A**RTIFICIAL flight is by no means an idea confined to mediæval or modern times. Setting aside its consideration as a poetical and legendary attribute, there are tolerably authentic accounts, if not of the actual flight of man, of the imitation of the movements of birds in well-constructed automata.

Archytas had a wooden dove capable of flight, and Regiomontanus made a wooden eagle. These, however, are mere historical records, and there are not many definite plans left us until 1683, when Wilkens, Bishop of Chester, published his plans of an aerial chariot. From that time to the present hardly a year has passed without the appearance of some proposal, more or less visionary, to solve the problem of aerial navigation. But these proposals have only resulted in ignominious failure, sometimes fatal to the experimenter; and this is hardly a matter of wonder when we consider that, for long, little or nothing was known of the laws of gravitation and of the medium to be controlled. The methodical study of the laws of the natural flight of birds and insects has been neglected up to the present time. It is, then, hardly just to condemn the student of aeronautics as one needing friendly care, until a complete series of experiments, conducted according to the light of present science, shall have shown the futility of the idea of artificial flight.

Aërostation may be considered under two heads. 1. Ballooning, in which ascent is gained by means of a gas specifically lighter than air. 2. True flight, in which the acts of rising and suspension are due to expended force. There are two obvious reasons why balloons have not been successfully navigated. It is difficult to apply a directive force at the point of suspension of the balloon, while any force applied to the car merely serves to tilt the balloon. Again, a body to be propelled against a

current of air, even that created by its own motion, must have a weight in proportion to its surface. This law will become apparent in endeavouring to throw a block of wood and a cube of paper to the same distance. It was for long generally supposed that birds were suspended or balanced by a certain volume of rarefied air confined in the lungs, bones, and feathers. But this explanation will not bear the least reflection.

Mr. Charles Sinclair managed in 1872 to raise himself with great practical success some fifteen feet in the air without the assistance of a specifically lighter material. The plan of the machine consisted in fastening to the body of the aëronaut a series of parallel aëro-planes, somewhat similar to a set of shelves made of light frame-work, covered with canvas, and arranged at about two or three inches from each other. Running against the wind with these quasi-wings attached to his body, Mr. Sinclair, in his first experiment, found himself elevated a few feet, when one of the planes shifted, and he was violently hurled to the ground. The machine mended, with several improvements in its construction, he again essayed to attain some slight elevation, and, with a preliminary run of 100 feet, rose steadily in the air to a height of fifteen feet. This experiment would seem to point to some modification of a boy's kite as a means of elevation. Any one who has seen a Canadian ice-boat has observed how, at the slightest check, such as that afforded by a small block of ice, the vessel is raised by the force of the wind upon the sails, and carried over the impediment. Similarly, a boy runs with his kite to raise it; but we must seek some other means of imparting the required momentum, probably by the inclined plane for that afforded by running.

If ever the important problem of artificial flight is to be solved, it is reasonable to conclude that the same laws and forces which produce natural flight must be discovered and applied. Imbued with this belief, Dr. Pettigrew made a series of elaborate inquiries into the structure and function of natural wings, and the peculiar properties requisite in artificial wings to produce artificial flight. Dr. Pettigrew was engaged in these researches since 1865, and carefully analyzed, figured, and described, not only the movements of the wings of insects, bats, and birds, but he also examined in detail the movements of a large number of animals fitted for swimming, such as the otter, seal, sea-bear, walrus, penguin, turtle, crocodile, porpoise, fish, &c.

By comparing the flippers of the seal, sea-bear, and walrus with the fin and tail of the fish, and the wing of the penguin (a bird which is incapable of flight, and can only swim and dive) with the wing of the insect, bat, and bird, he was able to show that a close analogy exists between the flippers, fins, and tails of



sea-mammals and fishes on the one hand, and the wings of insects, bats, and birds on the other; in fact, that theoretically and practically these organs, one and all, form flexible helices or screws, which, in virtue of their rapid reciprocating action, operate upon the water and air after the manner of double inclined planes. In all ages men have envied the powers of flight possessed by birds, and from ancient to modern times inventors and schemers have busied their brains with devices intended to confer upon humanity the desirable effect of aerial locomotion. For the most part, such effects have been made by a class of projectors whose folly and infatuation have thrown ridicule upon the idea. Over and over again, the most absurd contrivances have been represented as sure to achieve success—a little more money was the only thing required; and if a sympathizing public would only find the funds, blundering enthusiasts promised, and believed, that they would fly like jackdaws from the neighbouring steeple, or soar like eagles far above the haunts of men.

The establishment of an "Aëronautical Society" in this country in 1867, under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll, and with a council containing such men as Sir Charles Bright, William Fairbairn, and James Glaisher, has had the curious effect of raising expectations in scientific minds, that at last some form of flying apparatus may be made to succeed. Of late years, a partial study of the wings of birds, and of their methods of action, seem to show that flight was a physical impossibility to man. The size of the bird's wing was so large in proportion to the creature's weight, and it appeared to demand so great an amount of muscular force for its movements, that it seemed perfectly hopeless to expect that human muscles could wield an apparatus of the required dimensions, and with the velocities demanded, or that any mechanism could be constructed generating sufficient force in proportion to its weight. There has been exaggeration in the popular estimate of the force exerted in the operation of the very complicated and abstruse question, the flight of birds.

A weight of 150 pounds suspended from a surface of the same number of square feet will fall through the air at the rate of 1300 feet per minute, the force expended on the air being nearly six-horse power. Consequently, that power would be required to keep the same weight and surface suspended at a fixed altitude. A man can perform muscular work equal to raising his own weight, say 150 pounds, 22 feet per minute; but at this low rate of speed he would require to sustain him on the air a surface of 120,000 square feet, making no allowance for weight beyond his body. Thus attempts to construct bird-like wings, by which a

man could raise himself perpendicularly, appear quite impracticable.

Some of the pelicans on the Nile, which weigh 21 pounds, and whose wings measure 10 feet from end to end, during their flight make about 70 wing-strokes per minute, and when they float on the air a few strokes in each minute appear sufficient to sustain them, and there is no symptom of powerful exertion. It has been noticed that flocks of spoonbills flying at about 30 miles an hour, at less than 15 inches above the Nile's surface, do not create a sufficient commotion in the air to ripple the surface of the water. It has also been remarked that an eagle, impelled to activity by a charge of large shot rattling amongst his feathers, runs at least 20 yards before he can raise himself from the ground. Many other observations of birds are highly important, and enable us to form some conception of the way in which various kinds of wings perform their work.

A gnat expends in flying much more force, proportionally, than an eagle. In some insects the motion of the wings is so rapid as to be quite invisible. Most of them produce whilst flying a more or less acute buzzing sound, the pitch of which may be ascertained by means of any musical instrument, and this should, it seems, give us the number of beats of the wing per second. This number is 330 for the common house-fly, 290 for the bee, 140 for the wasp, 70 for the common moth, 28 for the dragon-fly, and about 8 for the common butterfly. These numbers represent the *double* vibration, *i.e.*, the rise and fall of the wing reckoned as one beat.

If a plane moves against the wind, or the wind against a plane, at the rate of 22 feet per second, 1320 feet per minute, or 15 miles an hour, a force of 1 pound per square foot is obtained. When a falling body having a weight of 1 pound to each foot of resisting surface reaches that velocity, the atmospheric resistance balances its weight, and keeps it from descending faster. A man and a parachute, weighing together 143 pounds, will not fall with a greater velocity if the parachute is kept in position, and has an area of 143 square feet. A fall of 8 feet brings a body to the earth with the same velocity, which is not sufficient to destroy life or limb. Swallows have a wing-surface of 2 square feet to the pound: some of the duck tribe which fly well little more than half a square foot, or 72 inches to the pound. If such birds allowed themselves to fall perpendicularly, with outstretched wings, they would reach the ground with an injurious velocity, but by descending obliquely they alight with ease and safety. This combination of a horizontal motion with a perpendicular one is of the greatest importance.

In the case of perpendicular descent, as a parachute, the sus-

taining effect will be much the same, whatever the figure of the outline of the superficies may be, and a circle affords, perhaps, the best resistance of any. Take, for example, a circle of 20 square feet (as possessed by the pelican) loaded with as many pounds. This, as just stated, will limit the rate of perpendicular descent to 1320 feet per minute. But instead of a circle 61 inches in diameter, if the area is bounded by a parallelogram 10 feet long by 2 broad, and whilst at perfect freedom to descend perpendicularly, let a force be applied exactly in a horizontal direction, so as to carry it edgeways, with the long side foremost, at a forward speed of 30 miles an hour—just double that of its passive descent—the rate of fall under these conditions will be decreased most remarkably, probably to less than one-fifteenth part, 88 feet per minute, or 1 mile per hour. This diminution of the descending velocity is occasioned by the resistance of the mass of air moved by the parachute in its horizontal course, and which necessarily becomes greater in proportion to the width of the parachute.

Among the experimental illustrations that have been suggested is the action of a thin blade, one inch wide and a foot long, fixed at right angles to a spindle on which it can be turned. If such an apparatus is immersed in a stream running in the direction of the spindle, and held at rest, the force which the blade has to resist will be simply that of the water-current acting on its surface, and the current will be checked to a corresponding extent. If, however, the spindle and blade are made to rotate rapidly the retarding effect against direct motion will now be increased over *tenfold*, and is equal to that due to the *entire area of the circle of revolution*. By trying the effect of blades of various widths it will be found that, for the purpose of effecting the maximum amount of resistance, the more rapidly the spindle revolves the narrower may be the blade.

It will be evident that if a column of air were rotating in the same direction, and with the same velocity as that of the vane and spindle, the movement of the vane would not be resisted by the air, and just to the extent to which the revolving vane communicates its own motion to the air, the reaction of the air against the motion of the vane will be lessened. If at each movement of its progress in a horizontal direction the vane acted upon a stratum of air whose *vis inertiae* had not been disturbed, the maximum of reaction would be obtained. In a very ingenious way these facts have been applied to the action of the long wings of swallows and other birds characterized by the length of their flying apparatus, to show the great mechanical disadvantage at which a bird or a machine must operate in order to raise a weight *perpendicularly*, as compared with raising it obliquely. It does

not appear that any large bird can raise itself perpendicularly in a still atmosphere, but pigeons can accomplish it approximately to a moderate height, and the humming-bird, by the extremely rapid vibration of its pinions, can sustain itself for one minute in still air in the same position—the muscular force required for this feat being much greater than for any other performance of flight. The wings uphold the weight, not by striking vertically downwards upon the air, but as inclined surfaces reciprocating horizontally like a screw, but wanting in its continuous rotation in one direction, and, therefore, with some loss of power from the rapid alternation of motion.

To rise from the ground, a bird must spring. Now, as their strength is nearly proportionate to their size, and as the quantity of work necessary to accomplish a bound of a given height is also proportionate to the weight, it follows that all birds, whatever their size, spring nearly to the same height. But the extent of spring accomplished by the smaller species is sufficient to enable them to flap their wings without bringing them into contact with the ground; this is not the case with larger birds, such as the eagle or the albatross, the latter is obliged to run for some distance along the ground before it can rise. When it has thus acquired a certain amount of horizontal velocity, it suddenly opens its wings as if to soar, and the extended surface tends to counterbalance the effects of gravitation. It is, at this moment, that it springs, and rises at once to a sufficient height to flap its wings. Many large birds, such as the eagle and the condor, generally avoid settling on the ground, and remain perched on high rocks, from whence they can easily soar into space.

A bird is sustained in the air by the *weight* of that *fluid*, and the sustaining power of its wings will depend upon the quantity or weight of air that would have to be displaced by its fall. By a wide stretch of wing, and a horizontal motion, the resistance is maximized, and a long-winged bird that has raised itself in the air may avoid falling by maintaining a certain horizontal velocity with a moderate expenditure of force.

A kite is sustained and moved obliquely by the force of the wind and the weight of the air which its fall must displace. Thus, there is some analogy between a wing and a kite, it being mechanically pretty much the same thing whether a breeze blows against a resisting surface, or a resisting surface is moved against a mass of air. Captain Dansey, who made an experiment with a kite, having a surface of only 55 square feet, raised a weight of  $92\frac{1}{4}$  pounds in a strong breeze, and he considers that exploring kites might be safer and more convenient than exploring balloons for purposes of war, though their employment would be dependent on the force of the wind.

A thin stratum of air is displaced beneath the wings of a bird in rapid flight, and it follows that, in order to obtain the necessary *length* of plane for supporting heavy weights, the surfaces may be superposed, or placed in parallel rows, with an interval between them. A dozen pelicans may fly one above another without mutual impediment, as if framed together; and it is thus shown how two hundred weights may be supported in a transverse distance of only 10 feet.

Many facts discovered of late years in reference to the action of screws as substitutes for paddles in steam navigation, and in relation to the flight of various shaped projectiles, may come in aid of the aëronautist.

Since Professor Pettigrew enunciated his views (1867) as to the screw configuration and elastic properties of natural wings, and more especially since his introduction of *spiral-elastic artificial wings*, and *elastic screws*, a great revolution has taken place in the construction of flying models.

Elastic aëro-planes have been advocated by Mr. Brown, elastic aërial screws by M. Armour, and elastic aëro-planes, wings, and screws, by M. Pénaud.

The first suggestion known regarding the history of the screw as applied to the air was given by Pauton in 1768. This author, in his treatise on the "Théorie de la Vis d'Archimède," describes a machine provided with two screws which he calls a "ptéro-phores." In 1796, Sir George Cayley gave a practical illustration of the efficacy of the screw as applied to the air by constructing a small machine, consisting of two screws made of quill feathers. Cayley's screws were peculiar, inasmuch as they were superimposed and rotated in opposite directions. He estimated that if the area of the screws was increased to 200 square feet, and moved by a man, they would elevate him.

Other experimenters followed Cayley at moderate intervals—Deghen in 1816, Ottoris Sarti in 1823, and Dubochet in 1834. These inventors all constructed flying models on the vertical screw principle. In 1842 Mr. Philips succeeded in elevating a steam model by the aid of revolving fans, which flew across two fields after having attained a great altitude; and in 1859 Mr. Bright took out a patent for a machine to be sustained by vertical screws, the model of which is to be seen at the Patent Museum, Kensington, London. In 1863 the subject of aviation by vertical screws received a fresh impulse from the experiments of MM. Ponton d'Amécourt, De la Landelle, and Nadar, who exhibited models driven by clock-work springs, which ascended with graduated weights a distance of from 10 to 12 feet. These models were so fragile that they usually broke in coming in contact with the ground in their descent. Their flight, more-

over, was unsatisfactory, from the fact that it only lasted a few seconds.

Stimulated by the success of his spring models, M. Ponton d'Amécourt had a small steam model constructed. This model, which was shown at the Exhibition of the Aëronautical Society of Great Britain at the Crystal Palace in 1868, consisted of two superposed screws propelled by an engine, the steam of which was generated (for lightness) in an aluminium boiler. This steam model proved a failure, inasmuch as it only lifted a third of its own weight.

Several other inventors succeeded in making models fly by the aid of aëroplanes and screws, as, *e.g.*, Mr. Stringfellow in 1847, M. du Temple in 1857, and M. Jullien in 1858.

Professor Marey endeavoured to construct an artificial insect on the plan advocated by Borelli in 1670, who was the first to give an account of artificial wings; but the professor signally failed.

MM. Villeneuve and Pénaud constructed their winged models on different types, the former selecting the bat, the latter the bird.

Mr. Stringfellow constructed a successful flying-machine in 1868 in which aëro-planes were combined with aërial-screws. This model was on view at the Exhibition of the Aëronautical Society of Great Britain, held at the Crystal Palace, London, in the above-mentioned year. It was remarkably compact, elegant and light, and obtained the £100 prize of the Exhibition for its engine, which was the lightest and most powerful ever constructed. M. de Lôme in 1872 proposed to remove seven out of the eight men employed to work the screw of his aërial ship, and substitute an engine of eight-horse power, with one man as engineer. The ballast was then to consist of the fuel and water, while the aërostat could be impelled at the rate of 14 miles an hour, at a much larger angle, with the plane of direction of the wind.

It is remarkable that previous to the invention of balloons, flying-machines were pet schemes with many philosophers.

If aërial navigation is ever to assume practical importance, it must be through the agency of some mechanism more manageable and less liable to derangement than an enormous bag filled with a material that has the greatest possible aptitude for escaping through the minutest pores.

A certain proposition in physics, known as the "Principle of Archimedes," runs to the following effect:—"Every body plunged into a liquid loses a portion of its weight equal to the weight of the fluid which it displaces." Every one has verified the principle, and knows that objects are much lighter in water than out of it; a body plunged into water being acted upon by

two forces—its own weight, which tends to sink it and resistance from below, which tends to bear it up. But this principle applies to gas as well as to liquids, to air, as well as to water. When we weigh a body in the air, we do not find its absolute weight, but that weight *minus* the weight of the air which the body displaces. In order to know the exact weight of an object, it would be necessary to weigh it in a vacuum. If an object thrown into the air is heavier than the air which it displaces, it descends, and falls upon the earth; if it is lighter, it rises until it comes to a stratum of air of less weight or density than itself. We all know, of course, that the higher you rise from the earth the density of the air diminishes. The stratum of air that lies upon the surface of the earth is the heaviest, because it supports the pressure of all the other strata that lie above. Thus, the lightest strata are the highest.

The principle of the construction of balloons is therefore in perfect harmony with physical laws. Balloons are simply globes, made of a light, air-tight material, filled with hot air or hydrogen gas, which rise in the air *because they are lighter than the air they displace*.

The application of this principle appeared so simple, that at the time when the news of the invention of the balloon was spread abroad the astronomer, Lalande, wrote:—"At this news we all cry, This must be!" "Why did we not think of it before?" It had been thought of before as I shall endeavour to show. Roger Bacon, writing in the thirteenth century, in his "Treaty of the Admirable Power of Art and Nature," puts forth the idea "that it is possible to make flying-machines in which the man being seated or suspended in the middle, might turn some winch or crank, which would put in motion a suit of wings made to strike the air like those of a bird."

In the same treatise he sketches a flying-machine, to which that of Blanchard, who lived in the eighteenth century, bears a certain resemblance. The monk, Roger Bacon, was worthy of entering the temple of fame before his great namesake the Lord Chancellor, who, in the seventeenth century, inaugurated the era of experimental science.

The scientific principle on which balloons are founded was exhibited at Edinburgh in 1767, by Dr. Black, Professor of Chemistry, who announced to his audience that a vessel filled with hydrogen gas would rise naturally into the air; it was tried in 1782, by Professor Cavallo, who filled soap bubbles with hydrogen gas, and saw them rise rapidly in the air on account of their specific lightness. From the labours of Lana and Galien, with their impossible flying-machines, the inventor of the balloon could derive no benefit whatever; nor is his fame to be in the

least diminished because many had laboured in the same field before him. Nor can the story of the *Ovoador*, or flying-man, a legend very confused, and of which there are many versions, have given to Montgolfièr any valuable hints. The first balloon, Montgolfièr's, was simply filled with hot air; and it was because Montgolfièr exclusively made use of hot air that balloons so filled were named Montgolfièrs. Of course, we see at a glance that hot air is lighter than cold air, because it has become expanded, and occupies more space—that is to say, a volume of hot air contains actually less air than a volume of the same size of air that has not been heated. The difference between the weight of the hot air and the cold which it displaces is greater than the weight of the covering of the balloon. Therefore the balloon mounts. And, seeing that air diminishes in density the higher we ascend, the balloon can rise only to that stratum of air of the same density as the air it contains. As the warm air cools it gently descends. Again, as the atmosphere is always moving in currents more or less strong, the balloon follows the direction of the current of the stratum of air in which it finds itself. Thus, we see how simply the ascent of Montgolfièrs and their motions are explained. It is the same with gas balloons. A balloon, filled with hydrogen gas, displaces an equal number of atmospheric air; but as the gas is much lighter than the air, it is pushed up by a force equal to the difference of the density of air and hydrogen gas. The balloon then rises in the atmosphere to where it reaches layers of air of a density exactly equal to its own, and when it gets there remains poised in its place. In order that it may descend, it is necessary to let out a portion of the hydrogen gas, and admit an equal quantity of atmospheric air; and the balloon does not come to the ground till all, or nearly all, the gas has been expelled and common air taken in.

Balloons inflated with hydrogen gas are almost the only ones in use at the present day. Scarcely ever is a Montgolfièr sent up. There are aëronauts, however, who prefer a journey in a Montgolfièr to one in a gas-balloon. The air-voyager in this description of balloon had many difficulties to contend with. The quantity of combustible material which he was bound to carry with him; the very little difference there is between the density of heated and cold air; the necessity of feeding the fire and watching it without a moment's cessation, as it hangs in the *réchaud* over the middle of the car, rendered this sort of air-travelling subject to many dangers and difficulties. M. Eugène Godard obviated a portion of this difficulty by fitting a chimney, like that which is found of such incalculable service in the case of the Davy lamp. It is principally on account of this improvement that Montgolfièr rose so highly in popular esteem.



Generally, it is not pure hydrogen that is made use of in the inflation of balloons. Aëronauts content themselves with the gas which we burn in our streets and houses, and thus it suffices, in inflating the balloon, to obtain from the nearest gas-works the quantity of gas necessary, and to lead it, by means of a pipe or tube, from the gasometer to the mouth or neck of the machine.

The idea of the valve, as well as that of the sand ballast, is due to the physician Charles. They enable the aëronaut to ascend or descend with facility. When he wishes to mount, he throws over his ballast; when he wants to come down, he lets the gas escape by the valve at the roof of the balloon. This valve is worked by means of a spring, having a long rope attached to it, which hangs down through the neck to the car, where the aëronaut sits. An ordinary balloon, with a lifting power sufficient to carry up three persons, with necessary ballast and *material*, is about 50 feet high, 35 feet in diameter, and 2250 cubic feet in capacity. Of such a balloon the accessories—the skin, the network, the car—would weigh about 335 lbs. To find out the height at which he has arrived, the aëronaut consults his barometer. We know that it is the pressure of the air up the cup of the barometer that raises the mercury in the tube. The heavier the air is the higher is the barometer. At the level of the sea the column of mercury stands at 32 inches; at 3250 feet—the air being at this elevation lighter—the mercury stands at 28 inches; at 6500 feet above sea level it stands at 25 inches; at 10,000 feet it falls to 22 inches; at 20,000 feet to 15 inches. These, however, are merely the theoretic results, and are subject to some slight variation, according to the locality, &c. Sometimes the aëronaut makes his descent by means of the parachute, a separate and distinct contrivance. If, from any cause, it appears impracticable to effect a descent from the balloon itself, the parachute may be of the greatest service to the voyager. At the present day it is only used to astonish the public, by showing them the spectacle of a man who, from a great elevation in the air, precipitates himself into space, not to escape dangers which threaten him in his balloon, but simply to exhibit his courage and skill. Nevertheless, parachutes are often of great actual use, and aëronauts frequently attach them to their balloons as a precautionary measure before setting out on an aërial excursion. The shape of a parachute very much resembles that of the well-known and serviceable umbrella.

The virtues of the parachute were first tried upon animals. Thus, Blanchard allowed his dog to fall in one from a height of 6500 feet. A gust of wind caught the falling parachute and

swept it away up above the clouds. Afterwards, the aëronaut in his balloon fell in with the dog in the parachute, both of them high up in the cloudy reaches of the sky; and the poor animal manifested by his barking his joy at seeing his master. A new current separated the aërial voyagers; but the parachute, with its canine passenger, reached the ground safely a short time after Blanchard had landed from his balloon.

Experience has proved that, in the case of a descending parachute, if the rapidity of the descent is doubled the resistance of the air is quadrupled; if the rapidity is triple, the resistance is increased ninefold; or, to speak in the language of science, the resistance of the air is increased by the square of the swiftness of the body in motion. This resistance increases in proportion as the parachute spreads, and thus the uniformity of its fall is established a minute after it has been disengaged from the balloon. We can therefore check the descent of a body by giving it a surface capable of distension by the action of the air.

Garnerin, in the year 1802, conceived the bold design of letting himself fall from a height of 1200 feet, and he accomplished the exploit before the Parisians. When he had reached the height he had fixed beforehand, he cut the rope which connected the parachute with the balloon. At first the fall was terribly rapid, but as soon as the parachute spread out the rapidity was considerably diminished. The machine made, however, enormous oscillations. The air, gathering and compressed under it, would sometimes escape by one side, sometimes by the other, thus shaking and whirling the parachute about with a violence which, however great, had happily no unfortunate effect.

The origin of the parachute is more remote than is generally supposed, as there was a figure of one which appeared among a collection of machines at Venice in 1617.

The most extravagant balloon project was that of Robertson, who published a scheme for making a tour of the world. He called it "*La Minerva*," an aërial vessel destined for discoveries, and proposed to all the Academies of Europe, by Robertson, Physicist (Vienna, 1804; reprinted at Paris, 1820).

Robertson's proposed machine was to be 150 feet in diameter, and would be capable of carrying 150,000 pounds. Every precaution was to be taken in order to make this great structure perfect. It was to accommodate sixty persons, to be chosen by the Academies, who should stay in it for several months, should rise to all possible elevations, pass through all climates in all seasons, make scientific observations, &c. This balloon, which was to penetrate deserts inaccessible by other means of travel, and visit places which travellers had never penetrated, was to be of immense use in the science of geography, and when under the Line, if the

heat near the earth should be inconvenient, the aëronauts would, of course, easily rise to elevations where the temperature is equal and agreeable. When their observations, their needs, or their pleasures demanded it, they could descend to within a short distance of the earth—say 90 feet—and fix themselves in their position by means of an anchor. The immensity of the seas seemed to be the only source of insurmountable difficulties.

But [says Robertson] over what a vast space might not one travel in six months with a balloon fully furnished with the necessaries of life and all the appliances necessary for safety? Besides, if, through the natural imperfection attaching to all the works of man, or either through accident or age, the balloon, borne above the sea, became incapable of sustaining the travellers, it is provided with a boat, which can withstand the waters and guarantee the return of the voyagers.

It is probable that at the origin of navigation, man, before he had invented oars and sails, made use of trunks of trees upon which he trusted himself, leaving the rest to the winds and the currents of the water, whether these were known or unknown. There is some analogy between such rude rafts, the first discovered means of navigation on water, and balloons, the first discovered means of navigation in air. But unquestionably the advantage is with the latter.

No means have yet been found of directly steering balloons, but by allowing the gas to escape the aëronaut can descend at will, and by lightening his car of part of the ballast he carries he can ascend as readily. It must also be remembered that the currents of air vary in their directions, according to their elevation, and were the aëronaut perfectly acquainted with aërial currents, he might, by raising or lowering himself, find a wind blowing in the direction in which he wished to proceed, and the last problem of aërostation would be solved. That any such knowledge can ever be acquired it is impossible to say; but this much may with safety be advanced, that distant journeys may frequently be taken by balloons for useful purposes.

One of the most remarkable excursions of this kind was that superintended by Green, in 1836, from London to Germany. This journey, 1200 miles in length, is the longest that has yet been accomplished. Mr. Green was the first who substituted common coal gas for hydrogen as an inflating medium, thereby effecting a great saving of cost.

A vast amount of ingenuity has been expended upon ballooning with an almost profitless result. Mr. Green made an attempt to control and regulate the course of a balloon. He devised a form of windmill, which he placed in front of the machine, to ra to an aërial current having the direction it was desired to take.

M. Trauson invented an *aëronef*, or air-ship, consisting of two balloons attached to each other by a cable. The velocity was regulated by means of sails.

In 1840 Messrs. Ramwell and Marsh conceived a complicated machine, in which twenty small balloons were attached to a light frame-work.

M. Eubriot invented an oblong balloon with sails attached to the car.

None of these experiments, however, achieved any practically useful result.

In 1844 M. Monge constructed, at Paris, a copper balloon.

In the construction of balloons experts have proposed various shapes time after time, *e.g.*, that of the egg, the fish, the fan, and the kite.

In 1853 Lord Carlingford placed in the Dublin Exhibition a model of his "Archædon," or aerial chariot. It was formed of a boat with a wheel in front and two behind; at the sides were a couple of concave wings; there was also a tail.

In 1856 a model of an "Archimedean balloon" was exhibited, in which a variety of ingenious appliances were combined; the balloon itself was of cylindrical form, with hemispherical ends; there were paddles to give it a progressive motion, there was a screw to steer it, there was a chemical engine to supply it with motive power; but the project has never been carried out.

The energetic Parisian photographer, M. Nadar, may assert his claim as the inventor of the largest aerial machine which up to this period has ever ascended into the upper air. The monster machine made its first ascent on October 4th, 1863, the somewhat approximate name of "Le Géant" being given to it. This balloon was remarkable as having attached to it a regular two-story house for a car. Its ascent was witnessed by nearly half a million of persons. The balloon, after passing over the eastern part of France, Belgium, and Hanover, suffered a disastrous descent in the latter country, the day after it had started on its perilous journey. The expenses of the construction of the balloon amounted, directly and indirectly, to the sum of £8300. Its two ascents in Paris and its exhibition in London produced only £3300.

M. Babinet, speaking on the subject of aerial locomotion before the French Polytechnic Association three or four years ago, said:—

I bought a plaything, very much in vogue at that time, called a Stropheor. This toy was composed of a small rotating screw propeller, which revolved on its own support when the piece of string wound round it was pulled sharply. The screw was rather heavy, weighing nearly a quarter of a pound; and the wings were of tin, very

broad and thick. This machine, however, was rather too eccentric for parlour use, for its flight was so violent that it was continually breaking the pier glass, if there was one in the room; and, failing this, it next attacked the windows. The ascending force of this machine is so great that I have seen one of them fly over Antwerp Cathedral, which is one of the highest edifices in the world. The air from beneath the machine is exhausted by the action of the screw, which, passing under the wings, causes a vacuum, while the air above it replenishes and fills this void; and under the influence of these two causes the apparatus mounts from the earth. But the problem is not solved by means of this plaything, whose motive power is exterior to it. Messrs. Nadar, Ponton d'Amécourt, and De La Landelle teach us better than this, although the wings of their different models are entirely unworthy of men who desire to demonstrate a truth to short-lived mortals. We have only arrived as yet at the infancy of the process; but we have made a good beginning, for, having once proved that a machine capable of raising itself in the air, wholly unaided from without, can be made, we have overcome with this apparently small result the whole difficulty.

It is to Mr. Glaisher and Mr. Coxwell, however, that the highest honours of scientific aërostation belong. The ascents made by these gentlemen—Mr. Glaisher being the scientific observer, and Mr. Coxwell the practical aëronaut—have become matters of history. Not only did they, in the course of a large number of ascents undertaken under the auspices of the British Association, succeed in gathering much valuable meteorological information, but they reached a greater height than that ever gained on any previous or subsequent occasion, and penetrated into that distant region of the skies in which it has been satisfactorily proved that no life can be long sustained.

It was on September 5, 1862, that Mr. Glaisher and Mr. Coxwell made their famous ascent, in which they reached the greatest height, viz., seven miles, ever attained by any aëronaut, and were so nearly sacrificed to their unselfish daring.

In this ascent six pigeons were taken up. One was thrown out at the height of three miles, when it extended its wings and dropped like a piece of paper; the second, at four miles, flew vigorously round and round, apparently taking a dip each time; a third was thrown out between four and five miles, and it fell downwards as a stone. A fourth was thrown out at four miles on, flew in a circle, and shortly alighted on the top of the balloon. The remaining two pigeons were brought down to the ground.

The number of pulsations [says Mr. Glaisher] is usually increased with elevation, as also the number of inspirations; the number of my pulsations was generally 76 per minute before starting, about 90 at 10,000 feet, 100 at 20,000 feet, and 110 at higher elevations; but the increase of height was not the only element, for the

number of pulsations depended also on the health of the individual. They also, of course, varied in different persons, depending much on their temperament. This was the case, too, in respect to colour—at 10,000 feet the face of some would be of a glowing purple, whilst others would scarcely be effected. At 17,000 feet my lips were blue; at 19,000 feet both my hands and lips were dark blue; at four miles high the pulsations of my heart were audible, and my breathing was very much effected; at 29,000 feet I became insensible.

According to Mr. Glaisher the perfect stillness of the region six miles from the earth is such that no sound reaches the ear.

In the propagation of sound Mr. Glaisher made many curious experiments. In one ascent he found, when at a distance of 11,800 feet above the earth, that a band was heard; at a height of 22,000 feet a clap of thunder was heard; and at a height of 10,070 feet the report of a gun was heard. On one occasion he heard the dull hum of London at a height of 9000 feet above the city, and on another occasion the shouting of many thousands of persons could not be heard at the height of 4000 feet.

Scarcely had the first ascents astonished the world than the more adventurous spirits began to use the new discovery for a thousand purposes directly useful to man. The first point of view in which aërostation was regarded was in that of its practical utility. In 1794 the Committee of Public Safety employed balloons in the observation of the forces and the movements of hostile troops, and the French armies were provided with two companies of aëronauts.

In the disastrous Franco-Prussian War—1870-72—balloons again played an important part—notably during the siege of Paris, when no less than fifty-four balloons left that city between September 20, 1870, and January 28, 1871, charged with letters and despatches; the letters thus transported being about 2,500,000 in number, and weighing altogether about ten tons. Besides this freight about a hundred persons were conveyed from Paris by these Postal balloons. Unfortunately, the return of these aërial messengers could not be effected, the route followed by them being at the will of the wind. One of them, “*La Ville d’Orléans*,” came down in Norway; two or three, indeed, were lost, probably in the sea.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

## ART. VII.—MR. GLADSTONE AND BLESSED JOHN FISHER.

WE are grateful to Mr. Gladstone for giving us a patient hearing. Too often Catholics complain of injustice or answer an accusation without effect, because they meet with no attention. Even in historical matters, and in questions of fact, prejudice has been so strong that we hardly succeed in obtaining a hearing, or nothing but a superficial one at best. This naturally is the case when conclusions are at stake, more or less affected by the facts under discussion; and practically men too often say *tant pis pour les faits*, when the facts are not what their conclusions require. The "continuity" of the Church of England is one of those cherished conclusions. That the Established Church of the present day is the lineal descendant of the Church of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Thomas, and of Warham, and Fisher and More, is maintained by many members of the Established Church, whose sympathies are with the saints and martyrs of the old time rather than with Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth. The truth of this theory or its falsehood does not depend solely on historical facts, but also upon doctrines, and the doctrines are more certain and more conclusive than any facts that can be alleged; but the truth of statements respecting the facts is very interesting and extremely important. Mr. Gladstone has recognized the value of the doctrines involved, and has himself fairly stated the theological propositions which, if established, would neutralize his historical inquiry. We quoted them from his pages in our former article on this subject.\* They amount to this, that the changes of doctrine, of rite, and of law, that took place at the Reformation, each of them touched essentials of the true Church, so that the religious body that existed after such changes could not be regarded as the very same as the Church that had all those essentials untouched. It was fair of Mr. Gladstone to acknowledge the predominance of doctrine in the solution of the question; and an indication of an honest intention to seek for truth is manifest in all that he has written on the subject. If we, or any other Catholic writer, have used a hard word about him, it is because under these circumstances it is trying to human nature to see an honest mind, with a share of acuteness that belongs to few men in the world, fall a victim to its own subtlety, and miss the truth when close

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1888, p. 245.

to it. For argument's sake saying *transeat* to the three theological propositions that really govern the position, Mr. Gladstone, in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1888, maintained that, as a matter of fact, a "basis of legality in its determining conditions for the proceedings of the Reformation" was established, not by Cranmer and the reforming prelates, but by Warham and Tunstall and Gardiner and Fisher. We joined issue with Mr. Gladstone, and, in our article already referred to, we disputed this alleged fact, and many assertions made by him in his attempt to establish it. In the *Nineteenth Century* for last November Mr. Gladstone has returned to the subject, and while endeavouring to justify the position he had assumed, he has shown a spirit of fairness and openness to conviction that induces us to hope that it may be possible for once thoroughly to thrash out a controverted point in history, so that an agreement may be come to for the future. In saying this we are not putting forward ourselves. So much has been said in reply to Mr. Gladstone's second article by writers in the *Tablet* and in the *Month*, that we, whose periodical time of publication has delayed our answer to the arguments particularly addressed to us by Mr. Gladstone, have our work rendered comparatively easy for us by the welcome fact that we follow Father Bridgett and Father Sydney Smith, Mr. Gillow and Dr. St. George Mivart.

An obvious consideration suggests itself at the outset. If Mr. Gladstone proved his contention, it would make no important difference except to individual reputations. One of the recent writers spoke of this as a "charge against Blessed John Fisher." In the *Tablet* of November 16 we find a note from Mr. Gladstone, who says: "I am sorry for the title given, probably by inadvertence, to the article. I intended no charge, but simply quoted a history." To a Protestant it is no charge, that is to say, nothing in a man's disfavour, that he broke with the Pope, and helped to establish Protestantism on a "basis of legality." It is only natural that a Catholic should account it a heavy charge against a man who is especially honoured for his constancy in maintaining the Pope's prerogatives, and by him the word certainly would not be used inadvertently. But apart from the personal honour or dishonour of the personages named, what real difference does it make whether the first Protestants were Cranmer and Lee, or Warham and Fisher? If the history quoted by Mr. Gladstone were proved to be true, it would not establish the continuity of the Church of England. It would simply change the place of the breach of that continuity. Heresy and schism would be no less heresy and schism in Warham and Fisher than in Cranmer and Lee, and the fact of good men going wrong would



not make their wrong right. This is not begging the question, but recognizing the difference between the theological propositions and the point of history. It is only saying that the point of history by itself is absolutely valueless towards establishing the identity of Anglicanism and the old religion. Turn the great prelates just spoken of into Protestants, and they are themselves then broken off from those who preceded them. Cranmer asked the Pope for his pallium, and received it after taking the oath that Archbishops of Canterbury were accustomed to take. So far the continuity was not broken, whatever Cranmer's intentions might have been. But the men who first renounced the Pope, whoever they were, broke the continuity, and introduced a new religion instead of the old. Whether they were right or wrong is not the point. Even if the old Church were wrong and the new one right, the continuity was broken, because an essential and radical change was brought in.

But though it cannot materially affect the question of continuity, whether the change was effected by these bishops or by those, it would undoubtedly be a powerful weapon in the hand of the controversialist who maintains that the change was from bad to good, from wrong to right, if he can show that the best men took part in the change, and took upon themselves to lay a "basis of legality" for the new system. Is it so, then? Mr. Gladstone's claim was that, while "a cloud of misrepresentation had, down to a recent period, overlain the facts," he had made a discovery, making Warham and Fisher the real authors of the Reformation. We examined this alleged discovery at the time, and Mr. Gladstone, proposing to himself to substantiate the position he had taken up, and to reply to our strictures, has published the second article with which we are now occupied. An important portion of that article discusses a passage that Mr. Gladstone very naturally thought was from a book by Sander; and we cannot help believing that, if Mr. Gladstone had known then, as he knows now, that Sander is not responsible for a word of it, he would not have written his second article at all. Respecting the passage thus quoted by him, Mr. Gladstone has shown himself to be honourably open to conviction, and his interest in the answers that have been made to him has appeared by the four letters that he has successively written to the *Tablet* newspaper, each one more satisfactory than the one before. The passage in question has been made memorable by this discussion, and though Mr. Gladstone defends it no longer, it will be useful that a record of it should be found in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

Mr. Gladstone, then, in his second article, sets himself to deal

First, with one serious charge of inaccuracy brought by Mr. Morris, S.J. It relates to Fisher, and the oath exacted under the Succession Act; and my statement [in p. 8] has led Mr. Morris to assert that Fisher never took any such oath, and that in support of the contrary allegation, there is not a corroborating word in Sander's book on the "Schism" (p. 883).

The reference is here to our former article in this REVIEW, and it is but right that we should acknowledge that we ought not to have said that "a corroborative word could not be found in Sander." It was not exactly that that we meant to say. There were three references given by Mr. Gladstone, one to Burnet, and the other two to Sander, and to "The Letters and Papers." Unfortunately, those references were not intelligible. The passages so referred to, "could not be found." Mr. Gladstone has now given his reference to Sander in a full and perfectly intelligible form, and *if that be Sander*, the corroborative word is there. It was perfectly right for Mr. Gladstone to say, that as he did not find the words he quoted, nor twelve consecutive pages that relate to them, translated with the rest of Sander's book by Mr. David Lewis, "some explanation appears to be required." The explanation has been given, and Mr. Lewis is fully acquitted of any charge of mutilating his author. As Mr. Joseph Gillow showed in a letter in the *Tablet*, and as was also shown in the *Tablet's* editorial columns, the words in question, and indeed the twelve pages, do not exist in the first edition of the book that passes under Sander's name, and were therefore not included in Mr. Lewis's translation, which is faithful throughout to the first edition.

Mr. Gillow has distinctly shown that the second and subsequent editions of Sander, though published under that name, first in Rome, and then in various places on the Continent, are in reality a different work from the first edition. Sander died in 1581. Rishton published the first edition of his book on the "Schism" in 1585; in that year Rishton died, and it would seem that he did not see the whole book through the press, as it mentions the martyrdom of Aldfield and Webley, which was in July of that year, whereas he died in June, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul.\* Besides the mention of these martyrs which Mr. Gillow has noticed, we may point to the account of the banishment of thirty priests and two laymen on the 24th of

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\* "Douay Diary," p. 206. Mr. Lewis supposes that Rishton may have lived into the year 1586, as the occurrences in the book occur after the date assigned for his death in June, 1585. But we feel bound to accept as conclusive the entry in the "Douay Diary," which is in the handwriting of the President, Dr. Thomas Worthington.

September, some of whom reached Rheims on the 8th of October. This throws the publication of the first edition to a date still later after Rishton's death; and before his death his time for preparing it was very short. He was one of a former company of twenty priests, who were banished on the 31st of January in that same year, 1585, N.S. "At last," he says, "by the help of God, we landed at Boulogne, and having said farewell to those who brought us thither, we departed for different towns in France, each one according to his means. At last, we all came to Rheims, finding our brethren or our superiors in great distress about us in every place to which we came." The date of Rishton's arrival at Rheims was the 3rd of March; he then went to Paris, and afterwards to Pont-à-Mousson, and as we have seen, he died on the 29th of June, which gives less than four months for a man, whose end was probably hastened by the hardships of his imprisonment, to spend on the editing of his book. As to the printing, we may conclude, with Mr. Gillow, that "the work was either printed by Stephen Vallenger at Cologne, or by George Flinton and Stephen Brinkley, at the press which was set up at Rouen, with the assistance of Father Robert Persons, S.J." The proofs could not have been sent from Cologne or Rouen in time for Rishton to have corrected them before his death; but this work was evidently not done or intended to be done by himself, for he says that he sent his book, together with his letter to the reader, "to his friend Dr. Jodocus, to be transmitted by him to the bookseller, who so much wished to have it, with the single request that he would have it correctly printed, which he hoped would be done."\* That the book was really printed at Cologne, according to its imprint "*Coloniæ Agrippinæ*," is rendered more probable by this mention of his "very old friend, Jodocus Skarnkert, of Cologne," whom he had known also at Rome, and with whom he often had spoken of such books as this, both being interested in ecclesiastical history. One feels inclined to conjecture that Dr. Jodocus Skarnkert, of Cologne, is another name for some Englishman to whom he does not wish to draw the attention of Elizabeth's Ministers, perhaps for Richard Verstegan, who may have lived at Cologne, as Mr. Gillow says, helping Vallenger to publish Catholic books, before he made Antwerp his headquarters.

Rishton's book was published before the end of the year in which he died. Most probably, with the exception of the insertions we have spoken of in its concluding pages, this edition is all as it left his hands; but if he is responsible for the first

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\* "*Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*," translated by David Lewis M.A., London, 1877, p. cxliii.

edition, the re-written book which was published under his name in Rome in the following year, avowedly *locupletius*, and subsequently edited and re-edited, we must not, in the same sense, call his. That Rishton managed to write the Appendix or fourth book, "On the Persecution under Elizabeth," which Mr. Lewis attributes entirely to his pen, is remarkable. His "Diary of Things Done in the Tower" begins in June, 1580, and this we must suppose to be the date of his own incarceration.\* At any rate it was before December, when it is mentioned in the "Donay Diary" as having happened with others in that year. Now he only left the Tower on his forcible banishment in January 1585, and what he wrote respecting the arrival in England of Father Persons and Blessed Edmund Campion, and all the twelve chapters of the fourth book must have been written between his banishment and his speedy death. As this fourth book is not voluminous and does not give many details, this is quite possible, but the time is short for all this work for a man in ill-health and wandering from place to place.

If it is necessary to say that the first edition alone is to be accepted as Rishton's, we have to add that it is, as yet, impossible to say with certainty how much of the first edition is Sander's. Rishton says that he "corrected certain passages which were faulty, either because the transcribers were careless, or not clearly expressed, because the author was in a hurry. He also left out some of the discussions which seemed tedious, in order to preserve more closely the order of the story, *adding much*, especially those things that took place after the death of Dr. Sander." † Unfortunately we have no immediate means of confronting the book with any manuscript of the book written by Sander. The only manuscript known to exist, claiming to be the work of Sander, is one in the English College at Rome, ‡ and until this shall be published or carefully collated, we shall not be able to say how much that is attributed to Sander is his and not Rishton's. It contains the commencement by Sander of a fourth book, which was unknown to Rishton, who only speaks of three. But though the three books by Sander have certainly been changed by Rishton, and we have as yet no means of ascertaining in what those changes consist, there is nothing in this to shake our faith in the historical value of the book as published by Rishton. We know whom we are dealing with, and our authority is either Rishton or Sander,

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\* Yet Cardinal Allen speaks of him as in the Gatehouse in June 1581. Allen's "Letters," p. 96. He was taken from the Tower to be tried with B. Edmund Campion in November 1580.

† "Rise and Growth," Lewis, p. cxliii.

‡ We have been informed by letter that the passage quoted by Mr. Gladstone cannot be found in it.

both of them admirable witnesses to fact, intelligent, careful, and accurate men; and if the result is quoted as Sander, which in the first three books it most probably is, no harm is done. But it is quite another thing with the subsequent editions. We have first to ascertain whether our quotation is contained in the first edition, and here Mr. Lewis's translation is invaluable; for if it be not there, we have neither Sander nor Rishton as our authority, and we have but the word of an unknown writer to trust to, without even certain knowledge of the editor who made the insertion. Mr. Gladstone is perfectly justified in saying that "the effect upon the Sander we hold in our own hands, of whatever edition, is serious," if in "whatever edition" he does not include the first. Its authority is quite unaffected by what has been written, and remains exactly where it was; for Rishton's statement, that he had to some extent altered Sander's work, was published with it and has always been known. But if any one should hereafter quote from the later editions, he must be careful to compare with the first edition before he does what Mr. Gladstone did, and attribute his quotation to Sander.

We now come to the passage quoted by Mr. Gladstone—very pardonably, of course—as written by Sander, but which in reality is not to be found in Rishton's edition of Sander's book. It is quoted by Mr. Gladstone in Latin, and the *Tablet* gives the passage in English. We have slightly modified that translation:—

Induced and deceived by these and many other reasons, the Bishop of Rochester (who afterwards continually and vehemently bewailed his conduct) thought it necessary to yield to the necessity of the times, and persuaded the other bishops, who were as yet more firm in Christ [than the rest] (for most had already given in their adherence to Cranmer and Lee, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York respectively, who were both promoters of the King's affair), to swear, at least with the aforesaid limitation (as far as the Word of God permits), obedience to the King in ecclesiastical and spiritual causes. For this deed the Bishop of Rochester was afterwards so full of remorse that he publicly accused himself, and said that it had been his duty as a bishop to have taught others what the Word of God permitted or forbade, and this, not with an ambiguous exception, but in plain and express words, so that others might be prevented from falling into the trap. Nor did he ever consider that his sin had been sufficiently expiated until he had washed out its stain with his blood.

The question naturally arises, Where did the Roman editor of Rishton's book find his authority for this passage and its context? It was published, it must be remembered, in 1586—that is to say, half a century after the time of which it is treating—and it was written in a foreign country. Father Bridgett's suggestion is that the editor had before him a narrative, of which no complete

copy is now known to exist, written by Richard Hilliard, who was in the household of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and therefore was a contemporary of Blessed John Fisher. The Roman writer was not only not unfriendly to the memory of the Bishop of Rochester, but regarded him as a great and holy martyr. He will then have admitted into his pages nothing injurious to his character, unless he thought himself bound by his love of historical truth to do so. He must, in consequence, have had before him some statement the authority of which he accounted not to be open to doubt. Hilliard's book was written while Cranmer was yet alive, that is, before 1555, and apparently whilst he was still in power,\* that is to say, before the accession of Mary in 1553.

The last we hear of Hilliard himself is that he went to Rome, and his manuscript history would therefore very naturally be found in Rome. Father Gasquet twice says that the Roman editor of Rishton in 1586 quotes Hilliard,† and nothing was more natural than that he should do so. That he did so in the present case is proved by Father Bridgett. We have fortunately a fragment of Hilliard's work among the Arundel manuscripts in the British Museum, and it contains the very passage that the Roman editor of 1586 must have had under his eyes. It must not be said that perhaps Hilliard is a second and independent authority. The proof that he is the source from which the Roman editor drew his statement consists in the anachronisms which are the same in both. It is not possible that two writers can independently have fallen into the same errors; and those errors, while they limit the statement to one author, are, at the same time, his confutation. Father Bridgett's summary of Hilliard we must give, and the reader will see for himself that the anachronisms in it would fully account for the similar errors in the passage from the Roman edition of Sander quoted by Mr. Gladstone, if the writer had Hilliard before him:—

I have no space for extracts, but I may say that there are many

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\* In demortui Cantuariensis Præsulis locum, hominem Lutheranae factionis facile principem Thomam Cranmerum collocant, qui non solum eorum institutum sua auctoritate promoverat, verum etiam litteris et doctrina, ut non est ineruditus, partes eorum defenderet, id quod sanctissime illis promisit, et bonâ fide *in hunc usque diem* præstitit.—Arundel MS. 152; Harl. 7047.

† "His work must have been in the hands of those who put forth the Roman edition of Sanders, 1586 (see p. 188)," "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," vol. i. p. 295, *note*. "The later editions of Sanders' "Schism" (e.g., 1590, p. 167), also give a quotation from his account of the destruction of the monasteries." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 314, *note*. This refers to a long extract, called in the margin *Richardi Hilliardi de Henrici sacrilegio querela*. In the text he is called *vir quidam doctus ac pius qui sacrilegio interfuerat*. The Roman editor, therefore, knew Hilliard's book and quoted from it.

parallelisms between the two narratives, and especially that Hillyard, in spite of being a contemporary, has the very same anachronisms. He is even more confused. The outline of his narrative is as follows:—After the final sentence of the Pope in favour of Henry's first marriage, the King is filled with fury, and determined to be revenged (*Post sententię promulgationem*, would indicate at the earliest, April, 1534). Evil counsellors urge him on to plunder the clergy. This plan is made more easy by the death of Wolsey and Warham; so they get the sees filled up by Cranmer and Lee. More resigns his chancellorship, and Audley takes his place. Under him the affair begins. *Sub cujus magistratus initium incepta est fabula*. The courtiers are encouraged to speak vilely of the Pope, and Lutheran books against the Pope are publicly sold. Then a Parliament is summoned, and simultaneously the clergy meet in Convocation. The King addresses them, recounts his great benefits; dangerous times, he says, are at hand, let the clergy make him their friend, and recognize him as Head of the Anglican Church. There is an almost unanimous refusal; but the King and his agents gain over Fisher, and he, with the Bishop of Bath, persuade the rest to yield a little to the storm, and give the title with a saving clause. Alas, this has been the fountain of all evils. Afterwards, in Parliament, the title was granted to the King without the clause, all the bishops dissenting, but all the abbots voting for it. When Fisher was informed, he became speechless with grief, but his tears spoke for him—*lachrymis se impiorum fraudibus deceptum testabatur*. That this decree might have greater force, an oath was exacted with a prescribed form of words rejecting the authority of the Pope, and affirming that of the King, &c.

The reader, who bears in mind the true sequence of events, will see that all is here in confusion. An event of 1531 is made to follow one of 1534, and to be its effect. Cranmer and Lee and Audley are the King's agents in the Convocation which affirmed the King's headship, whereas in truth Warham was still Archbishop, More Chancellor, and the See of York was vacant. It is clear that Dr. Hillyard's memory as regards dates was defective. He was not present in the southern convocation, and when the King alleged Fisher's subscription to the title in opposition to Tunstal's protest, the chaplain may easily have taken his Bishop's side at the time and felt indignant against Fisher; and, as time went on, and the evils developed, he may have come to trace them all back to Fisher's action (which he had never understood). The story of Fisher's tears and regret when it reached him would have confirmed these thoughts and caused him to write as he did.—(*Tablet*, November 23, 1889.)

The witness has broken down under cross-examination. He is friendly and desires to tell the truth and nothing but the truth; but he is hopelessly confused. That there is a foundation for what he says, we may be sure; but it is plain that it would be rash and uncritical to accept his evidence, as it stands, on a point where he is entirely without support. He has mis-

led the Roman editor of Rishton, but we must not let him mislead us also.

Besides this, Father Bridgett has shown that he does not say what Mr. Gladstone makes him say. The oath of succession rejected every "foreign authority or potentate," and declared "vain and annihilate" all oaths taken to him. If Bishop Fisher swore obedience to the King in causes ecclesiastical and spiritual, and persuaded other bishops to take the same oath, this can apply, as Mr. Gladstone sees, to the oath of succession only. The Act of Parliament imposing the oath passed on the 23rd of March, 1534, and the King's commissioners to enforce the oath were named on the 30th, on which day, according to Father Bridgett, it received the royal assent. Any taking the oath, or inducing others to take the oath, must have been after this. "The only admissible conclusion upon these facts," says Mr. Gladstone, "as to the question of date, seems to be that the King's urgency and Fisher's compliance, belong to the beginning of the period between the passing of the Act in the month of March, and the arrival of the Pope's sentence on the 12th of April" (p. 885). Father Bridgett points out that the news of the Pope's sentence came on Holy Saturday,\* which in 1534 was April 4. What Mr. Gladstone here calls "the period between the passing of the Act and the arrival of the Pope's sentence," the *beginning* of which "period" is Mr. Gladstone's date for Fisher's compliance, is reduced practically to four days.

But supposing the "period" to have been twelve days, or twenty, dating back to the passing of the Act, even before the appointment of commissioners or the royal assent, this "period" is in March and April 1534. Now, Mr. Gladstone says that Sander places the time "in the year 1533 (according to the old method of computation) and before the definitive sentence of the Pope," which is assigned to "the 23rd of March in that year, but after the Act of Succession had passed." If so, Sander must be wrong in the date by Mr. Gladstone's own showing, for the definitive sentence of the Pope, and the passing of the Act of Succession both happened on the same day, March 23, 1534. It cannot therefore be said that "Sander himself supplies us with sufficient means of judgment." But further, Father Bridgett says :

In fact, Sander gives no date whatever to the document he quotes. He introduces it, indeed, as if it were the final sentence of Clement VII. "The Roman Pontiff," he says, "after the most rigid examination of the question between Henry and Catharine, declared them bound together in the bonds of lawful wedlock beyond the power

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\* Father Bridgett's authority is Chapuys. "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. vii. 469.



of man to sunder." It was natural, then, for Mr. Gladstone, if he read no further than this, to conclude that the date of this document would be March 23, 1533-4. But if he will read the document itself he will find that Sander entirely mistook its nature. Sander gives, not the definitive sentence of March 23, 1534, but the Bull of August 8, 1533, a solemn censure against Henry and Cranmer for daring to proceed to the divorce from Catharine, and marriage with Anne, *pendente lite*. Any argument, therefore, drawn from this document, would prove that the supposed oath was taken before August 1533, consequently several months before the passing of the Act of Succession. Nor can it be said that Sander intended to refer to the date of March, 1534, when the final Bull was really issued, though he incautiously transcribed the wrong document; for this document is given by German-Sander (as well as Roman-Sander), and so little knowledge had he of the real sequence of events that he supposes the final decision of the Pope to have preceded the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whereas it was, in fact, a year later. In the long interpolation of Roman-Sander there is only one explicit date. The writer says that *after* Fisher had induced the Bishops to take the oath to the King, Cranmer, being thereby strengthened, proceeded to pronounce the divorce; and, again, after that, Henry solemnly married Anne on Easter Eve, 1533. We know that this was in 1533 not 1534, and the author also says in marginal note: *Nuptiae Annæ in vigilia Paschatis* 1533. I am not aware of any nuptial solemnities between Henry and Anne beyond the mysterious private marriage in November, 1532, but the chroniclers agree that Anne appeared for the first time as Queen on Holy Saturday, 1533. I conclude then that, to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase, it is "beyond any reasonable doubt" that Roman-Sander places his oath-taking in 1533, and that he could not refer to the oath of succession, if he knew what he was writing about.—(*Tablet*, November 16, 1889.)

To this it may be added that it was the real Sander (that is to say, Rishton's own edition) who made this mistake of one document for another. The definitive sentence itself, dated March 23, 1534, in very different terms from the condemnation of the marriage contracted *pendente lite*, may be read in Tierney's Dodd;\* and as to the date of the document given by Sander, the Roman Editor attributes it to 1533, its true date, and it is not allowable for Mr. Gladstone to say "according to the old method of computation." With Papal *Bulls*, the year began with Lady Day, as in England till 1752, and this usage still continues; but with all other Papal documents that were not *Bulls*, it was not so. Now these Apostolic Letters of Clement VII., of which a series is printed by Tierney, though called by him in their respective headings *Bulls*, are not really *Bulls*. The inhibition, forbidding Henry to contract a second marriage, dated

\* Dodd's "Church History," by Rev. M. A. Tierney, vol. i., p. 408.

March 7, 1530, is a Brief, and the year is according to modern computation.\* The second inhibition,† dated January 5, 1531, is also a Brief; so is the Pope's letter‡ to the King dated January 25, 1532. If we may not change any of these dates, on account of their falling before Lady Day in their respective years, so neither may Mr. Gladstone assume that a Papal document, that he believes to be dated March 23, 1533, was really issued in 1534, *unless it is a Bull*. An example of a Bull, the date of which requires changing for modern computation, is the famous *Regnans in excelsis* of S. Pius V. against Elizabeth. It is dated 1569, 5 Kal. Mart. Pontif. 5; that is February 25, 1570.

Another indication that the Roman Editor had 1533 in his mind, and not 1534, is that he inserts this story of Fisher's defection before the birth of Elizabeth, which event was on the 7th of September, 1533; but further to insist on showing that the story, too hastily taken from Hilliard, does not belong to 1534, is to slay the slain, for Mr. Gladstone has frankly abandoned it, in terms of well-deserved eulogy on Father Bridget's "remarkable assiduity and acumen." But in abandoning Sander as a witness to a certain course of conduct in 1534, Mr. Gladstone says: "For myself, I own to an impression that Bishop Fisher did, after the Convocation of 1531, do something that he afterwards regretted, but what or when I cannot feel very sure." Unhappily the proverb is true, that if a false statement is made, and mud thrown, some of the mud will stick. It is hard on the memory of Blessed John Fisher that Mr. Gladstone should say this. The evidence is rejected that once seemed to authorize a definite and specific accusation, and Mr. Gladstone, instead of dismissing the accused without a stain on his character, still "owns to an impression" that Bishop Fisher did something wrong, though what or when he does not know. Justice is due to the dead as well as to the living, and the same justice that is due to the living is due to the dead.

We suppose, then, that Mr. Gladstone has abandoned the explicit belief, founded on the pseudo-Sander, that Fisher took the oath of succession in 1534. If so, he will no longer maintain that Burnet makes a statement "in a manner to leave no room for doubt," that "all the bishops swore, Fisher, of course, included" (p. 885). Mr. Gladstone acknowledges that Burnet speaks "with some want of distinct specification as to dates." It is plain enough that Burnet is speaking of 1535. He should not be so read by Mr. Gladstone as needlessly to be made to contradict himself, and to Burnet's explicit statement we have

\* Dodd's "Church History," vol. i. pp. 364, 366.

† *Ibid.* p. 398.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 407.

already called Mr. Gladstone's attention. He sweeps it on one side as irrelevant, because it is "Burnet's account of Fisher's behaviour at the trial." But if Burnet knew that Fisher had *ever* taken the oath of succession, he could not have said without qualification, as he does, that "Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester refused to take the oath as it was conceived, whose fall being so remarkable, I shall show the steps of it."\* Is this what Mr. Gladstone calls "Burnet's account of Fisher's behaviour at the trial?" And for any previous mention of Fisher by Burnet, so far from his having already taken the oath of succession, he says, "Fisher was still obstinate and *made no submission*, and so was included within the act for misprision of treason [with Elizabeth Barton]; and yet I do not find that the King proceeded against him upon this act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself." † New provocations, not submissions, says Burnet; and this, with the explicit statement that "More and Fisher refused to take the oath as it was conceived," should have saved Mr. Gladstone from supposing that Burnet could have meant to include Fisher in a general statement, made some eighty pages later, that all the bishops took the oath.

May we now consider that the authorities are disposed of, whom Mr. Gladstone originally alleged? His statement was (p. 8), that "after the Act of Headship had been passed by Parliament in 1534, and the Oath of Succession was framed by the King, so as to include the headship, *Fisher took it.*" ‡ The first reference he gave was Burnet, "Hist. i. 206." For this passage Mr. Gladstone now substitutes a statement by Burnet that the bishops in 1535 all took the oath, which he interprets as including Fisher, who was in prison; and that he was in prison *for refusing to take it*, Mr. Gladstone tells us "needs no showing," Burnet having broadly stated that he "refused it." This disposes of Burnet. The next reference is to Sander, of which no more need be said; and the third is to Brewer, or, more properly, Gairdner, "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," v., No. 112, p. 50. This last reference is to a letter from Chapuys to Charles V. in 1531, which can in no way support Mr. Gladstone's statement that Fisher took the oath of succession in 1534, or his "impression that Bishop Fisher did, *after* the Convocation of 1531, do something that he afterwards regretted," we refer later to the terms of this letter.

We may then safely pass on from this definite accusation against Fisher to the proof of what his conduct really was in 1531.

\* Burnet, Ed. Pocock, vol. i. p. 155. Burnet's short notice of Fisher's trial is much later on in the volume, p. 353. † *Ibid.* p. 154.

‡ *The Nineteenth Century*, July 1888, p. 8, and note.

Father Bridgett concluded his admirable papers in the *Tablet* by these words :

Let me say, in conclusion, that though Dr. Hall had Hillyard's narrative before his eyes, he utterly rejected it; and, in its place, gave the history of the Convocation, as he derived it from one who had better means of knowing the truth. This was Justice Rastall, the nephew of Sir Thomas More. His manuscript is in the British Museum, in two forms: in a long extract, and in notes. But into this matter I will not enter.—(*Tablet*, November 23, 1889.)

That Convocation of 1531 is of such great importance that we make no scruple of availing ourselves of Father Bridgett's kindness, which enables us to insert here the words in which Mr. Justice Rastall records the part taken by Bishop Fisher in its proceedings. Mr. Gladstone says :

It has always been supposed that the limiting words [*quantum per Christi legem licet*] were proposed by Warham. Mr. Bridgett prefers, on authority which seems to me highly apocryphal, to ascribe them to Fisher himself, into whose mouth Hall, his biographer, puts a speech with the air of a modern report. In this speech he advises them to make the Recognition in its qualified form as a choice of evils. . . . That Fisher was the adviser is highly improbable, for he was a man of aye and no, not of compromises and expedients (p. 891, 2).

Now, the authority which seems to Mr. Gladstone "highly apocryphal" is that of Hall. But Hall's authority was that of Mr. Justice Rastall, and no one will call that apocryphal. Mr. Gladstone will surely not prefer to it that of Hilliard, who, being then in the company of Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, narrates in the first person plural, how the Bishop of Durham, on his way to London, was met by royal messengers, and sent back to his diocese. The rumours that reached Hilliard in the north of England respecting the conduct of Bishop Fisher, though he afterwards became confused as to the order of events, is surely confirmatory of Rastall's account, not contradictory. And Hilliard does not say that Fisher took any oath. According to him, Fisher, "*necessitati præsentis cedendum ratus, persuasit reliquis . . . ut saltem cum exceptione illa prædicta (quantum per Dei Verbum liceret) obedientiam regi in causis ecclesiasticis ac spiritualibus jurarent.*" There was no oath in question in 1531, and it was not till afterwards that the headship came explicitly to mean obedience to the king in all ecclesiastical and spiritual causes; but when the oath was imposed, and the meaning of the royal headship was clear, it was not surprising that a writer should describe in these words the event that is related as follows by the excellent testimony of a man of high station and legal training. The passage from the Harleian MS.

7047, p. 11, is as follows, a little of the verbiage being omitted:—

“The king moved the Convocation by his confederates to acknowledge him to be Head of the Church, which they denied; and then the confederates took upon them to dispute openly on the king’s behalf, and by disputation they were confounded, and being but a very few in respect of the rest, they perceived they laboured in vain. Wherefore the king sent for divers of the bishops and the best of the Convocation, and exhorting them to agree to his demand, protesting and swearing that he would not challenge thereby any new authority or spiritual jurisdiction, but only the very same that he and his predecessors had already of his royal power, and minded thereby to require no further authority over the spirituality. The king’s confederates reported to the Convocation the king’s meaning . . . and they affirmed that they were not good and true subjects to the king that would not give their consent to his demand and credit him in his protestation and oath. The Convocation seemed to be resolved with these empty persuasions; but the good Bishop of Rochester denied to grant it, and required the Convocation to consider well what inconveniences would ensue by the grant of supremacy to the king thus absolutely and *simpliciter*, if the king changed his mind. . . . The king’s confederates replied how the king had no such meaning as the bishop feared, alleging the royal oath, and that though it were granted absolutely, yet it should and must needs have implied in it the condition *quantum per legem Dei licet*, which is (quoth they) that he, being a temporal prince, cannot by God’s law intermeddle as Supreme Head with spiritual jurisdiction, spiritual laws, or spiritual matters. The whole Convocation were by these crafty persuasions and other secret practices, fully persuaded to credit the king herein; which being perceived by the Bishop of Rochester, and *being angry with this so sudden and light persuasion, and withal very loth that the grant should pass thus absolutely, and not being able to stay it otherwise*: ‘If you will need, quoth he, grant the king this his request, yet for declaration of your full meaning, express these conditional words in your grant: *Quantum, etc.*’ The king’s confederates urged still to have the grant pass absolutely; but the Convocation answered resolutely that they would not grant the title without these words. Whereof the king by his confederates being made secretly privy, and seeing he could not obtain it otherwise, was of force contented to accept it conditionally.”

In the second edition of the “Life of Blessed John Fisher,” which we hope soon to welcome, Father Bridgett proposes to call attention to the fact that all this is identical with the account

given by Hall, who has even adopted whole phrases from Rastall, amongst others those italicized above. Father Bridgett adds that the unknown author of the Latin life in the Arundel MSS. declares that when the rest had signed their names to the decree or address to the king, Fisher, not content with the condition (*protestatione*) contained in the document itself, subscribed: "Joannes Roffensis, quatenus Verbo Dei consentit." Hall's account ought no longer to seem to Mr. Gladstone "highly apocryphal." Here, surely, is the foundation, in fact, of the statement in the Roman edition of Sander, of which Mr. Gladstone has made so much.

That judgments were not altogether favourable to Bishop Fisher, as to his part in the Convocation of 1531, is shown by the words of one who was in a far better position to hear the facts than Hillyard was. In the letter,\* to which Mr. Gladstone has given a reference, useless for his purpose, though useful to us, Chapuys wrote to the Emperor from London in February 1531, that Anne Boleyn's "father, speaking a few days ago to the Bishop of Rochester, ventured to say he could prove by the authority of Scripture that when God left this world, he left no successor or vicar. There is none that do not blame this usurpation [of the title of 'Supreme Head'], except those who have promoted it. The Chancellor (More) is so mortified at it that he is anxious above all things to resign his office. The Bishop of Rochester is very ill with disappointment at it. He opposes it as much as he can; but being threatened that he and his adherents should be thrown in the river, *he was forced to consent to the King's will.*" It is true that this means nothing more than that Bishop Fisher had assented to the conditional recognition of the royal supremacy, but the expression of Chapuys shows how strong an impression Fisher's share in that recognition created. Hillyard's statement that Fisher said that it was his duty as a Bishop to have taught others what the Word of God permitted, and not to have left the truth to an "ambiguous exception," is eminently probable; but, of course, with reference to the Convocation of 1531 and nothing else.

As to the opinion of the real Nicholas Sander respecting Fisher, Mr. Gillow has made the excellent suggestion that it should be taken from the work "*De Visibili Monarchia*," † published in his lifetime, for which, therefore, he is personally responsible. It is quite incompatible with any belief on Sander's part that Fisher's conduct had been such as has been published under his name. His words may be translated thus:—"After that the Bishop of Rochester had written these excellent things [against Luther], it

\* "Letters and Papers," v. n. 112.

† Louvain, 1571, folio, p. 590.

happened that Henry VIII., king of England, tired of his holy wife, Catharine, put her away, and wanted to marry Anne Boleyn. When he could not obtain leave to do so from Pope Clement VII., forgetting all that he had written against Luther, forgetful indeed of Christ and His faith, he resolved to set aside the Pope's authority, and govern the Christian republic in England at his own pleasure, and then give himself a dispensation for putting away his first wife (the mother of his daughter Mary, afterwards queen) and for marrying another. He wished, therefore, not only to be called Supreme Head of the English Church immediately under Christ, but for it to be written down and sworn to. When the most holy Bishop of Rochester would not worship this idol, God gave him the crown of martyrdom as the reward of his labours. For when the tyrant heard that the dignity of Cardinal had been given to him (which the Pope gave him, that the honour due to it might prevent the king from killing him), fearing for himself from one so great, he caused this old man, who was worthy of all veneration, to be deprived of that life that he could not long have kept in the course of nature. What the Bishop of Rochester had written about the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, this he sealed with the shedding of his blood. When he came to the place of execution, he said hardly anything except *Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur*; and with this song of the swan he ended the present life, and began that which is to come."

Such is the way in which the veritable Sander speaks of Fisher, and it is evident that he either never heard of, or summarily rejected, the story that the Bishop of Rochester induced other Bishops to yield to the king. And now we may leave to the oblivion it deserves the story that Mr. Gladstone has discovered and abandoned. Our assertion is, we hope, fully borne out, that "while many refused the oath of the king's supremacy, there are two men, at least, of whom it can be positively asserted that they did not, and would not, take the oath of succession, and these two were More and Fisher."\*

This disposes of a great portion of Mr. Gladstone's second article, but there still remain several points in it that require attention.

1. The Recognition of 1531 spoke of the king as the *singularis protector*, the *unicus et supremus dominus* of the Church, as well as its *supremum caput*. On the first of these titles there is no debate. We took them to mean much the same as "Defender of the Faith," and Mr. Gladstone passes this by. But the second title, *unicus et supremus dominus*, he regards as agreeing with the third title, "in being sufficient to cover, and

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1888, p. 252.

even to require, the exclusion of the Papal, as of all extraneous, jurisdiction (p. 7). In reply, it was said that these words were not in the original draft of the parenthesis, nor in the form brought by Lord Rochford to the Convocation as the king's *ultimatum*. They were the voluntary insertion by Archbishop Warham and the Convocation that for so many days had resisted the recognition of the king's supremacy. It was then regarded by Convocation as a title that they could safely give, for the term *dominus* no more trespassed on their spiritual authority than did the previous term *protector*. We pointed out to Mr. Gladstone that his own statement that the words "excited no scruple on the part of either the prelates or the clergy" (p. 7) was fatal to his interpretation of them; and we ventured to suggest that their meaning was that "the King of England was their supreme feudal lord, and of course the only one, as no one had ever dreamt of attributing such a position to the Pope." Mr. Gladstone replies with much force that "the king was not feudal lord of the Church, but only of particular fiefs held by certain of its members" (p. 887). Our meaning was simply that Henry was the lord to whom they did homage for their temporalities; and this surely, or something very like it, is the sense attached to the words by Tunstall, in the passage quoted by Mr. Gladstone, "Et similiter declarandum et exprimentum puto verba illa, scilicet, unicum et supremum dominum *in temporalibus* post Christum accipi." It is straining the king's letter to Tunstall to make it give the words, the "wider meaning" of the exclusion of papal jurisdiction. The king was minimizing the effect of the words "Supreme Head," and was arguing that as they did not touch the headship of Christ, so neither did they affect that of the Pope; and his argument is, "You might as well require qualifications to the term *Dominus*, which is one we daily apply to Christ."

2. As to the parenthetical form in which the recognition of supremacy was made, Mr. Gladstone has misunderstood our meaning, and for this the form of the phrase in our former article is responsible. He says that "What a parenthesis contains is grammatically capable of severance from the sentence in which it is found, but its contents have as full force in regard to their substance as if there were no use of parenthetical signs at all" (p. 894). This is so, of course, and a parenthesis in a law, or sentence of a judge, may be an intrinsic part of that law or judgment, with the same legal force as the rest. But, in this case, it must belong to the judgment; for a parenthesis is a very natural form for a judge to use, in order to mark that what he is saying is not part of the judgment, but an *obiter dictum*. Now, if this parenthesis contained matter perfectly irrelevant to the subject of the judgment, a lawyer would at once assume that



the parenthesis was very properly employed to indicate that it was an *obiter dictum*. Certainly if a judge were decreeing that the Convocation of Canterbury was bound to pay the king the sum of £100,044 8s. 8d., and, when he mentioned the king, were to call him by some title, it would be clear that it was the opinion of that judge that such a title belonged to the king, but it would not be a judicial decision to that effect.

“An *obiter dictum*,” as Mr. Gladstone understands it, “is an opinion beside the purpose of the instrument in which the opinion is given, and is commonly found in a speech, not in a sentence” (p. 894). Nay, not in a speech, because the whole speech consists of opinions; but in a sentence, where the main tenor is judicial, which the *obiter dictum* contained in the judge’s sentence, is not. “To say that the assertion is beside the purpose of the instrument,” Mr. Gladstone continues, “is to beg the question, what was the purpose: whether the purpose was the single one of granting the subsidy, or the double one of accepting the supremacy together with the grant of the subsidy?” Yet Mr. Gladstone had himself used the phrase: “It is not at first sight so plain why to the grant of the subsidy should have been tacked the acknowledgment of the headship” (p. 9).” The subsidy of, say a million of our money, was the price the clergy were to pay for their liberation from the preposterous *Præmunire*, in which the whole realm was held to be involved by its acceptance of Wolsey as Legate. “The king’s temporal subjects” were pardoned by the Act 22 Henry VIII. c. 16, and the pardon was to be extended to the clergy in consideration of the subsidy, provided that in the preamble the king’s supremacy was recognized. It is plain enough why the one was tacked to the other. And no one can raise a doubt that, be the form of the recognition what it may, in a parenthesis or out of parenthesis, in a preamble or in the body of a bill, “whether the purpose was the single one of granting the subsidy, or the double one of accepting the supremacy together with the grant of the subsidy,” the members of the Convocation who voted for it were entirely responsible for accepting the royal supremacy, and for the terms in which they accepted it. No parenthesis could save them from that. But was this parenthesis a law of the church, that continued to be a law of the church till it was formally repealed? This is Mr. Gladstone’s contention, and our remark on its parenthetical form was intended only to show that it was not. The only law in the case was that binding the clergy to pay the subsidy. For the supremacy of the king was not the subject matter of a law. As Mr. Mivart has argued with great force and cogency, it was *ultra vires* for the Convocation to make any law on the subject, and it is useful to observe that its recognition is

not couched in the form of an enactment. In Mr. Gladstone's eyes it is a declaratory law; and if it is not that, his argument falls to the ground, that it is the legal basis still in force on which the Church of England now rests, and that this "basis of legality" was laid by Warham and Fisher.

3. With reference to p. 257 of our former article, Mr. Gladstone says: "Mr. Morris erroneously states that the proceeding in Convocation at this later epoch (1534) was 'nothing but an answer by the Lower House' to a question concerning the Pope. On the contrary, the proceeding seems to have been complete; and it was beyond doubt a proceeding in both the Convocations" (p. 888). We limited the proceedings to the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation, under the guidance of Bishop Stubbs,\* who summarises the official record thus:

March 31, Ralph Pexsall, clerk of the Crown in Chancery, presented the writ for proroguing Convocation to the 4th of November. After this, an instrument was presented which had been drawn up by William Saye, in which the Lower House gave answer to the question, "Has the Roman Pontiff any greater jurisdiction in this realm of England conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture, than any other foreign bishop?" On this there were thirty-four votes in the negative, one doubtful, and four affirmative.

Where Mr. Gladstone has found the proceedings of the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation, we do not know. It is of little consequence, except on the ground of accuracy, for the important point is that there was here no ecclesiastical legislation that was capable of repeal, but only an answer to a question concerning the Pope; which answer was matter affecting the consciences of those who gave it, as did the similar answers of the Universities, but which furnishes no "basis of legality" by the force of ecclesiastical law.

4. Mr. Gladstone complains of our "want of precision," that we should have spoken of "the Pope's authority" as a synonym for his "jurisdiction." We have erred in good company, if it be an error. Sander, in the passage we have translated above, says that the king "resolved to set aside the Pope's authority;" and Bishop Stubbs in the passage quoted by us, characterized by Mr. Gladstone as "weighty words," uses the expression "renunciation of Papal authority" in exactly the same sense with ourselves. It was not Papal authority but Papal jurisdiction, aversion to which Mr. Gladstone maintains "had spread generally among the English clergy" (p. 889). On this Father Sydney Smith has commented with great acuteness and perfect truth:—

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\* "Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," 1883, vol. i. p. 106.

The proposition which Mr. Gladstone apparently maintains seems to us the exact opposite of the reality. If we take "authority" in the sense he suggests, of moral weight and credit—as for instance, he himself may be said to possess high "authority" with the Liberal Party—then it may be said with some plausibility that there was a good deal of dislike for Papal "authority." The English clergy during the Middle Ages were largely infected with the notion that the Papal Court cared little for their country, save as a mine from which to extract money, and accordingly they were wont to entertain a strong dislike for the *personnel* which composed it. On the other hand, we can safely challenge Mr. Gladstone to produce a single tittle of evidence of any prepossession against Papal "jurisdiction." Fights over the frontier line between the spiritual and temporal domain he will find, and find in abundance; but from the time of S. Augustine to the time of Archbishop Warham he will not find signs of anything but the most unswerving attachment to the spiritual "jurisdiction," grounded on the deep-rooted belief in its divine appointment as the centre of Catholic unity.—(*The Month*, December, 1889, p. 480.)

5. In a foot-note to his second article (p. 888) Mr. Gladstone "desires to recede from the statement" made in his first article (p. 8), "that the remarkable petition against annates proceeded from the clergy, in which" he had "simply followed Strype, Wilkins, and Blunt. Mr. Gairdner considers it to be a petition from Parliament." It is with no feeling of disrespect to Mr. Gladstone that we note that, in his first article, in "proof of the sentiments of the clergy with respect to Papal jurisdiction," he referred to this document as "their perfectly voluntary, if suggested, petition in Convocation in the year 1531." On this we ventured to say, in comment,\* that "the document has no date, and it would be extremely interesting to learn where Mr. Gladstone has discovered that it was 'suggested' to Convocation to make such a petition, and that, when made, it was 'perfectly voluntary.'" Now that Mr. Gladstone recedes from the statement that the petition proceeded from the clergy at all, it would be still more interesting to learn whence he drew the information that it was "perfectly voluntary, if suggested."

6. On the plea that the Recognition of 1531 was "obtained by terrorism, which amounts to coercion, and was therefore void," Mr. Gladstone observes that "in the whole field of political argumentation, there is no more perilous"—he "had almost written more pestilent—doctrine than that which exempts persons in authority from obligation to their acts and words on the plea of coercion" (p. 891). That it is a "perilous doctrine" is plain enough; and the plea of terrorism was not put forward by us as any proof that the Recognition was void. Mr. Gladstone had

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1888, p. 254.

said that "it was no mere submission to violence," and that "while some allowance must be made for royal pressure, it was expressive of that aversion to the Papal jurisdiction which had spread generally among the English clergy" (p. 8). To us it seemed to be "more in accordance with historical truth to say that the Recognition of the royal supremacy is as little like a solemn instrument as it possibly could be; but it was extorted from the clergy to save them from destruction; that it was most reluctantly passed after several days' resistance, and that, when passed, it was with a qualifying clause that at least made it disputable."\* It was extorted from the clergy, but we have not pleaded that it was void on that account, for we very explicitly said† that "of course no one dreams of denying that all the members of that Convocation were responsible for their silence." But the "royal pressure" on the clergy is described by Mr. Gairdner in terms very different from Mr. Gladstone's:—

They were altogether helpless. Under the existing law of *Premunire* they were quite at the king's mercy. It was an engine that might be turned against them capriciously on the most slender pretexts; and, knowing its power, they might well have been glad to purchase immunity for the future by a frank recognition of that supremacy to which they were already compelled to bow in practice.

This passage we placed before Mr. Gladstone in our former article, not to prove that there was no binding legal force in the Recognition, as if it were an unrepealed law—that we have abundantly established—but to show that the Recognition carried with it no moral weight. Mr. Gladstone is anxious to trace his "basis of legality" to men of a better stamp than Cranmer. The meaning of coercion as a plea is that courage at any rate was not the prominent feature in the personages to whom he now refers the origin of the "juridical position" held by the Church of England "ever since, down to the present day."

7. Nor did we advance the other plea, that "the Recognition was so insignificant that it did not require repeal or notice of any kind." No one could call the Recognition insignificant, for *that*, an heretical and schismatical declaration by the Houses of Convocation, could never be. If this is not the description of the Recognition of 1531, it is because it is qualified by the condition that we owe to the fidelity of Fisher. It is the true description unreservedly of the rejection of the Pope in 1534. That these needed no repeal is not due to their insignificance but to their character. Opinions cannot be repealed, and these were opinions of two Convocations, not laws. An historical fact cannot be re-

\* DUBLIN REVIEW, p. 253.

† *Ibid.* p. 247.

pealed. The Convocation under Mary did what it had to do. It petitioned Parliament for the repeal of all statutes made against the liberties and jurisdiction of the Church, but there were no ecclesiastical laws made by the Convocations of England in the direction of Henry's reformation for it to repeal. As we have already said, "It never occurred to any one that there was need to repeal the parenthesis of 1531, or the answer of the Lower House to a doctrinal question in 1534." Convocation could and did kneel for absolution for such misdeeds, and that was all that it could do.

8. Lastly, Mr. Gladstone finds in Father Bridgett's "Life of Blessed John Fisher," "and in the works of other Roman Catholic writers, the omission of a material element of the case before us—namely, a regard to the National Church in itself, as distinct from the royal influence and power on the one side, and the Papal Chair on the other" (p. 886). In truth there is no mystery here, neither has Mr. Gladstone made any discovery. Naturally enough, a bishop's thoughts fly first of all to his own flock, and then to the rest of the faithful in the country, who are under the same circumstances. When Henry, in 1531, claimed recognition as Supreme Head of the Church, the alarm created by the claim in the minds of the bishops and clergy was undoubtedly for their own jurisdiction and immunity, and not, in the first instance, for the Pope. This is exactly what Father Bridgett has taken great pains to show, and we not only referred Mr. Gladstone to this important passage in our last article,\* but also, after quoting Bishop Stubbs to the same effect, we adduced Henry's letter to the Bishop of Durham as the King's own declaration that the Pope was not then assailed by the Royal claim to supremacy. It was natural that at first there should be no great anxiety about the jurisdiction of the Pope. It was exercised out of the kingdom, and was acknowledged by all Christendom. It had never been contested. Its rejection must have seemed an impossibility. But the independence of their own spiritual jurisdiction at home, including, of course, the right of appeal to Rome, had been perpetually hampered by the Crown. Under the Conqueror and his sons, under the Plantagenets, and now under the Tudors, the Bishops of England had striven against unceasing encroachments on the part of the kings. Even at the moment they were smarting under the intolerable tyranny of a *Premunire*, and they were fining themselves in an enormous sum to bribe the king to pardon them for an imaginary offence. No wonder that when the tyrant claimed recognition of a title that implied indefinite power over the

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1888, p. 250.

Church, their thoughts should have been directed to the body rather than to the head of the Church, and that their fear should have been, not so much for the Pope and his power, as for themselves and their own spiritual jurisdiction, as bishops placed by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God. And thus in the account of the discussion in Convocation given us by Justice Rastall, we are told that "the king sent for divers of the bishops and the best of the Convocation, and exhorting them to agree to his demand, protesting and swearing that he would not challenge thereby any new authority or spiritual jurisdiction, but only the very same that he and his predecessors had already of his regal power, and minded thereby to require *no further authority over the spirituality.*" This is precisely the view of Bishop Stubbs: "Warham and More might interpret [the Recognition of 1531] as implying no greater negation of Papal power than was immemorially part of the legal system of England." It was for their own sake, and for the sake of their flocks, that in 1531 the clergy was so reluctant to recognize the royal supremacy, as well as, of course, for the Pope's, whose authority and jurisdiction was the completion of the spiritual power and independence of the Church, of which their own was a part; and thus the saving clause introduced by Blessed John Fisher was meant as a protest in favour of episcopal and sacerdotal, as well as Papal, jurisdiction. "A regard to the National Church in itself!" Of course they had. "Si quis suorum, et maxime domesticorum, curam non habet, fidem negavit et est infideli deterior" (1 Tim. v. 8). But their regard for the National Church did not lead them to prefer a part to the whole, or have a less regard to the Church Universal and its visible head. We should not argue that because a man was a loving father of a family, or a dutiful son, that therefore he was less zealous for the welfare of his country, or was any the less a true patriot. The good Catholic, who cares the most for the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, is the very man who is the most full of "regard" for the honours of bishops and of priests, and of the local interests of souls.

It is singular that Mr. Gladstone does not see that the originality he claims for his discoveries is simply fatal to them. He should perceive that the improbability is very great that it should have been left to him to discover that in declaring Henry their "sole and supreme lord," without any qualifying words, Warham and Fisher were committing themselves to the absolute rejection of Papal jurisdiction. It has been, as he thought it would be, "matter of surprise to most readers," that he should claim Warham and Fisher as the foundation-stones of the Reformation. Students of history will not follow him in his new theories and interpretation of facts. Those who have succeeded in persuading

themselves that they are the old Church of England, though they reject the Pope's authority, may be grateful to him for help that his dialectic skill can render plausible, but he will not change the common-sense conviction of Englishmen that Cranmer and Lee, and "the reforming prelates," are the genuine fathers of the modern Church of England.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A.

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ART. VIII.—THE BALTIMORE CENTENARY.

THE year just closed was memorable for the Centennial celebrations of three remarkable events, each making an epoch in the history of humanity. The first was the Proclamation on April 30 of the Constitution of the United States by the revolted colonies of Great Britain; the second, the assemblage on May 5th of the States-General at Versailles, the opening act of the lurid drama of the Revolution; the third, the creation of a Catholic hierarchy in the United States by the erection of Baltimore into an Episcopal See in the Papal Consistory of November 6th.

Nor is this close triple sequence of date the only bond of connection between events, which though widely different in character and origin, resembled each other in exercising a still greater transforming influence on human thought in the future than in the actual times in which they occurred. The first, though purely political in its results, has had the effect of re-creating the standard of civil government by the preponderating weight thrown into the scale of democracy. A still wider scope had the subsequent revolution, whose aim was to subvert not only the existing machinery of the State, but the whole range of human ideals in the social, moral, and spiritual orders as well. The second great modern revolt against supernatural authority, it effected for the Latin Races what the Reformation had done for the Teutonic, by detaching them from their allegiance to the Church, while carrying to a still further stage of development the principle of the supremacy of the human intelligence implicitly contained in the movement of Luther. The result was the partial apostasy of the Old Continent, culminating, during the present century, in the attack on the Papacy, the most venerable symbol of divine authority on earth. The revolutionary dogma

is still leavening Europe, but a century of trial has somewhat discredited its efficacy, and there are in many quarters symptoms of a wholesome reaction against its ascendancy.

But while the year 1789 was marked as fateful in both hemispheres by events of such portent for futurity, the third occurrence that signalized its course passed almost unnoticed amid the rush of action that ushered in the stormy dawn of the nineteenth century. A Papal Decree establishing a new See in a remote quarter of the globe was little likely to attract attention during the hurrying phases of violence to which the meeting of the States-General six months before had been the prelude. Only in the truer historical perspective created by the lapse of a century can the relative significance of the three-fold anniversaries of 1789 be duly appreciated. Only in the remoteness of a past epoch of time can we discern the actual proportions and relations of accomplished facts, distorted or magnified by the partial view of closer proximity.

Thus, we only begin to see to-day how the Revolution in America in one sense counterbalanced that in Europe, by providing a fresh and congenial soil for the development of the ideas it had sought to extirpate, and how the truer liberties of the New Continent fostered and sheltered the faith persecuted in the name of a false liberty in the Old. Only to-day do we see how the branch lopped off at home took fresh root on Transatlantic soil, and how the exiled Church, thriving in transplantation, developed new vigour and vitality in its second growth. The refugee clergy of France and its dependencies arrived at the very moment when religion, languishing for lack of ecclesiastical teachers, threatened to die out in many parts of the American Union, and when its extension to new regions by means of Catholic colonization was being sterilized from the same cause. Thus the exterminating decrees of the Convention were the direct agencies for securing it a firm footing in the Western Promised Land of humanity, and not alone the blood of the martyrs actually slain, but the sufferings of the confessors who survived to toil and witness anew, were, then as ever, "the seed of the Church." It is in this sense that the three events of 1789 were so closely interwoven in that complicated web of human events, the true relation between whose parts only becomes visible as we retreat to a certain distance from the point where it is being unrolled from the loom of time.

The history of the Church in the United States dates back to an earlier period than that of its second foundation a century ago. It had even a prehistoric existence there during that semi-mythical, but now generally accepted phase of transitory transatlantic settlement by our Scandinavian kinsfolk, the Vikings.



These daring freebooters not only planted the now desolate shores of Greenland with flourishing Christian communities, but sailing thence southward, in the opening years of the eleventh century, explored the coasts of New England, and anticipated the enterprise of Columbus. The country colonized by the Northmen, and named by them Vinland, is localized by general consent of modern writers, in the district of Newport, Rhode Island, and the southern portion of Massachusetts. The Pilgrim Fathers might thus have claimed the territory on which they landed by right of descent from these remote ancestors.

The first representation of the Cross in the New World is still extant in a very ancient inscription on what is called the Dighton Writing Rock, near Taunton, Massachusetts, on which it appears in several places. The lettering of which it forms part, is believed to commemorate an expedition of Northmen in 1007, undertaken as a sequel to an earlier one, in order to recover the remains of its leader, Thorwald, slain in a skirmish with the natives, and buried at a place called Krossaness, or the Promontory of Crosses, now identified as Point Alderton, south-east of Boston Bay. Deterioration of the climate of Greenland, hypothetically ascribed to deflection of the Gulf Stream, obliterated the nascent civilization of that hyperborean continent, and with it swept out of memory and existence the short-lived Norse-American Church of the Vikings.

To these preliminary gropings of Christianity succeeded its second period, when mankind had permanently entered into possession of the western half of its terrestrial inheritance. The missionaries who accompanied Columbus had penetrated, within a century after his first voyage, through greater part of what are now the Southern States of the Union. But, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the colonizing energy of the Spaniard was spent, whether for religious or secular purposes, and the Church in America would have drowsed on in that semi-somnolent languor which broods over the old missions on the Pacific slope, had not the fresh vitalizing spirit of Anglo-Saxon manhood been infused into it from the North.

English colonization in America has an almost unique history in having received its most powerful initial impetus from religious enthusiasm. The little band of Puritan exiles, who obtained the charter of Massachusetts Bay in 1629, in order to found a sanctuary for freedom of conscience beyond the wave, were worthy in their stern though narrow sense of duty to be the inheritors of a continent and the progenitors of a nation. A spirit of fanaticism leavened the infant colony, and was the earnest of future greatness, even in the absence of those two most indomitable spirits, the frustration of whose resolve to join its founders, made

or marred the history of two peoples. Never, surely, was there an instance in which events were more blindly guided by human volition to an unseen end, than in the arbitrary action of Laud in staying, in 1638, a party of emigrants, with whom Cromwell and Hampden were about to leave their native land for ever.

But Catholicism, too, had its Pilgrim Fathers; for English statecraft, impartial in persecution, laid its hand with equal weight on all dissidents alike. The Charter of Maryland, granted in 1632 to Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, provided a home for another class of religious refugees, and hither came, in the following year, two hundred Catholic gentlemen in two ships—the “Dove” and the “Ark.” To their earliest settlement on the site of a deserted Indian village they gave the name of St. Mary’s, while the whole territory assigned them was called Maryland, in honour of the Catholic Queen of Charles II. The faith thus transplanted has been handed down as the most treasured birthright of the State, whose chief city, Baltimore, received the Primacy of the American Union by being constituted its first See.

The Transatlantic Church had not in its earlier stages been endowed with what it is the fashion of the day to call local autonomy, and the several European colonies were in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs subject to the parent State. Florida was under the jurisdiction of Spain; the North-Western Settlements, of France; the priests of the Atlantic States in the North were ruled by a Vicar-Apostolic in London, and the Jesuits everywhere corresponded immediately with Rome. This state of pupillage was felt as galling when the severance of the political tie between the British Colonies and the Mother Country had created a sense of national independence. In 1784 the clergy of the United States, despite the smallness of their number—not then exceeding 30—forwarded a petition to the Holy See requesting the appointment of a Superior or Vicar-Apostolic, who should have all the faculties of a bishop. The matter was already under discussion by the Sacred Congregation, and a favourable answer was at once returned. The Rev. John Carroll, a native of Maryland, and scion of one of the oldest settler families, originally of Irish extraction, was nominated to the new dignity. He was then about fifty years of age, and had passed the principal part of his life in Europe, having joined the Jesuit Order after an educational period divided between England and France. The famous Brief of Clement XIV. suppressing the Order, dissolved his connection with it, and from Bruges, where he then was, he went to England, returning thence to his native land. There he found little promise for the future of religion. No central authority existed in the country, and the priests, few

and scattered, were overburdened with the charge of districts of unmanageable extent. The legislation of the Mother Country still imposed disabilities on Catholic worship even in Maryland, the refuge of the exiles for faith, and the sectarian bitterness of the New England colonies was opposed to any relaxation of the existing laws. Under these circumstances the cause of national independence was ardently espoused by the Catholic colonists, who regarded it as that of religious no less than of civil freedom. The outbreak of the War of Independence in 1776 found the ex-Jesuit living with his mother at Rock Creek, within some ten miles of the present city of Washington, and from a little chapel on her estate ministering to the religious wants of the neighbourhood. From this retired life he was called to take an active part in passing events by his nomination as one of four Commissioners sent to Quebec to enlist the active co-operation of the Canadians with their brother colonists. The bigotry of the New England States cost them an alliance which would have revolutionized the destinies of the northern section of the continent. The Canadians, mindful of that part of the protest of their neighbours—which included among their grievances against the British Crown “the intolerable tyranny of the King of England in allowing the practice of the Popish religion in Canada”—declined their overtures for active co-operation, but were induced by the representations of Father Carroll to give assurances of neutrality. To this extent are the United States indebted to his influence for the triumph of their cause. From Quebec he returned to his mission at Rock Ferry, where he remained until called to assume the wider charge of Vicar-General, and head of the American clergy.

He at once [says Mr. J. Russell, in an article in the *New York Catholic News*\*] entered upon the duties of his new, and in some respects unique, dignity. The church at that time was not strong, nor were its adherents of the most fervid character. The lack of priestly ministrations and counsel had resulted in many cases in causing whole settlements to become lukewarm. These Father Carroll sought to reach. The first difficulty that stood in his way was the lack of priests. This was partially obviated by the immigration of a number of priests from Europe. Pastors were at once sent to New England, the Carolinas, and Kentucky, in which State there was a Catholic population of 4000 souls. For himself, in spite of his dignity, he worked hard in the cause of religion.

The result of his labours, during the five years he filled the position of Superior of the American clergy, was a great increase

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\* Condensed from the Memorial Volume of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

in their numbers, but, with this extension of his sphere, his authority was found insufficient to decide all questions that arose, and his subordinates were sometimes inclined to dispute his ruling. The larger powers wielded by a bishop were necessary for the discipline of the Church whose organization required to be perfected in order to meet its growing needs.

The clergy [continues the above writer] applied to Rome for the foundation of an American See, and soon received a favourable answer, coupled with the privileges of selecting the See and nominating its first incumbent. The choice was soon made and forwarded to Rome. By a Bull of November 6th, 1789, Pope Pius VI. designated the City of Baltimore as the Episcopal See, and appointed John Carroll bishop and pastor of its cathedral church. He accepted the call, and in the summer of 1790 sailed for England. Arrived there, he presented himself before the Right Rev. Charles Walmsley, Vicar-Apostolic of London, for consecration. The ceremony took place in the private chapel of Thomas Weld, of Lulworth, who proffered his hospitality to Bishop Carroll during his stay in England. The bishop then sailed for the country to which he was now bound. He appreciated his responsibilities, and bent every effort towards making his administration successful for the Church. Before leaving England, he had arranged with the Sulpicians, who were driven from France, for the establishment of a theological school in his See, in order that he might draw on the rising generation in America for labourers in the vineyard. He attended personally to all the duties, clerical and otherwise, of his office, a task which entailed no small amount of labour. From all parts came requests for priests, and complaints of insufficient attention, occasionally varied by a dispute between a clergyman and his congregation. On all these matters Bishop Carroll had to adjudicate. He sought not only to conserve and consolidate the existing Church, but also to extend it. A number of fortuitous circumstances assisted him in carrying out his generous design. On the dying out of that opposition to the Jesuit Order which had wrung from Pope Clement the Bull of Suppression, the exiled and separated Fathers of the Order were called from that seclusion in which they had spent years. The decade which followed the consecration of Bishop Carroll was prolific in good. The opening of the present century witnessed, at the head of the American Church, a man possessed of remarkable administrative ability. The number of priests had increased, and with them flocks had grown in extent and devotion. Young men came forward to perform the sacred duties of the ministry, and by the year 1810 there were in the country nearly one hundred priests in charge of as many congregations.

An interesting picture of this period of Bishop Carroll's pastorate is contained in the "Life of Father Nerinckx,"\* one of the

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\* "Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx," by the Rev. Camillus P. Maes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1880.

patriarchs of the Kentucky missions. Here we see the system of religious ramification, by which Maryland, the parent stem of Catholicity, threw out off-shoots to the farther west, sending forth groups of families which became, in their turn, so many centres of future colonization. William Coomes and his family, who moved in 1775 to Harrod's Station in Kentucky, were the first Catholic settlers in that, as yet, scarcely explored region, and were the pioneers of a movement which developed in ten years into a system of migration. In 1785 sixty Catholic families associated themselves together in a common purpose of settlement in Kentucky, their union serving at once for mutual defence against Indians and for the formation of a congregation capable of maintaining a priest and a church. The journey was then a formidable undertaking, involving many weeks of travel, partly by horse or waggon, and partly by boat from Pittsburgh down the Ohio. The latter part of the journey was not always peaceably accomplished, as the wooded banks of the stream afforded cover to the plumed and painted warriors, who resented the intrusion of white men into the untrodden wilds of "the Dark and Bloody Ground," as Kentucky is termed in their language.

The emigrants moved in detachments, twenty-five families the first year, and the remainder during the three years following. In company with one of these parties, with a certain Edward Howard as his fellow-traveller, went, in 1787, Father Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, the first Catholic priest to enter Kentucky. A pioneer in a material, no less than in a spiritual sense, we read that in riding through the forest, he "blazed" his track hunter-fashion, breaking off conspicuous branches at intervals as finger-posts for subsequent travellers. The emigrants settled in what was then called Jefferson County, now divided into Nelson, Washington, and Marion Counties. In the summer of 1790 their numbers were reinforced by fresh contingents from North Carolina and Tennessee, led by Father William de Rohan, an Irish priest educated in France. Under his auspices was erected a rude log-chapel, dedicated to the Holy Cross, with unglazed windows, and a rough hewn slab of wood by way of an altar, the first Catholic place of worship in Kentucky.

The second, dedicated in 1798 by Fathers Badin and Fournier, missionaries sent by Bishop Carroll some years previously, was St. Ann's on Cartwright's Creek, which later contained the largest body of Catholic worshippers in the State. The nucleus of its congregation was formed by Thomas Hill and Henry Cambron, who left Maryland in 1787 and 1788 respectively. Hill, the first to start was the last to arrive, as his boats were attacked by Indians on the river, some twenty miles from Fort Nelson,

now Louisville, a negro servant, together with all his horses, being killed. He, himself, severely wounded by a musket ball of an ounce weight, which passed through both his legs, was obliged to suspend his journey at Bardstown, whence, after two years, he moved on to join his friend. The occupation of contiguous farms enabled them to combine their labours in the erection of the log-chapel, which, afterwards transferred to the Dominicans, and known as St. Rose's, was ultimately pulled down in 1806. Father Fournier, one of its first incumbents, was accidentally killed in 1803 by the falling of a log while working in a saw-mill, and left his surviving colleague in sole charge of a vast district. The nearest missionary priest in one direction was Father Donatien Olivier, at Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, and Father Gabriel Richard, at Detroit, Michigan, was the only other in the whole north-west. States originally Catholic were no better off, and Louisiana, inhabited by the descendants of Spaniards and Frenchmen, was almost without priests.

In Kentucky the Catholic flocks continued to multiply apace, and within thirteen years the first log-chapel had become the parent of twenty churches, and the 700 families who then represented Catholicity had grown to 7000, numbering some 13,000 individuals. Among other immigrants came a community of refugee Trappists from France, the vocation of whose prior, Father Marie Joseph Dunand, had been determined by a striking incident. Originally a soldier, he was serving as a grenadier in the Revolutionary army, when, ordered to shoot a priest, and refusing to do so, he fled the ranks to become a Religious, and end his days in a discipline more austere than that he left. The Trappist settlement proved abortive; they were broken up by illness, and after removing to Missouri, finally returned to Europe.

It was about the same time that Father Nerinckx arrived, with other exiles of the Revolution, to take his part in the evangelization of a new continent. The son of a prosperous physician, born in 1761, at Herffelingen, in Brabant, he developed an early vocation for the priesthood, and was serving as parish priest of Everberg Neerbeke, in his native province, when the great political cyclone swept him, with so many other human atoms, from his peaceful routine of duty. On his refusal, in 1797, to take the oath prescribed for the clergy, a mandate was issued for his arrest, from which he escaped by a nocturnal flight in the disguise of a peasant to Dendermonde. There he remained in hiding for four years, the Hospital of St. Blaise, in charge of twelve Hospitaller nuns, of whom his aunt, Mother Constantia Langendries was one, furnishing him with an asylum. Here all clerical ministrations to the wounded and dying were performed

by night, and Mass said at 2 A.M. A seeming clothes-press in his room masked an unsuspected intramural recess, into which he disappeared on the alarm of danger, and a dis-used hen-coop in the farmyard served the same friendly purpose if he was surprised while walking in the grounds. The secret of the latter refuge was betrayed by himself on one occasion, when, overhearing the blasphemous language of one of the workmen, he could not restrain his indignation, and stepped out to rebuke him. Not content with this, he insisted on his dismissal, though thereby exposing himself to the risk of a vengeance as sure as it was obvious. It is to the credit of human nature that the man failed to avail himself of his opportunity, and the Father's retreat remained undiscovered.

In 1801, when the actual persecution ceased, he chose expatriation in preference to taking the oath to the Republican Government, and, after a tedious voyage to America, eventually reached the scene of his apostolic labours in Kentucky in 1805. One of the first results of his presence was the building of the little church of St. Charles, on Hardin's Creek, in the following year, by the primitive method of co-operation then in vogue in the backwoods. The members of the congregation having agreed to supply each one or more hewn logs of prescribed dimensions, the "house raising," as it was called, was effected on a given day by the combined efforts of all. In this part of the task the Father's great bodily strength enabled him to play a conspicuous part, wielding the handspike with such effect as to counterbalance at one end of a log the united forces of two men at the other. This log church, the fourth erected in Kentucky, subsisted until 1832, when it was replaced by a brick building.

Physical, no less than spiritual, endowments were, indeed, part of the qualifications for missionary life in those days. Father Nerinckx's district, comprising nearly half the State of Kentucky, now furnishes thirty congregations, and it was part of his ordinary routine to ride twenty-five or thirty miles in order to hear confessions and say mass, breaking his fast only at three or four in the afternoon. Sick calls entailed still longer journeys, and on his famous horse "Printer" he had sometimes to travel 150 miles in a ride of a day and two nights. On one occasion, after accomplishing eighty miles in twenty-four hours, he arrived only to find that the dread rider on the white horse had sped more swiftly still. His penitent was dead at the door of his cabin, whither he had been carried in order to watch for the approach of the priest.

These journeys were accomplished through an inhospitable wilderness, where rivers had to be swum or forded, and to dangers by flood and field were added those from the beasts of the

forest. Benighted once in a wood, he was pursued by wolves, and had to pass the night in the saddle, surrounded by the ravenous pack. Once or twice, when they showed a disposition to spring on his horse, he gave himself up for lost, but by his shouts and resolute demeanour succeeded in keeping them at bay till morning.

By his personal prowess he once obtained a decisive though bloodless victory over a noted bully of the district, who waylaid, and intended to beat him. The meek submission with which the missionary dismounted in obedience to his summons led him to believe that the execution of his programme would be an easy matter, but when he proceeded to put it into action, he found himself quietly pinioned by a pair of stalwart arms, laid helpless on the ground, and held there until he pleaded for release, and promised amendment. On another occasion, when riding with a party of backwoodsmen, Father Nerinckx gave them a lesson of courtesy, by returning the salutation of an old coloured man. "I do not wish to be beaten in politeness by a negro," was his reply, when scoffed at by his companions for the act.

He is honoured as the Founder of the first female community in Kentucky, developed from the spontaneous association in 1812 of some young ladies, in a common life of usefulness, a log-hut with the scantiest and rudest household appliances being their first shelter. They took the name of Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, but the Order which had, in 1879, 26 branches with 288 sisters and 52 novices, is generally known as that of Little Loretto.

Father Nerinckx encountered much opposition in the latter years of his life, as a part of his congregation resented the austere discipline suited to the early simplicity of settler habits, but difficult to enforce on a more advanced community. His life's work was done when the foundations of the pioneer Church were laid, and to others was left the easier task of building on that substructure. But the pious legend that the church bells of all his missions in Kentucky rang spontaneously on the night of his death, which occurred during a journey in Missouri, showed how reverently his memory was cherished in the hearts of his people at large.

Another striking figure of the same early period of the Church is that of Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, the heir of a great Russian house, who, sent to America by his parents on a tour of pleasure, was there seized with a vocation for the priesthood, and remained to devote himself to its evangelization. He is known as the Apostle of the Alleghanies, the chosen field of his labours, where in the little settlement of Loretto, his own creation and foundation, he spent the latter part of his life.



Ecclesiastical organization had meantime proceeded hand in hand with geographical extension, and the vast diocese of Baltimore, which included the whole of the United States south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, stretching from Michigan to Florida, and from Maine to the Missouri, with some of the West India Islands thrown in as appanages, had its dimensions curtailed in every direction. In addition to the See of New Orleans already existing, four suffragan dioceses—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown—were created in 1808, Dr. Carroll being raised to the rank of Archbishop. Even these sub-divisions of the original See were of vast extent, and that of Bardstown in Kentucky embraced the area of seven and a half States and two territories, now constituting ten dioceses. The first Provincial Council of Baltimore, summoned to meet in 1829 marked an epoch in the growth of the Church when common deliberation became necessary in order to secure uniformity of discipline. Its sittings, attended by five bishops under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Baltimore, resulted in the adoption of 38 Decrees, subsequently sanctioned by Rome.

The second Council, held in 1837, devoted much of its time to the discussion of missions to the negroes of Liberia and the Indians of the north-west. Both were confided to the Jesuits, who undertook the charge with alacrity. Among the Indians they resumed the missions commenced by Joques and Menard, and retained them until 1850, when one of their number was raised to the Episcopate, and the Indian territory made a Vicariate Apostolic.

During the following years Provincial Councils were not only held in Baltimore at intervals of four or five years, but also in the other ecclesiastical provinces into which the original arch-diocese was gradually sub-divided. Their Decrees, however, though sanctioned by the Holy See, had only local binding force, and, what is termed in politics federation, was required in order to create a central authority, capable of legislating for the whole American Church. This was brought about by the agreement of the prelates of the United States to hold periodical National Councils, whose resolutions should be accepted by all.

The result of the movement [says the *New York Catholic News*] was that a summons was issued to the Bishops of the United States to meet in the Cathedral Church of the city of Baltimore on May 9th, 1852, for the discussion of questions affecting the interests of the Church in this country. No such gathering had been before witnessed in the history of the American Church. Among its attendants were six archbishops and twenty-six bishops, all of whom were presided over by the Most Rev. Francis Kenrick, who had been transferred from the See of Philadelphia only a few years before. The entire episcopacy

was present, from the Archbishop of Baltimore to the Bishop of Monterey, who had to travel across the continent. The Council was in session for a number of days, and the principal result of its labours was a request to the Holy See to establish eight new bishoprics, to raise San Francisco to an archiepiscopate, and to constitute Upper Michigan a Vicariate Apostolic. This increase of the episcopacy was rendered necessary by the rapid growth of the Catholic population. Bishops no longer found themselves able to attend to the requirements of a large district, for the population had become concentrated, and the trading posts of fifty years before had grown into promising cities. The calls for episcopal ministrations were so many that the increase in the number of bishops was fully justified by the exigencies of the times. The Pastoral Letter of the Council was prepared by Archbishop Kenrick. It abounds in good counsels, and directions to Catholics for their proper conduct, and has been characterized by many as the most truly Apostolic document that ever emanated from such a body. The Decrees of the Council were, with some slight amendment, approved by the Roman Congregations, and the approval returned in the following year in an Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father.

It had been originally intended that a National Council of the bishops of the United States should be held every ten years. In 1862, when the time came for the second Plenary Council, the country was in the midst of internecine strife. At the close of the war, preparations were made for the postponed assembly. Archbishop Spalding was then the successor of Archbishop Carroll. He was the son of one of the oldest families of Maryland. After some years of study in the seminary of Bardstown, Kentucky, he was sent to Rome to study theology and philosophy. Made coadjutor to the Bishop of Louisville in 1848, he succeeded Bishop Flaget on that prelate's death in 1850. On the death of the Archbishop of Baltimore in 1860 he was elected by Papal Rescript to that position in the American Church. It was he who was appointed Apostolic Delegate to the Second Plenary Council held in 1866. The Council was opened by six archbishops, thirty-seven bishops, three mitred abbots, and the representatives of thirteen religious bodies, followed by upwards of one hundred theologians. The solemn sessions of the Council were conducted on a scale of great magnificence, while in the private sessions the questions engrossing the attention of the prelates are said to have been discussed with much judgment. It was not long before the Decrees of the Council received their binding force from Rome, and at the Vatican Council of 1869 they were referred to as monuments of the correct judgment and thorough learning of those who took part in their formulation. They are unique in ecclesiastical legislation, and in all cases exhibit a desire on the part of the legislators to conform as far as possible with the usage of the Church on all points.

At this Council was enunciated the desire for a Catholic University, the execution of which was left to the next great ecclesiastical gathering of the same character. The most striking

result of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in 1884, was the first active step towards the realization of the project by the creation of a committee of prelates and laymen, with the Archbishop of Baltimore at its head, to collect and administer the funds necessary for the purpose. Thus, each of these assemblies has left its mark upon the history of the Church in the practical measures resulting from its deliberations.

The increasing importance of Catholicism as an element in the life of the nation at large may be estimated by the subjoined comparative table of its numerical growth, side by side with that of the general population :—

	1776	1790	1800	1810	1820
Catholic Population	25,000	30,000	100,000	150,000	300,000
Total Population ...	3,000,000	3,200,000	5,300,000	7,200,000	9,600,000
Fraction ... ..	$\frac{1}{120}$	$\frac{1}{107}$	$\frac{1}{53}$	$\frac{1}{48}$	$\frac{1}{32}$
	1830	1840	1850	1860	1878
Catholic Population	600,000	1,500,000	3,500,000	4,500,000	7,000,000
Total Population ...	13,000,000	17,000,000	23,200,000	31,500,000	40,000,000
Fraction ... ..	$\frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{1}{11}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{6}$

The progressive ratio of growth borne by the wealth of the Church to that of the country is shown below, for the period 1850-70 :—

	1850	1860	1870
	\$	\$	\$
United States . . .	7,135,780,228	16,159,616,068	30,668,518,507
Catholic Church. . .	9,256,758	26,774,119	60,985,565

Thus, while the aggregate wealth of the country increased, during the first decade 125, and that of the Church 189 per cent., the figures for the second are 86 and 128 respectively.

The increase of the Catholic population is not entirely due to immigration from Europe, but to annexation of territory and inter-continental migration as well. Under this last head comes the increasing movement of French-Canadians across the international boundary, reckoned during the last thirty years at 500,000. Under the former must be counted the purchase of Florida in 1819, with 18,000 Catholic inhabitants of Spanish descent, and the annexations in 1845 and 1848 of Texas, California, and New Mexico, with an aggregate population, also originally Spanish, of 160,000. The aboriginal race, out of a total of 279,333, numbers 106,000 Catholics, according to the statistics of the Indian Bureau for 1875, while the coloured people furnish to the Church a contingent from 25,000 to 30,000 strong. Father Hecker\* estimates the German Catholics at

\* "Catholic Church in the United States." Rev. J. T. Hecker. New York, 1879.

1,237,563, but the rapid increase in the total since 1846 has been mainly due to the great movement westward of the Irish population, commencing with the famine year. Archbishop Ryan, in preaching the centenary sermon in Baltimore Cathedral, dwelt on the recent rapid growth of Catholicism in the old Puritan States, where hostility to it was greatest. Here, where sixty years ago, there was but one bishop with two priests and two places of worship, there are now one archbishop, six bishops, 942 priests, and 619 churches, with private chapels, colleges, schools, and benevolent institutions in proportion. The statistics of the Church at large are given in Cardinal Gibbons' "Pastoral on the Centenary."

There is now [he says] embraced within the territory of the United States a Catholic population of about 9,000,000. There are 13 archbishops and 71 bishops, 8000 priests, 10,500 churches and chapels, 27 seminaries exclusively devoted to the training of candidates for the sacred ministry; there are 650 colleges and academies for the higher education of the youth of both sexes, and 3100 parish schools. There are 520 hospitals and orphan asylums, where every form of human misery and infirmity is alleviated, and where children of both sexes are rescued from spiritual and temporal wretchedness, and are reared to become useful and honourable members of society.

In an interesting article on "Roman Catholicism in America," by Mr. Bodley, in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1889, the writer graphically illustrates the progress of the Church in the United States by dwelling on its position in a single city.

Philadelphia [he says], unlike New York, is a typical American commercial city which illustrates the position and progress of the Roman Catholic Church in the Union. Although the estimable Society of Friends is not so relatively strong there as formerly, and though Pennsylvania was in the old days a favourable locality for Catholic settlers, yet the tradition of Philadelphia is decidedly Protestant. For all that, the "Quaker City" contains nearly as many Roman Catholics as the entire population of Rome. It contains more Catholics than the entire population of any other town in Catholic Italy, except Naples; of any town in Catholic Spain, but Madrid; of any town in Catholic Belgium but Brussels; and of any town in France except Paris and Lyons. Among the great Catholic cities of Europe, whose inhabitants are less numerous than the Catholic population of Philadelphia are Milan, Turin, Palermo, Barcelona, Antwerp, Bordeaux, and Marseilles. Statements in this form are frequently made to illustrate the vastness of London, but Philadelphia is not even a London on a small scale. It is a characteristic American city of the first rank, larger than any single British municipality in the provinces, but not much larger than Manchester and Salford, together with the adjoining townships, and it contains over 300,000

Catholics. The next census will probably show that this figure is considerably below the mark, as the diocese contains 400,000 Catholics, and there is no great centre of population within it outside Philadelphia.

The approach of the Centennial anniversary of the foundation of the hierarchy gave a peculiar fitness to the work set on foot by the Plenary Council of 1884 in the creation of a Catholic University. No worthier monument could be raised to the past triumph of the Church than one so tending to secure its future progress. Nowhere is Catholicism so fully in touch with modern ideas as in the United States, where the problem of reconciling religious authority with the spirit of modern democracy has been fully and finally solved. But the Catholic body, in order to maintain its position in a world dominated by the progressive theories of the present day must be provided with such complete machinery of education as shall secure knowledge according to the highest prevailing standard, without sacrifice of faith. To this necessity the American public has shown itself fully alive, and the magnitude of the subscriptions was commensurate with the greatness of the end to be attained. First on the list came Miss Caldwell, with the munificent offering of 300,000 dollars (£60,000), to which her sister added £10,000. Four other subscribers followed with £10,000, £4000, £2800, and £2000 respectively, the general scale of contribution being so large that the sum of £155,540 was collected from 41 persons, while lesser offerings mounted up to £6800. Thus, in October, 1886, the American Episcopate was in a position to request the sanction of Rome for their undertaking, to which full authorization was given in a letter from the Pope to Cardinal Gibbons, tracing in outline the constitution of the new foundation.

The spiritual basis of the University having been thus established, the erection of its material structure rapidly followed. A large piece of ground near the City of Washington having been purchased for a site, the foundation stone of the Divinity School was laid on May 28th, 1888, in presence of Cardinal Gibbons, 25 other prelates, 500 ecclesiastics, and 5000 invited guests—among whom were President Cleveland and five members of his Cabinet.

As celestial patrons of the University Our Lady and St. Thomas Aquinas have been chosen by its rector, Dr. John J. Keane, Bishop of Richmond, born in Ireland, in the county of Donegal, in 1839. He has qualified himself for his charge by visiting the principal European Universities—those of Rome, Vienna, Munich, Münster, Paris, and Louvain, whose teaching he made the subject of comparative treatises. For the teaching

staff he has already chosen, as professor of moral philosophy, Dr. Bouquillon, a noted writer on the subject; of Biblical studies, Dr. Hyvernat, a native of Lyons, and disciple of the celebrated Professor Vigouroux, of Paris; of canon law, Dr. Messmer, a native of Switzerland, but for many years resident in America; of dogmatic theology, Dr. Schröder, author of standard works on the subject, born at Beeck in 1849; and of Thomistic philosophy, Dr. Pohle, born in 1852 at Niederspays on the Rhine, eminent as a writer and contributor to erudite ecclesiastical compilations.

The course will consist, for the present, of lectures every day on dogmatic and moral theology, the Holy Scriptures, and higher philosophy; three times a week on English literature; and once a week on ecclesiastical history, liturgy, and various scientific subjects. Later on will be instituted courses of Biblical languages, as well as of sacred music and church ceremonies. The University is intended to consist, when completed, of seven great blocks of building, of which those assigned to the schools of law and medicine will be immediately erected.

So rapid was the construction of the Divinity Building as to make its completion the visible monument of the centennial of the hierarchy, and its inauguration the central event of the celebration. The imposing festivities, of which that ceremonial formed a part, have roused the world to a sudden consciousness of the conquests of Catholicism in a new sphere. But such an occasion can be fittingly celebrated only if its triumphant retrospect be linked with an equal promise of anticipated achievement, and its memorial foundation should be as a milestone facing both ways, recording on the one side the progress of the past, and pointing on the other to the work still remaining for the future. The Washington University will be such a reminder, marking the determination of all who profess Catholicism in America that its second century shall be at least as fruitful as its first. For the Church, conformably to her militant character on earth, can never afford to rest in the consciousness of a completed task, but must ever gird herself to fresh action. Movement and progress are the necessary conditions of her divinely bestowed vitality, as they are of that of more purely human institutions. For the main trunk, indeed, they can never fail, but in the secondary branches their diminution would indicate loss of vigour, and decay would be the Nemesis of sterility.

Nor can the policy of geographical isolation proclaimed by the State in America be ever adopted by a section of that body among whose chief titles to authority is her universality. The Transatlantic Church cannot separate herself from the wants and strivings of the greater community to which she belongs, but must do her share in the work of the Church as a whole. The

consolidation and development of her own organism has fully occupied her energies during the first century of her growth, but the second should see her, fully matured and firmly rooted, prepared to transmit to others the light she has herself received.

Nay, she is, perhaps, in a more especial manner than others called to this task, since it is for her pre-eminently one of expiation. The African slave trade, initiated by the demand for labour in the American colonies, lies heavy at the door of her flock, and entails an obligation of atonement to the race to which has been done the most grievous wrong ever suffered by humanity. Already it has wreaked, in sanguinary civil war, a dire retribution on the continent that gave it birth, while the threatening aspect of the negro question, looming large among the difficulties of the future, seems to show that its inheritance of evil is not yet exhausted.

But even this great blot on the record of mankind may be yet effaced, if it be made the means of working out the redemption of the lost African race by the nation primarily responsible for its enslavement. The evangelization of the great heathen continent, now for the first time rendered practically possible, is the largest task set the coming generation; and the Anglo-Saxon race, with whom lies the world's future, should, if true to its position, bear the heaviest part in it. It will be at best a slow growth of time, impeded by material obstacles, for while missionaries have been, and will be, found ready to die in the attempt to plant the Cross in the equatorial wilderness, white colonization, giving a wider scope to the contact between religious influences and barbarism, is throughout its vast extent a physical impossibility. But if the European races are thus excluded, their place might be taken by the Christianized negroes of North America, fitted for the requirements of African colonization at once by affinity of blood, linking them to their heathen kinsfolk, and, by hereditary tendency of constitution, enabling them to work and thrive in a climate enervating or deadly to the natives of the temperate zone. The increase of the coloured population, raising a problem for the future of the United States, would here find a profitable outlet, and the original violent deportation of the negro would be atoned for, if utilized as a means of leavening with civilizing influences the 210,000,000 Pagans yet unreclaimed in Africa.

A step towards these results has already been taken in the opening by St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society of a college in Baltimore during the great celebrations of the Centenary, for the education of missionaries, both of European and African descent, exclusively devoted to the conversion of the coloured race. The negroes of America, among whom there are already from 25,000 to

30,000 Catholics, are the first objects of its solicitude, but the prosecution of this task is intended to be but preparatory to the larger one of the evangelization of the parent stock. The adoption of the work as a national one on a more extended scale would be a worthy result of the Baltimore Congress, and a fitting consecration of the second century of American Catholicism. Wonderful as has been its past, a future still more wonderful may await it in the infusion of fresh Transatlantic vigour which it may be destined to impart to the missionary work of the Church at large. Over 100,000 Indians already gathered to its fold testify to its proselytizing power, with such increase even to their material well-being, as is testified to by the concurring testimony of all travellers. The success that has attended the efforts of American Catholics in this quarter should encourage them to invade that still greater domain of heathenism, whose conquest to the Cross is, perhaps, reserved for them as a visible atonement for the sins of their fathers against it. The material prosperity of their happy continent makes their obligation all the greater to succour that most miserable one, the slave-raider's prey and the fiends' paradise, which awaits a double redemption at the hands of the more favoured peoples of the earth.

The call to enter upon this work has been already recognized by the Protestant sects in America, and the foundation, some seventy years ago, of the American Colonization Society for the Regeneration of Africa proclaimed its purpose in its name. Its outcome was the creation of Liberia, a settlement of freed negroes on the west coast of Africa, where they and their descendants now number 40,000, and rule over some two million of native African subjects. That a similar system, carried out by a Catholic association for the conversion of Africa, would be likely to be attended with still larger results, is the belief of even Protestant writers, and we quote, to this effect, Dr. E. J. Blyden, who at one time represented the Negro Republic of Liberia at the Court of St. James's:—

Another plan of propagating religion in Africa through indigenous agency is followed by no Christian Church with greater zeal and determination than the Church of Rome. That Church, ever ready to recognize and utilize those elements in human nature which can be made subservient to her interests, is now everywhere educating Africans for the African work. We are convinced that the only hopeful and effective way of proceeding in respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in the words—the conversion of Africa by the Africans. Christian black settlements ought to be attempted all over Africa, even, if need be, among the Mohammedans, after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignor Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but no other system will avail. Whether it will be possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for



the settlement and conversion of Africa—as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose—remains to be proved. Large funds are required—hard heads and generous hearts to carry out such an enterprise; but genuine faith, hope, and charity are divine and creative forces, and we must look for great results where they exist, and are brought into energetic action.

The connecting link between Africa and the outer world will thus be supplied by the American coloured race, sent back as messengers of civilization to their outcast kindred. Great tracts of the most fertile regions of the earth lie derelict, depopulated by the slave trade, awaiting inhabitants sufficiently advanced in arts and knowledge to be able to cope with the exterminators of their kind. We do not despair of seeing the day when these slaughter-scathed areas shall be transformed into so many Catholic Liberias, true oases of freedom and faith scattered through the barbarian wilds. The realization of such a dream would, doubtless, be a heavy task, but none too heavy for American energy and enthusiasm. Its fulfilment would make the coming century worthy of that which is past, by crowning the second cycle of the Transatlantic Church with the redemption of another continent.

EDITORIAL.

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## Science Notices.

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**The Photographic Chart of the Heavens.**—The Holy Father has given one more proof of his disinterested love of learning, and of the elasticity of mind which enables him, in the midst of innumerable cares, to share, in full sympathy, all the nobler aspirations of humanity. Within the walls of the palace which is his prison, he has decreed the erection of an astronomical observatory, already, at his instance, enrolled among those co-operating in the great international work of charting the heavens by photography. The instrument required for the purpose has been ordered from the MM. Henry, of Paris, and will doubtless be executed with all possible despatch. It may be described as a twin-telescope, a single tube enclosing a refractor of thirteen inches aperture, at the focus of which the sensitive plates are exposed, and a refractor of eleven inches for the visual use of the operator, whose business it is to keep the stars steady during the operation. The photographic object-glass is as unfit for looking through, as the visual object-glass for taking photographs with, for the simple reason that each is constructed to concentrate into an image the different qualities of light to which the human and the chemical retinas are respectively sensitive. There may be insects which see best, or solely, with the high-up rays that blacken salts of silver; but our own species needs the help of longer and less frequent vibrations.

Father Denza of the Barnabite Order, for some years the head of the observatory at Moncalieri near Turin, has been nominated by the Pope director of the Vatican establishment, and as such is now a member of the Permanent Committee charged with carrying out the resolutions of the Photographic Congress of 1887. The French Astronomical Society marked their esteem for him personally, no less than their appreciation of the service to science he has been chosen to render, by electing him, on the 6th of last November, an honorary member of their body. The meeting of the Permanent Committee at Paris in September 1889, was in every respect satisfactory. Some important decisions were arrived at; others, less pressing and more likely to divide opinions, were wisely reserved for future consideration; technical points were discussed and elucidated; proposals, hitherto vague, received a tangible form; and the whole work, notwithstanding the novelties of principle and detail met with at every stage of its organization, was notably facilitated and quickened. Twenty observatories, distributed over the wide range of latitude from Helsingfors to the Cape of Good Hope, have now engaged to share its practical execution. Of these, fifteen are expected to be completely equipped early in the present year; and the five recently added—at Vienna, Catania, Manilla, Tacubaya in Mexico, and the Vatican—will be ready by its close. Each will have to take about seven hundred photographs, in the

special zone of the heavens assigned to it, by methods and employing precautions accurately prescribed by the Congress; and the results will eventually be sent in to a central office, where measurements, reductions, and reproductions will be carried into effect on a uniform plan. It is somewhat remarkable that no co-operating observatory is to be found within the compass of the United States. American astronomers prefer acting on their own account, and it must be admitted they do so with great vigour and success.

**The Solar Eclipses of 1889.**—The elaborate modern machinery for eclipse-observation was, for the first time in 1889, set in motion twice in a single year. The opportunity for such a feat does not often occur; and it is only of late that astronomers have felt it incumbent upon them to transport themselves and their complex and delicate apparatus to the ends of the earth for the purposes of a spectacle which an unlucky drift of cloud during a given three minutes may completely efface. Their admirable energy has, on the whole, some poignant disappointments notwithstanding, been amply rewarded. We owe to observations made during, or suggested by total eclipses, all the knowledge we possess about the immediate appendages of the sun.

The track of totality on January 1, 1889, crossed none but American soil, and a kind of "Monro doctrine" regarding it seems to have been tacitly allowed to prevail. There was no European interference with the local monopoly of the phenomenon. American observers had it all to themselves, and showed their superiority to recent English expeditionary parties in this, if in nothing else, that they managed, unlike a certain Lowland barometer in meteorological adversity, to "keep some power over the weather!" Nothing indeed could be better than the way in which the work was done. Although the eclipse, as visible from Mount Hamilton, fell short of being total, the Lick Observatory was the centre of the organization by which a great part of the results were secured; a field-station in connection with it at Bartlett Springs, California, was manned by Lick observers, Mr. J. E. Keeler at their head; and documents and photographs innumerable were after the event, transmitted to Lick for discussion, comparison, and appraisal. The prompt publication of the volume embodying this mass of more or less valuable information, has been set off by the slightly *subsequent* appearance of our Royal Society's Report upon the eclipse of 1886. In a careful introduction, Professor Holden reaches the following, among other conclusions: "That the characteristic coronal forms seem to vary periodically as the sun spots (and auroras) vary in frequency, and that the coronas of 1867, 1878, and 1889, are of the same strongly marked type, which corresponds therefore to an epoch of minimum solar activity." This type, as our readers may be aware, is distinguished by the substitution for the ordinary "aigrettes" of coronal radiance, of huge equatorial wing-like streamers, accompanied by polar luminosity of the "brush" or hairy kind. Now we learn in addition (and the fact is of great significance), "that the so-called

'polar' rays exist at all latitudes on the sun's surface, and are better seen at the poles of the sun simply because they are there projected against the dark background of the sky, and not against the equatorial extensions of the outer corona." The surface of the sun, in fact, bristles all over with light resembling somewhat the "aura" that may be seen to accompany an electrical spark passed across a powerful magnetic field. The definitive establishment of the relations first indicated by Mr. Ranyard some years ago, between coronal forms and the variations of solar activity, though the main result of the eclipse of January 1, 1889, was not its sole one. Important observations were besides made upon the photometric intensity of the corona, tending (it was thought) to invalidate Dr. Huggins's method of photographing it in full sunshine, and upon its spectrum, suggesting the admissibility of much narrower limits than those hitherto adopted for the sun's gaseous surroundings. Both these points, however, require fuller investigation than they have yet received. The frontispiece of the volume issued from Lick consists of an exquisite "silver-print" from a photograph taken by Mr. Barnard. It represents "the absolutely autographic record of the eclipse."

For the eclipse of December 22, 1889, an almost exclusively photographic mode of attack was decided upon, with the object of determining, as far as possible, the real nature of the coronal "extensions." The comparison of plates exposed by Father Perry at the Salut Islands, and by Mr. Taylor on the West Coast of Africa, sixty miles south of Loanda, may at least (as Mr. Turner remarks in No. 155 of the "Observatory") settle the point "whether the photographed corona changes perceptibly in two hours and a half." But it remains to be seen how much of the *visual* corona, of the particular type now existing, can be photographed. Hitherto, only the *roots* of the great equatorial "wings," had been chemically depicted; to get them complete, instruments of augmented light-grasp were needed, which should still be portable enough for distant transportation and temporary use. These Mr. Common has supplied in two perfectly similar reflecting telescopes, which by their excessively short focal length of only forty-five inches, combined with an aperture of twenty inches, give images of unexampled brilliancy. Their power is shown by the considerably nebulous appearance of the Pleiades on a plate exposed with one of them during the brief interval of thirty minutes, the earth-lit portion of the moon coming out with some detail in two or three. As to the upshot of their performance with the corona, something will have been learned by telegraph before these lines are issued from the press.\* It is to be hoped that at least they will get fair play from the weather, through which

The best laid schemes o' mice an' men  
Gang aft a-gley.

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\* The sorrowful result of the death of Father Perry, on December 27, at the Salut Islands, is the only one of which we are yet assured.

**The Rotation of Mercury.**—The first discovery throwing any genuine light upon the physical condition of the planet Mercury, has been announced by Signor Schiaparelli, the illustrious director of the Brera Observatory at Milan. After ten years' watching, he has at last caught the secret of its method of rotation. It is that peculiar one imposed by the tide-raising power of the earth upon the moon, and prevailing also, there is reason to believe, among the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn. Notoriously, the moon always keeps the same face turned towards the earth; we see round the corner into the averted hemisphere only to a small extent under favour of the inequalities of movement, and changes of perspective-position known as "librations." This monotony of aspect arises, of course, from the absolute identity between the lunar periods of rotation and revolution; and the same curious relation is now found to connect Mercury's axial with his orbital movement. Each is performed in eighty-eight days; so that one of the planet's hemispheres remains perpetually exposed to a glare of sunshine nearly seven times more powerful than can ever fall upon the earth, while the other is plunged in unending night. Signor Schiaparelli believes that the appalling contrast of temperatures suggested by this arrangement, may be modified by the rapid circulation of an atmosphere shown by the spectroscope to contain a goodly proportion of water-vapour; still, the presence of any form of life on a globe so strangely circumstanced, is extremely difficult to conceive.

But all this may have been otherwise in the past. It is the mark, we are led to suppose, of an effete world to have surrendered so much of its velocity of rotation as "tidal friction" can deprive it of. In this way only can we explain, with any probability, the unifacial character, as regards their primaries, of many dependent bodies. Ancient tidal waves, raised in their molten masses, *ground down* their primitive whirling to the exact point needed for the abolition of resistance. For with the equalization of rotation and revolution the tidal protuberance became fixed, and friction ceased. Thus it has happened to the moon; thus it has seemingly happened to Mercury; thus (should no other design of Providence intervene) the earth itself must fare, if its oceans last long enough for the slow, inevitable effect of their ebbings and flowings to be consummated. First, by *lunar* tidal friction, the day will be lengthened to a month; then again, by *solar* tidal friction, the protracted day will be further extended to a year; and our planet, desolated by frost on one side, by fire on the other, will be reduced to the plight of its least sister, the evasive star of early twilight.

**"The Identity of Light and Electricity."**—In a recent number we mentioned the researches of Dr. Hertz, which have proved the identity of light and electricity. Last September, Dr. Hertz, in an address to the Congress of German Naturalists at Heidelberg, described the experiments upon which he bases this important conclusion. Dr. Hertz, by his own admission, is not the author of

the theory, but it has fallen to his lot to prove its truth. Its originator was undoubtedly Faraday, who, by that intuition so peculiarly his own, felt that light, electricity, and magnetism were produced by motions of the same medium—the ether of space. But in vain did he try and determine whether the transmission of electric and magnetic forces was instantaneous or not. Maxwell, by his mathematical formulæ, strengthened the position of the etherial theory; but experimental evidence was still wanting. This Dr. Hertz has supplied. To prove experimentally in the laboratory that electrical propagation is not instantaneous was no easy task, considering the rate at which electric waves travel. To quote Dr. Hertz's words: "It is impossible to observe the excitation of a magnet, the discharge of a Leyden jar, &c., at anything but a moderate distance, say, 10 metres. Now, light and electricity according to the theory, traverse this space in one millionth of a second."

The method of observation adopted by Dr. Hertz was as follows:—On the discharge of a Leyden jar electric oscillations take place. A single vibration can be therefore taken as a sort of unit. But as the shortest vibrations are of the order of a million a second, the effect of one of these vibrations is propagated to a distance of 300 metres during its existence, and within the bounds of a laboratory cause and effect will be simultaneous. Fortunately, another method was found. It was discovered that "not only is a Leyden jar discharge oscillatory, but that oscillations take place in any conductor in the vicinity, and that these oscillations are far more rapid than those of the Leyden jar, being of the order of from 100 to 1000 million per second." From this time Dr. Hertz possessed signals whose duration was comparable with a thirty-millionth of a second; he says, however, that they would have been of little use if he had been unable to seize them, so to speak, at a distance of only 10 metres. The means Dr. Hertz employed were very simple. At the spot where he wished to observe the signal, he placed a conductor in the shape of a rectilinear wire containing a slight interruption. When the electric field varied rapidly a tiny spark was seen at the opening. These sparks are about the  $\frac{1}{100}$  of a millimetre in length. Their duration is less than a millionth of a second. When the conductor is placed at certain points of the room, sparking is violent, while at other points it is extinguished. Dr. Hertz noticed that the places of electrical activity and inactivity succeeded each other in regular order, and so could affirm that the propagation was not instantaneous. He was able to measure the wave length. Then the question arose, whether the waves were longitudinal or transverse. To decide this question, Dr. Hertz placed his conductor in two positions at the same spot. In one there was electrical excitation, in the other none. This showed that the waves were transverse. The next problem was the speed of the propagation. This was solved by multiplying the wave length by the duration of the vibration. Dr. Hertz found a velocity approximating that of light. Subsequent experiments confirm these conclusions.

To those who still doubt [says Dr. Hertz], I would point out that every effect which is observed with light waves can be observed with these electric waves. If the conductor is placed in the focus of a large concave mirror, the electric waves unite and leave the mirror in the form of a rectilinear pencil. By turning this mirror we can send the ray in different directions. When we interpose in its path conducting bodies, the electric ray is stopped, but not destroyed, since it is reflected. To study the refraction of light we employ a prism. The same can be done for electricity, only the dimensions of the waves and of the ray oblige us to use as a conductor a very large prism. Moreover, it is necessary to choose a cheap substance, such as pitch or asphalt. Finally, it is possible to observe with the electric ray, phenomena, which, up to the present, have only been observed in the case of light namely, those of polarization.

Dr. Hertz points out that these discoveries will cause our electric phraseology to be much modified. In the future we must not speak of currents traversing conductors, "we must speak only of undulations crossing space, separating, assisting each other, or reinforcing each other. The domain of optics is no longer limited to undulations only a fraction of a millimetre in length; it comprises waves whose length may be measured in decimetres, metres, and kilometres." But we may well venture to think that not only the language but the practice also of electrical science will become greatly changed. Are there not startling possibilities in store—for instance, will material conductors such as wires be necessary for the transmission of electricity? In telegraphing the return wire was found to be an unnecessary complication. Is there really need of a continuous wire at all? It is said that Mr. Edison is at work at the problem of the transmission of sight to a distance. Perhaps Dr. Hertz's researches may strike the key-note of its solution. Well may Dr. Oliver Lodge say in his "Modern Views of Electricity": "The present is an epoch of astounding activity in physical science. Progress is a thing of months and weeks, almost of days. The long line of isolated ripples of past discovery seem blending into a mighty wave, on the crest of which one begins to discern some on-coming magnificent generalization. The suspense is becoming feverish, at times almost painful." But before we can master the ether of space we must know more of its structure and nature than we do at present. Dr. Hertz, in the concluding remarks of his address, says that the modern physicist will soon ask whether all material things are not modifications of the ether. He says that question is the final goal of modern science.

**Meteorological Observations on the Eiffel Tower.**—The "uselessness" of the Eiffel Tower has been much commented on by the practical utilitarian. To him its only office seemed to be that of giving the pleasure-seeking crowd the sensation of "altitude." Meteorologists have far different ideas of the famous structure. They have eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of having a height upon which they may experiment to their hearts' content in such an accessible site as the French capital. The meteorological

work of three months alone redeems the Tower from the stigma of uselessness, and forcibly suggests the idea that the uses for meteorological observation would have alone justified the Parisians in raising this monument to engineering skill.

In a note recently published in the "Journal" of the French Academy of Sciences, M. Angot gave the results of experiments made to ascertain the velocity of the wind on the summit of the Eiffel Tower, compared with its velocity at the low elevation of the central meteorological station. An identical instrument—an "anémomètre-cinémographe" was used at both points of observation. On the Eiffel Tower the vanes were at an altitude of 303 metres from the ground, and on the turret of the central meteorological station they were 21 metres from the ground, and at a horizontal distance of 500 metres from the Tower. M. Angot, up to the 1st of October made observations on the Tower extending over 101 days, 12 of these were in June, 28 in July, 31 in August, and 30 in September. The general mean of velocity for 101 days was found to be 7 metres  $\cdot$ 05 on the Tower, and 2 metres  $\cdot$ 24 at the meteorological station. The velocity is therefore three times greater at the top of the Tower than near the ground. M. Angot reminds us of the fact that in meteorological stations of low level, the velocity of the wind increases with the day and falls with the night, in an analogous manner to the variations of temperature. On mountainous stations the contrary is the rule. M. Angot thinks it is a remarkable fact that this inversion is found to exist at a height so relatively small as the Eiffel Tower. He says it might be asked whether this peculiarity is not due in part to air disturbances caused by the mass of the Tower getting heated by the sun's rays in the day-time. First of all M. Angot explains that this is not probable because of the shape of Tower, the relative lightness of the structure, and the small amount of surface which it offers to the wind. Then he tells us that he has pretty well proved that there is no foundation for such an argument, for he has calculated separately the means of two series of observations, one extending over 20 days during which there was always a clear sky, with a wind from north to east; the other extending over 33 days, during which there was a clouded sky, with a wind from south to west. He has not found differences between the two series that would justify the explanation, and concludes that the velocity of the wind at the height of the Eiffel Tower is very different from its velocity at the surface of the earth, approaching to the conditions that are observed on high mountains.

There is another important point to be noted from these observations—that is, that the velocity of the wind at a height of 300 metres is very much greater than has been generally supposed. For 100 days in the summer the mean exceeds 7 metres per second. During 2516 hours of observation included in this period the velocity of the wind has been in 986 hours more than 8 metres per second, and during 823 hours more than 10 metres per second.



M. Angot suggests that the knowledge of these figures is of great interest for the study of the problem of aerial navigation.

**The late Dr. Joule.**—On October 10 last, at his residence near Manchester, died Dr. James Prescott Joule, age 71, the great physicist and the discoverer of the mechanical equivalent of heat, known as “Joule’s Equivalent.” The son of a brewer at Salford, he was, on account of his delicacy, brought up at home by tutors. At the age of 15 he commenced studying chemistry under the great Dalton, in the rooms of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. There, in time, he read many of his papers, and in Manchester took place most of his experiments, so that the late influential meeting in that city to consider a memorial to their great citizen, verified Sir Henry Roscoe’s saying of 32 years ago, that in the future Manchester would be famous not as the seat of the cotton trade but as “the place where John Dalton worked out the atomic theory of chemistry, and James Prescott Joule placed upon a sure experimental basis the grand principle of the conservation of energy.” Leading a life of beautiful simplicity, shunning publicity, he sought not for fame, but only for truth. Yet honours were heaped on him. He was Honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, Honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh and Dublin, Honorary Fellow of many learned Societies, English and Foreign. A Fellow of the Royal Society, he was the recipient of its Gold Royal Medal in 1852, and of its Copley Gold Medal in 1870; he likewise received the Society of Arts’ Albert Medal in 1880; and in 1878 a pension from the Queen of £200 a year.

When only twenty years of age, after much original work, in one of a series of papers on “Electro-Magnetic Forces” published in “Sturgeon’s Annals of Electricity,” he pointed out a defect in experimental comparisons “arising from incomplete descriptions of apparatus, and from the arbitrary and vague numbers which are used to characterize electric currents.” “Such a practice,” he says, “might be tolerated in the infancy of the science, but in its present state of advancement greater precision and propriety are imperatively demanded.” And in this remark we see the experimenter unequalled for skill and minute accuracy, in whose hands that which was too difficult to permit others to draw any trustworthy conclusions, yielded to him often an important law of generalization. We recognize the penetration that a few years later deduced from experiment the equivalence of heat and work, and formulated the now well-known mechanical equivalent of heat. This is one of those laws which, by the universality of their application, help to simplify our conceptions of nature and to bring the various physical sciences into the harmony of a common mechanical philosophy. Its establishment did for energy that which Lavoisier had done for matter—it proved that energy could neither be created nor destroyed, that its sum in the universe is invariable, but that its manifestations can be interchanged, though always in definite and quantitative relations.

It is hard now to realize that the law of the conservation of energy—the groundwork of all the branches of physical science—was unknown in 1841; that then the properties of friction were as unexplained as is the property of gravitation. Men believed that friction destroyed energy, and that in the action of the steam engine it was created; heat was imponderable, so was electricity, while those who thought heat must be mechanical action had no measure of mechanical action “in which to gauge the equivalent.” It is true that the various branches of physical science, studied separately, had advanced in the right direction, some notably under Dalton, Faraday, Fourier, Dulong, and Sturgeon. But it was reserved to Joule to suggest the equivalencies in each case, and to experimentally fix their numerical values. “Before he came to the equivalence of the work spent in overcoming fluid or solid friction, and the heat produced; and, again, between the work spent in compressing air and the heat produced,” engine-makers had arrived at considering work against resistance as “the mechanical and commercial measure of potency.” Rumford had first seen the nature of the relation between heat and mechanical action; Mayer had even attained in thought the mechanical equivalent of heat; but Joule first established it on a sound experimental basis; and from the importance and generality of the ensuing results, the discoverer of the most general recognized law in the universe stands with Newton and Dalton in the history of physical science. All the papers containing Joule’s experiments and deductions can be found in two volumes of his collected papers, edited by himself, published by the Physical Society of London. Their style is as remarkable as is their matter—models of clearness and of patient accuracy, without a mathematical symbol, yet with the experiments so stated that a mathematician could easily reduce them to mathematical representation.

**Rabies.**—The Society of Arts, with its accustomed eagerness to discuss the vital scientific questions of the day, ensured that the topic of “rabies” should occupy one of the earliest meetings of the present session. Dr. Ruffer was eminently fitted to be the exponent of the subject, as he has had such a long and intimate acquaintance with the Pasteur Institute. After his clear exposition of the nature of the terrible disease, his contradiction of the popular delusions regarding it, his statistical evidence as to the value of inoculation, and his enumeration of the exceedingly simple means by which rabies can be utterly eradicated from this island, no one need be ignorant on the subject, even if some continue to indulge in that “sentiment,” which is a powerful cause of the continuance of rabies.

Dr. Ruffer points out that rabies has a characteristic differing from all other infectious diseases. Its virus thrives only in a living body. Happily for the human race, sunlight and dryness are its natural disinfectants. In a dead animal the virus does not long survive its victim. Fear of infection is therefore limited to the

injection of the virus from one living body to another, and, as is well known, the ordinary way this injection occurs is through the bite of a rabid dog, the only propagator to be feared in this country. But it is not only by biting that the poison can be injected. A person whose chapped hand was merely licked by a dog suffering from the first symptoms of rabies has died in consequence. This is a very important point to be noted, for the only popular notion of a mad dog was an animal rushing wildly about and biting every one who comes in its path. It is true these symptoms happen frequently in the last stage of the disease; but we are told by Dr. Ruffer that at an early stage there is often a symptom of increased affection on the part of the dog, demonstrated by licking the hands and face; therefore any unusual excess of affection may be received with caution. There is another variety of rabies called "dumb rabies," characterized by the symptoms of paralysis. This, Dr. Ruffer says, is not less common, while it is just as dangerous, because many are not on their guard against it.

It has been often supposed that rabies is aggravated by heat. Experience shows there is no reason to suppose that the virus flourishes more in summer than in winter. It occurs amongst the dogs in the Arctic regions as well as amongst those in India and Africa. The statistics as to the cases treated at the Pasteur Institute show that during the years 1887 and 1888, 56 per cent. of all cases occur from December 1 to June 1, and 44 per cent. from June 1 to December 1. The highest number of patients in both years came to the Institute in February, and the lowest in November. Comparatively few patients were bitten in June, July, and August. Dr. Ruffer points out that the conventional word "hydrophobia" is a misnomer, it means fear of water. The rabid dog or human being have known no peculiar fear of water, though naturally they shrink from water, because the imbibing of fluids usually gives painful spasms in the throat.

There is only one remedy for a human being when bitten by a rabid animal that is a preventive one—being inoculated with the virus before the development of the disease. Dr. Ruffer calls attention to the fact that misstatements have appeared in print as to the source of the virus used for inoculation. It is always rabbits that are used for its production, and not dogs, as has sometimes been stated. The statistics quoted by Dr. Ruffer prove the value of M. Pasteur's work most conclusively. To appreciate it one must realize the usual rate of mortality from rabies when the patient is left without inoculation. Dr. Ruffer produced abundant statistics to show the usual rate of mortality of those bitten by rabid animals. From these statistics he states a general average of 15 per cent. for those bitten by dogs. This average he thinks may be rather too low. The average for those bitten by wolves he concludes is 60 per cent. Now the statistics concerning the Pasteur Institute show that during the year 1887 the number of persons inoculated were 1778. The average mortality was as low as 1.34 per cent. During the

next year it was even less, being 1·16 per cent. In order to obtain confirmatory evidence to these results, Dr. Ruffer has collected valuable data concerning the working of other anti-rabies institutions that follow the Pasteur treatment, and the statistics of mortality give figures approximating to those of the Pasteur Institute. To take two examples out of the many given. Dr. Bardach, the present Director of the "Institut Antirabique" of Odessa, inoculated 333 persons, of which only 2 have died (mortality 0·63 per cent.) Amongst the successful cases was one with thirty deep wounds, the results of bites from a rabid wolf. From the 1st of December to the 1st of August, 1889, 244 persons bitten by rabid animals were inoculated at Bucharest. The mortality amongst these is absolutely *nil*. But while Dr. Ruffer recommends all persons that are bitten by a rabid animal to take the first train to Paris and put themselves in M. Pasteur's hands, he is evidently of the same opinion as M. Pasteur himself, that in this country there is no necessity to have an anti-rabies institute. M. Pasteur's words on the subject were: "In England you are most favourably situated for getting rid of the disease, in consequence of your insular position; you may make my method absolutely superfluous. Germany had to muzzle in perpetuity, being surrounded by nations who did not muzzle; but in England it would only be necessary to have a certain period—not very long—of universal muzzling, and then a rigid quarantine afterwards."

How simple is then the remedy at home; but it has met with obstinate opposition from a section of the public who have chosen to weigh the alleviation of such intense human suffering with the fancied temporary inconvenience of a pampered pet. As Dr. Fleming said during the discussion that followed the reading of Dr. Ruffer's paper, the objection to the muzzle is frivolous in the extreme. Why should dogs be exempted from a slight restriction of that kind, when horses have to bear shoeing and submit to a bit and bearing rein? In 1886 the Dog Owners Protection Society published erroneous statements, going so far as to say that there was no such thing as rabies; but surely credit will not be any longer given to such statements now that publicity is being given to the true aspects of the case. It seems hopeful that Parliament during the coming session will adopt the expedient and right course, and pass a Bill to ensure general muzzling and effectual quarantine.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Russia in Central Asia in 1889.**—Mr. Curzon has written a book\* which is at once a personal narrative of travel along the newly-constructed Transcaspian railway in the months of September and October 1888, and a sound and well-reasoned survey of the Central Asian Question in its social, political, and commercial aspects. As to the railway itself his view is that its effect in increasing the moral preponderance of Russia in Central Asia has been much underrated in this country, and that it has not only strengthened her hold on the regions admittedly within the sphere of her dominion, but has brought Persia and Khorasan practically within her clutch. Its commercial results are hardly less important, for it gives Russia a monopoly of the markets of Bokhara, which formerly did a large trade with England, and will also secure for her those of Northern Persia and Khorasan. The development of the cotton-growing industry of Turkestan will enable her to supply herself thence with cotton which can be sold in Moscow for fourpence a pound, whereas that imported from abroad has hitherto averaged sevenpence. Russian cotton goods are now purchased at the fair of Nijni Novgorod by traders from Khiva, Bokhara, Tashkend, and even Asia Minor, who formerly supplied themselves with English goods *via* the Levant or the port of Batoum. In Afghanistan also English merchandize is being supplanted by Russian, while the transit trade through that country, *via* Herat and Kerki to Bokhara, amounting in 1881 to 3600 camel loads, and 1025 tons weight, had declined in 1884 to 1700 camel loads, or 490 tons weight, and has now become non-existent, communication by caravan between Kabul and Bokhara having ceased in the autumn of 1888.

**Population and Resources of Turkestan.**—The population of the Russian provinces in Central Asia is very sparse, being only 1·8 inhabitants to every square verst as compared with 19·3 in European Russia, 17·9 in Caucasia, and 71·4 in Poland. Turkestan with an area of 611,000 square versts had, in 1885, 2,335,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,430,000 were sedentary and 905,000 nomads. Of 152,500,000 acres in Turkestan 70,000,000, or nearly one-half are steppe, mountain, or sand waste, entirely useless for cultivation, 75,000,000 are available only for pasture, 5,000,000 are under cultivation, and 2,500,000 are prairie lands. Wheat, rice, sorghum, millet, and barley are the principal cereals grown, and of textile products, cotton occupies the first place, flax and hemp coming second and third. The nomads of the Syr Daria and Amu Daria

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\* "Russia in Central Asia in 1889." By George N. Curzon, M.P. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

districts raise annually three million pouds of cotton (the poud is 36 lbs.), while Zerafshan, Kuraminsk, and Khojend produce 400,000, and Ferghana 150,000 pouds. Sericulture is one of the principal industries; Central Asia furnishing a total of 103,000 pouds of spun silk, which, at the price of 125 roubles the poud, gives an annual revenue of nearly 13,000,000 roubles (£1,300,000). Horticulture is extensively practised, melons and potatoes being grown on a large scale, and fruit culture occupies an area of 250,000 acres, the dried fruits of Turkestan being exported to all parts of Siberia and Southern Russia. The total export trade of Turkestan to the Fairs of the Steppes and Russia is estimated at £1,080,000, and its imports at £1,200,000. Tashkend, the capital, with its houses standing in gardens, covers an area of 2,500,000 acres, equal to that of Paris, with a population of 120,000, of whom 100,000 are crowded into the native or Sart quarter. The Russian civil and military populations amount each to 10,000, and the native and European cities are totally distinct from each other.

**Address on Morocco.**—Sir John Hay, who as British Representative in Morocco for forty-two years, has had exceptional opportunities of familiarizing himself with that country, delivered an address on its present condition, before a meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, on November 13th. Beginning with the observation that the customs, habits, thoughts, and even the garments of the Moors, especially of the population of the interior, remote from contact with Europeans at the sea-ports, are still such as those we read of in the Old and New Testaments, he passed on to the more practical subject of trade, of which Great Britain commands three-fourths. France comes next, and Germany is beginning to make her way in the competition. The chief imports are sugars. Morocco, though possessing a fine climate and fertile soil, is kept in a deplorably stagnant condition owing to misgovernment, dating from the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. The officials, none of whom, save those connected with the Customs, receive any salary or payment, depend, from the Vizir and chief officers of the Sultan's Court to the lowest gendarme, on bribery, extortion, and peculation of every kind. There is no security for property, and maladministration produces perpetual insurrections in the provinces, to repress which the Sultan encamps with an army of 10,000 or 20,000 strong in the rebellious district, men and horses feeding on the crops, cattle, and sheep, and the rabble of troopers pillaging the villages and committing crimes of every description. An attempt was made in 1884 by three Great Powers (Great Britain, France, and Germany) to induce the Sultan's Government to agree to a revision of the Convention of Commerce of 1856, under which very high export duties were imposed, but the negotiations broke down after months of useless discussion, the three Moorish Commissioners being unauthorized to make any substantial concession. The lecturer went on to recommend active intervention on the part of the European Powers, all pledged to abstain from

conquest or annexation, and guaranteeing the integrity of the Sultan's dominions, on condition of his adopting improved methods of government, and introducing roads, railways, and telegraphs as facilities for commerce and intercommunication. The present system of protection extended to native agents by European merchants would be abolished or would cease of itself, and the foreign representatives should be required to reside at the capital, instead of, as at present, at Tangiers.

**Winter Travelling in Siberia.**—Mr. Gowing\* tells the story of an adventurous overland journey through Siberia, undertaken as a mode of returning to England from Shanghai in preference to the ordinary one by ocean steamer. He and his friend started in mid-winter from Vladivostock, the Russian port on the Pacific, and thence to Nijni Novgorod, where the railway was struck for the first time, accomplished 5407 miles by sledge, and 84 by tarantass (a wheeled vehicle); employing the services of 1100 horses, changed at 357 post stations, and spending in almost continuous travelling twelve weeks, during which fifty nights were passed in the open air, protected only by the open hood of the sledge, with a temperature frequently as low as 80° of frost, and the mercury sometimes frozen in the thermometer. The recumbent position of the travellers, lying on mattresses in their vehicle, enabled them to protect themselves more perfectly than in a seated posture, and the actual suffering from cold was not great. The constant freezing of the breath reducing head and throat mufflers, as well as beard and moustache, to a congealed mass, requiring frequent thawing, is one of the principal inconveniences complained of. The travelling was continuous by day and night, save for occasional delays in getting fresh horses.

**From Pekin to St. Petersburg.**—A similar journey was described to the members of the Manchester Geographical Society (*Journal*, January-March, 1889), by Mr. Molesworth, C.E., who, however, instead of keeping entirely to Russian territory with Vladivostock as his point of departure, started from Pekin, and traversed Northern China and Mongolia, entering Siberia at the frontier town of Kiachta. Up to this point the journey, began on September 22nd, 1888, was made on mules as far as the Great Wall, and thence on camels, with tents to sleep in, biscuits, porridge, and tinned provisions were taken by the caravan, but where there were inhabitants brick tea was generally bartered for a sheep or goat. The food of the natives is described as a sort of porridge, made of a handful of yellow millet boiled in water, to which is added a piece of brick tea, lumps of mutton fat and bones. This *pot au feu* was not found very appetizing by the travellers. Kiachta was reached on October 21st, and here for the first time the travellers slept under a roof, though not in a bed, rags on the floor being the substitute. This

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\* "Five Thousand Miles on a Sledge." By Lionel F. Gowing. London: Chatto and Windus. 1889.

town, once very flourishing, has lost much of its trade since the opening of the Treaty Ports deprived it of its monopoly of traffic with China. The splendour of its cathedral attests its former prosperity, as it is fitted with silver altars, and a rood screen of gold, silver, and precious stones, valued at £10,000. The tarantass with post-horses was the vehicle used hence to Krasnoïarsk on the Yenesei, after which, from November 13th, it was exchanged for a sledge, retained as far as Nijni Novgorod, where the railway was met on December 15. London was reached on December 29, in 108 days after leaving Shanghai, of which eighty-four were spent in actual travelling. The summary of the total journey of 8169 miles (Shanghai to Manchester), gives 4509 miles as the distance traversed by cart, camel, tarantass, and sledge, 800 that done by steamer, and 2860 by rail.

**British Zambesia.**—A new mercantile company has been chartered for the development of the great South African region lying between the existing colonies and the River Zambesi. The area embraced is 400,000 square miles, a third larger than that of the German Empire, and comprises districts ranging through every degree of productiveness, from the sterility of the Kalahari Desert to the rich metalliferous country of the Matabele Zulus. This latter region is said to offer great agricultural possibilities, and its native ruler Lobengula, fierce savage as he is, has yet sufficient shrewdness to appreciate the necessity of being on good terms with advancing civilization. His people are a robber tribe of Zulus, who, under his father, took possession of their present territory, driving out or exterminating its previous inhabitants, whose survivors living on their borders they continue to harass by their exterminating raids. As Matabeleland is a hill and plateau country, 5000 to 6000 feet above the sea, it is free from malarious diseases, and offers a promising future field for European colonization. A railway from the Cape Colony to the Zambesi, *via* Bechuanaland, entirely through British protected territory, is one of the designs of the company, thus opening up regions hitherto blocked by the obstructiveness of the Transvaal Boers. The new enterprize is all the more hopeful, as it is primarily a creation of colonial initiative, Mr. Rhodes, the Diamond King of Kimberley, being its moving spirit. The Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, and Mr. Albert Sassoon form a permanent directorate, sufficiently responsible to guarantee the solidity of the scheme. This is the fourth great territorial company chartered within the last few years, the others being the British North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger Company, and the British East African Company.

**Proposed Waterway between Birmingham and the Humber.**—A project of immense importance to the Midlands is, according to the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, being resolutely pushed on by a few enterprising commercial men, and will in all probability be introduced into Parliament in the shape of a Bill during the next Session. Under the name of the Trent Valley Navigation Scheme it has for its object the construction of a short canal connecting Birmingham



with the Trent, and thus securing for steam-propelled barges ready access to the German Ocean. The canal is to have a width of eighty feet, and the river is to be dredged and widened to the point where the Lower Trent navigation commences. From Wilden Ferry there is a stretch of the Trent, twenty miles in length, over which the Marquis of Anglesea has "the navigation rights with toll-free access to the German Ocean," and these rights have, it is stated, been virtually acquired by the promoters of the enterprise. The navigation of the Lower Trent right to the Humber, and the absence of toll-dues (goods being transferred from the barges to the ships' holds in the open Humber mouth) present advantages of so great and substantial a character that they cannot well be exaggerated. It appears that no serious engineering difficulties threaten the project. Between Water Orton and Posthill the river will have to be deepened and widened, curves cut across, stone bridges replaced by girder ones of larger span, and in some places concrete embankments constructed as a precaution against floods. The Warwick Canal Company, which has a network of waterways near Birmingham, promises co-operation, and the scheme will give the latter town a waterway seven to nine feet deep and eighty feet wide to the North Sea, with barge-trains computed to carry 400 tons per steam tug. It is estimated that merchandize may be thus transported to the estuary—170 miles—at an average cost of 8s. per ton, an immense reduction on railway transit, as may be gathered from the fact that Burton-on-Trent alone calculates on thus saving £100,000 a year.

**Congress on the Great Lakes.**—A Congress has recently been held at West Superior, Wisconsin, with a view to considering the improvement of navigation on the Great Lakes. More than a hundred delegates took part in it, and the importance of their task was emphasized by the statement that the yearly amount of the lacustrine traffic is estimated at two hundred millions sterling, and that the trade route of a region of a million square miles, and of a population of seventeen millions, is in question. An appeal has been made to the Government, which indirectly subsidizes the railways, and improves the navigation of the Mississippi, to do something for the lakes as well. Nothing less is aimed at than their adaptation for Ocean traffic, and a series of resolutions was passed calling for the construction of a canal twenty feet deep to unite them, for the deepening of their ports to enable them to accommodate vessels of that draught of water, and for the construction of a maritime canal from the head of Lake Superior to the Atlantic. The railway interest will naturally oppose these changes, as their object is to lower rates of transport to those of lake and river carriage. It is pointed out that the cost of freight on the enormous actual volume of commerce on the Lakes does not exceed ten million of dollars a year, the average rate being 0.23 cents. per thousand tons instead of that of one cent. per thousand, the average charge on the great railways during 1886. The effect on commerce would be to extend an arm of the Atlantic into the heart of the

American continent, and place the whole extent of the Lake shores in the position of a maritime seaboard. An enormous influx of wealth and activity would follow, as the great grain and cattle producing regions of the West would be placed in direct communication with the markets of Europe.

**Italy in Africa.**—The assumption by Italy of a protectorate over Abyssinia promises to open up to European influence a sphere long closed to it. Her acquisitions in this quarter began in 1870 with the establishment of a coaling station by the Rubattino Company on the Bay of Assab, about seventy miles north of the French station at Obock, and half that distance from the Straits of Babel-Mandeb. Here a territory estimated at 550 square miles, mostly rock and sand dunes, but with a good anchorage, was annexed in 1882. The occupation of Massowah in 1885 was the prelude to that of the whole intervening coast, with some small places commanding the trade routes to the interior. The resentment of Abyssinia led to a desultory campaign, of which the most striking incident was the battle of Dogali on January 25, 1887, when the Italian force was slaughtered almost to a man. The defeat and death of King John at the hands of the Dervishes on March 10, 1889, resulted in the assumption of the title of Negus by King Menelek of Shoa, the ally of the Italians, and in the cession by him to them of the considerable territories of Keren and Asmara. The embassy, subsequently despatched by him to Rome, negotiated a loan of four million francs guaranteed by Italy, and accepted the virtual protectorate of that country over Menelek's dominions.

Meantime a treaty, signed on February 8, 1889, with the Sultan of Oppia, on the Somali Coast, made over to Italy a stretch of some 450 miles of that littoral, with territories, the estimate of whose area varies between 12,000 and 45,000 square miles. The whole of the regions now reckoned within the sphere of Italian influence, under one title or another, sums up to 300,000 square miles, of which greater part is comparatively valueless. Parts of the Abyssinian territories are, indeed, very productive, but their riches are for the present rendered inaccessible by the extremely mountainous nature of the country.

**Commercial Prospects of Massowah.**—The Official Report of Captain Cecchi to the Italian Government, states: 1st. That though the territory annexed may prove adapted to agricultural colonization, the promise of the soil in Africa is deceptive, and would not, in any case, suffice to give life to Massowah without trade.

2nd. That the hopes of the future must rest principally on trade, but no account can be made of the province of Tigré, which is poor, has not resources enough for itself, and would require many years and great reforms before producing sufficient for its own consumption.

3rd. That as to the rest of Abyssinia, which is less poor and famine-stricken than Tigré, it can have no trade with Massowah, because its communications are by the shorter route through Somali

Land, and would at the most reach Assab. The commerce of Abyssinia is thus excluded from Massowah.

4th. That there remains the trade of the Soudan, which Captain Cecchi divides into two branches. The first, which follows the Nile, with Khartoum as its base, can never find an outlet by way of Massowah. The second, that of the Eastern Soudan, might, indeed, take this direction, but in order to induce it to do so, roads must be constructed, rendering the transit Kassala-Massowah shorter than the Kassala-Suakin route, and the Soudanese tribes must be persuaded to abandon the latter for the former.

The Italian Government gives great facilities to the Deputies for a visit to its African possessions, granting them a gratuitous passage thither on board its ships: but their accounts of what they have seen, even under these favourable circumstances, are not always encouraging. Signor Plebano, recently returned from the journey, says that no great commercial development is to be expected there, and that though some regions might be susceptible of improved cultivation, a large outlay of capital would be required.

**Geographical Results of Stanley's Expedition.**—Mr. Stanley's journey, while it has been successful in achieving its main object, has also added many details to our geographical knowledge of Equatorial Africa. He has definitively restricted the area of Lake Albert to a much smaller limit than that assigned by previous travellers, and has roughly ascertained the outline of the sheet of water to the south of it, to which he has given the name of Lake Albert Edward. He has, moreover, given this latter lake an important function in the Nile system, through the large volume of water it pours into Lake Albert by the channel of the Semliki river, which may prove its most southerly feeder. This river, the main drain of the left or western Nile Basin, as the Victoria Nile is of the right or eastern Nile Basin, meets the latter affluent in the common reservoir of Lake Albert, whence the united waters of both issue in the single stream of the White Nile. A great mass of snow mountain, nearly 20,000 feet high, called by the natives Ruwenzori, flanks the valley of the Semliki on the west, occupying nearly the same place as that assigned on the map to Mount Gordon Bennett, with which it is probably identical. It was ascended to a height of over 10,000 feet by one of the officers of the expedition, who found himself there cut off from the true summit by intervening chasms.

While Mr. Stanley has circumscribed the area of Lake Albert, he has largely extended that of its companion, Lake Victoria, having discovered a south-westerly arm of the latter, screened from previous observation by a fringe of overlapping islands, which adds about 6000 square miles to its expanse. The region between the Lakes and the Aruwimi, thrice traversed by the expedition, is mainly covered with forest, and presented great difficulties on the march. Part of the population of this region consists of that diminutive race whose existence, known to the ancients, was long

supposed to be fabulous. They are evidently the same as the Akkas, specimens of whom were procured by Mr. Scheinfarth, and seem to be of the same stock as the Bushmen of the South.

**The People of East Greenland.\***—The people of East Greenland are supposed to have come originally from Norway, and been shipwrecked on this coast. Their food is raw meat, oil, and blood, none of which are ever cooked. They often lose their sight altogether, or suffer in their eyes in various ways from the snow. When the sun disappears they have starlight, and even at night have light enough to go about. They live and carpet their huts with furs, and roll themselves in them to sleep. The fur is sewn up in a sack, into which the occupant crawls head first, coming out backwards when he wakes. The only distinction in social position is conferred by the possession of a flint, which makes the difference between poverty and wealth. These flints, got from the ocean when the ice breaks up, are, with walrus tusks, their only means of making fire, and those who have none are compelled to borrow from their better-provided neighbours. A man who wants a wife must steal her, and his courtship begins by going to the young lady's house on pretence of borrowing from her parents. If his visits are frequent, they take the alarm, and keep strict watch over her, not because they object to him as a suitor, but because they wish him to prove his fitness by stealing the girl away without their knowledge. If he succeed in getting her outside the hut undiscovered, he has made good his title, and she becomes his wife; but if he is caught in the attempt, he is killed, while the girl looks on and laughs, acquiescing in his fate, as she despises him for his failure. No Greenlander ever tells a lie, and the children are said never to repeat an offence, because cruelly punished the first time by being burned with a bone heated in the fire until the fat boils out of it. They do not run about and play like civilized children, but are obliged to sit still with their arms crossed tightly in front. This treatment, it is stated, shortens the arms, particularly of the girls.

**An Adventure in Turkey.**—A letter from Constantinople to the Vienna Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* narrates the following incident:—

One afternoon, about a fortnight ago, M. Le Rée, French Consul-General at Scutari, went for a walk in the neighbourhood of that town, with his little girls, aged respectively four and one-and-a-half, their governess, and a kavass. On their way home, as they passed a guard-house situated near the entrance of the town, they found several soldiers standing about in the only practicable path. They did not get out of the way for M. Le Rée and his party, and obliged the governess, who was walking in front, to wade through the mud. M. Le Rée pushed one of the soldiers aside as he walked on; but when he had passed the man stepped back, and defiantly prevented the kavass from following his master. M. Le Rée came to his assistance, whereupon the soldiers turned out of the guard-house and sided with their comrade. A

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\* *Journal Manchester Geographical Society*, January-March, 1889.

lieutenant of police, who arrived at this juncture, called out to the soldiers, "Thrash the Giaours!" and made a rush at the person of the Consul-General. A blow on the head from a stout walking-stick sent him howling to the rear. The kavass, who had been prevented by M. Le Rée from making use of his sword was then arrested, disarmed, beaten, and taken under escort to the Konak, whither M. Le Rée likewise repaired, after he had taken his children home. He was accompanied by a second kavass, with whom he went to the guard-room to see the prisoner. An altercation took place with the "zaptiehs" on duty, in the course of which the second kavass was also knocked down, beaten, and disarmed. The Governor-General, attracted by the noise, came downstairs, and begged M. Le Rée to go with him to the reception-room. There a conversation took place, the Governor-General expressing regret at what had happened, and eventually giving orders for the release of the kavasses. Whether the incident will be followed up by the French Government remains to be seen.

**A Mountain of Gold.**—The great Mount Morgan gold mine in Central Queensland is thus designated, not without appropriateness, as it is paying over a million a year in dividends. The history of the mine, which has only been developed during the last year, is, says a correspondent in the *Times* of November 30th, a curious one. The original selector of the freehold, which contained so much hidden wealth in a farm of 640 acres, was a man named Donald Gordon, who paid five shillings an acre for it and used it for grazing cattle. A correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* who visited the mine some time ago tells his readers how, on his return, he stopped at a wayside inn, where a tall, grizzled, weather-beaten man took his horse to a well to drink.

This was the original holder of the freehold, who parted with it to the Morgans. He said he had always believed the mountain to be of ironstone, and never knew of the fortune that was so long within his grasp. In olden days he used to sell the pumice-stone looking quartz in Rockhampton to clean the hearths and doorsteps of the houses.

He, in selling the freehold to the Messrs. Morgan for £640, thought, no doubt, he had made a very good bargain, but the discovery of gold in 1882 raised the value of the property to a very different scale. The Messrs. Morgan at first retained half in their own hands, disposing of the rest to four other gentlemen, to whom they eventually sold the remainder of their interest for £93,000. The present company was formed in 1886, with a capital of £1,000,000 in £1 shares, on which 17s. 6d. was paid up.

A mining township of tents, bark-huts, and corrugated-iron cottages has already sprung up at the foot of the hill, and numbers 5000 inhabitants. The mine is contained in a conical hill about 500 feet high, externally undistinguishable from the neighbouring acclivities, save by two sets of works, one at the base and another halfway up.

**Extraction of the Gold.**—Some 200 feet from the top (says the correspondent) a tunnel runs in for about 700 feet, when it is met by a shaft down which the stone is sent. It is then brought through the tunnel in small trucks, and shot down a slide to the upper works, while a cable-tramway supplies the lower

works. At the top of the mountain is a regular quarry, where some five dozen men are occupied in blasting and quarrying the stone. Fifty-two feet have been already cut away, and they are now working at a second bench. The preponderating stone is a kind of black ironstone, with no appearance of gold whatever; yet it yields as much as five and six ounces to the ton. Some of the stone is reddish, and looks as if it might contain copper, while here and there is a bank of yellowish sand which yields eleven ounces to the ton. Formerly, the ore was treated by the ordinary battery and quicksilver amalgamation process, but the gold is so finely distributed through the stone that most of it was lost, and the tailings are being treated with very good results by the chlorination process now in use at the mine. Under this process the ore is first crushed by powerful machinery, and reduced to fine sand. It is then roasted in furnaces, and when cooled is placed in the chlorination barrels and subjected to the action of chlorine gas, which dissolves the gold, and it flows out in a fluid the colour of sherry into large vats. It is then placed in charcoal filters, and the gold adheres to the charcoal beds which are subsequently roasted in a reverberatory furnace until nothing is left but an ash containing 75 per cent. of metallic gold. The works, which are lit throughout by the electric light, are kept constantly going night and day. Nine hundred men are employed, and work in three shifts of eight hours each. The expenditure of wages is about £100,000 per annum; 4000 tons of firewood are burnt per month, and the output of gold is about a ton per month. If the works were stopped for a single day it would mean a loss to the shareholders of £4000.

*Quality of the Ore.*—While some ascribe a volcanic origin to this remarkable deposit, others, among them the Government Geologist of Queensland, think that only a thermal spring could have produced the formation. The richness of the ore is extraordinary, for one sample assayed as much as 1300 ozs., and another over 400 ozs., to the ton—a steady average of not less than 5 ozs. being maintained. The purity of the metal is equally remarkable, for while no gold in nature has been hitherto found unalloyed with silver, in the Mount Morgan gold it exists only as the merest trace. It assays 99·7 or 99·8 of gold, the remainder being copper with a trace of iron. This quality is worth £4 4s. 8d. per oz. It is said to be the richest native gold hitherto found.

*Dividends of the Company.*—The present Company, formed in August, 1886, paid in 1887 1s., and in the following year 1s. 6d. per £1 share. During the first six months of 1889, £575,000 was paid in dividends, and it was estimated in the half-yearly report, published in June, that the total dividends for the year would amount to £1,200,000—“more than any mine in Australia has ever paid in the whole course of its existence.”

Speculation in the shares has, however, sometimes been disastrous, as they ran up in the course of 1889 to £16 and £17, and many buying at that price had to sell during a subsequent decline to £10. The original shareholders have become millionaires, and the only question as to future profits is, how long the present deposits will hold out.

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## Notes on Fobels.

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*The Pariah.* By F. ANSTEY. Three Vols. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1889.

"THE Pariah" is interesting, which is a novel's first and last virtue. But the deficient and underbred young man who furnishes the tragedy of the book is sometimes too stupid and sometimes too brilliant. The difficulty of getting a tragedy out of real life in modern days is that commonsense views and straightforward explanations are fatal to tragedy ; and if we are introduced to commonplace people, we know and feel that such views and explanations would be ready when wanted. Margot, the superfine young lady whom the wretched Allen worships, sends him to misery and death by a misunderstanding which nine girls out of ten would have found out. As for herself, the reader conceives such a violent disgust from the first for her heartless shallowness, that he is really cheated and injured when she turns out, not only to be better than one thought, but to be in fact almost heroic. One feels she could not have been brave enough to carry her sister's secret so resolutely. The lover whom she affects—and as to him the reader indulges in legitimate satisfaction—is a dark-faced, terribly-in-earnest young man (handsome of course, and a barrister of wondrous prowess), who finds out that she is telling a lie, and casts her off ; and then finds out she has not told a lie, and grovels once more at her feet. One is sorry the resolute young man did not marry her, as he would have been sure to "lead her a life." But she escapes with a middle-aged gentleman who has something to do with Burmah. The little girl, Lettie, is a pleasant picture of a precocious, fearless, and well-brought-up English child. There is an easy-going humorous Rector, whom we should have been pleased to have more of. Allen's father and his detestable step-mother are solidly drawn, but with rather too heavy a touch. Mr. Anstey should have put more humour into the book. If it had been really humorous, it would have been first-rate. As it is, it is respectable, and may be strongly recommended as a novel to read and enjoy.

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*Marooned.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London : Macmillan. 1889.

MR. CLARK RUSSELL'S fertile inventiveness seems inexhaustible in giving variety to his special subject, the possible incidents and accidents of a seafaring life. The present work is in no degree inferior to any of its predecessors in interest, and is in some respects an advance on them. The title implies the central situation

of the tale, since the hero and heroine are landed by a mutinous crew to shift for themselves on an uninhabited island, one of the numerous minor members of the Bahama group. The pair thus isolated from the rest of humanity are not, in the first instance, lovers, the young lady, Miss Aurelia Grant, having been entrusted to the care of her companion during the voyage to Rio Janeiro, by her promised husband, who awaits her there. As she is possessed of the astonishing beauty conferred on heroines by right, the loyalty of her escort to his friend is severely tried, even before the enforced *tête-à-tête* on the island makes the task of concealing his feelings from their object a still more difficult one. Their intercourse under these circumstances is well portrayed, and the incidents of their prolonged picnic are lively enough to prevent the recital from becoming monotonous. When the scene changes to the deck of a small schooner entirely manned by West Indian coloured people, we have a new phase of nautical character put before us with the author's inimitable felicity in sketching such types. Among the rude and half-savage seamen with whom she is so long compulsorily associated, the sweetness and womanly dignity of the heroine stand out with enhanced attractiveness, and we are made to feel throughout that her inner nature loses none of its refinement amid the wild hazards and adventures she is compelled to pass through.

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*The Master of Ballantrae.* By ROBERT L. STEVENSON. London: Cassell & Co. 1889.

THIS latest addition to Mr. Stevenson's works is one which only the author of "Kidnapped" could have written. We have the same vivid portraiture of Scotch character, the same gruesome farce of realizing tragic situations as in that heart-stirring tale of the Jacobite rising. Here, however, we find a more sombre plot, and a deeper sounding line for the dark gulfs of human passion. The subject, the rivalry and enmity of two brothers, though as old as the earliest generation of humanity, is a painful, if not a repulsive one, and its gloomy aspect is unredeemed by any softening influences of religion or charity. On the contrary the younger brother, who must be regarded as the hero, is a more depressing study than the Mephistophelian "Master" himself, as we have in him the perversion, through the working of a single evil passion, of a nature originally amiable and unoffending. True, his rapid deterioration is assisted by physical causes, inducing semi-insanity; but even with this suggested apology for his crime, the finale, which leaves him morally guilty of his brother's death, brought about by a train of circumstances deliberately prepared beforehand, is an artistic as well as a moral blemish. The tale is told by a dependent of the family, one Ephraim Mackellar, whose own character, with its combination of uncompromising fidelity with unscrupulousness in his patron's cause, is in itself a masterpiece. His intercourse with the



Master, their relations of avowed hostility softened by a strange intermixture of personal sympathy, and the powers of fascination and diabolical ingenuity in moral torture exercised by the latter, are portrayed with the subtlest penetration into the hidden springs of character. Religion as a restraining power is totally absent from Mr. Stevenson's pages, and his failure to take account of it among the motives acting on human nature leaves a sensible blank in his artistic powers.

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*An Irish Cousin.* By GILLES HERRING and MARTIN ROSS. London: Bentley. 1889.

WE do not remember any novel since "The Collegians" worthy to be ranked with this as a presentment of Irish life and character. The national traits of language and turn of thought are reproduced with all their quaintness, and without that exaggeration by which other writers on the same subject try to make up for the absence of such grasp of the facts as is conferred by perfect knowledge. The scene is laid in the extreme south of the County Cork, within sound of the Atlantic breakers, and the experiences recorded are those of an American girl, Theodora Sarsfield, come for the first time to visit her Irish relatives, a widower uncle and his only son. The society in which she moves is that of the provincial gentry, whose households, manners, and oddities of speech and mind, are all vivid transcripts from life. The Sarsfield *ménage*, in which the fire is encouraged to light by dropping candle-grease on it, and the labour of the recognized domestics is supplemented by a system of "illicit apprenticeship" of the junior members of their families maintained in the establishment without the knowledge of its head, could be paralleled in many an Irish country-house. The hunting-field, the ball with its rollicking drolleries, and all similar social gatherings are equally true to local colouring, while the melancholy minor of Irish life underlies its grotesqueness in the tragic background of the Sarsfield family history, and the dreary figure of the head of the house undermined by the national vice. The romantic interest is conferred by the heroine's love-story, which is as true to nature as the rest of the book, as well as by her relations with her cousin Willy, and the ultimate fate of the latter. The system of dual authorship is in this case, as in so many others, justified by success.

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*The Secret of Croix-Fontaine.* By MARGARET FIELD. London: F. V. White. 1889.

THIS gracefully written narrative recounts the fortunes of a young English girl who enters a French household as teacher and companion to the only daughter, Yvonne de St. Hilaire. Intricate family complications connected with the Revolution have

brought about this young lady's betrothal in childhood to her cousin, the Count of Croix-Fontaine, between whose ancestors and hers there existed mutual relations of dependence and gratitude. Yvonne, childlike though charming, is gradually eclipsed in her *fiancé's* affections by the more solid gifts of character and sympathy adorning the English girl, but the struggle between loyalty and inclination finally results in his sacrificing the latter, and fulfilling his engagement. The ensuing marriage, if not an ideal, is a fairly happy one, but Yvonne's indiscreet curiosity as to the secret hidden in the disused wing of the old château draws down severe penalties on her household, ending in a conflagration, her mother's death from injuries by fire, and her own from shock and nervous agitation. This is, of course, a fortunate circumstance from the reader's point of view, as it enables the former lovers to be happy with clear consciences, and virtue to enjoy its due reward. The weakest part of the story is the secret of the Bluebeard's Chamber, which is far-fetched and unnatural, giving an air of incongruous melodrama to what is otherwise a charming story of domestic life. The characters are lifelike, and that of the widowed Madame de St. Hilaire, with its innate nobility overshadowed by a tragic memory and a fixed idea bordering on madness, is sympathetically placed before us.

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*Matron or Maid.* By MRS. EDWARD KENNARD. London: F. V. White. 1889.

MRS. KENNARD has chosen a painful and, it may be almost said, a repulsive subject, in the hopeless struggle of a woman past her youth to retain or recall the fugitive attachment of a man several years her junior. A widow with a large jointure, terminable on her second marriage, Lydia Stapleton engages herself to Beaumont Dornay, a young hussar officer, with the intention of marrying him when she has saved a sufficient sum out of her income to supplement his limited means. During the five years required for this process, passed by the *fiancé* with his regiment in India, the natural result ensues, and he returns to see his boyish flame with eyes from which all illusion has vanished. While recognizing this with a woman's infallible instinct, she refuses to release him, and still continues to insist on the fulfilment of his engagement, even when the growth of another attachment renders it doubly odious to him. The recoil of her passionate nature drives her to attempt his life and finally to take her own, by which tragic solution the way is cleared for his happiness with her rival. English country life and the vicissitudes of the hunting field form episodes of a lighter character in this unpleasant tale, which places the man and woman principally portrayed in an equally degraded and unworthy position.

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*Captain Lobe.* By JOHN LAW. London: Hodder & Stoughton.  
1889.

THE machinery of the Salvation Army is at least a novelty among the threadbare subjects taken as the foundation of romance. Captain Lobe, the protagonist of the present work, is one of its officers, and the slender thread of story is only the connecting link between the scattered interests illustrative of its operations. As a sketch of East End life in its more gloomy aspects of abject poverty and degradation, it is instructive, though the crude exposition of human misery, and equally crude handling of religious topics, make it rather painful reading. Its claims for the Salvation Army are based on its power of reaching and reclaiming those who are beyond the range of all other influences, and the picture of its ministrations tend to show it as holding the field in quarters where no more regular religious organization can succeed in penetrating. We make no doubt that, despite the travesty of sacred observance which renders it repulsive to the reverent-minded of all creeds, there are many earnest workers in the cause of charity among its ranks.

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*The Heritage of Dedlow Marsh.* By BRET HARTE. London:  
Macmillan. 1889.

THESE two volumes of sketches, rather than tales, have that quality of aerial perspective which is the author's peculiar characteristic. Mr. Bret Harte's transcripts of border life are never presented to us with bald definiteness, but carry with them their own atmosphere of artistic illusion. The first narrative of this series draws a sharp contrast between the picturesque savagery of life on the marsh, and its more conventional aspects as displayed in the neighbouring military station, the exchange of the one for the other being attended with anything but happy results to the untrained natures suddenly brought into contact with artificial civilization. "The Secret of Telegraph Hill" is a semi-humorous episode, in which a new lodger inherits some of the embarrassing complications left by his predecessor, and adds to them a small romance of his own. The two shorter stories are not above the ordinary level of magazine padding, as in "A Don Quixote of the Foot Hills" the humour, and in "Captain Jim's Friend" the pathos, are alike exaggerated.

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*Paul's Sister.* By FRANCES MARY PEARD. London: Bentley.  
1889.

MISS PEARD has woven a life-like and charming tale out of the relations, often recurring under various phases in real life, between unscrupulous selfishness on the one side, and exaggerated self-abnegation on the other. The heroine is a widow rejoicing in

the stage-hallowed name of Norma, and the anti-heroine a certain Lucy, her unmarried sister-in-law, with the charge of whom she has burdened herself out of a sense of duty to her husband's memory. The prologue, which tells the story of her brief honeymoon in Rome, and of the artistic delight in all its treasures and associations which closed her eyes to the fatal malady undermining her husband's life, gives the key to the subsequent action in the feeling of remorse for her carelessness suggesting self-immolation as a reparation to his memory. Her insensibility indeed to his condition, although rather stupid than culpable, certainly argued an amount of absorption in her own interests scarcely consistent with real attachment or with the devotion of her character as unfolded later. When she and Paul's sister become rivals for the affection that is bestowed on her alone, the machinations of the girl and her own morbid self-accusations lead her to sacrifice, not only her own happiness, but that of the man who adores her as well. The late relenting of her cruel tormentor by which these complications are at length smoothed away, seems to us another false note in characterization, as a feline tenacity which never relaxes its hold on its prey generally accompanies such strong but narrow natures. Among the incidental characters the most interesting is that of Major MacCarthy, the unpractical but lovable Irishman, whose universal power of sympathy gives his seemingly useless life such a value to those around him. We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that his sister-in-law had some grounds for thinking him a very dangerous financial adviser.

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*A Conspiracy of Silence.* By G. COLMORE. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1889.

A PAINFUL theme is here treated with power, pathos, and we may add perfectly artistic taste, without any of the melodramatic artifices which make up what the public have agreed to call sensationalism. The subject is the highly tragic one of a young man, gifted and rich in all external advantages, but tainted with the dreadful blight of hereditary insanity, already incipient in his system, though showing at the opening of the story only in a certain whimsical gaiety of manner rather attractive than the reverse. The heroine, Charlotte March, a fresh and delightful ideal of girlhood, is naturally all unconscious of the doom awaiting her future husband, when his love lifts her from poverty to affluence, and enables her to exchange the drudgery of daily tuitions for a life of luxury and pleasure. The secret drawback to all these advantages is made known to her mother before the marriage, but deliberately concealed by her through worldly ambition for her daughter, and a selfish desire on her own behalf to participate in the brilliant prospects opening before her. The second volume follows the fortunes of the pair united under these circumstances, and deals with the gradual development of the fell disease through all its phases. The author

has shown consummate skill in treating this difficult part of his subject, and deserves the highest praise for dwelling exclusively on the moral aspects of the situation, while refraining from such scenes of physical violence as a coarser artist might have used to heighten its effect. The analysis of the unhappy hero's character and feelings is masterly, as he passes from the stages of partial excitement, alternating with struggles for self-control, to that of absolute and hopeless insanity. The highest level of poetic emotion is reached in the end, which, unlike that of most modern novels, worthily "crowns the work."

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*Allan's Wife.* By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Spencer Blackett. 1889.

THE expectations of the readers of Mr. Rider Haggard on opening a new volume with his name on the title-page will not be disappointed in the present instance, as they will find quite the average allowance of danger, adventure, hairbreadth escapes, and slaughter of man and beast. Elephants, lions, baboons, and other fauna of the African wilds abound on its pages, and we have a Zulu impi and the resulting carnage described with the author's usual vivid power of narration. Our old friend, Allan Quatermain, figures as the hero throughout, and the most substantial part of the volume is occupied with the story of his wooing, and the brief episode of his married life. The romance, however, is subsidiary to the *sauce piquante* of livelier incidents, which give it the necessary flavour of excitement, and the reader craving for a novel relish of this kind will find one in the strange history of Hendrika, the baboon-woman. The old Zulu wizard, "Indabo-zimbi," is, however, a happier conception, and deserves to be remembered with those types of native character in which the author excels. The opening scene of the invocation of the lightning by the rival "cloud-compellers" of Zululand is founded on truth, or at least on what passed as such in the South African newspapers a year ago. The real incident was the dramatic death of a Zulu killed by a flash of lightning at the door of his hut, in the act of defying the storm to strike him, a piece of bravado, it seems, common among his countrymen.

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*The County.* A Novel. Two Vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1889.

AN anonymous writer has produced a bright and brief story dealing with two young ladies. They were living happily with their uncle, and enjoying all that "County" society can give, when, one fell morning, their treacherous uncle married their maid! Fleeing from the house, they had to eat the bread of dependence. One, the narrator of the story, fell in love with a fine-looking man,

who was unfortunately poor; a forged message parts them, and she (with violent disgust and misgiving) marries a rich city man. The fine-looking man (after, as usual, leaving England for ever) comes back, having inherited several millions—at least, that is our impression). All is explained (in the peach-house one morning), and there are some violent attempts on the part of the fine-looking man to seize the young lady in his arms, in spite of her married state. But she is good—the whole tone of the book is good, in spite of the somewhat unpleasant situation thus created. The city man is killed in a railway accident, the heroine has the regulation brain-fever, the fine-looking man nurses her (more or less), and they are married “very quietly.” It must not be forgotten that the other young lady—the narrator’s sister—is what Miss Dartle would call a “serpent,” and is at the bottom of all the mischief. “County” inanities are described in a lively and amusing way. The style is unusually excellent, with an under-current of humour; whilst the principal characters—at least the female ones—are cleverly and distinctly marked.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

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### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, Août et Septembre 1887; Septembre 1888; Mars, Avril, et Mai 1889. Paris: Roger et Chernoviz.

**The Abbé Martin and 1 John v. 7.**—When the late Cardinal Franzelin wrote his treatise *De Deo Trino*, he devoted a special thesis to defending the authenticity of the well-known seventh verse of the fifth chapter of 1 John—“And there are three that give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.” The Cardinal, in his thesis, alluded to some Catholic writers, who, after the appearance of Scholz’s edition of the New Testament, “had deemed it allowable (*fas esse putant*) to doubt the genuineness of the text, while others had openly rejected” it as spurious. Since then, various critics of undoubted orthodoxy have joined the ranks of the wavering, and during the years 1888-89 have appeared a number of articles on the subject in this *Revue*, several of them from the pen of one of the most eminent Catholic Biblical scholars, the celebrated Abbé Martin. These demand special attention on account of the author’s great and deserved reputation in Biblical studies. The Abbé declares himself absolutely convinced,

as the result of twenty years' careful research, that the verse in question is an interpolation. I shall here condense the Abbé's arguments, doing my best to give them their full force and weight; but it may be as well to state at once that I dissent from his conclusion, though I look on it as a distinct gain to the cause of truth that we should have the advantage of hearing an attack on the genuineness of the verse made by such a thorough Catholic, able writer, and eminent scholar as the Abbé J. P. Martin.

As becomes a devoted son of the Catholic Church, Abbé Martin opens by professing what he justly calls the A B C of Catholicism—that should the Church at any future time pronounce the verse in question authentic, then every true Catholic, even though his private study had led him to a different conclusion, would unhesitatingly admit, believe, and proclaim that his imperfect human learning had failed in some point or other, and had misled him; and that such a confession would be as worthy of a man of science as of a good Catholic. This is as it should be; and in the present controversy between Catholics this is of course a fundamental principle on both sides. It is this very security of our trust in the Church's infallibility that in many instances gives a Catholic theologian greater freedom in discussion than many a good Anglican could venture on. In stating the Abbé Martin's case, we will allow ourselves the liberty of altering his order of the headings to be considered. These are reducible to three: the Greek text with its Eastern versions; the Latin translations; and finally, the question as to whether the authenticity of the text is in any way directly or indirectly affected by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

**The Greek Text and Eastern Versions.**—Abbé Martin's chief attack on the authenticity of 1 John v. 7 rests on its absence from existing Greek and Oriental MSS., and is stated with the utmost clearness and vigour. The verse, he says, if we lay aside for the moment the Latin Church and Latin writers, was absolutely unknown to all the Churches of the Christian world and to all ecclesiastical literature during the first twelve centuries. It is alike unheard of among Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Syrians down to the thirteenth century. No Greek, Syriac, Coptic, or Armenian MS. of the Scripture contains it; no theologian, no writer of homilies or commentaries on the Bible knows aught of it. Such a passage, however, would have been of such immense value in the protracted and fierce Arian controversy that this silence of Catholic writers is a proof of overwhelming force. In all the commentaries written on St. John's Epistles this all-important verse 7, as well as the words *in terra* ("on earth") of verse 8 are omitted in a way that shows plainly the commentators had no such verse in the codex before them. The fact, Abbé Martin says, is indisputable. Not till the thirteenth century does it begin to make its appearance in Greek authors, and it is probably from the Greek translation of the acts of the Lateran Council (1215) that the knowledge of the text reached the East. The four Greek MSS. of the New Testament, those of Rome, Naples,

Berlin and Dublin, wherein the passage is found, are all of more recent date.

Such is Abbé Martin's contention; and it is an undeniably strong one. As regards the Greek MSS. it is absolutely unquestioned at the present day, as, indeed, it was when Cardinal Franzelin wrote. This is itself a point of great weight. So likewise is, I believe, undisputed Abbé Martin's assertion as to the Oriental versions, even if, as has been affirmed, one or two exceptions are to be found among Coptic MSS., which, if so, would probably have been derived from Latin sources. The admitted silence of Greek commentators is a powerful corroboration of the argument from the MSS. against the authenticity of the verse. In a word, had we none but extant Eastern authorities to decide the question, the verse must unhesitatingly be given up. Less than this we cannot grant to Abbé Martin.

Having granted so much and granted it willingly, is there absolutely nothing to be said on the opposite side, even as regards the weight of the argument drawn from the Eastern Church? I believe there is. First of all, the silence of Greek writers is not without an exception or two. In the *Dublin Review* for April 1882 two such exceptions are quoted—one from the fourth, and the other from the second century. The former occurs in an anonymous writer, whose Homily was printed by the Benedictine editors of St. Chrysostom (T. xii. p. 416), and its date was fixed by Montfaucon at 381. To me it seems conclusive, though I have my doubts whether it is of such clearness as to render all dispute at once impossible. More striking still is the passage given from St. Claudius Apollinaris, wherein side by side, in the same order as in St. John, appear "Water and Blood; the Word and the Spirit." These two extremely probable exceptions would, however, hardly be convincing if our proofs rested on Greek authorities alone.

A more serious weakness in Abbé Martin's reasoning will be understood from the following comparison. Had we at hand a considerable number of MSS. in each century from the earliest up to the thirteenth, and in every one of these the verse 1 John v. 7 were missing, his arguments would be simply unanswerable. But how does the case really stand? For the first, second, and third centuries we have not a single copy of the Greek New Testament, and all the eight centuries up to the time of Charles the Great only furnish us with about half a dozen. Everyone sees at a glance the different weight of the induction in the two hypotheses. Still, his argument is a powerful one by itself. Let us now see how it stands when other sources of information come to be sifted.

**1 John v. 7 in the Latin Scriptures and Literature.**—With equal vigour, but, to our mind, not so successfully, Abbé Martin attacks the alleged tradition of the Latin Church on the verse 1 John v. 7. Let us hear him state his own case first. We agree with him that the proofs of this tradition must be closely and carefully scrutinized. Starting from the eleventh century (so writes Abbé Martin), the verse is frequently met with in Latin writers. But if we look for it



at an earlier date, we nowhere find it expressly quoted or clearly acknowledged except by a group of writers belonging to the African Church, all of whom lived either at the close of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth century. It was the time when the Catholics of Africa were groaning under the persecution of the Arian Vandals. During fifty years of persecution, a complete controversial literature saw the light, composed of works on the Catholic side, mostly of uncertain authorship, being either anonymous or written under feigned names. As might be expected, most of these writings were concerned with the Catholic dogma of the Blessed Trinity, and it is precisely in these books that the supposed spurious verse 1 John v. 7 makes its first appearance. Between the years 480 and 533, we find it quoted four times by the Pseudo-Fulgentius, once by the Pseudo-Idacius Clarus, six times by a writer who assumed the name of St. Athanasius, and once by the Pseudo-Victor; in all, twelve quotations in half a century, all in the African Church, after which we hear little or nothing more of the interpolation for the next five hundred years, even in the African Church.

More remarkable still is it that in all St. Augustine's works this striking testimony to the revealed dogma of the Blessed Trinity is nowhere to be found. The whole of the Epistle has been re-constructed from quotations by St. Augustine, save this one verse. Père Sabatier, an ardent defender of its authenticity, remarks that St. Augustine explains verse 8 immediately following, as having been written in a mystic sense of the Blessed Trinity, and justly concludes that the holy Doctor never saw verse 7. When one reflects that the writings wherein the verse appears are all literary impostures ("supercheries littéraires"), in which class we shall perhaps have to reckon even the Profession of Faith of the 466 African bishops assembled at Carthage in 484, the authority of the African Fathers dwindles down to *nil*. And it must be remembered that before the epoch referred to, it is impossible to find a single clear, express, undisputed quotation of the passage. The few passages alleged from St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, and Tertullian, have nothing in them that obliges us to accept them as allusions to 1 John v. 7, rather than as a mystical interpretation of verse 8, such as we find in St. Augustine and others. And if we look round on the rest of the Catholic world, we find no trace of the spurious verse till we reach the close of the eighth century, when it again peeps out, first in a doubtful form, till at last in the thirteenth century, the "Correctio Parisiensis," as the edition of the Vulgate made by the University of Paris has been called, aided by the authority of the Cistercian, Cluniac, and Dominican correctors, caused the verse of the three heavenly witnesses to spread over the whole of the Latin Church. The Italian, English or German students at the Parisian University would, of course, take home with them the copies of the Bible which they had purchased from the "Stationarii" (compare our English word "stationers") or authorized booksellers at the Cloitre-Notre-Dame or the Montagne-Sainte-Genève.

But how about the ancient Latin MSS. of the New Testament? Among such as are older than the age of Charles the Great, the best and most esteemed ignore 1 John v. 7. Neither in the Fuldensis, nor in the Amiatinus, nor in any of Alcuin's Bibles is it to be found. The oldest MS. in which it appears is Theodulph's Bible, numbered 9380 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Out of some 300 MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 21 do not contain the verse in question; viz.: 7 out of 10 ninth century MSS.; 3 out of 4 belonging to the tenth century; 3 out of 5 of the eleventh; 2 out of 15 of the thirteenth; and only 4 out of 118 of the fourteenth centuries, and so on, till it is gradually in vogue everywhere.

Whether or not we adopt the Abbé Martin's conclusion that the authenticity of this verse is no longer defensible, it is impossible to read without interest and profit his learned and brilliant dissertation. To us this part of his essay lacks some elements needed to carry conviction with it; I may even add that it rather tends to increase my own confidence in the authenticity of the passage to see that even so vigorous an opponent as Abbé Martin could not make out a stronger case. What I think the frail links in Abbé Martin's chain of evidence are, in this portion of the controversy, four in number; 1. His criticism of the African writers; 2. His treatment of the "Professio Fidei" of A.D. 484; 3. The dismissal of St. Cyprian's authority, and of that of Tertullian; 4. And lastly, his too sweeping assertion that the verse in question is confined, till the eleventh century, to the African Church.

1. Let us begin with the African writers. Owing to the hot persecution of the Arian conquerors they were compelled to write under feigned names. In this sense they were what Abbé Martin calls *supercheries littéraires*, though he hesitates to affirm this of the author of the book published under the name of St. Fulgentius. But be this as it may, neither Abbé Martin nor any one else denies that the writers of these works were Catholics, writing in defence of the Catholic faith, against Arians whose works were published in Africa, while the Arian heresy was raging there. Is it probable, is it even possible, that these fervent and staunch champions should have been so forgetful of the fundamental principles of the Faith as to forge a spurious text of Scripture? As the writings in question are not by one, but by several authors, they must have drawn from a common source, and that source must almost of necessity have been well known and acknowledged in the African Church, else the Arian Bishops would have instantly denounced the forgery. In a word, to admit Abbé Martin's theory, and affirm the verse 1 John v. 7 to have been unknown before this date, is to find ourselves beset with serious difficulties; and if the African writers drew from earlier sources, how far back are we to go?

2. Harder still to digest is the reasoning whereby Abbé Martin disposes of the authority of the "Professio Fidei" of the African Bishops. This celebrated document purports to be a writing drawn up by the Catholic Bishops "*non solum universa Africae sed etiam*

insularum multarum," in a conference held at Carthage by order of Hunneric in February 484, and sent two months later to Hunneric himself by four bishops of the Numidian and Byzacene Provinces. The document may be seen in Victor Vitensis (*De Persecutione Vandalica*, c. iii.), and the names of the 461 bishops who signed it, in Hardouin (*Concil. Coll. T. ii.*, p. 896.) Among the passages of Scripture quoted therein against the Arian heresy, is 1 John v. 7, given as it is at this present day in the Vulgate. Now let us first suppose the fact to be historically true, and the document genuine. Then such a text must have existed in the Latin Scriptures as in use in Africa at that date. The contrary supposition in a public document directed to the Arian king, by whose bishops the fraud would have been instantly exposed, is not tenable for a moment, nor can one conceive it even possible that in such circumstances 460 Catholic bishops would have appealed to a passage which only existed in some exceptional MS. Moreover one of the bishops whose name appears on the list, Vigilius Tapsensis (*De Trin.* c. vii. *Bibl. Max.* PP., T. viii., p. 789), appeals to the Arians to read the said verse in their own codices.

Such is the passage admitted, at least usually, as genuine, and quoted as such by so eminent a scholar as Cardinal Franzelin. Against this Abbé, Martin writes: "Il y a de nombreuses raisons qui font suspecter l'authenticité de cette profession de foi, raisons externes et raisons internes." Now that a writer should publicly assert that in his own day a public conference of 461 bishops should have drawn up and signed a profession of faith, and should give the 461 names, when no such profession was ever drawn up or signed, would be at the least a singular and wonderful fact on the side of the Catholic Church in its days of persecution. But in face of *numerous internal and external arguments*, we are prepared to suspend or alter our judgment. Unhappily, Abbé Martin has kept them nearly all to himself, and has only thought it necessary to give us the following. 1. The style of the *libellus* is a rhetorical one, more like "un traité de théologie" than a profession of faith. 2. The verse 1 John v. 7, has not been quoted by St. Augustine, nor by Facundus Hermianus. Not one single argument more of the "nombreuses raisons!" To my mind the authenticity of the *libellus* and of Victor's account remains after such objections as certain as before; and the African bishops assuredly read the verse in the Latin text in use in Africa in 484. If so, the principles of Catholic tradition create a very strong antecedent probability that it had come down from a much earlier date. In fact St. Fulgentius, or the African Father who wrote under his name, appeals to St. Cyprian's quotation of this very passage: "atque hæc confestim testimonia de Scripturis inseruit (Cyprianus): Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus; et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et tres unum sunt." This leads us on to what appears to be another of the Abbé Martin's weak points.

3. St. Cyprian (*De Unitate Ecclesie*), quotes the verse in a

manner that certainly justifies the above appeal to his authority by St. Fulgentius. For brevity and clearness I put S. Cyprian's words, as well as Tertullian's (*Contra Praxeam*, 25), in parallel columns, thus:—

VULGATE.	CYPRIAN.	TERTULLIAN.
Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt	De Patre et Filio et Spiritu SCRIP- TUM EST; et tres unum sunt	Connexus Patris in Filio et Filii in Paraclete <i>qui tres unum sunt</i>

Few unbiassed readers comparing the African Fathers in the third, with those of the fifth century, but will conclude that the verse was read in Africa from the earliest times. The Abbé Martin however, says: "dans mon âme et conscience je crois que Saint Cyprien n' a fait qu' interpreter mystiquement de la Sainte Trinité, le verset 8." St. Fulgentius has, I believe, understood St. Cyprian better than Abbé Martin, and one may surely conclude that St. Cyprian read the passage in the African MSS. in the third century, just as the African Fathers did in the fifth. There is a cumulative force of evidence that must not be neglected in matters like the present, and it is precisely this cumulative force that lends a weight, even to the passage of Tertullian, which it would not have by itself. But what makes it impossible to admit Abbé Martin's way of getting rid of St. Cyprian, is, that the holy bishop couples this quotation with another, "The Lord saith: I and the Father are One; and again *it is written* concerning the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one." The first is a quotation, according to Abbé Martin, but not the second! And mark that we have not a hint of a reference to "the Spirit, the water and the Word." Tertullian also couples the "Ego et Pater unum sumus" with the "tres unum sunt."

4. Lastly, it is difficult to accept the Abbé's sweeping assertion as to the ignorance of the text outside of the Churches of Africa. The passage of Cassiodorus is again, like St. Cyprian's, explained away as an instance of mystical interpretation; this suggestion being as improbable in one case as in the other. It is far more likely that Cassiodorus read the passage in the MSS. in use in Italy. Then there is St. Phæbadius of Agen, writing in France in the fourth century. The Munich MS. and the Prologue *Non ita est Ordo* (about A.D., 500), have been ably and well maintained in the already quoted number of the *Dublin Review*. On the whole, it would need stronger arguments than Abbé Martin's to shake Cardinal Franzelin's conclusion: "Extabat textus et a Patribus in Africa, Italia, Hispania, Gallia usurpatus demonstratur ab octavo usque ad secundum aut tertium sæculum regrediendo."

**Bearing of the Decrees of Trent on the authenticity of the verse.**—We now come to a part of the controversy which, we regret to say, has given rise to some slightly acrimonious writing in the pages of the *Revue*. The bearing of the decrees of the Council of Trent on the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7, had been a primary argu-

ment in Cardinal Franzelin's treatise, and is strongly urged against Abbé Martin by his two opponents, Canon Maunoury, and Abbé Rambouillet.\* We are cordially with Abbé Martin in his earnest protest against such as would anticipate, in their own over hasty zeal, the definitions and decisions of the Church, and also when he insists, as indeed Cardinal Franzelin had already insisted, that the words "cum omnibus suis partibus" used by the Council of Trent in its approval of the Latin Vulgate, cannot without manifest and dangerous error be taken in the strictest sense. I should like even *apropos* of this last to mention that more than one Catholic theologian, Abbé le Camus, for instance, in his "*Vie de Jésus Christ*," published with episcopal approval, in commenting on the cure of the paralytic at the Probaticea (S. John, chap. v.), have without hesitation rejected as an interpolation the whole of v. 4, and part of v. 3, and this without any censure from ecclesiastical authority. The Abbé Martin proceeds to combat the doctrine contained in Cardinal Franzelin's thesis on the relation of the Tridentine decree to 1 John, v. 7; yet he has not, as it seems to me, quite fairly met his adversary. The Cardinal distinctly affirms that the definition of the Council commanding us to receive as sacred and canonical all the books contained in the Tridentine canon, "with all their parts, *prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur*," comprises the verse in question, 1. John, v. 7. Before adducing his proofs, he takes exception to a line of argument which had been sometimes adopted on this, and on a similar question (*viz.*, the authenticity of the deutero-canonical parts of Scripture), of *first* submitting the passages to an historical and critical examination, then *secondly*, deciding on these arguments (of human authority), whether the text is genuine or not; and then, *lastly*, interpreting the sense of the Tridentine decree to be simply that those passages, or parts, be admitted as genuine, the authority whereof has been proved by the said critical investigation, thereby establishing the very principle of private judgment which the Council intended to exclude.

After rejecting this method of procedure, the Cardinal lays down as his first principle that the text of the Council itself be carefully examined. The decree of the fourth Session contains four parts: 1. It mentions the twofold channel of divine truth, Scripture and Tradition; 2. it enumerates the books which constitute the canon of Scripture; 3. it decrees that these books be received as sacred and canonical "with all their parts," adding a twofold test of authenticity, to wit (*a*) the custom of the church in publicly reading as scripture such books and such parts of them, and (*b*) the fact that they are contained in the Latin Vulgate: "*prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata editione habentur*,"

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\* *L'authenticité du verset des trois témoins célestes.* Par M. l'Abbé Rambouillet. *Le verset des trois témoins célestes.* Par le chanoine A. Maunoury.

and it assigns as the object of the decree, that all may recognize the divine authority of the sources from which the Council intends to proceed "for the confirming of dogma and upholding of morals." Now, although it is an acknowledged fact, that the decree in question never intended to adjudge to the Vulgate absolute perfection, as has been already remarked, yet such a definition manifestly requires that it should be incorrupt in such passages as concern of themselves some dogma of faith.

Moreover, it is manifest that the verse in question is one of those that were in the Vulgate at the time of the Council of Trent. It is also perfectly clear that it deals *ex professo* with a point of dogma. Therefore it must come under the definition, unless the Council is to be supposed to have failed in the avowed scope of its decree. Such is Cardinal Franzelin's argument in brief.

Abbé Martin's reply is hardly satisfactory. First of all his idea of the scope of the Council seems hardly what the Council itself claims. "En donnant aux fidèles et au clergé la Vulgate ils ont singlement affirmé ceci : Cette édition des Saintes Écritures est *bonne*, cette édition est *suffisante*. Prenez en toute confiance le livre que nous vous mettons entre les mains, parcourez-le, aimez-le, faites en votre nourriture et vous n'y trouverez rien qui aille contre la foi et les moeurs." Is this really all the Council intends? To Cardinal Franzelin's argument he replies: "Il a cherché et il a découvert . . . une seconde Amérique, celle des *textes dogmatiques*. . . . Le Cardinal Franzelin raisonnait ainsi. Le concile commence par faire connaître les sources où il prendra ses textes, et il déclare qu'il les puisera dans la Vulgate. Donc les textes dogmatiques font partie de la Vulgate!" If Abbé Martin had only added from Cardinal Franzelin and the Council itself after the words *ses textes*, the words *pro confirmandis dogmatibus*, the argument would have been more fairly put. In a word, it does seem strange to appeal to the Vulgate as a source wherefrom to confirm dogmas, and yet to admit that those very passages in the Vulgate which express the dogmas in question may be interpolations.

This brief account of Abbé Martin's essay has been given with the idea that it is of importance to show what look like ruinous flaws in the case against the verse of the Three Divine Witnesses, as stated by its latest and ablest opponent; and still more to give an outline of the controversy in its present phase. The theory of the supporters of the verse is, of course, that although the verse in the fourth century disappeared from all the Greek MSS. (and we have no earlier ones), yet it existed in the earlier ones from which the Latin translators made their version. The mutilation is supposed to have been the work of the Arian Eusebius, who had been charged with the revision of the Greek text. Abbé Martin denies the possibility of a universal disappearance on any such hypothesis. But the answer given by Canon Maunoury, who brings forward a parallel instance, and an undoubted one, makes it seem as if here once more our author had been too hasty. The example is taken

from the immediately preceding chapter of this identical epistle. 1 John iv. 3. All extant Greek MSS. have in this place  $\mu\eta$   $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\nu\ \text{'}\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (non confitetur Jesum), whereas the Vulgate translator must have read  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\omicron\nu\ \text{'}\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$  as he translates it *solvit Jesum*. Now though we have all the extant Greek MSS. against the Vulgate, yet it is certain that the Vulgate represents the earlier and genuine reading. This is proved not only on the explicit authority of the historian Socrates who had read it in older MSS., and informs us that the corruption had been made by the Nestorians, but likewise from the fact that Origen and Irenæus read it as it is now in the Vulgate, and quote it in the same manner.

ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.

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BELGIAN.

*Dietsche Warande.* Tijdschrift voor Kunst en Zedegeschiedenis.  
No. 5.

**The Soup Bowl of St. Francis.**—Children of St. Francis all the world over will be pleased with the engraving of the soup-bowl of the Seraphic Father, still existing in the Franciscanesses' Convent at Retie, and the description of it by Fr. Th. J. Welvaarts, in No. 5 of this excellent Flemish art review. Retie, we may remark, is in the province of Antwerp, some two hours' walk from Turnhout and three from Geel. The engraving shows the bowl, or cup, which is considerably broken, mounted in a silver holder, which bears an inscription in Latin. As Fr. Welvaarts' article is very short, we give a translation of it, as follows :

This earthenware bowl has a circumference at its upper rim of 36 centimetres, with a diameter of ten, and a height, including the silver foot subsequently added, of 7 centimetres; the whole weight is half a kilo (1.1 lb.) The whitish bottom, much cracked and with the mark of a cross baked into it, has an inner circumference of 32 centimetres. The colour outside is marbled green. There are still traces on the outside indicating an earlier handle. There are fastened to the upper part, in the form of handles, two little figures in worked silver,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres in size, representing St. Francis with uplifted arms, as if striving to soar up from earth and be united to God. They were added at a more recent time, when the greater part of the bowl was encased in silver, and of course have nothing to do with the original object. Through the intermediary of Mgr. Canon Wijnants, custodian of the relics at Mechlin, the following words were in 1889 engraved on the silver band put round the bowl in the 18th century, and are based on irrefragable documentary evidence :

HAEC SCUTELLA TESTACEA, QUA IPSE DIVUS FRANCISCUS, DUM VIVERET, AD JUSCULENTA UTEBATUR, AB ANNO 1232 USQUE AD 1796 MECHLINIAE IN CONVENTU FRATRUM MINORUM RECOLLECTORUM CONSERVATA, A SUPERSTITE PATRE JOANNE BRUGMANS ANNO 1837 CONVENTUI SORORUM POENITENTIUM IN ARENDONCK LEGATA.

How the bowl was brought from Italy to Mechlin six years after the death of the Founder of the Order, we can find recorded neither in documents nor in tradition. But according to the above inscription, it was kept in

Meehlin at the Convent of the Friars Minors for nearly six centuries, viz., from 1237 to 1796, and since the time of the suppression of the Monastery always kept in a place of safety, now by one spiritual son of St. Francis, now by another. F. John Brugmans was the last survivor of the above convent. After the expulsion, he fixed his abode at Meehlin in the house of Madame Koninckx (died Nov., 1884), where at this time the bowl was kept. Sister Maria Antonia (in the world, Catherine Schellens, born at Olmen, Jan. 25, 1768) was a great friend of this lady and had often seen the venerable relic at her house. Fr. Brugmans, when nearing the end of his life, thought he could leave the bowl to nobody better than to Sister M. Antonia, or, rather, to the Arendonck Convent, which she had begun to erect in 1819. That this sister, who was the Mother General of all the convents founded by her in the archdiocese of Meehlin, had a great devotion for this bowl, is evident from the fact, among others, that she always carried it with her in a leather case when she visited her houses, and gave the nuns great pleasure by letting them see it.

Why is this ancient relic now transferred from the Franciscan Convent at Arendonck to the neighbouring convent at Retie ?

The bowl was indeed bequeathed in 1837 by Fr. Brugmans to St. Agnes' Convent, Arendonck, but chiefly in favour of Sister M. Antonia. The Mother General had a special affection for the then poor (and, indeed, still poor) house at Retie, known as St. Annadal, which she used to call her Bethlehem, and where she hoped to breathe her soul to God. Only four days before her death, when completely recovered from the attack of ague, she arrived at Retie from Arendonck, never more to leave it. After a very short sickness, she passed into eternal life at Retie, on June 12, 1850. Her wish was fulfilled. It was considered just that the bowl should be kept at Retie. No house of the order raised any objection.

A word about the various cracks, which can be clearly seen in the engraving. The written description of the breakage at the Arendonck Convent has been lost, but we can supply it by the evidence of some old sisters, who had often read the documents.

According to them, the bowl was already broken, before the dissolution of convents in the 18th century. For an old woman, who was dangerously sick, wishing to drink out of it so as to recover her health, let it slip from her hands, with the unfortunate result that it broke into nine pieces. The Friars Minors joined the pieces together and encased the whole in the silver band described above. Thus the relic 700 years old, was protected from further injury.

VARIOUS PAPERS.—Other numbers of the *Dietsche Warande* (Nos. 2, 3, 4) contain exceedingly valuable contributions, antiquarian and artistic, which we can refer to only briefly. Dom Willibrord Van Heteren, O.S.B., of Maredsous, has in Nos. 4 and 5, an article on "Artists and Works of Art in the Belgian Monasteries from the 10th to the Middle of the 13th Century," giving most interesting details of art-life at Waulsort, Gembloux, and St. Hubert.—Tottmann has a couple of articles (Nos. 5 and 6) tracing the history of "Musical Notation."—Two MSS. printed here for the first time are both instructive and amusing. F. Kieckers, S.J., of Louvain, edits a quaint little treatise on the art of illuminating ("af setten van perkamenten genaemt mingnaturen"), drawn up by Brother Francis of Groenendaal in 1642, at the request of "the well-beloved Dominus Adrianus," whoever that was. Groenendaal was one of the convents of



the congregation to which Thomas á Kempis belonged. The minute instructions given by the good brother for each kind of colour, and for the treatment of different kinds of objects, flesh-tints, hair, coats of animals, &c., are very interesting, and possibly might be found exceedingly useful to modern illuminators. Here is a curious bit :

*Mumia or Mummy.*—Mummy is men's flesh, which is found in the mountains of Babylon or Ninive and Egypt, embalmed and quite dried up, but still preserved by the balsam which grows in the land. It can be bought at apothecaries and druggists ("inde abtekerijen ende drogisten"). It must be rubbed in clean water, and let to dry on chalk. It is a convenient colour for hair and beards. *Item* for naked men and dead bodies; also for mountains and rocks.

The MS. of Brother Francis is in the private archives of the della Faille family at Antwerp.

From a MS. of the Royal Library at Brussels, M. Stallaert publishes a very curious little poem of Jan Boendale, a satire upon women's vagaries, and above all upon female fashions in dress, which at that epoch (14th century) seem to have been particularly extravagant. It seems, by the way, that in 1379 the Flemish ladies talked of their "froxy" just as they do in England in 1890. The satire is very amusing, and in the quaintest old Flemish. All birds and animals, grumbles Jan, are content with the form and figure God has given them; not so our wives :

For Nature, according to Her right,  
Gave them only a head;  
But thereto they add a great horn.  
I wean they do it in God's scorn!  
And come to church and to feasts  
Horned like senseless beasts . . .  
Were they born, however,  
With horns, they'd be ashamed  
And cover themselves where they grew! [ll. 25-34.]

They drag after them long trains  
Like serpents, three ells long. [ll. 66, 67]

Moreover, they will always have their own way, out of pure "cussedness," as a modern Yankee would put it :

Her husband's 'yea' is her 'nay,'  
And her husband's 'nay' is her 'yea.'  
When the husband wants to drink wine,  
Then she will have beer served;  
Will he beer, so wills she wine! . . .  
If meat is to be cooked,  
If he wants it roast, she'll have it boiled;  
If he wants beef, she wants pork. [ll. 104-117.]

Judging from some of the verses, we fancy Jan Boendale must have been soured by his experiences of wedded life!

L. C. C.

## GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

IN the September issue of the *Katholik*,<sup>1</sup> Father Athanasius Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, contributes a thoughtful paper on the condition of English Catholics under James I. He shows that Gardiner in his "History of England" goes too far in exculpation of James I., when he pretends that the king never deviated from his first promise of affording complete toleration to all denominations, provided they did not enter into any conspiracy against the Crown. On the contrary, the truth seems to be with the opinion which fathers the original plan of persecuting English Catholics on the king himself. James could let Anglican bishops and State ministers apparently constrain him, whilst he quietly organized intolerant measures. Certainly notwithstanding his solemn assurance to the Catholic Ambassadors that the penal laws had been passed against his will, he allowed those laws to be severely enacted. Another article in this number treats of the numerous translations of relics from Rome to Germany in the time of Charlemagne. From Giovanni de Rossi's archaeological works we know that, owing to the barbarous inroads of the Lombards, the Popes, during the eighth century, had the bodies of Catacomb martyrs transferred into churches of the city. The close connection between Rome and Germany under the Empire of A.D. 800, gave opportunity of providing German churches, both cathedrals and convents, with bodies of martyrs from the Catacombs. We may be allowed to quote the opinion of a Protestant historian, Professor Wallenbach, as to the influence of such proceedings. In the introduction to the German edition of the book, "the translation of St. Alexander," he does not hesitate to assert "that the translation of sacred and venerated relics proved most conducive to the establishment of the Christian religion." The student of liturgy and hagiology will find abundant material in this article. A series of articles in this review treats of the "Manuale Curatorum, A.D. 1514," an excellent manual of advice to parish priests in the discharge of their duties. The book is of special interest as practically refuting so many accusations soon afterwards brought forward by the reformers against the Catholic Church. In the October number, a recent essay which attempts to defend the theory of "Generatianismus" is deservedly dealt with. Next follows an article on "St. Thomas and the course of studies adopted by the Society of Jesus," clearly establishing that the Jesuits from their commencement made it their most sacred duty to adhere to St. Thomas as their guide.

From the November issue we select the article on "Luther's Bible." An undertaking akin to the revised version in England, has

been started in Germany in the scheme for bringing out a new edition of Luther's Bible. The time is happily gone by when Luther's translation was extolled to the skies. Professor de Lagarde, of the University of Göttingen, and one of our best Oriental scholars, did not hesitate to declare, in 1885, that, looked at scientifically, Luther's translation of the Bible was a failure. And he passes the same judgment on the revised edition undertaken by a committee of German divines in our own day. Any attempt to bring Luther's translation to the test of modern philology and criticism, reveals unmistakably, that Luther made, not a faithful version but one serving his own purpose and theological system. That has ever been the opinion of Catholic divines, and the more philology advances, the more Luther's translation will lose ground.

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### 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The October number has a sympathetic article on Father Gasquet's "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries"; also a clever article on "The Centenary of the French Catholics and the Conservatives," founded on the so-called "Cahiers of 1889." By the efforts of Count De Mun the Catholics of France have had collected *cahiers* of statements on the effects of the great Revolution, in the State, Society, Family, and Religion, and these *cahiers* were read before a great conservative meeting in Paris, June 23, 1889. Another article reviews the last volume of the "Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariæ Illustrantia," which contains the "Liber Confraternitatis S. Spiritus de Urbe" (Budapestini 1889), with the entries relating to Hungarian pilgrims who became members of this confraternity, created by Innocent III. Dr. Baumgarten writes on the first part of the second volume of De Rossi's "Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ." To the November number I contributed an article on "Thureau-Dangin, La Monarchie de Juillet," vol. III.-V. (Paris, Plon 1886-1889), a classic work deserving of attentive perusal as written from a Catholic point of view. To English scholars the brilliant pages on the religious revival in France under the July Monarchy will be of special value.

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### 3. *Stimmen aus Maria Luach.*

The number for September contains a biographical article on Father Pachtler, one of the first editors of the *Stimmen* and a well-known writer in prose and poetry. To him we are indebted for one of the best editions of the Vatican Council (*Acta et Decreta Herder 1871*), and for his great work "Monumenta pædagogica Germaniæ. Ratio Studiorum Societatis Jesu," to which

even Protestant teachers attach great importance. Two articles are contributed on "Hadrian IV. and the Donation of Ireland," by Father Pfülf, who, unlike Cardinal Moran, F. Morris, and Professor Jungmann, apparently holds the alleged Bull of Hadrian IV. to be genuine. Lastly may be mentioned Father Baumgartner's article descriptive of the beauties of Christiania, which contains not a few pages of historical value, referring to past times when the Church held sway in Norway.

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#### 4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

In the October issue Father Herkenrath S.J. advocates the use of Latin in scientific theology, chiefly on the grounds of the Church's mind as manifested in recent provincial councils, next the more easy and appropriate expression of the sublime ideas of theology in a dead language with its stereotyped terminology; and lastly on the ground that theology is the common possession and good of Catholic divines throughout the world. Dr. Schmid writes on the category of "Quantitas."

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### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 5 Ottobre, 1889.

**The Hebrew Plague.**—A curious account might be given, says the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of the circumstances connected with the publication of a work entitled *La Piaga Ebraica* by Dr. Giovanni de Stampa, if prudential considerations did not restrain the writer. Suffice it to say, that in a certain city containing many Jews, it was found impossible to get it accepted by any printing press; even the police interfered in the matter to prevent its publication. The enjoyment of full liberty seems a privilege at the present day reserved for the children of Israel. For instance, we see an infamous journal, *The Black Chronicle*, of which the director is a Hebrew, defaming Pope, Cardinals, Prelates and Clergy, with free licence, against all law; and here is a Christian who, through love of his country, wished to publish a work revealing the turpitudes of the Talmud and its followers, but is illegally deprived of the faculty of exercising his right. De Stampa's book, founded on the best authorities, is a small volume of thirty pages, and is intended as a serious caution to Jews and Christians, but especially to Christians. The Hebrew plague which now infests Europe consists, according to him, in the perilous influence which Judaism exercises on our social life, menacing its very existence. For the last century the Israelites have been attaining to the possession of exorbitant riches and power; and now, through the lying representations of the press, which is largely in their hands, they rail against the barbarous

fanaticism of Christians exercised against them in the disabilities and restrictions which in previous times were imposed upon them. De Stampa protests that neither national nor religious animosity has dictated his pages. He hates neither the persons of the Jews, nor their Semitic blood, but their vile works and the execrable maxims taught and inspired by their Talmud, which the mass of the Jewish nation has, since the coming of Christ, substituted for the law of Moses. "The Hebrew people," he says, "form a nation, not a religious sect." The Jew really never mingles with any other race; Crémieux, who held so influential a place in the French Ministry and was President of the "Israelite Universal Alliance," the secret guide of all the European Freemasonry, in the solemn discourse which he pronounced when invested with this high post, did not scruple to say: "We Hebrews are neither French, Italians, or Germans, but before all we have our Hebrew nationality, and this nationality we shall preserve until the time when to Emperors and Kings shall succeed the Messiah and his kingdom, a kingdom which shall extend over the whole earth, and before whose banner all nations shall prostrate themselves; this time is not far distant, provided we international Hebrews labour for it with all the means in our power. Meanwhile we do not regard ourselves as the subjects of any nation." The Hebrews are therefore aliens and everywhere necessarily enemies, because they hold as a dogma that God has created the world for them and given it to them. It is no robbery, therefore, for a Jew to despoil anyone who is not a Jew also, because all he has is an unjust possession. It belongs to the Jews. This is pure Talmudism. "It is allowable," says the Talmud, "to cheat Christians," and it commends usury as a means of beggaring them. It is a serious matter to harbour such an enemy and worse still if the enemy has a consummate talent for assuming a mask suited to time and place. The author exclaims against the shame of having in Italy a Parliament which is like a synagogue. The population of the Peninsula is about thirty millions, of whom not more than 50,000 are Jews. "Half a Jew would therefore," he says, "be their proportionate representation at Monte Citorio," where, however, they swarm. Venice has the honour of being almost exclusively represented by them, and not in Parliament alone do they thus preponderate, they domineer in the courts of justice, the schools, and the press, which is almost entirely under their control, as well as the banks, the exchange, all the industries of the land, the whole circle, in short, of the material interests of the country. The Italian Hebrew correspondent of the *Judische Presse* of Berlin, writing on the 8th of August, 1887, jocularly observes: "In our Parliament you may hear a buzz of Jews; the Director of the official ministerial paper, the *Riforma* of Rome, is a Jew named Primo Levi; the highest posts of government are in the hands of our brethren;" and he goes on to say that "Depretis was a great friend to them and often attended their synagogue, and that his successor, Crispi, is their ardent

partizan." Thus the boasted liberty and independence of Italy with Rome for its capital, has all served to the profit of a handful of Asiatic strangers, to the incalculable detriment of the faith, morals, honour, and goods of the Italians. These Jews leagued with a band of apostate Freemasons, their accomplices and tools, compose that *legal* Italy which taxes, drains of its life-blood, teaches, corrupts, and contaminates the *real* Italy. Is it not a tremendous peril for Italians, while boasting of deliverance from a foreign yoke, to develop their social life within the grip of these harpies; to seek justice at tribunals where men preside who have the following rule in their written law: "When a Hebrew has recourse to justice against a Christian, the verdict must always be given in favour of the Hebrew;" to send their children to schools in which the teachers have this rule in their code: "The Hebrew ought to suggest to the Christian those principles which are afterwards to ruin him." No doubt there are exceptions. There are Jews whose sense of natural justice raises them above their creed, but such is the rule. Throughout Europe generally, Jews are allowed to blaspheme the faith of the Christians amongst whom they dwell, especially in the press, but not in the press only; witness a picture executed by a Leipsic Jew, and some six months ago exhibited in the Dresden gallery, representing our Lord as an assassin, and the twelve apostles as so many convicts from the galleys, with this inscription, "The band of malefactors with the master Jesus." De Stampa does not wish to persecute or in any way harm the Jews; he would only suggest certain measures of prevention and restriction in self-defence.

16 *Novembre*, 1889.

**Reform of Sacred Music.**—Some very pertinent observations, made in this number on the subject of the Reform of Sacred Music in Italy, seem to be of general application. The late meeting at Soave, near Verona, which was largely attended, and the appointment of a permanent Committee to promote the progress and decorum of sacred music in Italy, are very encouraging signs. We may draw attention to some principles laid down at this meeting. Before all things, then, the reform of sacred music must have a strictly religious aim. This does not exclude its consideration under an artistic aspect, for sacred music does not, because sacred, cease therefore to be an art, and true art. Now, if artistic excellence is required in all music, it is most of all requisite where there is question of honouring God in His Temple, and moving the worshippers to recollection and devotion. We desire to offer to Him what is most perfect, relatively, that is, proportioned, to the means at our disposal. To act otherwise would be extravagant and absurd; and the same remark may be, and has been applied to the building of churches. Where means are very limited, we must be content that the House of God should be simple and decorous, grandeur being out of the question. But the artistic side

in Church music must always be secondary and subordinate to the religious. No art employed to serve the Catholic liturgy is so closely allied to it as is music. Look at the Mass and you will see that all its parts are transformable into music, and are so transformed when it is solemnly celebrated. Music is no foreign addition to it, it is an integral portion of divine worship. You cannot therefore touch sacred music without touching *ipso facto* the liturgy itself. The music of the Church ought, therefore, to have no other scope than that of the liturgy itself—to honour God and move the faithful to devotion. To consider it as solely or chiefly an object of art, as if the church were a concert room, or, worse still, to make it serve as an attraction to the profane world by adopting melodies of a theatrical style in order to suit its depraved taste, is surely a shameful desecration of the Holy Sacrifice. Another principle which was strongly insisted on at Soave, and which springs immediately from this conception of sacred music as part of the liturgy, was the full conformity it ought to have with the rubrical prescriptions in liturgical books regulating the worship at solemn functions, and with such as the Holy See may promulgate from time to time. A musical composition, then, may be a very master-piece of art, it may have the most powerful effects on its hearers, but if it does not agree with ecclesiastical rules it will never be a work of sacred art, and must be inexorably rejected. If sacred music is to be restored to its ancient splendour, the rule of the most perfect obedience to the authority of the Church must be laid down. At the very first sitting of the meeting at Soave all present gave their adhesion to this rule, and amidst the most enthusiastic applause it was decided that a telegram to that effect should be instantly sent to the Holy Father, Leo XIII., the supreme guardian of the Liturgy.

**The Chinese Rites.**—Our readers are aware of the prolonged controversy concerning the Chinese rites, which arose among the missionaries in that heathen empire. The present article examines what is the value of the judgment of the Holy See on this question, and asserts that it is purely dogmatic, the Pope having spoken as Head of the Church in a matter appertaining to the deposit of the faith. Whatever in these customs was infected with superstition and idolatry was condemned, while what was harmless and only associated with civil observances was to be tolerated. The same answer was given in subsequent parallel cases, to which the writer alludes in detail, and clearly infers that such customs were not simply bad, because forbidden, but forbidden because intrinsically bad, as being contrary to the first precept of the Decalogue. Hence, the first decision was final, and here he makes an important observation, grounded on the expressions used by the Holy Office in giving its reason for refusing to make any further reply to an application by the Vicar Apostolic of Tokien, in 1693, from which it appears that the Holy See had always answered according to truth, but without passing any judgment on the truth or falseness of

the exposition of facts made to it. The first is called *responsa veritatis*, the other *expositorium veritatis*. Concerning the veracity of the exposition of facts in the case of Chinese rites it had not then pronounced any decision, but it had declared the character of the facts as stated to be opposed to the Divine and natural law. Its sentence was therefore dogmatic and irreversible.

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## Notices of Books.

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*Our Christian Heritage.* By His Eminence CARDINAL GIBBONS.  
London: R. Washbourne. Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co. 1889.

WE have to announce the appearance of a very important addition to the literature of Christian Apologetics in Cardinal Gibbons' new work, "Our Christian Heritage." Although we claim that the life and thought of the world has still its centre of gravity in Europe, we all feel that America is, by its position and condition, the newer and broader field on which must be worked out the great social problems of the future. In view of that future, there is something pleasingly fitting and opportune in the fact that a great American Cardinal, with his eyes on the signs of the times, and his hand on the pulse of the people, has voiced the wisdom of the Church in the happiest manner, and fulfilled, with insight and foresight, his high duty of directing the American public to what all Christians must feel to be the safe and the sole solution. The method of the work is characteristic of the author. He does not speak from the lofty pinnacle of Catholic dogma, or even of distinctively Catholic philosophy, but descends to those lower steps which form the platform of what is known in this country as "common Christianity." Such a descent brings him within ear-shot of the nation, and within the sympathetic hearing of outsiders, and it goes without saying that he takes very good care that nothing of principle or position suffers in the least by his doing so. Describing the character of the work, the Cardinal says:—

This book is not polemical. It does not deal with the controversies that have agitated the Christian world since the religious convulsion of the sixteenth century. It does not, therefore, aim at vindicating the claims of the Catholic Church as superior to those of the separated branches of Christianity—a subject that has already been exhaustively treated.

It has nothing to say against any Christian denomination that still retains faith in at least the divine mission of Jesus Christ. On the contrary, I am glad to acknowledge that most of the topics discussed in this little volume have often found, and still find, able and zealous advocates in Protestant writers.



And far from despising or rejecting their support, I would gladly hold out to them the right-hand of fellowship so long as they unite with us in striking the foe. It is pleasant to be able to stand sometimes on the same platform with our old antagonists.

The object of the work, he further states, is not to influence the scoffer or avowed unbeliever, but rather to safeguard or strengthen the minds of the doubtful or perplexed, and to lead back to Christian belief those who have become, by distorting influences, estranged from the teachings of the gospel.

The book deals with the whole range of difficulties which commonly beset the mind unsettled by unbelief, and from the existence of God, the origin of man, the harmony of science and revelation, down to the social questions of labour, divorce, election, morality, all are treated with a painstaking earnestness and candour which cannot but win the gratitude and sympathy of the reader.

A fair sample of appositeness and elevation of thought is found in the Cardinal's views upon the Darwinian theory. He holds that the "missing link" is not to be sought downwards, between man the beast, but upwards, between man and God, and that it was precisely this link, which, broken by Adam, Christ came on earth to reforge and restore. Those who have before their recollection the sublime view of the Incarnation set forth in the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, will feel what sure and abundant ground the Cardinal has for his refined and exalted version of the theory. At the same time, readers of Professor Mivart may hold themselves free to believe that the restoration of the supernatural link in the one quarter does not necessarily preclude the existence of the natural link in the other, and they may even welcome both the Cardinal and the Professor as witnesses, each in his own section, to the completeness of the chain that binds the lowest and most remote particle of creation to the Throne of God.

Very often the author puts a great truth so happily that his very words—to borrow a phrase from his own side of the Atlantic—"catch on," and we feel as when the wand has been split by the shaft of the archer, that hardly or never will another do it better. The radical harmony of science and religion is a subject often associated in our minds with cumbrous sentences and painful efforts as laboured reconciliation. The following, we think, expresses the situation both easily and gracefully :—

Science and religion, like Martha and Mary, are sisters, because they are daughters of the same Father. They are both ministering to the same Lord, though in a different way. Science, like Martha, is busy about material things. Religion, like Mary, is kneeling at the feet of her Lord. . . .

'The God who dictated the Bible,' as Archbishop Ryan has happily said, 'is the God who wrote the illuminated manuscript of the skies.' You might as well expect that one ray of the sun would dim the light of another, as that any truth of revelation can be opposed to any truth of science. No truth of natural science can ever be opposed to any truth of revelation; nor can any truth of the natural order be at variance with any truth of the supernatural order. Truth differs from truth only as star differs from star—

each gives out the same pure light that reaches our vision across the expanse of the firmament.

The whole work bears throughout, the impress of the gifted mind and the apostolic heart of its author, and we cannot but believe that it has reserved for it an apostolic mission of guidance and light amongst the masses for whom it is intended. It is impossible to peruse its pages without feeling how much the author is present in his book, and to recognize that charm of luminous and Christ-like sympathy which wins its way both to the heart and to the convictions of the reader.

J. M.

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*Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique. L'Acadie. (1604—1881.)* Par RAMEAU DE SAINT-PÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

THANKS to the genius of Longfellow, the pathetic story of the expulsion of the French colonists from Acadia is well known wherever the English language is spoken. Nearly thirty years before the Pilgrim Fathers set sail from our shores, a little band of Frenchmen settled in the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia. Though subject to the French Crown, they held little communication with the other colonies and the mother country. Hence they long preserved their primitive simplicity of manners. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the country was ceded to England. For forty years the Acadians were practically unmolested by their new masters. But the presence of so many colonists of known sympathy with France, and, at the same time, Catholic, was looked upon as dangerous to the interests of the English colonists. Acadia, too, was one of the most fertile lands in the world. The old story of the wolf and the lamb was once more enacted.

M. Rameau de Saint-Père gives us not only the early history and "removal" of the Acadians, but also considerable information about their subsequent fate. He traces many of the families in the United States and France. It is sad to find that the descendants of those who settled in New York, deprived of the assistance of any French priests, gradually lost that faith for which their fathers had suffered so much. Lovers of Evangeline (and who is not one?) should be grateful to M. Rameau de Saint-Père for giving them in sober prose the proofs of the facts on which that beautiful poem is based.

T. B. S.

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*The Origin of Human Reason.* Being an Examination of Recent Hypotheses concerning it. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., M.D., F.R.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

THE work here presented to the public by Dr. Mivart—so soon after the elaborate volume "On Truth"—is in the nature of a supplement to that book. Among those who have argued sophistically, but speciously, against the Catholic philosopher's great principle of

the essential difference between sense and intelligence, is Mr. G. J. Romanes. This gentleman's book, "Mental Evolution in Man," was published too late to be answered in the pages of the work "On Truth." Dr. Mivart has therefore taken it in hand in a separate publication, and devotes some 300 pp. to a keen analysis of its arguments, facts, and illustrations. The eight chapters are not very easy reading, mainly because the whole work is a running commentary on Mr. Romanes, whose name occurs so often, and in conjunction with such exasperating *non sequiturs*, that the most patient reader comes to regard him as a personal foe. His critic, himself, with all his philosophical patience in following the trail of a very long-winded "reasoner," admits that he expected better things from him.

We must confess [he says] to no small feeling of disappointment at finding we had no real novelty, no freshly discovered difficulty to contend with, but had mainly to occupy ourselves with the explanation of misunderstandings and the unravelling of curiously entangled conceptions. The real contention of the author is an old familiar one, and may be thus briefly put: "The infant shows no intellectual nature, therefore it has none. Savages are intellectually inferior to us in varying degrees, therefore their ancestors had no intellect at all." The argument in favour of these assertions really reposes almost exclusively on a supposed *à priori* probability, derived from that view of evolution which Mr. Romanes (following Mr. Darwin, Professor Haeckel, &c.) favours (p. 296).

Nothing could better describe the book's aim and motive. Mr. Romanes simply ignores the distinction between sense and reason—between the kingdom of operations and acquisitions dependent on the former, and the entirely distinct realm of the latter—and then reads his theory into all the "facts" which he and his friends have "observed," about monkeys, ants, collie-dogs, cockatoos, and babies. Dr. Mivart is obliged to devote a particularly tough chapter (Chap. II.) to putting Mr. Romanes right about mental states and processes; tough, not that he does not write with abundant clearness, but because all this talk about "percepts" "recepts," and "concepts," which has to be gone through with every man who in these days sets up as a philosopher, is not useful enough to demand the reader's serious attention; there is no amusement in learning a fresh grammar for every man who offers to converse with you. And it may here be added that Dr. Mivart himself adds to the horrors of the position by coining, with the best results, the terrible word "senecept"—though, to do him justice, he only mentions it once or twice afterwards.

A great deal of the book is occupied with the discussion of the relations between Reason and Language. Mr. Romanes considers that we may take it as certain that animals have the *germ* of the sign-making faculty. This word "germ" is a snare to theorizers; we are not unfamiliar with books which state that animals have the "germ" even of ethical ideas. But Dr. Mivart points out (p. 128) that the term is ambiguous. Animals certainly not only possess the "germ" of *emotional* language, but have it fully matured and

developed. The question is, whether they have the minutest germ of an *intellectual* sign-making faculty. When a dog "points," we do not mean that it points as a man would. It stops, and the sportsman knows why. But the dog has no feeling of relation between the halt and its master's actions. Even if it expects something to happen, the feeling is only sense-memory; an intelligent "sign" requires abstract thought, as our author has abundantly proved in his book "On Truth." A most wonderful cockatoo story has been furnished by a correspondent of Mr. Romanes, in connection with the question of how far animals can use rational language. If the facts are as related, Dr. Mivart has good reason for saying that the bird possessed not only the "germ" of the sign-making faculty, but the very same intellectual powers which we possess, and "nothing but a series of accidents can have prevented one of Cockie's cousins from having discovered the law of gravitation or dictated a treatise like the ethics of Aristotle" (p. 136).

Mr. Romanes maintains that the human power of "thinking" is the exercise of introspective reflection which "consciousness" enables us to make (p. 182). Thus, if I think of a ladder as a means to get up to a window, I am only doing what a monkey can do; but if I say, "Dear me! I am thinking that a ladder, &c.," I am exercising my human prerogative. But every respectable philosopher, from Aristotle to Dr. McCosh, would tell him that there is no proof that the brute's conception of the relation between ladder and window is more than an awakened sense-impression acting on animal impulse; whereas, a man, long before he *reflects*, has the direct idea of the predicate "is" in the judgment, "the ladder is the way to reach the window."

All students of psychology will find this book a most useful manual, as the author takes up, comments upon, and correctly interprets an immense number of those stories of "animal intelligence" which the materialistic writers of the day are so fond of collecting and of using with perverse ingenuity. Incidentally, there is much interest of various kinds in these pages, as, for example, in the long account (p. 166 sqq.) of the deaf mute, Martha Obrecht; a detailed description of the means taken to educate a mass of flesh having no means of communication with other human beings, and without any power of expression save a cry combined with a motion of the body. Such an example as this is worth a thousand pages of such argument as Professor Huxley brings forward for the purpose of showing that the essential difference between man and brute is only language. The human deaf mute, sitting in darkness and isolation, speedily responds to skilful touch, and shows reason and intelligence; the brute, with every physical sense perfect, lives a hundred years and never gets beyond the emotional cry which it could utter from its birth.

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*Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade.* Edited by RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. London: Longmans. 1889.

THIS large and handsome volume, of nearly 400 pages, is divided into two parts. The first gives a biography of Cardinal Lavigerie, with a description of his administration in Algeria, and of his efforts for the organization of the Equatorial Missions. The second is an original and very well-written memoir on the present state of the Central African Slave Trade. We cannot be wrong in referring it mainly to the editor himself.

Born at Bayonne in 1825, Cardinal Lavigerie is now about sixty-four. In the earliest years of his priesthood he was Professor of Church History at the Sorbonne. But his missionary vocation soon asserted itself, and his first chance came when, in 1856, he accepted the direction of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Education in the East, and was sent, a few years later, to the Lebanon to carry the alms of France and to repair the desolation which the Druses had wrought on the Catholic tribes. He visited Beyrout, Damascus, and the scenes of the massacres, distributing relief, organizing permanent institutions for the children, and diffusing comfort and confidence. For this he was publicly thanked by the Eastern Bishops, both Catholic and schismatic, and by the French Government. He was raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Nancy in 1863, but was transferred, four years later, to the Archiepiscopal See of Algiers. His first Pastoral Letter shows the ardent and eager heart of the man. Algiers and Africa seem to have seized on his imagination. "Why hast thou fallen," he exclaims, "great and illustrious Church? Wherefore have the stones of thy sanctuaries been scattered and dispersed." Later on he wrote:—

From every part of this huge continent, from the boundaries of the provinces France has annexed in the North to the English possessions at the Cape, one long wail of anguish has gone up for centuries; a cry wherein all the worst and keenest suffering our humanity is capable of feeling, meets and mingles; the cry of mothers, from whose arms the ruthless marauder snatches their little ones, to deliver them into life-long servitude, and who, like Rachel, weep for their children, and refuse to be comforted; the cry of peaceful, happy villagers, surprised by night in their sleep, who behold their dwellings reduced to ashes, all who resist put to death, and the remainder dragged away and driven to the market, where human beings are sold like cattle; the cry of interminable troops of miserable captives—men, women, and children—sinking from hunger, thirst, and despair, slowly expiring in the desert . . . the cry of thousands of defenceless human beings, abandoned as a prey to the passions of their pitiless captors; all this, and much more, carried on daily through greed of gain, desire of revenge, or lust of conquest (p. 148).

Cardinal Lavigerie's work in Algeria itself is shown in the conversion and conciliation of the Arabs, Berbers, and Negroes, who form the indigenous population, in the multiplication of churches and schools, in the establishment of orphanages for the abandoned children of the native races, and in those agricultural "Colonies" which, with the help of the Trappists, he has pushed on even into the

Desert itself. He has had much trouble both from the French Government and from those hostile to French influence. Since the establishment of the Republic his allowances have been cut down, and his hands tied; but he goes on with his work, and, as all the world knows, has taken up, besides, the vast question of the Christianizing of Central Africa. At this he has been working since 1873. Pius IX., just before he died, blessed the "White Fathers"—a devoted Society founded by the Cardinal himself—and commissioned them for their perilous undertaking. Since then, two Apostolic Vicariates have been founded, the one on the great Victoria Nyanza, the queen of African inland seas, the other further south on Lake Tanganyika. There has been much persecution. Uganda has sent the first fruits of its martyrs to heaven; the White Fathers have lost eleven of their members by martyrdom, and more than fifty by hardship and exposure. Of these things we have detailed narratives in the book before us.

Cardinal Lavigerie is of opinion that, in order to Christianize the equatorial races, charity is not enough; there must be force. His idea is to enlist a body of volunteers who would hold stations, bar the slave routes, organize the defenceless natives, and, if necessary, fight the Arab marauders. The second part of the book describes in detail the horrors of the slave-stealing, the rapine and murder, the depopulation of the country, and the atrocities of the slave-march. The writer also discusses the influence and advance of Mahometanism, and shows what a fatal baseness it would be to allow that detestable and blighting fanaticism to possess Africa. As we have said, this part of the work is of very great and original interest. Perhaps something more might have been said of the actual state of the Protestant missions of the interior; without the knowledge of what these are doing, no adequate idea can be formed of the conditions of the missionary problem. The writer leaves the question of the suppression of slavery undecided. But all who wish to follow with intelligence the action which may be expected to follow from the Brussels Conference, and from the Conference which Cardinal Lavigerie himself hopes to hold before long, should possess himself of the information given in the pages of this seasonable book.

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*The Biblical Illustrator.* By Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. St. Luke. Three Vols. London: James Nisbet & Co.

CERTAINLY Mr. Exell's Biblical compilations are one of the literary wonders of our age. Nearly three thousand pages are used to illustrate a Gospel which would hardly fill thirty. The majority of the illustrations are extracts from preachers and writers of the day. Liddon, Parker, Spurgeon, and Wilberforce are often laid under contribution. It goes without saying that the extracts are not all equally eloquent or apposite to the text. Still the collection of such an immense number is an evidence of the industry

of the editor and the enterprize of the publisher. We confess that we looked with some anxiety to see how certain crucial texts in the first chapter of St. Luke were treated. With the exception of a long passage from a sermon of the late Bishop Wilberforce against the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, we found little that a Catholic could object to. On the contrary, we found many eloquent passages in praise of the Blessed Virgin which went beyond anything we could expect from a Protestant source. We quote one passage which, had it been found in St. Liguori or any Catholic manual, would have shocked Exeter Hall:—

No woman who ever lived on the face of the earth has been an object of such wonder, admiration, and worship as Mary, the Mother of our Lord. Around her poetry, painting, and music have raised clouds of ever-shifting colours, splendid as those around the setting sun. Exalted above earth, she has been shown to us as a goddess, yet a goddess of a type wholly new. She is not Venus, nor Minerva, nor Ceres, nor Vesta. No goddess of classic antiquity, or of any other mythology, at all resembles that ideal being whom Christian art and poetry presents to us in Mary. Neither is she like all of them united. She differs from them as Christian art differs from classical, wholly and entirely. Other goddesses have been worshipped for beauty, for grace, for wisdom, for power. Mary has been the goddess of poverty and sorrow, of pity and mercy, and as suffering is about the only certain thing in human destiny, she has numbered her adorers in every land, and climate, and nation. In Mary womanhood, in its highest and tenderest development of the mother, is the object of worship. Motherhood, with its large capacities of sorrow with the memory of bitter sufferings, with sympathies large enough to embrace every anguish of humanity! Such an object of veneration has inconceivable power.—H. B. STOWE.

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*Orelli's Prophecies of Jeremias.* Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

DR. ORELLI'S commentaries on the Prophecies are well known to Biblical students. In translating them into English, Mr. Banks has undertaken a useful labour, and the portion he has just completed will prove of great service to students unacquainted with German. Dr. Orelli defends the genuineness and authenticity of the Prophecies of Jeremias as a whole; "at most," he says, "certain sections may be distinguished as of another class." The prophet he considers to have finished the volume in Egypt. In regard to the Lamentations mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, he takes them, as seems natural, to be distinct from those usually called after Jeremias; whilst he thinks we have good grounds for attributing these latter to the prophet whose name they bear. Kueper and others, he says, have convincingly shown "the critical inferiority and utter untrustworthiness of the LXX. as regards this book." He therefore, of course, supports the critical superiority of the Masoretic text. Still he allows that the Greek is superior to the Masoretic in particular details, "so that it may be used at least in certain passages for restoring the original text."

*A New Commentary on Genesis.* By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D., Leipzig. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Two Vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

THIS last addition to Messrs. Clark's foreign Library has an especial value to Biblical students. Some twenty years have gone by since Dr. Delitzsch wrote his first Commentary on Genesis. During this time destructive criticism has been busy with the Pentateuch, breaking it up into many fragments, pieced together after the Exile, and calling in question the Mosaic authorship of even the smallest particle. It will then be particularly interesting to observe what attitude the veteran commentator assumes in regard to modern theories. From his learned Introduction we gather that Dr. Delitzsch confines his defence of the Mosaic authorship to what is called the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xix. to xxv). For other parts of the Pentateuch he contents himself with claiming a varied but pre-exilian authorship. He distinguishes the Thorah, strictly so called, from the Pentateuch, which, he says:—

Like other historical books of the Bible, is composed from documentary sources of various dates and different kinds, which critical analysis is able to recognize and distinguish from each other with more or less certainty" (p. 53).

As a commentator Dr. Delitzsch has a special advantage. Though a "Hebrew of Hebrews," yet he is a Christian by conviction, and therefore a firm believer in the Inspiration of the Scriptures. He says that he is no believer in the "Religion of the times of Darwin." In his view, if Lyellism and Darwinism are true, then Christianity is false. It will not then be expected that in his comments on Genesis he would give himself much trouble in attempting to harmonize science and Scripture. "For," he says, "the ground on which our faith is anchored is independent of scientific evidence." We have only to add that this new Commentary on Genesis is both well translated and well edited.

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*The Credentials of the Catholic Church.* By the Rev. J. B. BAGSHAWE. Fifth Thousand. London: R. Washbourne. 1889.

WE are very glad to see this, a cheap (1s.) edition of an excellent book, of which we have on its first appearance expressed our high opinion. It may help to recommend the volume for the purposes of distribution, &c., if we point out an admirable feature in Dr. Bagshawe's treatment of his subject. Of his abundant knowledge and ability we need not speak, but will note that the zeal which has led him to write this and its companion volume, "The Threshold of the Catholic Church," is, admirably, a zeal with charity for those it seeks to instruct. There is no harshness of either expression or tone throughout, but a studied consideration of other peoples very natural feelings. "Clever things and hard hits," the author says,



are too frequent in controversy, and not "much good comes of them:" and, let us add, they are easier to make than patient replies and adequate explanations. These sentences of the Preface deserve to be quoted:—

If you want a man to see an object through a telescope, you do not quarrel with him because he cannot make it out. You try to find out what it is that prevents him from seeing; you arrange the focus of your glass to suit his sight, you show him in which direction to look, and so forth. With a little patience you can generally get him to see *something*. He may not be able, at last, to see all the details you would like to show him, but at any rate he sees that there *is* a prospect, and has some idea what it is like.

My object, then, in writing, is not to say hard things of any one, but to set my glass, if I may say so, to suit my fellow-countrymen, so that as many as possible may be able to see through it. If I cannot get them to see all the glories and beauties of the Catholic Church as I do, I hope, at any rate, that I may be able to convince them that there *is* something to be seen.

I have taken for my subject the Authority of the Church because it seems such a pity that people should go on arguing about secondary points, leaving the primary questions unsettled. If we were once agreed about the main question, the others would very soon settle themselves; whereas, as I have tried to show, arguments on secondary points are seldom satisfactory or conclusive.

I have called my book the "Credentials" because it treats of the *grounds*, and *proofs*, and *tokens*, which the Church exhibits to the world to establish her claim to be considered an ambassador from God.

The author leads up to his chief subject, the "Marks" of Christ's Church, by a series of consecutive chapters, treating of the confusions, &c., of Private Judgment, showing that there is no alternative between private judgment and the Church's "Authority," and on the nature of a "Church" (a valuable chapter dealing with the "Branch" and "Family" theories), with finally, a no less useful chapter on the nature of Infallibility. There is an Appendix on the meaning and advantages of the Catholic use of ritual in public worship.

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*The Armourer of Solingen, and Wrongfully Accused.* By WILHELM HERCHENBACH. Translated from the German by H. J. GILL, M.A. With Eight Illustrations. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

TWO straightforward and excellent tales, well adapted for the young, and not to be despised by their elders. The atmosphere of faith which prevails, both in the adventurous mediæval story, and in the more modern narrative, renders the volume a most suitable addition to the library of a Catholic household; yet there is nothing obtrusively religious in either. Mr. Gill translates with great freedom and elegance: if this is his first appearance in the field of literature, his future performances will be looked for with interest.

## THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Stories of the Seven Sacraments.* By LOUISA EMILY DOBRÉE. Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7.
2. *Biographical Series.* Father Olivaint (1816-71), condensed from the French of PÈRE LE CLAIR; Venerable Julie Billiart, Foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of Nôtre Dame of Namur; Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552).
3. *Science and Scientists.* Papers on Natural History. By the Rev. JOHN GERARD, S.J. No. I. Mr. Grant Allen's Botanical Fables. No. II. Who painted the Flowers? No. III. Some Wayside Problems.
4. *The Penny Library of Catholic Tales.* No. XII. A Death-Bed Repentance. By Lady HERBERT. And Four other Tales. London: C.T.S. 1889.

1. MISS DOBREE'S later instalments of stories of the Sacraments are not inferior in any way to the three we praised last quarter. We have now "Ted's Medal," a story of Penance, "Sylvia's Lesson" (Extreme Unction), "Two Wishes" (Holy Orders), and "Regained" (Matrimony). Many will think the last the best; but they are all of well-sustained interest.

2. The titles of the most recent issues of the penny biographical series will sufficiently explain the contents. Father Olivaint, it may be mentioned, was one of the Jesuit Fathers of Paris, shot by the Commune of 1871. He was a learned and a holy man, who, in his early years, had intended to be a Dominican, and was drawn to the Society of Jesus apparently by the desire to suffer. This little account of his career is very interesting.

3. These natural history papers are a new feature of C.T.S. enterprise, and a happy variation of good work. Father Gerard writes in a very graphic, agreeable style, with such abundant illustration from his own observations as to be quite attractive. He attacks the modern propensity of scientific writers for theories and for a mechanical explanation of the universe. Many of us have read the explanation given by Sir John Lubbock and others of how the "Cuckoo-pint" (*arum maculatum*) is fertilized by the ingenious imprisonment within its calix of the flies which visit it:—a number of thread-like stalks, ranged around the entrance, act as a *chevaux de frise*, and keep in the flies, which they bent to admit, until later, fertilization being effected, the threads wither and the flies escape. This is a specimen of how Father Gerard shows up the "fable."—

This is a very pretty and interesting history; and to look at the picture of the Arum which Sir J. Lubbock engraves we should judge it to be very probable. But flowers do not always grow in the fields as they are drawn in books, and if the observer will go out for himself, and find an Arum, and slice it open with his penknife, he will probably find that there is nothing whatever in the *chevaux de frise* to hinder any fly from walking out when

he likes. The threads are by no means thick set, they twist about and do not run straight, and there is generally plenty of room between their extremities and some portion of the walls. Flies there are generally in plenty, little black flies, so small that it would seem to be a matter of no consequence which way the spikes point, for they could pass between them. The real obstacle to egress is a condition which looks very much like being drunk and incapable. They lie, often many deep, at the bottom, some without any sign of life, many in a limp and languid condition, much like rioters who have broken into a wine-vault. Whether, when they come forth from their confinement, the fresh air, to which they have been so long unaccustomed, gives them strength and energy to hunt up another Arum before they get rid of their coat of pollen—and Arums do not generally grow very near one another—is a question requiring a great deal of very close and clever observation for its solution\* (“Botanical Fables,” p. 9).

4. Nothing need be said to recommend this fresh volume of Tales. Besides the title-story, there are two others by Lady Herbert—that of “The Pious Convict” being an excellent story of considerable pathos. “Daddy Mike,” by Lindsay Duncan, is the story of a touching incident in the struggle between an Irish tenant and the “Agent;” and the remaining tale, “Only a Little Boy,” is a Christmas incident in the Tyrol, from the pen of the Baroness Pauline von Hügel.

*Hunolt's Sermons.* Vols. V. and VI. *The Penitent Christian.* Seventy-six Sermons on Penance, &c. By the Rev. Father FRANCIS HUNOLT, S.J. Translated by the Rev. J. ALLEN, D.D. 2 vols. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

*Sermons for the Sundays and Chief Festivals.* By Rev. JULIUS POTTGEISSER, S.J. Rendered from the German by Rev. JAMES CONWAY, S.J. 2 vols. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

IT is nearly four years (July, 1886) since we noticed the first two volumes of this translation of Hunolt's Sermons. What we then said as to the solidity of the matter they offer for the preacher's choice, the appropriateness of the abundant Scripture and Patristic texts, may be repeated here of the two latest volumes, as also may a recognition of the general excellence of the translator's work. Bishop Rickards warmly eulogized and recommended the Sermons in his Introduction to the first volumes, and he gives his *Imprimatur* to the present ones.

Father Pottgeisser's sermons are briefer (which is not mentioned as a fault; Hunolt's are too long for modern practice), and they are simpler in construction, but are marked by earnestness, and contain much practical, if somewhat obvious, moralizing. The first volume contains sermons for the Sundays, and the second for Festivals—these latter strike us as being the better, generally.

\* Since writing the above in 1882, I have convinced myself that the Arum kills the flies which visit it, and absorbs their more succulent portions into its own substance. [Father Gerard's note.]

*The Foundation of the Creed.* By HARVEY GOODWIN, D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Carlisle. London: John Murray. 1889.

A WORK which is professedly put forth as a nineteenth century substitute for, or supplement to, Bishop Pearson "On the Creed," should be learned and orthodox. Bishop Goodwin's performance shows, as well as anything can show, the progress of Anglicanism along the down-grade since the seventeenth century. Bishop Pearson wrote against the atheist, the Jew, and the heretic of the early Church; Bishop Goodwin has to prop up and put patches on a dilapidated faith which is all that is left to the "Churchmen" of modern times.

The hesitating believer who had recourse to Bishop Goodwin's handsome volume would find the Apostles' Creed set forth with much orthodox explanation, with plain and plausible commentary, and with a certain grasp of Christian doctrine as a whole. He would rise from its perusal with a clear view of a great system of Divine activity centred in the Incarnation. He would feel that, to a believer in an Almighty Creator, the popular "difficulties" about the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Judgment, and the Forgiveness of Sins, were of very minor importance. Bishop Goodwin has a genuine hold on the Unity and Trinity of God, the Divinity and Humanity of our Lord, and the Divine Energy of the Holy Ghost. The book therefore will do good, no doubt, in the sphere for which it is intended; that is, it will benefit those unfortunate Christians who (as he says) are anxious to combine belief in mystery and reverence for antiquity with that power of "appealing to reason," which is the legacy of the Blessed Reformation. No one acknowledges more readily than Catholics that it is most useful and necessary to disarm rational objections against the mysteries of the Faith. Cardinal Gibbons has, to a large extent, done this work in his recently published "Our Christian Heritage." Father Lacordaire and Cardinal Newman have also devoted many splendid pages to a similar purpose.

What there is missing in the "apologetics" of the Anglican Bishop is the idea that there exists in the Church of the present day any power of speech. The Church which formed the Creeds must have died in its early youth; or else there would still be an authority to settle whether, for instance, there is a real presence in the eucharistic elements, or a sacrament of penance, or "Limbo," or purgatory. The learned Bishop goes laboriously on, with his "it may be," and "we may well believe," and "surely it cannot be wrong," until one begins to feel that the Christian Faith is to an Anglican rather an "affair of the laboratory," as Mr. A. J. Balfour would call it, than a system for saying your prayers by. This parsonic and namby-pamby "moderation" is all very well for an Anglican sermon, but it will not meet the wants of palpitating human hearts. Such a religion as is here preached could never be popular; it could only be respectable. Yet Bishop Goodwin

ventures to predict that the Church of England is to be the principal preacher of the Gospel of the future!

The book is calmly written, but every now and then there is the inevitable "gird" at our "Roman brethren." He talks, among other things, of modern developments (in France), of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he shows how much he knows about them by alluding to the appearance of Our Lady "to two children at Lourdes" (p. 184), evidently confusing Lourdes with La Salette.

As to numerous matters, more or less closely connected with the Faith, he writes as one who has read neither the Fathers nor the Theologians; this, of course, was to be expected. But the book is an honest attempt, as far as one can see, to promote the cause of God and of supernatural religion.

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*Sermons.* By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's. Second Edition. *Sermons.* By the Ven. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

THESE two volumes compose the first and third of "The Contemporary Pulpit Library." The sermons in the first volume, by Dr. Liddon, are, as might be expected, distinguished by thoughtfulness and scholarship. They will prove, however, to many readers disappointing—what the living voice, the glancing eye, and the attractive presence of the preacher may have done to give power and effect to them, we do not know. They read, however, dry and didactic, and are wanting in sympathy and warmth.

Dr. Farrar's sermons are marked by the preacher's usual characteristics: rapidity of thought, vehemence and flow of language. There is a good deal of strong, plain practical speaking in some of them. The following in the mouth of a preacher who is emphatically Protestant in spirit and principle, is noteworthy, and has provoked much Protestant remark and criticism. It is from the sermon on "The Signs of the Times."

I cannot share, I grieve to say, in these jubilations about our progress, where, in a city of four millions, three millions and more on one Sunday are in no place of worship. I think the Church should rather be sitting and weeping in dust and ashes than glorifying herself about her own activity. New times want new methods and new men, and, if we do not adopt new methods and find new men, who really are men, we shall die of our own impotent respectability. It is not enough for us only to edify, or to strive to edify, the faithful few, when so little is being done which reaches the lost many. We need a new order of clergy altogether, side by side with, and nobler than ourselves—an order that will live poor and unmarried in the very midst of the poor, as poorly as they live, giving up, as the Apostles did, everything for Christ; men who shall take the simple Gospel in their hands, and nothing else; men who are conspicuous for their manliness, their humility, their self-sacrifice, and who by their whole lives will pour silent contempt on gold (p. 63-4).

This is bold and outspoken preaching for a Protestant Arch-

deacon, and we must admire it. The orator ought to have gone a little farther, and completed his ideal, and said : In fact, we need the missionary monks and religious of the Catholic Church with their vows, their poverty, chastity, and obedience.

However we may admire the eloquent outspokenness of Dr. Farrar, and his courage in exalting Catholic Saints like St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Thomas Aquinas, and others, we cannot but note very many things in these Protestant sermons which grate upon Catholic feeling.

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*Before Our Lord Came.* An Old Testament History for Young Children. By Lady AMABEL KERR. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

WITHIN the space of less than two hundred pages Lady Amabel Kerr cleverly gives a narrative of the Old Testament story, which young children will be able to understand, and which many older people will find quite readable. The value of such a book for the nursery needs not to be pointed out. The narrative is broken into lessons on some one person or event, and it is easy to see how a parent or teacher may use these little stories of God's preparation of the world for Our Lord's coming as a means of education in the very fullest and best sense. The book deserves to become a recognized necessity in a young household ; certainly the children will be attracted by its simply told wonders, and enjoy the numerous illustrative pictures.

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*Campion.* A Tragedy in a Prologue and Four Acts. By the Rev. G. TOUGHAYE, S.J. Translated into English Blank Verse by JAMES GILLOW MORGAN. London : Burns & Oates. 1889.

THE author has woven the Conversion and Martyrdom of Blessed Edmund Campion into dramatic form with considerable stage effect, making, however, with pardonable license, some slight transpositions of historical events. The play may be read with much interest, and will acceptably add to the acting repertory of our colleges and schools. The translation is very literal, and is not unworthy of the distinguished author's reputation.

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*Christmas Legends.* Translated from the German. By O. S. B. London : R. Washbourne. 1890.

THE seven Legends in this little volume—which is a worthy addition to Mr. Washbourne's excellent "Catholic Premium Book Library"—are all worth reading ; boys and girls will alike be pleased with them. Some of them are Legends in the usual

sense of the word, but one, "A Christmas Eve on Mount St. Gothard," is really a modern—and a very good—story and description of the famous Hospice and dogs, while another, "The Twelfth; or, the Missing One," is a thrilling incident in the French Revolution well told.

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*Marie Stuart, la Reine Martyre.* Par V. CANET. Lille : Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. 1888.

THIS volume, of 220 pages, is a brief life of Mary, Queen of Scots, addressed chiefly to French readers. The author contents himself with simply narrating facts in clear, good French style. But anything like critical investigation of the great English and German works on Scotland and Queen Mary is not attempted. This is to be regretted, of course; and yet we may recommend M. Canet's well-written book as a clever narration of facts and a correct appreciation of the leading personages of the narrative. Numerous beautiful woodcuts add to the attractiveness of the book.

BELLESHEIM

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*Inland und die Färöer.* Von ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1889.

FATHER BAUMGARTNER follows up his "Reisebilder aus Schottland" with a book on Iceland and the Faroes. It has already been welcomed by the general public not less than by Catholic Germany. It is not simply a record of the author's journey in company with Father von Geyr and Count Wolfegg, in 1883, to Iceland, but it also describes the country, its inhabitants and customs, as seen by a philosopher, theologian and essayist,—for such our author eminently is. He gives us the history of the Church, and we become acquainted with the civil institutions of Iceland, and, what is still more noteworthy, with its literature. This, the literary side of the work, is of great and permanent value, by reason of the clever versions of the "Solar God," and a great number of other Danish and Icelandic poems. No less than forty-three maps and illustrations add to the value of this excellent book.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Philip's Restitution.* By CHRISTIAN REED. Dublin: H. M. Gill & Sons. 1890.

A HIGH-TONED Catholic story, the scene of which is laid in "Riverport," a town situated, we are told, on "the borders of the prosperous South-West and West," in the United States. The characters are natural and sufficiently interesting, the story well told, and the moral not formulated, but very clear. It is handsomely got up, and beautifully printed.

*The Supremacy of the Apostolic See in the Church.* By the Very Rev. FRANZ HETTINGER. Translated from the German. With Preface by the Most Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publishing Society.

THIS small book is a part of Dr. Hettinger's "Apologie des Christenthums," which (we are glad to learn) is being translated in its entirety into English. In the present volume we have two lectures of the learned Professor, the eighteenth and nineteenth. We cannot say too much of the learning, clearness and cogency of this treatise. The author shows himself profoundly acquainted with the whole nature and bearing of his subject. The notes, which are thrown together at the end of the book, are a clear indication of the extensive erudition of the writer. And though the book is so full and satisfactory in its learning, it is not dry or heavy: it may, indeed, be said to be a popular treatise, whilst in no way superficial. The subject dealt with is of great actual interest and importance, and we could not recommend a book which treats of it with more conciseness and accuracy.

The translation is on the whole good: but there are some small errors to be corrected, such as Cyrus for Cyrrhus (p. 85), Veronius for Veron (p. 106), Miletus for Milevis (pp. 74 and 81), and several times we have the great edition of the Councils put down to Labbé, instead of Labbe.

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*Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church.* By Professor G. T. STOKES, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

PROFESSOR STOKES'S second volume deals with Irish history from the Norman Conquest until the Reformation. We have read it with care. Nay, more,—having noted in the Preface that "a stern censor," who had pronounced the Professor's first volume, "Ireland and the Celtic Church," flippant, is answered by the Professor, that, "there are some circles where obscurity is mistaken for profound thought and pedantic dulness for surpassing learning," we turned back and re-read "Ireland and the Celtic Church." Professor Stokes says he is paid to lecture on Church history at Trinity College, Dublin, but that nobody is bound to listen to him. He must draw his audience. We do not, indeed, blame the lecturer for trying to "draw" an audience; but, surely, some tactics are hardly admissible even on that plea. One may readily pardon a good deal of by-play in the delivery of a lecture which would be altogether inadmissible in a published volume. A Professor should remember that there is a dignity which cannot be laid aside without injury to the reputation of a University, or to the treatment of the subject in hand. However, the Professor perhaps knew his audience best, as also what is to the credit of Trinity. As for the matter of the Lectures, they really contain a good deal of history, and a good deal that is not history at all. So long as Dr. Stokes keeps to history he



is a profitable friend; but when he begins to moralize and discover parallels in modern times he is puerile. For example, we are told why Giraldus Cambrensis failed in Rome—English influence was against him; and then the Professor adds:—

In fact, I believe that Irish Roman Catholics complain that English influence, even though hostile to the Pope from a religious point of view, is much more potent in Papal court circles than that of the more faithful Irish, and that an English noble is a much more acceptable personage to a Roman Cardinal than a Bishop from Connaught or Munster (p. 66).

Again:—

The winter of 1168–1169 passed as winters usually passed in Ireland in those times. The ancient Irish inverted the order of their descendants. The long nights are famous in the annals of modern Irish disturbances for many a sad tale of assassination and bloodshed. The long nights and the short days and the tempestuous weather in ancient times gave the inhabitants of the land their only season of peace (p. 66).

Unfortunately, the Professor must have a bad memory—a terrible weakness when a historian has a thesis to back up through thick and thin—for, later on, having another cause to serve, he tells us that Irish winters passed as usual—“eating, drinking, and fighting” (p. 92), when not even the long nights, the short days, and the weather kept them quiet. Again, speaking of the murder of De Lacy at Durrow (1186), he does not lose his chance of telling us how the murderer “escaped all pursuit, and, like many a similar offender since, was hailed as a champion of independence by his countrymen.” Or, again, describing the country between Dublin and Glendalough, where he wants to say that the country is impassable, he tells us that, “if you quit the road for five minutes, the most active and athletic undergraduate, marching, with no heavier luggage than a tooth-brush and a clean collar” (p. 112), &c., would soon find himself jumping to save himself from pits of bottomless mud. Of course the students might enjoy all this; but we seriously ask, is it dignified? is it a style of treatment for a grave and learned topic?

But, further, the Professor fails in the little matter of accuracy, not only in details, but in such grave matters of Church discipline and faith as celibacy of the Clergy and Papal Supremacy. As to mistakes he shows little mercy to others. He comes down, and rightly too, on Mr. Wright, who edited “Giraldus Cambrensis,” for a “laughable” blunder in confounding Kinsale in Cork with Kinsellagh, a tribal division in Wexford. He translated Kinsale, “by the magic witchery of his pen,” says the Professor, “fifty or sixty miles east.” And now comes “another blunder, equally gross and stupid,” which the Professor duly pillories, and lets his vengeance fall on Mr. Riley, B.L., who edited Hoveden for Bohn’s Library, telling us of the “crass blunders perpetrated by men who undertake to edit chronicles and history dealing with Irish matters, though themselves utterly devoid of all knowledge of either Irish history or Irish geography” (p. 131). Mr. Riley, unfortunately,

confounded Crook (where Henry II. landed) with Cork. But our Professor himself commits a blunder that will probably equal either of these, and that not an antiquarian one, but as to the *locale* of an event happening in 1831. We refer to page 86, where he, by the "magic witchery of *his pen*," removes Carrickshock from the Co. Kilkenny into Co. Carlow.

The men of this generation [and in particular the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Dublin University] know nothing of the battle of Carrickshock, when a large body of police, horse and foot, was annihilated in the very same neighbourhood [about which the Professor is at sea] as Dermot McMorrough, was now invading. It was the terrible time of the tithe agitation, the latter part of the year 1831, when a body of police were enticed into a woody defile [it is really a stone-wall country for miles around about from Ballyhaie to Hugginstown, and a hungry stone-wall country, too], in the county Carlow and almost completely destroyed, &c. (p. 86).

Of course there was no necessity whatever of introducing the battle of Carrickshock into a course of lectures on Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church; but the Professor must tell us everything he knows,—and a good many things he evidently does not know. Again, as an example of his accuracy, he gives us the history of the infamous Wimund, and tells us that he was brought up in Furness Abbey (p. 202), when he was only professed there, as he had been previously a lay brother at Seez, in Normandy. He tells us that the Irish accepted the Royal Supremacy (pp. 192, 251, note, *et passim*). Let us see. The Lateran Council assembled in 1179. Laurence of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, and five or six other Irish bishops were there. Did these believe in Royal Supremacy? They subscribed to the Canons, and the first Canon (Gulielmi Newburg Lib. iii. cap. 3) makes provision for the election of the Pope: "Whoever has two-thirds of the votes" must be received by the *Universal Church*. Difficulties may arise with Bishops' elections, but that is not a serious difficulty; and here comes the point—"For whatever doubt may arise among them, it may be finally settled by the judgment of THE SUPERIOR; but in the Roman Church and Court a special case exists, *since recourse cannot be had to any Superior*." Because the Roman See has no superior, being *supreme*. The same Council (Can. xxv. Gul. Newburg) (continuation of preceding Canon according to Labbe) throws some light on the discipline of celibacy subscribed by Irish Archbishops and Bishops:—(we give it here because the Professor tells us that the Irish clergy married and gave in marriage just as do the Protestant clergy of the present day)—"Clerks in Holy Orders who retain in their houses such females as labour under the reproach of incontinence, shall cast them out and live chastely, or be deprived of their ecclesiastical benefice." As for the issue of the *congé d'elire*, it certainly did not mean Royal Supremacy. How often, again and again, has the Pope during those times quashed the election which took place on receipt of the Royal license, and appointed a different Bishop by

Papal Provision Bulls? We can recall where a fine of £100 was imposed upon English monks by one of the English kings because they did not await the issue of the Royal license. The Pope condemned the election as *informal*, simply because the license was *not* issued, and then appointed the very same man without any license whatever, but simply by means of a Bull of Provision.

We had hoped, from the title of Professor Stokes's volume, that some of the interesting problems of Church and State during the period traversed would be dealt with. They are the only interesting questions of this period. But light on important questions is not to be expected from Professor Stokes; he has not read enough for that—Trinity College Library is his boundary. Even the Vatican is poor in historical wealth in his eyes. He completely leaves all the English and Anglo-Norman historians out in the cold in these lectures, and does not seem to think that there are any besides Hoveden and Newburg (William of). We hope that, in the next volume, which the Professor promises, he will eschew trivialities, give ample references to every document he consults, and, whenever possible, let them be original.

J. S.

*Jérusalem* : son Histoire, sa description, ses Etablissements religieux.  
Par VICTOR GUÉRIN. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1889.

THE author of this volume is a recognized authority on the subject of the Holy Land. He is familiarly acquainted with the places and scenes he describes, and with the arguments and literature of its archæologists and explorers: his first visit to the land he so enthusiastically loves for its sacred associations was made more than 30 years ago, and since that he has been entrusted by the French Government with three special missions to Palestine, and has published as a result thereof in seven volumes his "Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine" (Paris: Challamel aîné), which is now a standard work. He writes also both well and intelligently, and with genuine Catholic reverence for the earthly home of the Incarnate Saviour. It will be seen, therefore, that one may rightly expect from his pen, not the transient impressions of a glib writer, but trustworthy observation; and this, in fact, is the character of M. Victor Guérin's volumes. His latest publication is of the same kind. In an octavo volume of five hundred pages, he traces first the history of the Holy City from pre-Davidic times downwards to our own. The chapters which cover the period from S. Helena, through the Frankish Kingdom, and Turkish rule, are attractive reading; but the second part of the book, devoted to a description of the city at various periods, and of the Holy Places within it, is of considerably greater interest to the English Catholic reader. M. Guérin defends the authenticity of the chief sites, as *e.g.*, of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, and as he knows familiarly not the ground only but history and his Bible, he is no puny defender of the traditional identifications. The

third part of the volume contains a description of the existing religious establishments and works in the Holy City, and will be the most completely new information to most readers. Of course, the Franciscan Fathers, whose mission to the Holy Land dates back to the thirteenth century, and who have been the constituted custodians of the Holy Places since the decree of Propaganda of 1627, have a chapter to themselves. Perhaps not a few of us who know all about the English and German efforts to establish their united Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem, do not know that one of the earliest acts of Pius IX. was to re-establish after centuries of interruption the ancient Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. The decree which formally re-established it was dated July 23, 1847, and the first patriarch was Mgr. Valerga, an accomplished and zealous prelate, the twenty-five years of whose reign M. Guérin becomingly describes as "les vingt-cinq années de son fécond et illustre patriarcat." For some details of the wonderful results which this zealous prelate achieved we must necessarily refer the reader to M. Guérin's pages. In 1873 succeeded the second patriarch, Mgr. Bracco, who after a similarly zealous and glorious career, died at Jerusalem in June of last year. Of the numerous Orders of men and women of whose works, residences, &c., M. Guérin gives so detailed and graphic an account—Christian Brothers, Dominican Fathers, Sisters of Charity, &c., &c.—we cannot here even enumerate the names. The author's last visit to the Holy City was made as late as 1889, and was used in the interest of these pages to bring all the statistics and information up to date. As a last word in praise of a valuable book, we may mention the excellent large plan of the city carefully made by the author himself from his own observation and the best recent surveys.

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*History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the present day.* By ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D. Translated with Notes and additions by D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B. In Four Volumes. Vol. III. 1560–1625. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1889.

IT is a pleasure to chronicle the appearance of the third volume of Dom Hunter Blair's excellent translation of Canon Bellesheim's work. The volume carries the story of Catholic affairs in Scotland, from Queen Mary's return from France, to the death of James VI., sixty-five mournful years for every Catholic interest in the kingdom. It makes one's heart heavy to read the record of blatant fanaticism rampant, of ineffectual struggle against the licentiousness of the age, of might overwhelming right. There is a pathetic contrast, in the opening of this volume and its close, between the frontispiece map, showing the state of the Catholic Church in Scotland in 1550, with its dioceses and deaneries, and sees, monasteries and nunneries, plenti-

tully dotted over all the south and east, and the two last pages of narrative, where we see the few remaining Catholics of Scotland, without even a bishop of their own, memorializing the Holy See against being placed under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of England. Canon Bellesheim's statements are founded on a document which has long been known in Tierney's "Dodd," but his words may be quoted :—

The memorialists . . . laid great stress on the ancient enmity between the two nations, and the disastrous consequences that had followed every attempt to subject their Church to the jurisdiction of English prelates. They pointed out that the English had no acquaintance with the affairs of Scotland, and that the necessity of recurring to a bishop in England, in reserved cases and similar matters, would lead to endless difficulties and annoyances. To the argument that a bishop was necessary in order to confer the sacraments of confirmation and orders, they rejoined that the proper place for their clergy to be ordained was, for many reasons, the seminaries or monasteries where they had been educated; and that, as for confirmation, they had hitherto been obliged to go without that sacrament, and it was not expedient, for the sake of gaining one good thing, to subject themselves to so many disadvantages. God would supply what was wanting through no fault of theirs (p. 437).

These sturdy memorialists carried their point; they were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the English Vicar, and had given them their own missionary prefect.

Canon Bellesheim has embodied in his narrative—which has the high quality of being clear, straightforward, and methodical—the results of extensive and varied reading, among not only printed works but original sources in these countries and in foreign archives. His biographical sketches of ecclesiastical persons are of great value, as often they must represent considerable research. He is a staunch admirer of Mary of Scots, and defends her with a success which shows how much history has gained by the general opening up of archives and collections in these countries and on the Continent. He claims to be following the most recent German Protestant historians in repudiating the authenticity of the Casket Letters, more emphatically of the longer one from Glasgow. Of Mary's son, James the Sixth, he has a very different opinion :—

[His] reign of twenty years had brought little but calamity and suffering to the Catholics of his native land. Little else, indeed, could have been expected from a monarch in whose character poltroonery and dissimulation were so strangely blended, and whose sole rule of conduct, alike in matters of Church and of State, appeared to be the political expediency of the moment.

And in the appendix to the volume he places a translation from the original Latin of a contemporary estimate (Cod. Barberin. xxxiv. 13, fol. 188) of the King's character, of which this edifying paragraph is the conclusion :—

He [the King] is immoderately given to wine; and not unfrequently, when warmed with some favourite and generous vintage, he is in the habit of exhaling and vomiting forth every sort of vile execration against mankind,

against the Pope, religious Orders and the Catholic Church, and likewise the foulest blasphemies against God and the Saints. Nor does he make an end until he is overpowered by the fumes of wine, and so carried to bed by his immediate attendants.

Dom Hunter Blair's translation of this work is of general elegance, idiomatic and easy reading. He has given very special value to the English edition by his additions and numerous notes. We trust he may be able to speedily complete his valuable work by the fourth, and surely not least interesting volume, which will bring us from the time of the Stuarts to the revival of religion in our own days.

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1. *The Catholic Directory*. 1890. (Fifty-third annual publication.) London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
  2. *The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1890*. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.
  3. *Catholic Home Almanac*, 1890. (Seventh year.) New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
  4. *The Catholic Annual for 1890*. Edited by JAMES BRITTEN, Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society, London: Catholic Truth Society.

THE "Directory" still grows in size; its pages of Catholic information numbered last year 458, this year they mount to 471, whilst the advertisements increase also. There is no need to say anything of the church, or of the usefulness of an annual that most of us remember looking forward to each new year since we were boys. That the plan of it is still unchanged is well; we all know where to look for the thing we want. The two American publications which follow are quite up to their excellence of last year. Among their interesting tales, poems, and other pieces, we have in the "Annual" an account of the new Washington Catholic University, with a good engraving of the Divinity Hall, and in both the Annual and the Almanac accounts with portraits of Father Damian, and portraits and biographical sketches of the late Father Hecker; and both are beautifully printed and abundantly illustrated, whilst the Almanac has a chromo-lithograph of the "Madonna della Sedia." The Catholic Truth Society's Annual comes too late for more than mention. It has an obituary, and list of principal events of 1889 and other useful information, and an abundance of biographical and fictional sketches and numerous illustrations.

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*Linda's Task; or, The Debt of Honour*. From the French. By Sister MARY FIDELIS. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS is a simple story of sacrifice and devotion to a father's memory, which is interesting and very gracefully written.

*Lux Mundi: a Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*  
 Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A. London: John Murray.  
 1889.

THE leaders and prophets of the small but respectable sect within the Anglican establishment called "Ritualists," have put forth in this volume a series of essays, twelve in number, on the principal features of Christianity. Thus Canon Scott Holland treats "Faith," Canon Aubrey Moore "The Christian Doctrine of God," the Rev. J. R. Illingworth and the Rev. R. C. Moberly "The Incarnation," the Rev. W. Lock "The Church," the Rev. F. Paget "The Sacraments," &c. The several papers are characterized by considerable learning, much successful apologetic, nervous apprehension of modern thought, and as much Catholic exposition as can be expected from men who think that the voice of the living Church has been dumb since an indefinite epoch between Athanasius and Gregory the Great. These writers consider, or their editor, Mr. Gore, considers, that "theology must take a new development." Heresy and innovation are not development; neither is "the narrowing and hardening of theology by giving it greater definiteness, or multiplying its dogmas" development. The Church must stand "firm in her old truths," but must "assimilate all new material," &c., &c. But what is old, and what is new, what is heresy, and what is development, what is hardening and what is dogma, what is "central" and what is optional—all this, as in the old Jacobite rhyme, is quite another thing. At least this is the way it strikes an outsider. Canon Holland manages to print more than 50 pp. on Faith without once committing himself to a working definition of Christian Faith, either as a habit or an act. He says it is the "simple recognition of the Fatherhood of God—an impulse underlying all faculties, an act of *basal* personality," &c.; not distinguishing it, therefore, from what is natural to man. Much that he says is very true and useful, but rather as an exposition of natural religion than of Faith proper. He talks well to the atheist; but as to the flock, he leads them to the door of the fold and then seems to find it shut. In the essay on "God" Canon Moore professes to show that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity alone is true Monotheism, answering satisfactorily the problems of philosophy as to the nature of the Deity: but he carries this out very imperfectly, failing to show that the Logos must be God, omitting altogether the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and ignoring the rationalistic difficulties as to the plurality of person. The writers who treat of the Incarnation and the Atonement present the usual firm and cogent arguments familiar to Anglicans since Canon Liddon modernized the learned Bull. We miss, however, in the Hon. Arthur Lyttelton's statement, any clear recognition of the nature of that Divine and infinite act which essentially constituted the Sacrifice of Christ. The article on the Church is an eloquent exposition of a state of things which the writer, the sub-warden of Keble, can have had no experience of. Indeed, he

sorrowfully acknowledges that the Church has "many confessions to make of its failure to be true to its ideal" (p. 395). Some of these confessions he puts into words, quoting Dean Church; but there is one "failure" which he unaccountably omits to mention; it is, that the "Anglican" Church to which he belongs, has formally accepted the supremacy of the State in doctrine and discipline, has broken with the Apostolic See, and yet continues to call itself "the Church." Perhaps Mr. Gore's own contribution "On Inspiration" is the most rickety of the edifices here raised by these idealistic architects. The principal of Pusey House is amusingly frank in admitting that he does not know, and knows no one who does know, what Inspiration is. In Genesis, he thinks Inspiration may lie in the "special point of view" taken by the writer; in some books "the animating motive" alone carries Inspiration; with the Psalmist it may be the "intensifying of human faculties;" in the Prophets it is God's movement, but not too much of it—human characteristics have their play, and prophetic anticipations may be erroneous. As for the New Testament, we are told there is no evidence (excluding the Apocalypse) of any claim to Inspiration, except what is involved in authority to teach (pp. 344 *et seq.*) According to Mr. Gore, the Nicene Creed would be equally "inspired" with the four Gospels. But this is contrary to all Catholic tradition. The tone of the writers is not bitter against that Church, which alone has any pretensions to call itself a Church. Canon Moore, however (p. 79), has no business to say that the Catholic Church, even in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had "come to tolerate immorality." Some prelates were immoral; immorality was never officially tolerated.

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*The Science of Metrology, or Natural Weights and Measures.* By Capt. the Hon. E. NOEL, Rifle Brigade. London: E. Stanford.

THERE are few subjects of closer interest to us all—though many men think little about it—than the ordinary measures we use for calculating the length, the size, the weight, of various familiar objects. Those in use in England have long prescription in their favour, but are in some respects inconvenient. Many scientific men discard them and adopt the French metrical system; and a question has often been raised whether it would not be desirable to adopt this latter for commercial and ordinary purposes, as well as for scientific calculations. This excellent little book is an answer to all such unwise notions. It shows how little reason there is for reducing all weights and measures to the decimal system, as the French and many other continental nations do; but at the same time it admits the defects of the existing English measures, and proposes a new system, based on scientific grounds, and nevertheless likely to be practically useful.

Captain Noel proposes to take the Earth's Polar Semi-diameter, or



semi-axis as he terms it, the length of which is approximately 250,246,000 inches. Then he would take the  $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$  part of this, which measure he would call an ell, the ell being two feet, and each foot twelve inches (as at present) only the new foot would be 12.5123 of our present inches, and each new inch 1.0427 (nearly) of the existing one. Then 10,000 ells, that is the one-thousandth part of the semi-axis of the earth, would be a league, each league to be divided into four miles. For surface measure, he suggests that 100 ells squared should be the new acre, which would only be 72 square feet less than the present one: 625 acres would be a square mile, and 10,000 acres a square league. He further proposes that a cubic foot (new measure) should be a bushel; and a cubic ell, which would of course be 8 cubic feet,—a quarter, which then as now would consist of 8 bushels.

For liquids, the gallon would be one-eighth of a bushel, the cube of six inches, and  $\frac{2}{17}$  less than the existing gallon; the pint (keeping its same proportion as now to the gallon) would be the cube of three inches; the hogshead to be 64 gallons, or a cubic ell.

As to measures of weight; the new pound would be  $\frac{1}{72}$  of the weight of a cubic foot of water, each pound to be 24 ounces, so that an ounce would be one cubic inch of water; 100 pounds to be one hundred-weight, and 20 cwt. one ton. For compound units it is proposed to take as the absolute unit of power such as would raise one ounce one inch in one second. Then one horse-power would be that which would raise 500 pounds one foot in one second,—equal to 144,000 units. Some other suggestions are made on which we need not dwell; but we strongly recommend that all persons interested in the question should peruse with care this little work, which is written with considerable ability by one who has fully studied his subject and thoroughly understands it. It is always difficult to introduce any important changes in such matters; but if any change is to be made, Capt. Noel's suggestions are well worthy of attention.

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*Life and Works of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.* Edited by DOM JOHN MABILON, Presbyter and Monk of the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur. Translated and edited with additional notes by SAMUEL EALES, M.A., D.C.L. Vol. 1-2. London: John Hodges. 1889.

IT is well-nigh half a century, as we learn from the Preface to these volumes, since it was first proposed to translate and publish an English edition of the works of St. Bernard. The proposal was made by the Rev. Frederick Oakley, then Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and the Rev. J. S. Brewer, of Queen's

College, Oxford, and their prospectus, a copy whereof is in the possession of the editor of the work before us, was issued in 1844. The editor, following in the steps of the original projectors, proposes in this translation

To avoid intruding the expression of his personal view of St. Bernard's writings, as they are one after another translated; to put before readers, to the best of his power, the exact equivalent of what his author wrote; and then to leave it to speak for itself.

Now we are glad to bear witness, that the first and third of these promises have been amply redeemed by Mr. Eales. He has wisely chosen Mabillon's edition for his text, and retained the learned Benedictine's invaluable notes, and in all that he has added of his own, we are happy to say we have found nothing out of harmony with the Catholic faith, nor anything in any way objectionable, save a line in the Preface, which reads in the context, as if written in disparagement of St. Teresa and her mysticism. It is with regard to the second of our translator's three promises that we regret to have to complain, that it has not been fulfilled as strictly as we could wish; in a word, we fear Mr. Eales has not everywhere given us the *exact* equivalent of St. Bernard's text, owing to an inclination to condense, and to rid himself of the difficulty of rendering passages which must have seemed not quite distinctly intelligible to him. Our readers shall judge for themselves. Take the first of St. Bernard's letters, the singularly striking and beautiful one written to his nephew Robert, who had been persuaded to leave Citeaux for Cluny. St. Bernard writes, *e.g.* :—

“Primo quidem missus est magnus quidem Prior ab ipso principe Priorum: foris quidem apparens in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem lupus rapax; deceptisque custodibus, æstimantibus quidem ovem esse, vœ! vœ! admissus est solus ad solam, lupus ad oviculam. Quid plura! attrahit, allicit, blanditur, et novi Evangelii predicator commendat crapulam,” &c.

Now we propose to put a literal version of our own side by side with that of Mr. Eales, italicizing the passages altered, and putting in parentheses those omitted by Mr. Eales. The passage was chosen at haphazard, and a like result was obtained elsewhere, though we are glad to say Mr. Eales's rendering does not appear to be everywhere so loose as in the passages we first selected for trial.

#### OUR TRANSLATION.

First of all indeed, a certain great Prior was sent by *the Prince of priors himself*, showing himself outwardly in sheep's clothing, but within a ravening wolf (and having deceived the shepherds, who thought him a sheep, alas! alas!) he was admitted, (the wolf alone to the lamb by itself. What more!) he entices, wheedles, flatters; preacher as he is of a new gospel, he extols feasting, condemns frugality, &c., &c.

#### MR. EALES'S TRANSLATION.

A certain great Prior was sent forth by *his Superiors*, and he, a wolf disguised in sheep's clothing, was admitted into the sheepfold. He attracts, he allures, he flatters; the preacher of a new gospel, he commends drunkenness, condemns frugality, &c.

We fear Mr. Eales has not caught the meaning of St. Bernard's satirical "Prince of Priors," which he thought it wisest to change into "Superiors." In the Congregation of Cluny, according to its primitive form, the Abbot of Cluny was the sole Abbot; the other monasteries, even though large and flourishing ones, were governed by Priors. It is to the intriguing and unworthy Abbot Pontius that St. Bernard in his great vehemence applies the above epithet. Lower down in the same epistle we have noticed the omission of some lines from the Vulgate. Unfamiliarity with the Vulgate is a sad drawback, though an unavoidable one with Anglicans, for a translator of St. Bernard, as the Saint's text is often interwoven with passages from that version to a degree not met with in any other Father of the Church, while his quotations from the same are to be counted by thousands. As Mr. Eales has so far only given us the letters, being perhaps less than a third of St. Bernard's entire works, we venture to express an earnest hope that in the remaining volumes less freedom of rendering will be used. To our mind, these two volumes might well be re-written in a future edition, otherwise Mr. Eales's translation will be superseded by others. Another and a serious blot is that as frontispiece we have an engraving of St. Bernard in what seems to be a black cowl, instead of a white one, a picture that would do as well for Abbot Pontius himself.

Having said so much by way of criticism, we do not for a moment hesitate to add that this English edition, with all its faults, will be productive of immense good in making people, Protestants above all, know and love the Saint of Clairvaux. Who would think of denying the incalculable good wrought by the works of St. Francis of Sales, though the Saint's original text has been until our own days in many of his works as much, or more, altered than St. Bernard's letters are in Mr. Eales's edition.

At the opening of the second volume is a most interesting note on the Seal of St. Bernard, with facsimile of the same, and accurate descriptive details. Lastly, the volumes are being admirably brought out by Mr. Hodges, and form a noble continuation to Father Gasquet's Henry VIII., and Cornelius a Lapide's commentary on the Gospels, the already published volumes of the Catholic Standard Library. If we have found it our duty to criticize, we should regret it, should such criticism deter any one from the purchase of this truly noble work. Our greatest fears are lest the Life of St. Bernard, with which we presume the edition is to conclude, should be such as to deter Catholics from using Mr. Eales's translation, and we hope he will either confine himself to reproducing the contemporary biographies, or submit his own labour before its publication to Catholic revision. Should it be otherwise, another English translation will be a necessity.

We have left ourselves no room for writing on St. Bernard himself. Our translator rightly says that we have to look at him in more than one capacity, and adds that first of all, and chiefly, he was a monk. It would be difficult for an Anglican to speak of him as a

*Saint*, and this is the rock on which we fear the editor will make shipwreck, though we trust that our anticipations may turn out untrue. Nothing better can we wish Mr. Eales in acknowledgment of his valuable gift than that he may complete his work faithfully. It will be a means of grace to many; may it be even so to himself, by guiding his steps to that Church of Christ, from which St. Bernard drank so deeply of the streams of life-giving doctrine, and of their sweetness, as to earn for himself the title of *Doctor Mellifluus*.

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*The Great Commentary of CORNELIUS A LAPIDE upon the Holy Gospels.* Translated and edited by the Rev. T. W. MOSSMAN, B.A. (Oxon.), D.D., assisted by various scholars. Parts I.-IV. London: John Hodges.

THE late Mr. Mossman's excellent, though abridged, version of Cornelius a Lapide on the Gospels is being re-issued by Mr. Hodges in parts. We say advisedly "abridged," and on this there should be no mistake. The abridgment is not done by altering and summarizing, as what has appeared of the translation is faithfully literal; but by omitting long quotations, digressions, &c. In this way about a third of the first chapter of the Preface is left out, and about a column of Chapter II., with (rather significantly) a denunciation of Martin Luther & Co. in Chapter III., the Monotessaron, and then a dozen lines or so every now and then in the Commentary. The result is probably advantageous to English readers; but it should be clearly understood. We do not believe the translator knowingly altered anything in a sense contrary to that of the author. At the outset, we stumbled on one of those slips so frequent with Anglican scholars, whose Latinity is apt to get rusty with disuse. A Lapide writes: "Per ea (scil. Evangelia) Scripturæ Sacræ Novi Testamenti coronidem impono." Now, as everybody knows, *coronidem impono* means "to conclude," from the *κορωνίς*, or curved line, wherewith copyists used to end a chapter, just as Martial complains of a book that never comes to an end being "*sera coronide longus*." So A Lapide calls the New Testament the *coronis*, or conclusion, of the Bible. But Mr. Mossman has it thus: "Speaking of the Gospels, I would place a crown upon the Scriptures of the New Testament."

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*A Reply to Dr. Lightfoot's Essays.* By the author of "Supernatural Religion." London: Longmans. 1889.

THIS is a rejoinder to Dr. Lightfoot's answer to the rationalist work, "Supernatural Religion," which attracted so much attention a few years since. The volume, which is chiefly made up of essays reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*, is entirely one of detail, and, therefore, cannot be analyzed in a notice. The writer appears to me to leave Dr. Lightfoot's main results untouched; and the

very irritation, which is manifest in every page, shows how destructive he feels the attack has been. He succeeds, however, in proving that his opponent has made some slips of detail, which to some extent weaken the force of his argument. To a Catholic, perhaps, the chief interest is, to notice the disadvantage at which an Anglican has to reply to a sceptic. Much of Dr. Lightfoot's ability and learning is neutralised by his being obliged to look in Eusebius and the early Fathers for a conception of Scripture which was evidently unknown to them. We, on the contrary, may fully concede to the sceptic, that the manner in which the canon of the New Testament grew up is entirely inconsistent with its having been considered the sole rule of faith, or dislocated from tradition and the authority of the Church. But we are none the less indebted to Dr. Lightfoot—and even more, in my judgment, to Dr. Sanday—for their masterly defence of the external evidence of the authenticity of the Gospels.

J. R. G.

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*Part of the Commentary of S. Hippolytus on Daniel.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Translation, by J. R. KENNEDY, B.D. Dublin: Hodges & Co. 1888.

THE fragment which is given us in this scholarly edition is the latter part of Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel, of which the earlier portions have long been known. It was discovered a few years ago by Dr. Georgiades in the Theological College, in the island of Chalke, and published in a provisional form, while he prepares an edition of the whole treatise. Apart from the interest that must attach to every early Christian document, there is not much of special importance in the one before us. The belief was common at that time, based upon private visions, that the end of the world was at hand. The author, on the contrary, gives it as the result of his interpretation of Daniel and the Apocalypse that the world was to last in all six thousand years, of which five thousand five hundred had passed at the time of our Lord's birth, and, consequently, that it would be destroyed in the year 500. He identifies the *τὸ κατέχον* of 2 Thess. ii. 6 with the fourth beast of Daniel's vision, the Roman empire. He puts this prophecy forward with reluctance, and only to satisfy a curiosity which he condemns, saying, "Tell me if you know it the day of your death, that you occupy yourself with the end of the whole world." There is an interesting saying of our Lord's reported, possibly derived, as Dr. Kennedy suggests, from St. John through St. Irenæus: "When, therefore, the Lord was telling his disciples about the future kingdom of the saints, how it should be glorious and wonderful, Judas, struck with amazement at the things that were spoken, said, 'And who then shall see these things?' But the Lord said, 'They shall see them who have become worthy.'"

No light is thrown by this fragment on the history of Hippolytus, or on his relations to St. Callistus.

*An Essay on the Theology of the Didache.* By C. TAYLOR, D.D.  
Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1889.

THE main object of this essay is to show that the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" interpreted the Old Testament in the same allegorical manner as the so-called Epistle of Barnabas and St. Justin. Dr. Taylor very correctly recognizes the close analogy that exists between the Didache and St. Justin, so that there are few dark sayings in the former which are not illustrated by the latter. The most interesting point he notices is the term "Vine of David" applied to the Chalice, which corresponds to the many references in St. Justin to the "blood of grapes," in which it was prophesied that Juda should wash his robe.

*The Coming of the Friars and other Historic Essays.* By the Rev. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

DR. JESSOPP is already favourably known to Catholics by his "One generation of a Norfolk House," and to a wider circle of readers by his sketch of East Anglia, entitled "Arcady: For Better for Worse." He has the gift of an easy and graphic style—a gift which has its drawbacks as well as its advantages—and is in sympathy with his subject whatever it may be. He is also desirous to be fair all round; and, although he does not always understand the Catholic position, he never willingly misrepresents it. Not having any theory of his own to advance, nor wishing, apparently, to bolster up the Establishment of which he is a member, he is not under the necessity of twisting facts to suit his own views. That he does not see Catholic matters as a Catholic sees them is the misfortune of his position.

His first essay, "The Coming of the Friars," is a good example of what has been said. We are accustomed nowadays to the Protestant cult of St. Francis of Assisi: and the view of St. Dominic which was popular among non-Catholics of a generation since is no longer maintained. Dr. Jessopp does justice to both, although his sympathies, as might be expected, are with St. Francis rather than St. Dominic. It is only in his conclusions that he goes astray. He paraphrases Macaulay's well-known passages about the methods of the two Churches in dealing with enthusiasm. "Rome has always known how to utilise her enthusiasts. . . . The Church of England has never known how to deal with a man of genius"—and implies that under proper management, Wiclif (who surely had not much to do with the present Anglican Church) and Rowland Williams would have been more appreciated. It is a little odd to learn that want of comprehensiveness is an Anglican failing. "The Minorites were the Low Churchmen of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans the severely orthodox. . . . Rome knew how to yoke the two together." This would imply that St. Francis and his followers denied all sacramental doctrine; but Dr. Jessopp, of course, does

not intend to push his analogy—by no means a true one—so far as this.

Other essays of special interest to Catholics are "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery," which is prefaced by an amusing account of the author's interview with an itinerant Protestant lecturer, and "The Building Up of a University." "Village Life Six Hundred Years Ago" was delivered as a lecture in the place described, and, *mutatis mutandis* forms an admirable model for similar local addresses: "The Black Death in East Anglia" and "The Prophet of Walnut-Tree Yard"—a sketch of Lodowick Muggleton, the founder of the Muggletonians—make up a volume which will well repay perusal.

J. B.

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*Mary Howitt.* An autobiography, edited by her daughter, MARGARET HOWITT. London: Isbister & Co.

*Mary Howitt.* By JAMES BRITTEN. London: Catholic Truth Society.

IT may seem strange at first sight thus to place in juxtaposition the two handsome volumes devoted to Mrs. Howitt's "autobiography," with the modest penny pamphlet in which the Catholic Truth Society has issued a memoir of the same author. As a matter of fact, however, the latter is, to Catholics, an almost necessary appendix to the former. To them, interesting as is the whole record of a singularly gentle and beautiful life, one event stands out above the rest—the event of her conversion. To the literary world at large, this is a matter of no concern; and the autobiography, prepared and edited for general perusal, does not dwell upon this nor upon the circumstances which led to it. Mr. Britten's memoir, on the other hand, written, if we mistake not, shortly after her death, and now re-issued with additions and corrections, is mainly concerned with Mrs. Howitt as a Catholic; and the incidents of her life, which in God's good time led her to embrace the One Faith, are those specially selected for comment. Many of these are indeed recorded in the autobiography, but the pamphlet brings them together and adds others, and thus presents this aspect of her life in a connected form.

The "Autobiography" has been so generally reviewed in the daily and weekly press, and the C. T. S.'s "life" is so easily obtainable that we do not propose to give any particulars of Mrs. Howitt's history, or of the various steps by which she was led from the Society of Friends to the Catholic Church. The path has been trodden by many feet, and the apparently diverse systems of Catholicism and Quakerism would thus seem to have more points of contact than might at first glance be supposed; but Mary Howitt had wandered far before her steps were led by the "kindly light" into the way of peace. In all her wanderings, however, she never seems to have lost the simplicity and goodness of character, and the sweetness of disposition of which almost every page of these volumes gives evidence.

Long before her eyes were opened to the truth of Catholicism, its practical working appealed to Mrs. Howitt's sympathetic nature, and of this we have many examples in the letters which form so large a portion of these volumes. Thus, in 1870, her visit to the Convent of Ingenbohl, in Switzerland, is the occasion of a charming sketch, in the course of which we find the following reflections:—

What an extraordinary thing is Roman Catholicism! The system is one of the sublimest schemes of priestcraft and spiritual domination that was ever conceived. At the top all is rotten, but at the bottom God, who overrules all things, has caused it to strike its roots into the soil of the common humanity, and send up shoots and crops of an active, a holy, and an indefatigable beneficence such as present Protestantism knows nothing of. Everywhere Catholic women are instructing, collecting orphans from the streets and abodes of death, working for and employing the poor, tending the sick and the contagiously diseased in the palace or the poorest hut, and going about with the simple air and the friendly smile, as if they were only doing the most ordinary work, and felt themselves but unprofitable servants. When Florence Nightingale went forth to nurse the wounded soldiers in the Crimea, she did only a most commonplace deed, for the Catholic women of all ranks had been doing it everywhere for ages. That was not the merit of the thing. The greatness and vital merit of it was, that she introduced the Good Samaritan of Catholicism to the proud Levite of Protestantism, and induced him to go and do likewise.

Her sympathetic mind could penetrate beyond the poor symbols to the things signified. In a previous letter she writes of—

The little wayside tawdry shrine, with its daubs of painting and puppet-show Madonna and child, with their tinsel crowns and country-booth paraphernalia; yet precious to the poor, tender care-worn souls, especially women, with huge loads on their backs, and often still heavier on their hearts: yes, in most abominable taste, but most gracious to the tired, life-weary creatures that kneel there and cross themselves, already too cruelly crossed by the world.

And again—

I did not let anybody see me, but coming out of the chapel I dipped my finger in the holy water, and crossed myself: praying that God would give me the right faith—a faith as sincere as governed the poor peasant hearts that have secured His mercies to them.

The prayer was granted at last, but eleven years of doubt had first to be passed.

One more extract may be given—this time not from Mrs. Howitt, but from her husband. Writing from Zürich, he says:

The gates (of the Protestant cemetery) were locked, as were the doors of the church. How odd is this characteristic of Protestantism! Not in England only, but in the very countries and towns on the continent where the inhabitants are of both faiths, the Catholic churches and cemeteries stand open, and the Protestant ones are closed. The Catholics trust the public, but the Protestants cannot, so far as their churches and cemeteries are concerned. . . . There must have been something hard and exclusive in the original leaven of Protestantism. I have noticed that the Fathers of the Reformation, Bullinger, Calvin, Zuringli, &c., as painted by their contemporaries, have faces keen as the east wind, hard as the rock, and most uninviting.



Mr. Britten has had the advantage of Miss Howitt's help in the little penny biography, which is accompanied by an excellent portrait of Mrs. Howitt. It will supply those who have not the opportunity of reading the "Autobiography" with a graphic, though brief, memoir of her life.

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*The Poor Sisters of Nazareth.* An Illustrated Record of Life at Nazareth House, Hammersmith. Drawn by GEORGE LAMBERT. Written by ALICE MEYNELL. London: Burns, Oates & Co.

THE spirit and genius of the Sisters of Nazareth is well conveyed in Mrs. Meynell's excellently written description. It is difficult to write a book of this kind without introducing foolish praise or over-strained sentiment. But Mrs. Meynell describes the undeniable devotedness of "Nazareth House" without saying a word beyond the truth, and her words are warm and full of feeling, yet restrained and stamped with genuineness and reality. The illustrations of this beautiful and sumptuous book accompany every page and half-page of the narrative. We have the Sisters' chapel, the kitchen, the dispensary, the class-rooms; we see the Sisters questing, cooking, dressing the "old ladies," "gauffring the caps" (whatever that may mean), lighting the fire, carrying cups and saucers on a tray—(they seem, to the uneducated eye, very likely to fall off). We have the whole life of Nazareth House, Hammersmith, displayed before us—with its 100 "old gentlemen," 100 "old ladies," 200 children, and community of 50. Some of the portraits are from the life—like that of the "old gentleman" whose services as acolyte are indicated on page 10. Not a few of the scenes are full of a true poetry, such as "the Angelus" and the "Childrens' Infirmary." The latter, touching as it is, is literally true, even to the actual faces of some of the suffering little ones. The soft outlines of the process by which these spirited designs are reproduced, combines with toned paper, sumptuous print, and wide margins, to make this a truly desirable gift book—one that will please the eye and touch the heart.

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*Idols; or, The Secret of the Rue Chaussée D'Antin.* Translated from the French of RAOUL DE NAVERY by ANNA T. SADLIER. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THIS is an acceptable rendering of one of Monsieur de Navery's popular works. It is an exciting story of a crime whose secret is known only in the confessional. It will be enough to say that when the story is told justice has cleared the innocent and punished the guilty.

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1. *Missæ pro Defunctis. Editio 1<sup>a</sup> post typicam.* 2. *Missale ad usum sacerdotum cæciticantium concinnatum. Editio 2<sup>a</sup>.* 3. *Officia propria Mysteriorum et Instrumentorum Passionis D. N. J. C. Cum approbatione S. R. Cong.* 4. *Horæ Diurnæ Brev. Rom. Editio 1<sup>a</sup> post typicam.* 5. *Diurnale parvum sive epitome ex horis diurnis continens psalmos quotidie recitandos et Commune Sanctorum, una cum Officio B. M. V.* 6. *Rituale Parvum continens Sacramentorum administrationem, &c., ex Rituali Romano.* 7. *Manuale Clericorum ad usum eorum præcipue qui in Seminariis Clericorum versantur collegit, disposuit, edidit P. JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J. Editio 3<sup>a</sup>.* All the above. Ratisbonæ: F. Pustet. 1889-90.

THE new editions of liturgical books which come first in the above list are in the now well-known admirable style of the Pustet press; good opaque paper, bold type, artistic vignettes and initial letters. Beyond this we need say little in explanation of individual volumes. The Diurnal (4) is for so small-sized book (it is a 32mo), printed in very clear type; it contains all the offices up to date, and has also added to the usual prayers after Mass, the Litanies of Jesus and of Loreto, prayers before and after Confession, &c., and finally it is very cheap (2s. 6d. in paper). The Diurnale Parvum (5), an ingenious novelty, is a thin, light volume of nearly 150 pages, containing in large distinct type the psalms of Lauds and of the day Hours, the antiphons and hymns from the Common of the Saints, and the prayers for the Saints' days through the year; so that, on most days, the small hours can be recited from a volume considerably smaller and more easily carried about than the usual Diurnal. The Manuale Clericorum (7) is about the size of the same Father Schneider's well-known Manuale Sacerdotum, and of similar character, but designed for the seminarist. Besides a large collection of appropriate prayers and meditations there are instructions in the various Orders, their obligations, &c., on the recitation of the Breviary, and excellent rubrical instructions for the Ministers at Pontifical and other functions through the year.

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Urkunden sur Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Universitäten: *Registrum Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanæ in Universitate Parisiensi.* 1333-1348. Edidit HENRICUS DENIFLÉ, O.P. Freiburg: Herder. 1889.

FATHER DENIFLÉ is everywhere known for his history of the mediæval universities. He now publishes the first instalment of the Registers of the old University of Paris, as far as they refer to the "Natio Anglicana,"—which, be it noted, is not merely our England. The Registers clearly comprehend, under the title "Natio Anglicana," Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and Scandinavia. The present volume, though extending only over the years 1333 and 1338-48,

contains, it need hardly be said, many interesting documents now first published, and which throw light on the history of culture, science, and religion. What a difficult task Father Deniflé has set himself, when he undertakes to overcome the tremendous difficulties in deciphering these ancient documents, and how successfully he does it the reader may see from the "Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis" (Paris: Delalain. 1889) which he published a few months ago. The study of the volume before us brings home the undeniable fact that Scotland and Scotch scholars were in the ascendancy over England and the English, during the period treated, at Paris. Among the "procuratores" we meet "Johannes de Waltirstona Scotus," who more than once filled this office. The University swarmed with Scotch masters; "Magistri fuerunt presentes: Joannes Scotus, antiquior in natione, Hugo Scotus, Philippus Scotus, Joannes Scotus de Rathey" (p. 75). In 1340 was proctor of the Natio Anglicana, "Johannes de Kynhard Scotus," the professor under whose guidance "Normannus de Lesby Scotus" was proclaimed licentiate (p. 97). Next year "Magister Robert Fyf Scotus" became proctor; he was succeeded by "Willelmus de Grinlaw Scotus." But the name which most frequently appears in the list of proctors is "Walterus de Wardlaw Scotus," doubtless the afterwards Bishop of Glasgow and Cardinal. English and Scotch students will be specially grateful to Father Deniflé for this instalment of a work which will be of no small interest to them and of value towards ecclesiastical history.

A. BELLESHEIM.

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*Le Mouvement Littéraire au XIX<sup>me</sup> Siècle.* Par GEORGES PELISSIER.  
Paris: Hachette.

THERE is so much that is really good in this book in the way of literary criticism that we are sorry to find in it at the same time certain elements which make it impossible to recommend it to Catholic readers as a guide. It is a survey of the various phases of French literature from the days of the first Empire to our own. It is evidently the work of a thoughtful student of men and things, as well as of books. Unfortunately, M. Pelissier looks only at literature from the artist's point of view, and does not attach to the moral value of a work that importance which belongs to it in really sound criticism, so we find in his pages enthusiastic praise of more than one work which no publisher with the fear of Lord Campbell's Act before his eyes dare reproduce here in England. This is all the more to be regretted, because, happily, the French literature of the century is quite rich enough even if these works of misguided genius were relegated to that peculiar world in which they chiefly circulate.

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*Five Months' Fine Weather in Canada, Western U.S., and Mexico.*  
By Mrs. E. H. CARBUTT. London: Sampson Low, Marston,  
Searle, and Rivington. 1889.

A JOURNEY covering so much ground in so short a time was somewhat of a scramble, and it has been chronicled with a running pen with occasional lapses into slovenly style; on the other hand, there are no painful attempts at "fine writing," and the impressions resulting from Mrs. Carbutt's appreciative observation are given with evident fairness and sincerity.

The ubiquity of the American baby is as well known as the precocity of the American child. Mrs. Carbutt remarks:

There are always babies in ordinary or Pulman cars. Children do not have a good time in America. When a few weeks old their travels begin. They swarm in hotels, little dots of two or three years old taking meals at the table-d'hôte at seven and eight o'clock in the evening, and those of riper years, such as six, roam all over the hotels alone, playing with the elevator-boys and the waiters. They look very delicate. On this occasion there were several babies in the car, and they all screamed.

Of Chicago Mrs. Carbutt writes:

Protection does not always keep the wolf from the door. I was astonished to find from a local paper that there is great poverty even in this prosperous city. It is a pitiful tale, quite equal to "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." Here the misery of low wages is increased by the excessive cost of living.

Of domestic servants, she says:

We noticed everywhere that, though wages are high in the States, the work is very hard, and servants are not looked upon as members of the household, but as machines. A servant undertakes to do certain work, and if she is ill, she is just turned out to make room for a machine in better working order. Of course, the servants show just as little regard for their employers.

Mrs. Carbutt displays more sympathy for the poor Chinese than many travellers do; and quotes many kindly things of John Chinaman—"Johnny has this great superiority that he requires no watching. He will work all the time as if his master's eye were on him." Taken altogether the book is an intelligent account of a highly interesting trip.

*Ballads of the Brave, Poems of Chivalry, Enterprise, Courage, and Constancy, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Selected and Arranged by FREDERICK LANGBRIDGE, M.A. With Notes. London: Methuen & Co. 1890.

A SELECTION of more than two hundred pieces, filling 135 pages, should satisfy the most exacting. The book is nicely got up, and would make an excellent school prize.

*The Persecutions of Annam: A History of Christianity in Cochin China and Tonking.* By JOHN R. SHORTLAND, M.A., Canon of Plymouth. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

THIS is an acceptable reprint of the late Canon Shortland's well-known work, forming a volume of the Granville Popular Library.

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*The Story of the Nations. Early Britain,* by ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

PROFESSOR CHURCH'S work on Early Britain is fully up to the high standard of the excellent series to which it belongs. It is largely based on the writings of Mr. Freeman and of the late Mr. J. R. Green, but it does not follow the latter in his curious fashion of making the history of our country begin with the landing of the Saxons. Professor Church traces with a practised hand in bold outline what was done by Briton and Roman, Saxon and Dane, in the first ten centuries of our island story. His book has a wider range than his title would indicate to most readers, and he refers to this in his preface, where he says:

I do not know whether it is necessary to vindicate the propriety of my title. This island may have ceased to be properly called "Britain" after the middle of the fifth century; but it certainly could not be called "England" before that time. To the writers and readers of Latin it was always "Britannia," and it is still formally known as "Britain" to the rest of the world.

The illustrations are very well chosen, but, as in nearly all the volume of this series, some of them are either very poorly executed or badly printed. It is a pity this weak point cannot be remedied.

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*Juifs et Opportunistes. Le Judaïsme et Egypte et en Syrie.* Par GEORGES CORNEILHAN. Paris: Sauvaire. 1889.

M. CORNEILHAN'S work belongs to the class of French anti-Semitic literature which M. Drumont's campaign against the Jews has called into existence. For an English reader the most interesting passages are those which deal with the exploitation of Egypt by the big financial houses; but even here the author's bold assertions would make more impression on the reader if they were supported by a little more documentary evidence. M. Corneilhan does not particularly like English people; he cannot resist the temptation to have an occasional hit at them, and it must be added that he falls into palpable errors about English affairs which make one ask if his impressions of the Jews are more accurate than his ideas about ourselves.

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*The Strange Adventures of Little Snowdrop: and other Tales.* By CLARA MULHOLLAND. London: R. Washbourne. 1889.

WE like the "other" and shorter tales, three in number, quite as well as "Little Snowdrop," whose adventures—pleasantly told—will naturally greatly please those little nursery-folk, for whose delectation the book is written. "The Tale of a Green Coat" is a quaint story—a strong moral powder in good fictional jam—which will, or at least ought to, do disobedient little sinners good.

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*The Castle and the Manor; or, My Hero and His Friends.* A Story. By M. A. DE WINTER, of Rome. London: Burns & Oates.

IS chiefly concerned with the doings of the children of two families living respectively at the Castle and the Manor. It may interest in the nursery or junior class-room; but it was surely unnecessary to reprint recitations from Tennyson, and a whole scene from Shakespeare's "King John"!

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*Le Divorce de Napoléon.* Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

M. WELSCHINGER has already distinguished himself by a powerful exposure of Napoleon's perfidy in the case of the Duc d'Enghien. He now selects another instance of the baseness of the great Emperor, and treats it with equal ability. Many documents which were refused by Napoleon III. to M. d'Hausonville, when writing *L'Eglise romaine et le premier Empire*, are now accessible to the public. M. Welschinger gives a digest of these, and in some cases the originals in full. He proves that the marriage of 1804 was celebrated by Cardinal Fesch without any witnesses whatever. The Cardinal had, however, previously obtained from the Pope all the dispensations required for the fulfilment of his duties as Grand Almoner. M. Welschinger holds that among these was included the permission to celebrate marriage without the presence of the parish priest and witnesses, and that consequently the marriage with Josephine was valid. It is not easy to reconcile this opinion with Pius VII.'s approval of the marriage with Marie Louise (see "Le Pape Pie VII. à Savone," par H. Chotard). Whatever the Holy Father may have granted, it is clear from the documents cited by M. Welschinger that Napoleon himself did not look upon the marriage of 1804 as a binding contract. He submitted to go through the ceremony merely to satisfy Josephine, and therefore he insisted on absolute secrecy. An alliance with one of the royal families of Europe was already contemplated by him.

T. B. S.

*Histoire de la Civilisation contemporaine en France.* Par ALFRED RAMBAUD, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Paris: A. Colin et Cie. 1888.

THIS work is really the third and concluding volume of M. Rambaud's "*Histoire de la Civilisation Française.*" The two former volumes went as far as the opening of the Revolution; the present volume deals with the century that has since elapsed. The title adopted by the author will not perhaps convey to English readers an exact notion of the character of his labours. His aim is to write the history, not of courts and camps, but of the people; to give an account of the political, economical, and religious changes; to trace the progress of literature and education, art and science; to describe the habits, the dress, and the amusements of his countrymen. He does not narrate or moralize, yet his book is not a mere catalogue of facts. The charm of his style and the importance of his matter attract the reader's attention throughout: there is not a single dull page in the volume. It may, however, be well to warn some readers that M. Rambaud is an ardent, though not a fanatical, admirer of democracy. Where so much is excellent it is difficult to commend any particular passage. Chapter vii., treating of the history of the Church during the Revolution and the First Empire, may perhaps be singled out as typical of his method and opinions. A few passages from other chapters are here subjoined, but the reader must bear in mind that the clear and terse original loses much in translation.

Royalty did three things for France: it created the unity and greatness of the State; it broke down the power of the ruling classes, but left them their privileges; it destroyed public liberty and established a despotism. The Revolution maintained the first, completed the second, and swept away the third. Its work may be summed up in three words: Unity, Equality, Freedom (pp. 3-4).

In dealing with the noble and the peasant, the Constituent Assembly took the part of the noble; the Legislative Assembly tried to treat both alike; the Convention sided with the peasant. The Constituent Assembly freed the peasant from the more oppressive dues; the Legislative Assembly freed him from such as were unjust; the Convention freed him from all. Under the Constituent Assembly the peasant was still the tenant of his old masters; the Legislative Assembly made him independent of them; the Convention enriched him at their expense. Thus, while in England, in Germany, and in Russia the peasant has had to pay a great sum for his rights, the French peasant has had them given to him for nothing. What kings and nobles in their day of power used to sell him bit by bit and at a high price, the Revolution has bestowed on him in the mass and as a free gift. . . . The rural democracy rose up in a moment from its degradation of centuries; it played the most important part that ever fell to a people's lot; peasant deputies sat in our Assemblies, and peasant soldiers under peasant generals conquered Europe (pp. 276-278).

M. Rambaud's account of the "Realistic" school of novelists will be read with interest:—

The study of the "real" had already been carried tolerably far by Balzac and Georges Sand. The new school, however, approached them

with restricting their attention to man as a moral being, whereas he ought to be treated as a *physical* being. Love and hatred, jealousy and anger were to be explained by the action of objects on his organism, his nerves, and his senses. His sensations must be analysed as well as his sentiments, his appetites as well as his aspirations, his diseases as well as his passions. He should be dealt with not only psychologically but physiologically, and even pathologically. The novelist must not be contented with plunging into the cellars and sewers of society; he must frequent the laboratory, the hospital-ward, and the dissecting-room. It was the contest between the rival philosophies transferred to literature. The novel had been spiritualistic: it was to become materialistic. It had considered man as a free agent: it was now to exaggerate the influence of physical fatalism, of hereditary fatalism, of the fatalism of environment. Man's part became less and less; the part played by things grew more and more. Given a man's physical complexion, the temperament transmitted to him by his parents, the condition of the atmosphere, the temperature indicated by the thermometer, his conduct under various circumstances could then be determined beforehand. Art devoted all the resources of the most glowing language to describe colours, sounds, and scents. Above all, it was necessary to stop at nothing; in the new art, the indecent and the immoral had no meaning (p. 600).

T. B. SCANNELL.

*La Jeunesse du Roi Charles-Albert.* Par le Marquis COSTA DE BEAUREGARD. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

AFTER his defeat at Novara, Charles Albert said: "My life has been a romance, but I have not been known." For good or for evil, it is to him that United Italy owes most. Cavour and his tool, Napoleon III., succeeded where he failed; but it was his heroic struggle with Austria which singled out the little kingdom of Sardinia for the leadership among the Italian States. The early years of such a man well deserves attention. M. Costa de Beauregard has given us a brilliant and sympathetic sketch of his hero. We reserve a detailed account of it till after the appearance of the second part, "*L'Épilogue d'un règne, Novara et Oporto*," which is promised shortly.

A word of praise is due to the publishers for the admirable form in which they have produced M. Costa de Beauregard's labours, and also for the portraits of the youthful prince.

T. B. S.

*Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772-1804.* Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Paris: E. Plon Nourrit & Cie. 1888.

THE tragic story of the Duc d'Enghien's brief life and his judicial murder by the first Napoleon is told in very full detail by M. Henri Welschinger. Much of the material which he has employed in its composition is new, as he has made use of hitherto unpublished family papers and documents in the French national archives. Every new work bearing on the First Empire seems to be fated to darken the picture of the first Napoleon's character, and M. Welschinger's book on the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien is no exception



to the rule. Many of the facts connected with the capture and execution of the Duke are put in a new light, and Napoleon's guilt as the chief actor in the crime comes out, if possible, clearer than ever. No student of the history of the First Empire can afford to neglect M. Welschinger's work.

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*Non-Biblical Systems of Religion. A Symposium.* By the Ven. Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D., Rev. Canon RAWLINSON, M.A., Rev. W. WRIGHT, D.D., Rabbi G. J. EMANUEL, B.A., Sir WILLIAM MUIR, Rev. EDWIN JOHNSON, M.A., T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., the Hon. RASMUS B. ANDERSON, Rev. WM. NICOLSON, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THIS book is made up of thirteen essays by nine different authors. The essays are articles reprinted from the *Homiletic Magazine*, and of varying interest and merit. We confess the title of the volume puzzles us. Before we had read the essays we imagined that their subjects would be religions not founded on the Bible, but we find one essay on Judaism and two on Christianity. The puzzle is increased by the fact that at the head of the first page the title appears in another form, thus:—"Non-Christian Religions. A Symposium on: What is the Relation of Non-Christian Systems to Biblical Theology?" On the whole, it seems as if the editors were not quite clear about the purpose of their book—perhaps because they are not quite clear as to what is Biblical theology.

Hence we have a certain vagueness of motive and treatment—a vagueness which is especially conspicuous in Archdeacon Farrar's introductory essay on "Ethnic Inspiration." The writer has no very definite idea of what he means by inspiration, so that his essay is a very inconclusive performance. On the other hand, where the essays sum up facts, and abstain from vague theorizing, they are both interesting and valuable. Canon Rawlinson's account of the growth of Egyptian polytheism, and of the older monotheism which underlay it, sets forth in popular style one of the most important results of the science of religions. His comparison of Egyptian and Christian morality forms the second part of what is altogether a most useful essay on the religion of ancient Egypt. Dr. Wright, best known by his works on the Hittites, deals in the same clear, scholarly fashion with the Canaanite religions. Mr. Johnson's essay on the earlier Hellenic Religions is rather thin, but contains some good points; while the essay on Judaism derives its chief interest from the fact that it is from the pen of a Jewish Rabbi. Sir William Muir, a recognized master of his subject, compares Islam and Christianity. Dr. Rhys Davids, in his essay on Buddhism, has some well-considered remarks on the often exaggerated resemblance between Buddhist and Christian doctrines. Thus he says:—

A critical examination of any one of these resemblances would show that in no single instance are the ideas identical. They are at most

analogous. The words are never used in precisely the same sense. They are wrapped up with implications, connotations, which are always more or less present to the mind of the Buddhists who use them. The ideas themselves, therefore, expressed in the words are not the same, and we have to deal, not with any real agreement, but only with points of contact.

And again, after referring to points in the Buddhist scriptures which recall familiar passages in the Bible, Dr. Rhys Davids says:—

One might go on quoting such passages indefinitely or point out phrases in the Buddhist writings which could be transferred to Christian sermons. But in no case does the analogy really run on all fours, nor could any serious argument be founded on the apparent identity of expression, or the suggested similarity of thought. For—and here we come to the gist of the matter—it is precisely those ideas in the Bible which are most instinctively and specially Christian, which are not only wanting in, but are *absolutely contradicted in Buddhism.*

The essays on the ancient Scandinavian Religion by the Hon. Rasmus B. Anderson break new ground. In Positivism Professor Thomson has a more threadbare subject. The concluding essays by the Rev. W. Nicolson, on the "One Purely Moral Religion," are, like the introduction, rather vague. The book gains in some points from being the work of several authors, but it loses any real unity of argument and purpose from this cause.

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*The Baglioni: a Tragedy.* By FAIRFAX L. CARTWRIGHT, B.A.,  
Second Secretary at Her Majesty's Legation, Teheran:  
London: Field & Tuer.

THE plot of this tragedy is based upon the feuds of the Baglioni family at Perugia, at the close of the fifteenth century. Here we have murders and "many more," and though there are some vigorous lines, dramatic force, from a stage point of view, is lacking. Filippo da Braccio, the villain of the piece, is too heavily weighted with memories of Iago and "Richard the Third."

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*Chased by Wolves, and other Instructive Stories.* Chiefly Translated from the French, German, and Italian. By H. J. GILL, M.A.,  
T.C.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

A NEAT volume of short but well-told tales which young people are sure to appreciate.

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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APRIL, 1890.

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ART. I.—“JESUITS AND SECULARS IN THE REIGN  
OF ELIZABETH.”

*A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth; with a Reprint of Christopher Bagshaw's "True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich," and Illustrative Documents. By THOMAS GRAVES LAW, Librarian, Signet Library. London: D. Nutt. 1889.*

THE way in which Catholics met the Reformation in England under Henry VIII. does not furnish us with a very cheering retrospect. A few names stand out gloriously. Our martyrs are as grand martyrs as can be found anywhere. They resisted unto blood, and there was a generosity and a splendour in the outpouring of their blood that fills us with admiration and gratitude. While our eyes are fixed upon our noble band of martyrs we are happy and proud; but when we look away from these miracles of the grace of God, our feeling is *Quid haec sunt inter tantos?* How few they are who were constant and faithful to the bitter end! “Were there not ten, and where are the nine?” Nay, the proportion of their ingratitude was higher than that of the lepers who were cleansed. If one in ten of the bishops, if one in ten of the beneficed clergy, if one in ten of the religious, if one in ten of the nobles, if one in ten of the gentlemen and yeomen of England, had been what Fisher and More and the Carthusians and the Franciscans were, Henry's hand would have been stayed, and the Pope would not have had to reconcile a kingdom on Mary's accession.

When Elizabeth resumed her father's work, and proceeded systematically to Protestantise the country, the Catholics were in somewhat different state from that in which they had been

when under Henry the thunderbolt had fallen on them from the blue. The bishops set a very different example. Those who had yielded in Henry's time, as well as the new bishops appointed under Mary, were all faithful, with one only exception. But the clergy throughout the country did not tread in their bishops' footsteps. If the priests had dared to resist, the result would have been very different. Elizabeth could not have sent them all to prison, or have emptied all the parishes in England. But men who in a quarter of a century had been Catholics, then professors of Henry VIII.'s religion, whatever that is to be called, then Protestants with Edward's first Prayer-book, then Protestants with his second Prayer-book, then Catholics under Mary, were not likely on Elizabeth's accession to give up their livings and brave her anger. "Some nine thousand parish priests," says Mr. Law, in the book before us, "were content, with good or bad consciences, to read the Book of Common Prayer, and to preserve their livings." Sander, in his work "*De Monarchia Visibili*," makes out the best list that was in his power of confessors of the Faith, and amongst the higher clergy the number of those who were imprisoned or exiled is very respectable. He gives the names of ten deans of English cathedrals, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and forty-seven canons of cathedrals who had either died in prison, or were in custody or banishment, when he wrote in 1571. But when he comes to the clergy who were deprived of their benefices because they would not accept Elizabeth's religion, he can count up but ninety-one, which is out of all proportion with the dignitaries who were displaced. It is true, as he says, that it was much more difficult to ascertain the names of the lower than of the higher clergy. Besides these, almost all of whom were in exile, there may have been, and there will have been, many more of Queen Mary's priests who did not bow the knee to Baal, but wandered about looking for private houses in which they could say Mass when the churches were closed against them. Not less than three hundred students, Sander estimates, were driven from the universities in the first twelve years of Elizabeth's reign, and he further gives the names of three professors, nine doctors of theology, eight doctors of civil and canon law, seven doctors of medicine, eleven licentiates in theology, eight schoolmasters, and three choirmasters who stood steadily by the Pope and suffered persecution accordingly. Then he names an earl, two barons, and nine knights, in prison or in exile, fifteen gentlemen in prison, and forty-two, many of them with their families, living abroad; and he gives a list of fourteen ladies who specially suffered for their religion. No one would dream of thinking that this roll of confessors was complete, even up to its date. There were many

more afterwards, like Francis Tregian, who spent twenty-eight years in prison, and again the glorious confessors of York Castle, the London Marshalsea, and many another prison, who well merited the reference made to them by Cornelius a Lapide in his Commentary as verifying the grand words of St. Paul, for they "received with joy the plundering of their goods" (Heb. x. 34). But still, heroic though they were, their number was small for all England. If it had not been so, Elizabeth and her Ministers could not have done what they did, and England would not have fallen such an easy prey. These seem to be the facts, and there is no use in denying them, whether the conclusion drawn from them is honourable or dishonourable. We take the honour that our martyrs and confessors bring us, and we must also take the shame of the general apathy, and cowardice, and worldliness, or whatever else brought about the acquiescence of the country in Elizabeth's ecclesiastical proceedings.

This, like the apostasy under Henry, is a sad sight; that cannot be denied. One hundred and eighty-nine is Strype's estimate of the clergy who were deprived on account of their religion, out of a total of 9400. Speaking roughly, forty-nine out of fifty priests in England let Elizabeth dis sever them once more from the Holy See. Five years and a-half of reaction under Mary had made little difference, except, indeed, in the character of the bishops; and the clergy who had submitted to the regalism of Henry and the Protestantism of Edward reverted to them, with interior abhorrence we may presume, but with exterior assent and conformity.

Can any excuse be found for them? The answer to this question, currently given, is that they expected that this new order of things would pass away, as it had passed away before. But this surely cannot be regarded as an excuse. To yield as each one yielded, and to retain the loaves and fishes in the hope that the time would come when the iniquitous condition on which alone they could be retained would be removed, was to serve mammon and not God. The comfort of holding their livings could never justify an act of schism or an act of heresy; and even the certainty, if such certainty had been possible, that they would be free to return to the profession of the true Faith in six months or twelve would not have affected the hypocrisy and wickedness of the part they were playing. Thus it was that England lost the Faith. Priests retained their livings on such terms as these, and conducted the new-fangled services in the churches in which they had been accustomed to say Mass. The laity went to those churches and frequented those services because of the frightful pressure that was brought to bear upon them by the persecuting laws. As in all cases of yielding to temptation, the first step

taken, it was less and less difficult to continue. That which in the beginning they hated, they came by degrees to regard with indifference. The children were brought up in this state of things, and had known no other; and, with glorious and heroic exceptions, the old priests, the old families, and the mass of the people forgot the ancient Faith, and learnt at last to hate the bugbear that a false tradition presented to them in her stead.

It is not, then, an excuse to say that priests and people went to church in obedience to Elizabeth's laws, and hoped for better times. That is but a statement of the harm done, and all one can say of it is that it might have been worse. The apprentice that robs his master's till, hoping and intending to replace the money, has not the same malice as the man who takes it with no other thought but that of keeping it. The priests and people of England were, to a very large extent, guilty of schism and of co-operation with heresy on Elizabeth's accession; and the act with which they committed this sin contained within it the most serious danger to their own faith, as well as the certainty of the perversion of their children from the Catholic religion. Thus England became Protestant. Mr. Law very truly says that, "When the Jesuit Fathers Parsons and Campion entered England in the summer of 1580, Elizabeth was completing the twenty-second year of her reign. The young men at the universities could remember nothing of the days of Queen Mary and the Mass. For the first half of those twenty-two years the history of the Roman Catholic Church in England is a blank." But when he goes on to say, "Never had a Church so completely gone down before the first blow of opposition," he forgets what had gone before. As certainly as it is true that *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*, so also it is true that a nation could not abandon in a moment the religion it had professed for centuries. England did not do so. The reigns of Henry and Edward had gone before, and it is attributing too much to Mary to suppose that things were really set right in her reign. The restoration of England to the Catholic Church by royal authority contained in it much of the evil principle that the people must take their religion from the Sovereign, and it was that false principle that set all things wrong under Henry and his two Protestant children. Religion and faith had been undermined. Worldliness was in possession, and ecclesiastics had learned to look to the King, as the dispenser of Church goods, rather than to the Pope, as the centre of Catholic unity. The precedent had been set in Henry's days, and the possibility shown of a Catholic restoration. The *premier pas qui coûte* had been taken under Henry, and, though Mary had succeeded in installing a worthier and less worldly set of men among the

higher clergy, the large body of priests with the mass of the laity repeated under Elizabeth what they had done under Henry and Edward.

The proportions of Catholics and Protestants had altered enormously by the time that Elizabeth was half through her long reign. Catholics were still numerous, and in one or two counties very numerous; but they were more timid, for the utter failure of the Northern rising and the death of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, had shown them their helplessness. By the year 1580 there was not a shadow of a hope that the Queen would change her policy respecting religion. If she did not call herself "Supreme Head upon earth of the Church of England," as her father had done, it was because there was something ridiculous in such a title as applied to a woman, and she could claim the same powers under another form of words. The Oath of her Supremacy said that "the Queen's Highness is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm." Take that oath, repair to your parish church every Sunday or holiday, and believe what you like. Such was the spirit with which her reign began, and the cowardice of the multitude made the resistance of the few extremely hazardous. The sole question for Elizabeth's Ministers on her accession was whether the mass of clergy and people would submit to these terms. That settled in their favour, they had the future religion of the people in their hands. In Japan the Catholic religion was exterminated by the very simple and most efficacious process of commanding all persons without exception under pain of death to wear a little idol visibly and publicly, as a mark that they were not Christians. Many wore it who were Christians at heart, hoping for better times, and thus Catholicity was stamped out of Japan. Hardly less efficacious was the English method. Among the penalties of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 1, was that any person maintaining the jurisdiction of any foreign prelate within these realms should, for the first offence, forfeit all his goods and chattels, for the second be subject to *premunire*, and on the third be held guilty of high treason. "The hearing Mass has been adjudged to be 'maintaining' under this statute, and the person hearing it indictable thereupon."\* "If a man hears Mass but once in his lifetime

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\* "The Penal Laws against Papists and Popish Recusants, 1723," pp. 6 and 8.

upon a second refusal of this oath, he shall be adjudged guilty of high treason." The 5th of Elizabeth, cap. 1, made this law more stringent, for to refuse the oath of the royal supremacy when tendered a second time was made high treason; and none were compellable to take the oath on a second tender, save clergymen, such as do not conform and observe the rites of Divine Service, such as deprave the same, or use to hear Mass. It is as well to see what the laws against Catholics were all through the reign of Elizabeth, as apparently an impression prevails in some quarters that all severity in Elizabeth's legislation dates either from the coming of two Jesuits into England in her twenty-third year, or at least from her excommunication by St. Pius V. in the twelfth year of her reign.

Change and relaxation were not to be expected, and what were the Catholics to look to? Is it much to be wondered at that many turned to Mary's husband Philip for help and a remedy? The strong man armed was holding the land in thralldom, and they hoped that a stronger than he would come and take away the arms in which he trusted. They were wrong, as we can see now who are wise after the event; but what else was there for them to turn to? The Pope had excommunicated Elizabeth, but it was practically a *brutum fulmen*, as it might be expected to be when the excommunication of her father Henry had fallen without temporal effect. But the Pope could not help it. He could not have done less. It was of prime necessity that the Catholics in England should see that Elizabeth and her new religion were unmistakably wrong, and nothing short of some strong measure like this could have shown them that they were in duty bound to choose between God and mammon. The Pope did what was possible to mitigate for the Catholics of England the difficulty that the Bull of deposition created for them. Its operation was suspended as far as they were concerned, and they were to continue to treat Elizabeth as their Queen. But beyond a doubt nothing would have pleased the Pope better than that she should be driven from the throne of England, and for this he could only look to Spain. Is it wonderful that the Catholics of England, or very many of them, looked there too?

It is no argument to writers like Dr. Jessopp and Mr. Law to say that the Catholics in such aspirations were in harmony with the desires of the Pope, and of such a Pope as St. Pius V., but it is an argument to Catholics of our time. I do not mean that it is a proof that they were right. I only mean that we can surely understand that it was natural in them, and to be expected. In other words, the Catholics of that day cared more for England's religion and her spiritual good than they did for her independence and her temporal greatness. In the principle they were



necessarily right, but in the application of it I, for one, think them wrong. I cannot believe that a Spanish conquest of England would have brought about the end they sought for. Englishmen would have hated the foreign conqueror, and, if the Armada had been successful, waverers would have been determined against the Church rather than for her, and the Catholic religion would have been identified with a foreign tyranny. The plan would, in all human probability, have been an utter failure as to the end that the Pope and the English Catholics had in view, if Philip had become King of England by right of conquest. But they did not see this, and they saw no other remedy.

As far back as 1533 no less a man than Blessed John Fisher had felt as they felt. To his mind there was one only remedy possible for the evils that Henry VIII. was introducing into England, and that was an armed invasion by the Emperor's troops. "As the good Bishop of Rochester says, who has sent to me to notify it," so wrote Chapuys the ambassador to Charles V., "the arms of the Pope [*i.e.*, spiritual censures] against these men, who are so obstinate, are more frail than lead, and your Majesty must set your hand to it, in which you will do a work as agreeable to God as going against the Turk." And again, a fortnight later, he wrote: "For the love the Queen bears her husband, she dares not speak of any other remedy but law and justice; but the good and holy Bishop [of Rochester] would like you to take active measures immediately, as I wrote in my last; which advice he has sent to me again lately to repeat. The most part of the English, as far as I can learn, are of his opinion, and only fear that your Majesty will not listen to it."\* But this last consideration could be urged with far greater truth in Henry's time than in Elizabeth's, and thus Blessed John Fisher's conduct in provoking a foreign invasion is not a full justification for those who desired the same remedy when the sympathisers in the country would have been comparatively few. But it is a precedent on the point that would most strike Englishmen. Fisher preferred his country's religion to her temporal greatness; and if in Elizabeth's time there were Catholics who did the same, they did not see, as we do, that the chance was gone by, that the sympathy of the people was lost, and that the success of the Armada would have done more harm than good to religion.

Blessed John Fisher might take that position, and forward it by such active measures as repeated application to the Emperor's ambassador; but I confess that I am sorry that Father Robert Persons should have done something like it in working hard in the Spanish interest. Cardinal Allen might do it, and he did

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\* "Life of Blessed John Fisher," by Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., p. 229.

it. I cannot sympathise with all that he did. He wrote a book in defence of the treacherous act of Sir William Stanley, who delivered up to Elizabeth's enemies the city of Deventer, of which he had been made Governor by Elizabeth. *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis.* But Cardinal Allen was free to hold political action and external force to be as lawful a means of bringing England back to the Church as persuasion and patience under persecution. He had a right to his opinion. "A Sovereign who, like Elizabeth, made the exercise of the Catholic religion in England impossible, thereby lost all claim to the obedience of her subjects, and they might justly depose her by themselves, or with the help of foreign princes. I do not see," says Fr. Knox,\* "what answer can be given to such a defence of Allen on modern principles, except to deny that the Catholic Faith is a treasure the loss of which would justify rebellion." And he then proceeds to show that it was for the persons then concerned, not the modern bystander, to determine the nature and degree of the oppression which warrants revolt. And he further shows, at considerable length, that, considering the times in which Allen lived, his justification is much stronger than this application of a modern principle of the lawfulness of rebellion, the great example of which in the dethronement of James II. is well worked out by Fr. Bridgett.† Those who are unable to see how it could ever have been lawful to promote a foreign invasion, in order to set aside an illegitimate possessor of the throne, should look to see what was done in 1688 to dethrone a rightful king and to crown the Prince of Orange in his stead. Once more, I am not speaking of expediency, but of lawfulness—lawfulness in the sense of right according to the laws of God; and all I maintain is that in Elizabeth's time Catholics were as much entitled to form their own judgment on the matter, as Protestants were in the days of James II. The one revolution was successful, and therefore is to be called "happy and glorious," while the other failed, and is therefore detestable.

Treason never prospers, what's the reason?

When it prospers, none dare call it treason.

Allen might forward the Spanish invasion, and welcome; but, for my part, I cannot help feeling, as a Jesuit, the sincerest regret that Father Persons should have taken an active part in the same. In the instructions that were given to Father Robert Persons and Blessed Edmund Campion when they came on the English mission, they were explicitly told that "they must not

\* "The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen," with an Historical Introduction by T. F. Knox, D.D., priest of the Oratory, p. xxiv.

† "Life of Fisher," p. 230.

mix themselves up with affairs of State, nor write hither [that is, to Rome] news concerning the State, nor in England must they either speak or allow others to speak in their presence against the Queen, except, perhaps, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfastly proved, and even then not without strong reasons."\* These instructions were intended to be strictly secret, and they were kept secret. They were meant to be obeyed, and Father Persons at first, and Blessed Edmund Campion to the end of his short career, obeyed them. It would have been good for religion if Father Persons had continued to obey them and his superiors to enforce them. But for a time he was busily engaged in Spain, acting in the very teeth of them.

At the end of the year 1593 the Fifth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus passed a decree which entirely prohibited all conduct like that of Father Persons in his dealings with the Spanish Court. It must be remembered that in the Society the General Congregation is, under the Pope and the Sacred Congregations of Cardinals, supreme. The General himself is subject to it, and whatever sanction Father Persons may have previously had from Father Claude Acquaviva, such sanction henceforward became impossible. I have not heard it said that, subsequently to this very positive and definite legislation on the part of the Society, Father Persons in any way contravened it. His defence of the Archpriest before the Roman Congregations is entirely free from all liability to any such charge, and we may assume that Father Persons completely and loyally conformed himself to that which then explicitly became, and still continues to be, a strict law of the Society that he dearly loved, and that certainly loved and still loves him. The Decree in question has been seldom quoted, but, though it is long, its great importance justifies the insertion of a translation of it in this place.

As our Society, which has been raised up by our Lord for the propagation of the Faith and the gaining of souls, can, under the banner of the Cross, happily attain to the end it aims at, with usefulness to the Church, and the edification of our neighbour by the ministries proper to the Institute, which are spiritual arms; so it would hinder these good things and expose her to the greatest dangers, if she were to handle those things that are secular, and belong to politics and State government. Therefore, it was most wisely ordained by our predecessors, that we, whose warfare is for God, should not engage ourselves in other things which are repugnant to our profession. But since in these very dangerous times, in several places, and with various Sovereigns (the cherishing of whose love and charity our holy Father Ignatius held to belong to the service of God) by the fault

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\* Law, "Dissensions," p. xiii.

perchance, or ambition, or indiscreet zeal of some, our Order has been ill-spoken of, whilst to bring forth fruit the good odour of Christ is necessary ; the Congregation held that everything having an appearance of evil must be avoided, and that complaints must be met, as far as possible, even when they arise from false suspicions. Wherefore by the present Decree it gravely and severely forbids all of Ours to mix themselves in any way in public affairs of this kind, even though they be invited or enticed, nor by any prayers or persuasions may they be turned away from the Institute.—(Cong. v., Decr. 47.)

The Decree ends by requiring that by efficacious remedies a cure be found for this disease, as far as it may be needed ; and the means adopted by the same General Congregation in its Seventy-ninth Decree was the unusual measure of a command to observe the Forty-seventh Decree, under precept of holy obedience (which binds under mortal sin), and the penalty of incapacity for all offices and dignities, and privation of all rights in elections, either as electors or as eligible. And to this was added a serious recommendation to Superiors not to permit any Jesuit to be mixed up in such affairs, and, if they should see any to have a propensity to them, the Provincial was at once to be informed, and he was to remove such persons from the place, in order that all occasion and danger of such interference might be avoided.

Even this is not all. Pope Paul V., in the year 1606, issued a Bull, beginning with the words *Quantum Religio Societatis*, in which, besides an approbation of the Constitutions of Gregory XIII. and Gregory XIV. in favour of the Society, he incorporates *verbatim* three Decrees that the Society had passed in its Fifth General Congregation. The first of these related to disturbers of the common peace of the Society, and the last of them to the indefinite duration of office of local Superiors. These two things the Society had greatly at heart, and the Pope's specific approbation of both these Decrees will have been earnestly petitioned for and gratefully accepted. Dovetailed in between them in the Pope's Bull is the Forty-seventh Decree *in extenso*, and it would be difficult to conceive any more cogent proof of the desire of the Society that the decree in question should be observed invariably and universally, than that she should have asked and obtained for it the specific confirmation of the Pope some thirteen years after it was passed by the Congregation. This has had the effect of placing it on a higher level than any Decree of a General Congregation, even though that Decree was issued under precept of holy obedience, which is the most that the Society herself could do. By this specific confirmation, together with the other points on which her heart was set, she has obtained for it the authority of the Holy See and the full force of Pontifical law ; so that it was no longer in her power to repeal her own

Decree, if ever she should desire to do so. I do not see how any Religious Order could possibly express her mind more strongly or make her ruling more imperative. From the terms employed, and from the solemnity of the legislation, we are fully justified in concluding that any Father who should have promoted the invasion of England by Spain may certainly have acted in good faith, and may even have had the sanction of his Superiors prior to such legislation, but most certainly was not acting in accordance with the spirit of the Institute or with the mind of the Society.

As we have already said, there is no accusation against Father Persons of having acted in disobedience to this Decree. But there is another accusation against him, respecting which also it may be said that he acted in good faith, but in a way that we must most sincerely deplore. It is to be profoundly regretted that Father Persons should have allowed himself to make such terrible accusation against the personal character of his opponents. Taking it for granted that he was honest in calling God to witness that he had no enmity to gratify, no intention to injure, and that his sole reason was the public good; remembering that the times were sadly foul-mouthed, and that his opponents did not spare him, but hit as hard as it was in their power to hit; still, considering all that can be alleged in excuse, the language used by him is, if I may be allowed to judge so great a man, absolutely indefensible. It seems to me to have been impolitic likewise. If a counsel has on his brief, "Abuse plaintiff's attorney," we at once conclude that he has "no case." It was by no means true that Father Persons had "no case," but the force of what he had to say in defence of his case is, to our eyes, sadly injured by his abuse of the side opposed to him. "The habitual recklessness," says Mr. Law, "with which Parsons, either secretly to the Pope or publicly in his writings, blackens the character of any individual who stands in his way must make his denunciations more than suspected. He probably believed all the reports brought to him of the immoralities of men so widely respected as Colleton, Bishop, and Mush with as much sincerity as these or their associates believed that Parsons himself was the promoter of assassination, or that Father Walpole had designed to poison the Queen's saddle"(p.lvi.). The term "habitual recklessness" is a portion of the adverse judgment which everywhere Father Persons meets at Mr. Law's hands—far in excess of justice, as it seems to me. But on this point of hard uncharitable language I, for one, cannot be the defender of Father Persons, and indeed I look upon it with the deepest regret and concern. If I were called on to say how it was, in my opinion, that the glorious self-devotion of seculars and regulars was almost thrown away, and how it came that to

so large an extent the blood of the martyrs was shed in vain, I should feel in conscience bound to answer that I think it due to the awful dissensions that prevailed between seculars and regulars, and, in some instances, between the regulars of different Orders. God's blessing could not rest on the work of men amongst whom such animosity was found. One hundred and forty-four secular priests shed their blood on the scaffold in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors, and I know not where to look for a country the secular clergy of which have so noble a death-roll; the regulars of various Religious Orders poured forth their best blood to swell the sacred stream, but persecution prevailed, and the Catholic Church was nearly stamped out. By quarrelling amongst themselves, the Catholic priests were doing the work of their opponents, and it is not to be wondered at that Anglican Bishops should have fostered the division, as far as was in their power, and that appellants against the Archpriest should have been specially banished by the Privy Council, to enable them to carry on their appeal. “The case standeth thus,” wrote Bluet to Mush on July 1, 1601, “I have, by opening the cause unto their honours [the Lords of the Privy Council] and to Cæsar [Queen Elizabeth], obtained that four principal men shall be banished after a sort to follow the appeal, Dr. Bagshaw, Bluet, Champney, and Barneby, all prisoners. They shall be here with me on Wednesday next. A month they shall have within the realm of liberty to ride abroad for money amongst their friends, and then choose their port to be gone with countenance.”\* It is not very pleasant to see that, in spite of a Decree of the Inquisition and the Brief of the Pope, on the whole favourable to them, which strictly forbade such dealings with the English Government, Dr. Bishop wrote from Paris to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, “reporting the progress of the appeal, and asking leave for some of his party to go to the Bishop safely for the settling of better correspondence.”† As soon as the controversy between the seculars and regulars was over, and matters were decided by the Pope, Elizabeth sent forth the last manifesto of her long reign against Catholics, cynically treating it as insolence to insinuate that she had “some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within her realm,” and, turning upon those secular priests who offered to be the first to discover to her all traitorous designs of the Jesuits and the Spanish party, she tells them that, “‘masking themselves under the vizard of pretended conscience,’ they withdraw her subjects from obedience to her laws, and ‘knit them to her mortal enemy the Pope, increasing thereby his numbers, and diminishing hers.’ God

\* Law, p. xcvi.

† *Ibid.* p. cxx. note.

knows the Queen's innocency of any such imagination! Their conceit of such a toleration and intolerable presumption has come to such a pass that 'they dare adventure to walk in the streets at noondays, to resort to prisons publicly, and execute their functions in contempt of her laws.'"\* Let them forthwith depart out of her realm, the Jesuits and the secular priests who are combined with them by the 1st of January, and "the other sort of secular priests" by the 1st of February next ensuing. If the seculars thought that any good was to come to them, or any liberty of conscience, by their recourse to "Cæsar," this was Cæsar's answer. On the 25th of March 1603 Elizabeth died.

If there is one thing plain, rather than another, respecting these dissensions, it is that "an enemy hath done this." The devil is the author of discord, as God is the lover and the giver of peace. Nothing can sadden the heart of a thoughtful Catholic more than these records of uncharitable bickerings, jealousies, quarrels, and revilings. Mr. Law has no regard for either side, though his chiefest dislike is for Father Persons, whom he calls "the arch-conspirator." The appellants receive from him their share of blame, with an impartiality that is intended to show that he is not on their side either. Well, it is better so. Sad enough it is, God knows; so that this book makes one's heart ache for more than simply its record of an odious feud; but better so, perhaps, as the work of one who is not a Catholic, than a book like Canon Tierney's, which revives the ancient partisanship amongst Catholics, that in God's name should be left to sleep itself out to death and oblivion. The Jesuits also, if one may say so who loves the Society dearly but has no commission to speak in her name, must not, as was the fashion in Father Plowden's time, praise all that was done by every Jesuit in those days when Jesuits and seculars were at daggers drawn, though they held their lives in their hands. At this distance of time, and after this happy lull in the controversy, we can afford to look at the whole dispute with greater impartiality, and not feel it necessary to say that all that was done on one side was right, and all that was done on the other was wrong. Mistakes were committed on both sides, and good intentions may be recognised on both. Cardinal Arrizoni said that "both sides were *terribles*." It surely need be so no longer; and the seculars and regulars in the nineteenth century may serve God and do the work of the Church in peace and concord, taught by the sad experience of the past, in which discord was injurious to a multitude of souls, and the enemies of the truth found too much cause to rejoice.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

\* Law, p. cxxi.

## ART. II.—RECENT WORKS ON PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM.

CHAPTER II. (*continued.*)\*

TOWARDS the middle of the sixth century before Christ, in the country and of the tribe of the Sakyas, surnamed the Gotamas, was born of noble parents, Siddārtha, later on called Buddha, "The Enlightened, The All-Knowing."

His father was called Suddhodana; a wide-spread tradition has made him king of the Sakyas, but the ancient texts say nothing about it.

His mother, Māyā, who also belonged to the tribe of the Sakyas, died seven days after the birth of the child. But the sister of Māyā, who was called Mahāprajāpati, another wife of Suddhodana, gave him all a mother's care.

Siddārtha passed the years of his childhood at Kapilavasthu, the principal city of the country. He had a step-brother and a step-sister, children of Mahāprajāpati. In this country, which was very little subject to the Brahmans, the education of the youth must have been more warlike than scholastic. It was customary, at that time, for the children of the rich to pass successively the winter, the summer, and the wet season in three different palaces, which were arranged so as to suit the requirements of these different seasons, and we learn from tradition that Buddha passed his youth in these poetical surroundings.

We also learn that the future Liberator was married, but we do not know if he had one or many wives. There was born to him a son Rāhula, who later became one of his spiritual community. We have all the more reason to accept these details as authentic, as they are mentioned only as accessories and do not serve any end, either didactic or pathetic. And further, if one considers how much chastity was honoured by the Buddhists, one must confess that the makers of legends would have had much more reason to hide them than to invent them, if they had not been real.

We are quite ignorant as to the manner in which Buddha was brought to leave the delights of his princely life. One cannot be mistaken in admitting here the action of the general

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\* The preceding portion of this paper appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1888, page 121. The first of the Authors there cited for consideration, and here largely quoted from, is Oldenberg; see his "Der Buddha, sein Leben und seine Gemeinde," and his Vedic translations in the "Sacred Books of the East" (Oxford).



causes already given. It is said that a period of seven years passed between the time of his renouncing the world and that of his acquiring the certitude that he had become Buddha, the liberated and the Liberator of the gods and of men. During this period he followed successively the teachings of two spiritual directors, who sought for salvation by means of profound exercises of meditation, of intellectual absorptions in passive contemplation. Being little satisfied with the results he obtained, he went over to the country of the Magadha (near the town of Uruvelā). There, in company of five ascetics, he gave himself up to the most terrific austerities, but without arriving any nearer to the object of his desires. He therefore abandoned this way of living, and cheered himself with abundant food. His companions, much scandalized at this, left him. In the meantime, however, the solemn moment was arriving. One night while seated under a tree, which has since been called the Tree of Intelligence, he passed through a state of unconsciousness, more and more pure, until the sentiment of his omniscient enlightenment discovered itself. He believed that he penetrated, by an irresistible intuition, into the wanderings of those spirits engaged in the turmoil of transmigration; he himself seized upon the knowledge of the sources from which all the suffering of the world proceeds, and of the way which leads to its destruction.

It is this moment which is looked upon by the Buddhists as the grand turning-point in the life of their founder, and in the history of the world, of men and of gods. It is the Holy Night—the Christmas of the Far East.

Must these records of the sacred texts be regarded as historical? Oldenberg believes that one cannot give a certain answer to this question. The nature of the sources, he says, do not allow one to affirm either their historical or their mythical character. They mix the true with the fabulous, and this latter absolutely predominates in the recital of the first events which follow.

He shows further that all this tradition might easily have been formed, even if Buddha had never experienced or believed he experienced anything of the kind. But, he continues, that is no proof that this narration is only an invented fable; proofs are not wanting in a contrary sense. This sudden change which the interior life of Buddha underwent differs in no point from that which has often taken place at all times with men of like character. The sacred texts show us, besides, that at the time they were written there was generally a belief in the sudden illumination in the mind of a liberator, accomplished in an instantaneous manner. We have therefore not the slightest reason to doubt that it may have been the same in

the time of Buddha himself. But then it would have been but natural that the Master would have made known to his disciples the vicissitudes through which he had passed before arriving at the salvation that all were working to obtain; undoubtedly these souvenirs may have acquired a dogmatic character later on, but they did not lose their historical character for all that. In this sense, one may believe that this account contains some real facts. "History," concludes Professor Oldenberg, "cannot create certitudes where she only finds possibilities. Let each one decide or not as he thinks fit; but let me be allowed to express my conviction in this sense that the account, or the tradition, which shows us the scion of the Sakyas becoming Buddha, really contains historical reminiscences."

The beginning of the teaching career of Buddha forms the subject of a passage which possesses all the characters of great antiquity. It is a well-attested fact that, in the midst of vague and confused souvenirs of a long and uniform period, it is exactly those which refer to the *début*, to the earliest days of a new existence, that preserve themselves longest in the memory. Professor Oldenberg relates, after the *Mahāvagga*, the combats that Buddha had to sustain before he resolved to announce the doctrine of faith, and the first conversions that he wrought. It would be useless to recapitulate here these episodes which have been recounted elsewhere, and which do not seem in any manner to characterize the author's method. The Pāli sources do not follow their biography of the founder any further. For the period of more than forty years which, they say, passed until his death, the tradition contents itself with relating discourses, sentences, and dialogues without any chronological sequence. These accounts enable us, however, to reunite these wide-spread traits, and to form of them the picture as a whole, representing the teaching and the life of Buddha, his relations with great and small, with his band of disciples, and in general with his followers and with his adversaries.

Can we [asks Professor Oldenberg] look upon this picture as being consonant to historical truth? And the answer is: "Yes and No." No—because, if it shows us the type of the ancient Buddhist world, on the other hand, it does not show us the individual traits of Buddha himself. . . . But it is just this objective side of our knowledge which gives us the right to have confidence in it. India, in truth, is a country of types and not of individuals, having each their own stamp.

Thus it is with the personages of the epoch, and we must believe that this same law governed the new-born Buddhism. The principal disciples who surround Buddha entirely resemble each

other, and each one is the facsimile, the reduced copy of the Master. For the rest, the time which passed between this and the formation of the traditions was anything but rich with minds which might have given to the movement an entirely new direction.

This circumstance is for us a kind of guarantee, inasmuch as this movement, such as it is described, does not essentially differ from that which Buddha and his first disciples created. The former may have really possessed several transcendent qualities which mediocre natures may have lowered to their own level; but it is impossible that a figure like his could have been misunderstood in its fundamental features.

If, therefore, the traditional portrait presents only a small number of authentic details, in the sense of historical exactitude, from another side, however, and taking it as a whole, we have the right to look upon it as true in a higher sense.

The author exerts himself, moreover, to reconstitute this picture of the public life of Buddha under the various titles of "Daily Life," "The Disciples of Buddha," "His Women," "The Adversaries of Buddha," "His Manner of Teaching." These are so many little tableaux, traced by a master-hand; they possess all the attractions of a work of fiction, although all the materials are borrowed from the Pāli sources. Let us try to recapitulate some of the most essential points.

1. *Daily Life*.—The year of Buddha and of his disciples, like that of all communities of monks, was divided into a season of retreat and a season of journeying; this division rested also upon the nature of the climate. The torrents of rain which commence to descend in the month of June compel all the Hindus to shut themselves up in their houses, or at least in their own villages. During this time the Buddhist monks established themselves in the neighbourhoods of the towns or villages, where they were certain to find some resources in the generosity of the faithful. Thus it was that each year Buddha himself observed the rainy season, surrounded by numerous disciples who flocked round his person. During the good season, on the contrary, he travelled from one place to another, always followed by a few, and sometimes by a large number, of his disciples. They thus travelled over the regions of the East, stopping above all in the environs of Sāvathī and of Rājaguha, in which places the community possessed vast domains. All round him monks and laics crowded in great numbers, kings and men of the people, brāhmanas and sophists, all wishing to be instructed in the doctrine of salvation, or at least to hear the celebrated ascetic disputing. Very often they came to him from afar off; to arrive where he was they traversed whole kingdoms. The scenes of this kind

which the texts retrace for us are very varied ; there is no doubt, however, that they faithfully represent to us the movement which was constantly going on round the person of the Master. The discussions often ended by an invitation to dinner from the adversaries or the admirers of the Master. On other days, faithful to the monastic custom, he goes begging from door to door, after having passed the first hours of the day in meditation and other ascetic exercises. After the repast, he retires to seek a rude repose, necessitated by the overwhelming heat of the country, until, when at night, he re-enters the agitations of public life.

2. *The Disciples.*—To all appearance the circle of disciples was, even in the earliest days, by no means a free society bound together by merely internal cords, something like the band of Jesus' disciples. We can scarcely doubt that it was from the beginning much more of a community of ascetics, organized according to fixed rules, a formal monastic order with Buddha at its head. The forms and external technique of a religious life of this class had been already established in India long before the age of Buddha, a monastic order appeared then to the religious consciousness to be a reasonable, natural form, in which alone the life of those who associated in a common struggle for release could find expression. As there was nothing in Buddha's attitude generally which could be regarded by his contemporaries as unusual, he had not to introduce anything fundamentally new ; on the contrary, it would have been an innovation if he had undertaken to preach a way of salvation which did not proceed in a basis of monastic observance.

The standing formula with which Buddha is supposed to have received the first believers into his circle has been preserved to us : "Come hither, O monk ; well preached is the doctrine ; walk in purity, to make an end of all suffering." We know not whether this tradition rests on any authentic memory, but the thought which here finds expression seems quite correct, that the circle of Buddha's disciples was from the very beginning a monastic brotherhood, into which the postulant had to be admitted by an appointed step, with the utterance of a prescribed formula.

The yellow garment and tonsure of the monk are the visible tokens of separation from the world and worldly life ; the severance of the family bond, the renunciations of all property, rigorous chastity, are the self-evident obligations of the "ascetics who adhere to the son of the Sakya house" (*Samana Sakyaputtiya*), the oldest term with which the people designated the members of the young Church.

We know not how far the forms of that corporate life, of which we shall give a fuller description later on, severally extend back to Buddha's own time, of which we are now speaking. It is possible, those half-monthly confessional gatherings, to which so great significance is attached in the simple cult of ancient Buddhism, may have been observed by Buddha himself, with the disciples who were with him.—(Oldenberg, pp. 152-4.)

The distinction of caste did not exist in the community of Buddha. Whoever wished to become his disciple renounced his caste; the monastic habit rendered equal servant and master, Brahman and Sudra.

We must not allow ourselves, however, to look upon Buddha as a social reformer. He never dreamt of creating reforms in the Government, nor revolutions in Society. Caste does not exist for the wise man who has separated himself from all earthly things, but it does not even enter his mind to try to abolish it or to soften its rigid rules among those who are engaged in the life of the world.

For the rest, there already existed before Buddha religious communities who received members of all castes, men as well as women. For a long time among the Brahmans, with whom no priesthood was hereditary, there had been formed a second category of religious men, composed of people of all castes who had said good-bye to the life of the world; this was the class of the Samanas—that is to say, the ascetics.

This fact is recognized in the Buddhist traditions as indisputable, as something of which there is no recollection that it had ever been otherwise. There is no need of overrating the value of those traditions to find in them a guarantee that Buddha did not deem it necessary to undertake a struggle against the leaders of Society and thought, in behalf of the spiritual rights of the poor and the humble: and least of all is it possible that in such a struggle lay the essential character of his life.—(p. 156.)

And more than this. Undoubtedly the Buddhist theory recognized in all, without distinction of caste, the right to be admitted into the community. But to judge by the birth of the persons who surrounded the founder, the practice does not seem to have been much in conformity with the theory. In the celebrated discourse of Benares, the tradition makes Buddha speak of "the sons of noble families who leave their homes." In effect, in the surroundings of the founder we often come across young Brahmans, such as Sāriputta, nobles like Ananda, also the sons of great merchants or of high functionaries. It was also generally the same with the ascetics who left other sects to embrace the doctrine of the Master. "I do not know," says Oldenberg, "of one Candala—the pariah of those days—being mentioned in the sacred texts as a member of the Order." The Buddhist theories, however, were quite incomprehensible to simple folk. "This teaching," it is said, "belongs to intelligent men, not to imbeciles." "What a difference," exclaims the learned author, "to the word of Him who made little children come to Him, *for of such is the*

*kingdom of Heaven!*" The arms of Buddha are opened neither to children nor to those who are like to them.

Of the several personages in the narrower circle of disciples, we cannot expect to have a life-like individual portrait. Here, as everywhere else in the literature of ancient India, we always meet merely with types, not individualities. We have already touched on this peculiarity: each of the chief disciples resembles every other, so that one might be taken for the other, the same conglomerate of perfect purity, perfect internal peace, perfect devotion to Buddha. These are not real individuals, but the incarnate *esprit de corps* of the pupils of Buddha.—(p. 158.)

Let us mention here the names of Sāriputta and of Moggallāna, of Ananda, Devadatta and Rāhula: the facts relating to them are sufficiently well known. Side by side with the monks and the religious, or rather with the male mendicants (Bhikkhu) and the female mendicants (Bhikkhunī), appear from the commencement, the simple male adherents (*upāsāka*, *cultor*) and female adherents (*upāsākā*). These, while believing in the word of Buddha, still retain their goods and their social position, and render great service to the community by their gifts and foundations. Still they are not a part of it and cannot attain to salvation, to the supreme Nirvāna.

Efforts have been made to present this fact as a concession slowly made to human nature. It is nothing of the sort. The most ancient traditions already speak of laics who profess to honour Buddha and his community. The nature of the things themselves confirm these accounts. As soon as there arose mendicant monks in India, there necessarily were found some pious laymen to give them alms. This fact alone necessarily established a more or less intimate union between the ones and the others. This union was based upon reciprocal wants. The ones were in search of spiritual instruction, the others expected that the means for their frugal existence should be provided for them. One must not seek for more intimate relations between the members of the Buddhist community and their lay adherents.

It is principally the rich and influential that we find in this latter category. Buddhism has never occupied itself with the poor and the miserable, whose sufferings have a more sensible character than those of "the perishable existence which is the common lot of all." We will mention here the kings Bimbisāra of Magadha; Pasenadi of Kosala; Jivaka, the physician; Anāthapindika, the rich merchant. But wherever he went, Buddha always met with a number of persons who abundantly supplied his wants and those of the numerous disciples who followed him.

3. *Women*.—At the time in which Buddha lived women were not kept isolated and in the seclusion in which they are now. There therefore must have been, and indeed there were, frequent communications between the nascent community and persons of the female sex.

Professor Oldenberg asks if, on one side, Buddha was able to understand the nature of woman, on the other, if the theories of such a merciless logic were suited to finding an access to their souls? Without directly answering these questions, he, first of all, declares that, for Buddha, woman contained in herself all the illusive forces which the enemy of man makes use of to enchain their senses. The ancient texts are full of accounts and considerations relating to the incorrigible spirit of intrigue in women. "How must we conduct ourselves with regard to women?" asks Ananda. "You must avoid seeing them," answers the Master. "And if we are forced to see them, Lord, what must we then do?" "You must not speak to them, O Ananda." "And if we are obliged to speak to them, Lord, what then?" "Then you must keep watch over yourself, O Ananda." The traditions are not wrong, perhaps, when they tell us that for a long time, Buddha received only men into his community, and that it was only owing to the solicitations of Mahāprajāpati, his second mother, that he admitted women as disciples. "If," he says to Ananda, "women had not been admitted into the Community, the doctrine would have existed pure during a thousand years. Now the holy life will not preserve itself for long; the doctrine of truth will not exist for more than five centuries."

At the same time the female mendicants are constantly represented in the sacred texts as kept at a distance from the Master. The rules drawn up for them by Buddha were first of all promulgated before the male mendicants, who then communicated them to the women. Even these rules themselves show them to be in a subordinate position to the men; they are generally treated as an element just tolerated, and that with regret.

This way of acting, however, did not prevent the women of India from showing great devotion to the Community, which manifested itself by incessant gifts and personal services. The type of the female adherent entirely devoted to Buddha and to his disciples, is Visākhā, upon whom the Master himself pronounced a commendation by promising to her that—"delivered from all suffering, she would enjoy, full of happiness, the reward of her well-doing in the abode of happiness."

4. *Buddha's Adversaries*.—If we would believe the Buddhist texts, the career of the Master must have been nothing but one long triumphal march. "Wherever he arrived, crowds collected round him; other masters were abandoned whenever he raised

his lion-like voice in any assembly." Those who heard him gave themselves up to him.

The facts are naturally a little different, and it is still possible sometimes to find the reality. It has been a mistake to represent Buddhism as a reform of Brahmanism; it is believed that it is possible to find something analogous between those old times and the ardent combat between Protestantism and the Papacy. This is an error. In the eastern provinces where Buddha founded his religion the Brahmanic hierarchy was not organized. The representatives of the faith of the Vedas were nothing more than one of the religious parties between whom the country was divided: it may also be added that they did not form one of the most powerful ones. Individually, they did not enjoy either privileges or any particular respect. In the eyes of the people, a Samana was worth quite as much as a Brahman. As for the Vedas and the sacrifices prescribed by them, they were unknown to the people, who willingly left them in the learned hands of the antiquaries. It mattered little if sometimes the local influence of some Brahman placed obstacles in his way; a hundred others became his disciples or ranged themselves among his adherents.

Buddha is not sparing in his irony for Brahmanic science and sacrifices. "The word of the Brahmans is like a chain of blind people: such is my idea. He who finds himself in the front sees nothing; he who is placed in the centre sees nothing; and he who finds himself in the rear sees nothing. What is it then? Is it not that such being the case the faith of the Brahmans is vain?" Sacrifice and the pride of caste receive no better treatment.

Other adversaries much more formidable to the rising Community were the chiefs of the Ascetics, and the corporations formed by them. The spirit which influenced some among their number was akin to that which actuated Buddha himself. When we read the sacred books of the Jainas, we can almost think we are listening to the Buddhists themselves. We do not know anything for certain of the manner in which the rivalry between the two communities manifested itself. Open hostility appears to have been a rare occurrence. It even often happened that they paid each other visits in their hermitages, and that, after the ordinary compliments, they peaceably discussed subjects of dogma. But this undoubtedly did not prevent a continual play of intrigue being carried on to assure themselves of the exclusive patronage of influential persons. King Açoka found it well to warn the different religious corporations against the spirit of detraction: "He who to give greater lustre to his own faith defames those who think differently, only harms his own cause." It would not be possible for us to make any hypothesis, as to



whether the disciples of Buddha always maintained themselves upon the serene heights of holy gentleness upon which tradition enthrones them.

What, above all, distinguishes Buddha from the greater number of his rivals is his attitude towards austerities which others had considered the chief means of obtaining salvation. He himself had practised them and had found out their uselessness. It is not fasting or corporeal pain that will banish earthly thoughts from the soul, but the working upon one's own character, and, above all, the struggle to arrive at intelligence. The force necessary for this struggle can be obtained by a life equally removed from superfluity on the one hand and from want and voluntary bodily suffering on the other.

It is this spirit of avoiding extremes, this intelligence, so superior to that of his contemporaries, of the essence of moral life, which, much more probably than the mere chance of events, ended by assuring to the work of Buddha the victory over that of his rivals.

5. *Buddha's Method of Teaching.*—The learned author, under this title, does not only present to us the exterior features of the teaching of Buddha, but he gives himself to a series of considerations upon connected points, in which the depth of perception and the sureness of erudition are united to the widest and most rigorous criticism. This is an admirable chapter that one condenses with regret.

It is quite probable that in the time of Buddha the art of writing was already known in India; but it certainly was not yet made use of for literary composition. The words from the Master's lips were gathered together and then transmitted to his disciples.

Buddha made use of the popular dialect of Eastern India, which did not differ greatly from the idioms preserved in the inscriptions, nor from Pāli, the sacred language of the Buddhists of the South.

In reading the discourses which have been preserved by tradition it is difficult to believe that Buddha could have preached his doctrine in this strange form, in which a series of abstract and obscure ideas are unfolded, full of repetitions crowded one upon the other. One expects to find in these olden times the fresh and vigorous sap which is the mark of youth; but in this are we influenced by the remembrances, so pure and so comforting in their simplicity, of the teaching of Christ?

But these reflections will not bear serious examination. The spirit of primitive Buddhism is quite different from that of the nascent Christian Church. Here the ideal is faith, simple and ingenuous; the kingdom of heaven is reserved to those who

become like unto little children. There, on the contrary, science—and what science!—is the indispensable condition of salvation; and the doctrine of salvation is nothing else than the explanation of this science, which is to say, of a series of abstract ideas and theses. For the rest, Buddha was the pupil of the Brahmans, among whom for a long time there had been developed an immoderate tendency to abstractions and to classifications. Buddha must not be compared with Christ upon this point, but rather with theologians like Origen. We are acquainted in detail with the didactic methods of the Brahmanic schools as they existed in the time of Buddha. Everything about them is artificial and narrow. Not only the diction, but even the position of the body itself, was subjected to the most complicated rules.

Professor Oldenberg gives some examples of the different styles which mingle with each other in the preachings of Buddha. We shall not repeat any of them here. The curious reader may find them in the original, or will come across analogies to them in most of the works relating to Buddhism. Let us, however, stop a little while at the poetical maxims which are very favourably distinguished from the rest. They form the most beautiful embellishment of Buddha's discourses. Our author has not found it necessary to deny the authenticity of at least a certain number of them. Later on he describes the character of these sentences:—

Thoughtful feeling looks out upon us, clad in the grand and rich attire of Indian metaphor, and the slokas, with their gently measured rhythms, so peculiarly combining uniformity and diversity, flow up and down like the surging billows of the sea, on which the clear sky is reflected amid variegated fragrant lotus flowers. The soul of the poesy, too, is nothing else but what the soul of the Buddhist faith itself is, the one thought which rings out in sublime monotony from all these apophthegms. Unhappy impermanence, happy he who has the eternal. From this thought, there pervades the proverbial wisdom of the Buddhist that tone of deep, happy repose, of which that proud sentence says that the gods themselves envy it; that repose which looks down upon the struggling world, stoops to the most distressed, and quietly extends to him the picture of absolute peace. For the elucidation of Buddhism nothing better could happen than that at the very outset of Buddhist studies there should be presented to the student by an auspicious hand the Dhammapada, that most beautiful and richest of collections of proverbs, to which any one who is determined to know Buddhism must over and over again return.—(p. 198.)

#### 6. *The Death of Buddha.*—

We are told that Buddha attained the age of eighty years, of which fifty-four years was passed in public life, which his followers term

his Buddhahood. . . . The year of his death is one of the most firmly fixed dates in ancient Indian history ; calculations, by which the sum of possible errors is confined within tolerably narrow limits, give as a result that he died not long before, or not long after, B.C. 480.

Professor Dr. Oldenberg further on resumes the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, the description of the entrance of Buddha into the Supreme Nirvāna.\* This account is advantageously distinguished from the northern versions, which are overcharged with marvellous details. It was at Vesāli that Buddha deprived himself of his will, by which he was enchained to the life that existed within him ; immediately a shock of earthquake and peals of thunder proclaimed his desire to enter into Nirvāna. It was also at Vesāli that he addressed his last instructions to the mendicants there assembled. They consisted of exhortations to be faithful to the teaching he had given to them. Followed by numerous disciples, he sets out for Kusinārā. When at Pāvā he eats of some pork at the house of Cunda, the son of the goldsmith. Immediately he begins to suffer the pain which is to put an end to his life. All the same, he continues his journey as far as Kusinārā. Here he bids them make him a bed upon the banks of the Hiranyavatī, in a wood, between two Sālas, which thereupon became covered with flowers. Buddha placed himself upon it, and tried to console his well-loved Ananda, who was plunged in grief. As night came on, he Mallas, or nobles of Kusinārā, hurried to the place with their wives and children to render their last homage to the Master. These were his last words : "Courage, O my disciples. I say this unto you : That which has received existence is perishable ; fight without ceasing." Then his spirit raised itself from ecstasy to ecstasy, and passing through all the degrees of ravishment, he entered into Nirvāna. Immediately the earth trembled, the thunder rolled, and Brahma proclaimed his praises by reciting a stanza. Towards the rising of the sun the nobles of Kusinārā conducted the body with great honours to the doors of the town, where they burnt it, according to the customary rules for a universal monarch.

СНАГ. III.—1.—General Character of the Buddhist Doctrines.

2. The Four Holy Truths ; Buddhist Pessimism. 3. The Causal nexus. 4. Being, the Soul, Nirvāna. 5. Buddhist Atheism.—Ethics : Exterior Duties ; Interior Work ; Māra, the Tempter ; the Final Degrees of Holiness ; the Buddhas.

1. *General Character of Doctrines.*—In the second portion of his learned work Professor Oldenberg makes known the doc-

\* Translated by Mr. Rhys Davids in the "Sacred Books of the East."

trines which he looks upon as having been taught by Buddha. He first of all mentions a text in which the nature of the Buddhist doctrine is clearly indicated. "That which I have announced to you," said the Master to his hearers, "does not contain all that I have learnt. And why, O my disciples, have I not declared to you the rest? Because, O disciples, it can be of no profit to you (this knowledge); it will not help you to advance in a life of holiness, nor will it give you a distaste for earthly things, nor destroy all passions, nor lead to the end of all perishable things, to peace, science, illumination to the Nirvāna. What then, O my disciples, have I declared unto you?" He then goes on to enumerate the four holy truths:—

This passage states briefly and clearly what the doctrine of Buddhism is and what it is not. It does not purport to be a philosophy, which inquires into the ultimate grounds of things, unfolds to thought the breadths and depths of the universe. It addresses itself to man plunged in sorrow, and while it teaches him to understand his sorrow, it shows him the way to exterminate it, root and all. This is the only problem with which Buddhist thought is concerned. "As the vast ocean, O disciples, is impregnated with one taste, the taste of salt, so also, my disciples, this Law and Doctrine is impregnated with but one taste, with the taste of deliverance."—(p. 205.)

Deliverance is reserved only to the wise, the illuminated, as we have seen above. We have generally the right to attribute to Buddha himself the most essential doctrines of the ancient texts. This is still more so, because these texts, presenting as they do certain consecrated terms and formulas, expressing certain fundamental ideas, the use of which is so frequent, as to almost make one believe that Buddha himself made use of them during his long public career.

These stereotyped expressions help not a little to make the exact interpretation of the Buddhist texts a difficult task; instead of adapting themselves to the thought, the word thus become an impediment—a mask behind which the thought remains concealed. We may also add that often the same technical term is employed in different senses. But the most serious obstacle to the perfect understanding of the Buddhist dogmas is the absolute silence that reigns over all "which does not lead to the suppression of all passions," &c. Undoubtedly they are not sparing of definitions and metaphysical subtleties, but do not move out of the circle of ideas "which lead to peace, to the Nirvāna." But what was thus expressed left many things to be supposed, upon which a strict silence was kept; and there is no possibility of doubting that these things were really

present to the mind of Buddha and of those of his disciples who formed the dogmatic texts.

2—*The Four Truths—Pessimism.*—In his recital of the Buddhist doctrines, Professor Oldenberg follows the order of the four holy truths which form its distinct creed. These four truths of Buddhism read thus:—All is sorrow in this world; the cause of sorrow is the passions, and the love of life and of pleasure; sorrow is destroyed by a cessation of the passions; the means to destroy passion is following the Sacred Way, the means of Salvation, of which there are eight parts. Before applying himself to these general formulæ of the Buddhist dogmas, Professor Oldenberg makes a short digression, so as to determine the true nature of the pessimism which characterizes this system. He thinks it incorrect to look upon this pessimism as proceeding from the theory of the universal nothingness and from the illusory character of this world. If Buddha preached detachment from the world, it is because it is full of sorrow, and not because its existence is an illusion without any reality. The learned author further calls to mind the corresponding axioms of the Brahmanic system. The Brahmans had placed on one side Brahma or Atmā, man himself, as considered in his intimate being, and on the other, the world of the becoming, of births and of perishing, of destruction, of births and of old age, of deaths, in a word, of pain. Brahma, on the contrary, knows only supreme liberty and happiness. Buddhism maintains all that which has relation to the world, corporeal and changeable, but it suppresses the Atmā, the immoveable and eternal principle. Oldenberg examines later on if it replaces this theory by some other conception. The Buddhist doctrine of the sorrow of all earthly things re-appears without ceasing under all kinds of forms; at one time as a didactic and motived teaching, at another as a moral reflection, or again as a poetical maxim.

If the pessimism of the Buddhist has not Nihilism for principle, neither has it for effect moral despair. The true Buddhist sees himself undoubtedly engaged in a world of perpetual pain, but this pain excites no further sentiment in him than that of compassion for those who still remain in this world: as for himself he knows that he is approaching the final goal. Is this goal annihilation? Perhaps so. In any case, he is far from abandoning himself with a sombre resignation to the order of things which he finds established in this world as if it were the result of an inevitable fate. On the contrary, he wishes to attain to Nirvāna and exerts himself with the same lively courage which characterizes the Christian who is sure of obtaining eternal life.

3. *The "Causal Nexus."*—The existence of pain constitutes

the object of the first of the four holy truths. The second and third reveal its origin, and the means of suppressing it. "This, O monks, is the holy truth of the origin of suffering; it is the thirst (for being), which leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire, which finds gratification here and there: the thirst for pleasures, the thirst for being, the thirst for power." "This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the extinction of suffering, the extinction of this thirst by complete annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room."

The state of being [says Professor Oldenberg] as it surrounds us in this world, with its restless oscillations between origination and decease, is our misfortune. The ground of our existing is our will. This is our besetting sin, that we will to be ourselves, that we fondly will our being to blend with other being and extend. The negation of the will to be cuts off being, for us at least. Thus, the two tenets of the origin of suffering and its cessation comprise the sum of all human action and all human destiny.

But upon what is this thirst, which is the basis of our existence, founded? And next, what is the law, the mechanism, what are the intermediaries by which it brings us to the renewal of our existence? The most ancient documents already occupied themselves with these questions, which they decide by the formula, entitled "paticcasamuppāda," or the chain of causes of the birth (of things) (*Causal Nexus des Entstehens*). This formula is sometimes regarded as an integral element of the holy truths, where it then takes the places of the second and the third. It would be useless to give here in detail a formula which is to be found in all the works upon Buddhism, but it is necessary to mention certain parts of it, to which the learned author has attached some important considerations.

The formula commences thus: "From Ignorance come Conformations (*sankhārā, Gestaltungen*). From Conformation comes Consciousness."

According to the Pāli documents, ignorance is nothing else than the non-knowledge of the four holy truths, and such is the doctrine of primitive Buddhism. Such an ignorance has for its fatal results the dispossessing man of the knowledge of the true nature of existence; in consequence he abandons himself to delusive desires, the effect of which is to lead him to existence, to the state which he has coveted; and it is thus that at the moment of death the desires formed by man have the effect of creating for him the *consciousness* of a fixed state. This consciousness, continuing to exist after death, will, by its effect, itself develop into a new being, conformable with the desire of the dead person.

It may be seen that the idea of the *sankhārā* producing *consciousness*, the germ of a new existence, possesses a close resemblance with the theory of moral retribution or of the *Kamma*. *Kamma* signifies action. The *Kamma*, personal action, meritorious or demeritorious, is the property of man; it survives him and produces by its intrinsic virtue, and not by the intervention of a remunerative being, a new individual in accordance with his nature. The precise sense of desire formed at the moment of death, the interior moral *action*, which we have first attached to the word *Sankhāra* (according to a Pāli text), is not its most common meaning in our formula. It might ordinarily be translated by the word *action*; but this requires some explanation.

The word *Sankhāra* derives from a verb, which signifies to arrange, adorn, prepare. *Sankhāra* is both the preparation and that prepared; but these two coincide in Buddhist conceptions much more than in ours, for to the Buddhist mind—we shall have more to say on that point later on—the made has existence only and solely in the process of being made; whatever is, is not so much a something which is, as the process rather of a being, self-generating and self-again consuming being.—(p. 242.)

By this identification of becoming and being, of phenomenon and substance, our *sankhāra* is equally apt to designate the various entities which compose the universe, as well as the products of human activity, external or internal.

Thus, the ancient scholastics employ the word *Sankhāra* in the sense of action, meritorious or demeritorious, and consequently effective of a new existence.

Therefore, one must be careful here in our formula not to take the word *Sankhāra* in the sense of illusions, of fallacious *entities* created by a cosmical power, which would be ignorance concretized, so to say. Many philosophical schools of later Buddhism understood it in this sense; in the *Prajñāparāmita*, the world is confounded with ignorance, and this with nothingness. It is the counterpart of the *Māyā*, or cosmic delusion of the Brahmanic philosophy, which designates that power of delusion which, by its union with the One uncreated, produces the world of delusion. The One uncreated, however, as such, that is to say, as far as distinct from the universal unchangeable *Atman*, is himself a delusion.

The ancient Brahmans did not understand it thus. According to them ignorance, the cause of the slavery of the soul in this world of existence, was the ignorance of the identity of the particular *Ātmā* (self) with the universal *Ātmā* (self). We know that Buddha rejected these doctrines; he denounced the doctrine of the

Ātmā as a fatal error; but he still kept the Brahmanic formula. For those who wished to know what was this ignorance, the primary cause of all evils, he naturally answered that it was the ignorance of the four truths which form the foundation of the Buddhist doctrine and reform.

The chain of causality continues thus:—"From consciousness come name and corporeal form."

Consciousness is not understood here to be a passing psychological phenomenon, but an existing germ—in the sense in which Buddhism understands existence. It is this germ alone which communicates to a being, from its mother's womb, the faculty of assimilating to itself, of forming the material elements, in such a manner as to give them figure and matter, which will become man endowed with such a name and with such a body. We have already seen what the *sankhāras* are, the actions and, above all, the last thought of a dying man, which maintain and form consciousness; this latter, in its turn, produces a being whose name and body correspond to its nature.

The name and corporeity, however, are not in the relation with consciousness merely of cause and effect; consciousness must, to be developed, support itself upon a complexus of name and of corporeity. It is this that Buddha is said to have taught to Sāriputta, in the following simile: "My friends, as two bundles of sticks leaning against each other stand, so also, my friend, consciousness grows out of name and material form, and name and form out of consciousness." Once consciousness—the intelligence, let us call it—is communicated to its body, the process of life develops itself: "From name and corporeal form," says the sacred formula, "come the six fields, viz., the six fields of the subject—eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (or organ of the sense of touch), understanding; and the six fields of the object world—corporeal forms, sounds, odours, taste, tangibility, and thoughts." The formula runs further: "From the six fields come contact between the senses and their objects; from contact comes sensation; from sensation comes thirst (or desire); from desire comes clinging (to existence); from clinging (to existence) comes being; from being comes birth; from birth comes old age and death, pain and lamentation, suffering, anxiety and despair. This is the origin of the whole realm of suffering." To appreciate the meaning of the formula it must be remembered that it is destined to explain the relation between the desire and existence, and the origin of desire itself. As for the connexion between the different rings of the chain, Oldenberg remarks that the three last ones take up the being as already acting in the world, and make it take birth in the world of suffering. He sees no means of elucidating this anomaly; but we will console ourselves



by thinking that the Buddhists themselves were contented with it, without certainly having seen any connexion in it which does not exist.

4. *Being.—The Soul ; Nirvāna.*—We have just explained the philosophical theories of the Buddhists, in the form which they themselves gave them. It is necessary to go over the same questions in a manner more suitable to our habits and thoughts. We will ask ourselves, then, what idea the teaching of Buddha gave of the world and of God, of the soul, and of the last end?

Buddhism conceives quite a different idea of being and of existence to what we do. According to it all beings form a chain of phenomena, of which one necessarily causes the appearance of a succeeding one; each one of them being cause and effect in its turn, and all being equally changing and transitory. This chain is indefinite in a retrogressive sense; it is equally so in a progressive sense, with this restriction, that any individual can, by following the sacred way shown by Buddha, definitely stop, upon one point, the fatal progress of existence and of suffering. The beings are called *Sankhāras*, conformations in so far as phenomena; and *dhammas*, order, inasmuch as they are their own immanent law; it is thus that they look upon the *existence* and the *essence* of things. There is no necessity after this to add that the idea of substance is completely unknown to them. The *dhammas*, as well as the *sankhāras*, are passing and unstable entities. All the *dhammas*, so say the Pāli texts, are *anattā* (Sanskrit, *anātman*), that is to say, possess nothing of the stable and imperishable nature (*dhruva, akshara*), which the Brahmans attribute to their *ātman* or universal being. Professor Oldenberg very happily characterizes the fundamental difference between the Brahmanic and the Buddhist doctrines in the following terms:—

Some have expressed the difference between the Brahman and the Buddhist conception of the existence of things, as if, of the component parts which together form the idea of becoming (being and not being), the former had laid hold of the idea of being only, and the latter of non-being only. We prefer to avoid every expression which would make Buddhism regard non-being as the true substance of things, and to express ourselves thus: The speculation of the Brahmans apprehended being in all becoming, that of the Buddhists becoming in all apparent being. In the former case, substance without causality, in the latter, causality without substance (p. 251).

The idea of a law, and of an absolute law, which rules the progress of this world—which progress is the world itself—is essential to Buddhism. But, one might ask oneself, going a little further than Dr. Oldenberg, whether this law itself is uncreated? Let us not forget that these laws, this order,

constitute the things, the *dhammas* themselves, these *dhammas* which compose the world. It might appear, at first sight, that by this theory Buddha closes the last issue to the Theistic solution of the supreme problem of philosophy. He never dreamt, any more than the Brahmins, of an extra-mundane cause, producing the world independently of its own substance; he lowered to the rank of simple genii Brahma, the creator, or rather, "emissor," and all the gods of the ancient Indian Olympus; he rejected the idea of the *ātman* or universal being, as we have seen before; he could still, however, by admitting an eternal, subsisting law, independent of things, raise himself to a very pure and very sublime idea of the Divinity. But, by placing the law which rules the world in the world itself, has he not expressly denied this Law which is God? and must we not definitively class him as an Atheist? The answer seems simple; but doubt might rise again, if one considers that Buddha restricted himself by preference to teaching those doctrines which have a practical bearing; his teaching is a moral theory, and if the *causal nexus* has some metaphysical traits, it is very easily to be seen that it occupies itself only with man and the world, in so far as the former is engaged in social life, and in so far as the latter acts upon man as an obstacle to his obtaining the last end—that is to say, the deliverance from suffering. We shall have to consider, from a nearer point of view, this negative character in the teaching of Buddha, in speaking of the Nirvāna. The answer to the question we have just asked, and which Oldenberg does not touch upon, will be better placed at the end of this chapter; but it has appeared more advantageous to us to formulate it after stating the doctrines which naturally called it forth, and which would have been difficult to recall.

The human soul, as we understand it, with the Buddhists, enters into the same order of conception. Thoughts, sensations, sentiments are like the waves of the sea, which follow one another, roll on, driving one another forward, and disappear to make way for other waves. Consciousness itself is only a series of direct actions of this movement.

The comparison of human life with the ocean agitated by the waves is a very familiar one with the Buddhists, but there is still another which impresses them more and which has served the author of the "Milinda Pañha" to characterize, or rather to show the non-existence of a permanent subject: it is that of the fire which, while assimilating itself without ceasing to other matter, continues to burn, always new and always like to itself.

It is not the same being [says the Saint Nāgasena, in the above-quoted work], and yet they are not separate beings, which relieve one

another in the series of existences. "Give an illustration," says King Milinda. "If a man were to light a light, O great King, would it not burn on through the night?"—"Yes, sire, it would burn through the night."—"How, then, O great King? Is the flame in the first watch of the night identical with the flame in the midnight watch?"—"No, sire." "And the flame in the midnight watch, is it identical with the flame in the last watch of the night?"—"No, sire." "But how, then, O great King, was the light in the first watch of the night another, in the midnight watch another, and in the last watch another?"—"No, sire; it has burned all night long, feeding on the same fuel."—"So also, O great King, the chain of elements of being (dhamma) completes itself; the one comes, the other goes. Without beginning, without end, the circle completes itself; therefore it is neither the same being nor another being which presents itself last to the consciousness.

That which we call *soul* is, then, in the eyes of Buddha nothing but a particular flame in the middle of the world, which is only an ocean of fire, as the texts say. The thirst, the desire burns while attaching itself without ceasing to fresh objects, and thus produces this uninterrupted continuation of acts of consciousness, of perception, and of sentiment which seem to constitute an individual, until the suppression of this *initium dolorum* comes to extinguish at this point the fire of existence and of suffering. Then comes extinction or Nirvāna—for such is the etymology of the word—the realization of the last end. There are great discussions, profound disagreements upon the nature of this state. We have arrived at the point where Professor Oldenberg exposes his manner of looking upon this subject. The explanation on this point of the Buddhist doctrine is one of the most beautiful chapters in the book of the learned author. Allowing himself constantly to be led by the Pāli texts, from which he has extracted all the passages relating to the subject, he arrives at conclusions which do not absolutely exclude any of the opinions maintained up to his time. The fault of many of the discussions upon this subject has been in drawing conclusions from the doctrine of Buddha which he had never found, and in describing his system as the development of a principle which was at the most only an implied consequence. The author protests, with reason, against this proceeding. A religion or a doctrine as concrete facts, in so far as they have been professed, must be characterized in the same manner in which they have been looked upon by their adherents, and not by their abstract meaning, however real. There is here to be distinguished a subjective and an objective element, this last naturally independent of historical research. But it is evidently the first which one must keep in view when one wishes to

answer the question as to what constituted Buddhism—that is to say, what were the religious ideas of the Buddhist: still more one must distinguish the epochs and men. There is no means of denying that the Buddhist metaphysics, as described above, do carry in their bosom the germs of nihilism. If the entire world is a composition of *sankhāras*, of passing and fluctuating phenomena; if man does not carry within him a single germ of stability, of permanence, one cannot see how there can remain after the dissolution, the extinction of these phenomena, anything but void, nothingness. A world, a being placed outside of the ocean of perishable things, could not for the rest have any connection with the latter, except on condition of participating in its transitory nature, says Oldenberg. The conditional can only be thought of as conditioned by another conditional. This teaching is absolutely necessary according to the universal principles of the Hindu philosophy. But have the Buddhists seen, or rather have they considered and formulated this consequence? Before answering this question we must study, following our author, the meaning of the word *nirvāna*, which is the ordinary term for designating the ultimate goal. *Nirvāna*, in an etymological sense, signifies extinction. It was thought possible in the beginning to decide the question which now occupies us by saying that the point in question was that of the extinction of existence; but if one will recollect the frequent comparisons made in the texts between the *thirst*, the desire, and a devouring fire, it will be seen immediately that it is just as natural to think about *the extinction of this fire of desire*. And, in fact, this idea is perfectly confirmed by the texts in which the acquisition of Nirvāna is not even postponed until after death. It will be sufficient to quote the following:—

“The disciple who has put off lust and desire, rich in wisdom, has here on earth attained the deliverance from death, the rest, the Nirvāna, the eternal state.” “He who has escaped from the trackless, hard mazes of the Sansāra, who has crossed over and reached the shore, self-absorbed, without stumbling and without doubt, who has delivered himself from earthly things and attained Nirvāna, him I call a true Brahman.”

So far the notion of Nirvāna, of deliverance is purely negative, and it appears very certain that in the beginning it was never examined but from this point of view. In any case, the Pāli texts often show us Buddha refusing to answer any positive questions relating to this point. This silence on the part of the Master was also the only answer of the official doctrine of ancient Buddhism. It was strictly forbidden to give oneself up to speculations upon the state of the saint who had entered into

Nirvāna. Buddha had not revealed it; on the contrary, he had considered it dangerous to talk about such things with his disciples, whose chief aim should be deliverance by the extinction of the fire of the passions. But is it possible that men could content themselves with such a negative ruling? How could people who lived so much separated from all worldly distraction prevent themselves from sometimes scrutinizing with a timid gaze this mysterious future, of which one would forbid them the view? It evidently was quite impossible that the mind of man, always so quick to discover a way to the things to which his heart aspired, would not try to elude the prohibition by one of those thousand self-illusions which are of the most mysterious sides of our psychological organization?

The sacred texts reflect these timid, unconscious reflections upon a question that it was forbidden to ask. Professor Oldenberg quotes the colloquy between King Pasenadi, of Kosala, and the Nun Khemā, renowned for her wisdom, upon the subject of the state of the sage after his entrance into the Nirvāna. Khemā contents herself by giving the official answer: "The Exalted One has not declared it," to the questions of the king, who asked successively, "Does he exist after death; does he not exist? Does he at the same time exist and not exist?" But the nun in her turn takes the offensive, objects to him the mysteries of nature, and ends by saying that "if the existence of the Perfect One must be measured by the predicates of corporeal form, or of sensations and the rest, it is destroyed in its very roots." "But," she continues, "the Perfect One is released from this, that his being should be gauged by the measure of the corporeal world; he is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable as the great ocean." Therefore she declares any answer to the above questions to be inapposite.

At the bottom, this way of putting aside the question is itself an answer; the good Khemā probably broke the canonical law without being aware of it.

In another text the Monk Yamaka is declared to be a heretic, for having said that the meaning of Buddha's doctrine is that "a monk who is free from sin is subject to annihilation when his body dissolves." They make him acknowledge it, not by proposing a contrary doctrine, but by showing him his ignorance upon the identity, or non-identity, of the sage with the corporeal or spiritual entities of this world. All this clearly shows that it would be unjust to attribute the doctrine of nothingness to Buddha. Buddha sees evil and wishes to suppress it. The metaphysical doctrine restricts itself to questions immediately connected with this end; as for the rest he keeps and enjoins silence. We have no right to qualify his doctrine by the con-

clusions we may ourselves draw from it. We may say that his premises contain the germs of nihilism, more so even because many of his disciples—among the philosophers at least—have drawn such conclusions; but we cannot go further in speaking of him personally and of his first disciples—if they were really such they are shown in the Pāli texts, and as they are affirmed by Professor Oldenberg.

5. *Buddhist Atheism.*—Here we may make, on our own account, a little digression upon Buddhist atheism. Is Buddhism a religion without God? The question has been resolved in divers manners, like that of the nature and of the origin of Buddhism in general. To be able to give an exact answer it is necessary to distinguish time and places. It is certain, in the first place, that if one identifies primitive Buddhism with the system of the ancient Pāli documents, there is no question of the divinity; but it must not be forgotten that these documents are not yet perfectly known to us to their full extent; the future, perhaps, reserves some surprise for us, even at the price of a certain inconsequence of the system. A profound student of Pāli antiquity, familiar with a quantity of unedited documents, whose name we regret not to be allowed to state, has assured us that there are traces of a notion of the divinity conceived as the Supreme Law, independent and superior to the world visible or intelligible. He also quotes a fact drawn from his rich experience, and which recalls the considerations of the Nun Khemā, mentioned above. One of his contemporaries had become friendly with the Superior of a Buddhist monastery in Burmah, a venerable man of more than seventy years of age. This man, after many years of commerce with his friend the missionary, conceived the desire of knowing the Christian religion, which he shortly afterwards embraced. The missionary, who afterwards received the confidences of the convert about his former life, relates that this virtuous monk had never committed a serious sin, that each day he had devoted many hours to the contemplation of the Law—that is to say, as he explained it, the Eternal Law, existing of itself. . . . This fact well suggests several considerations. In the first place, this idea of the Divinity, while different from that with which we are familiar, is neither less true nor less exalted. This further shows that even if the texts themselves were quite strange to every notion of God, this latter might easily produce itself in the minds of individuals, without affecting in any way the doctrine professed by them. But every one does not look upon primitive Buddhism as identical with the picture drawn of it by the Pāli texts. Later on we will describe the systems of Séuart and Kern.

In the early centuries posterior to our era, we find the Bud-

dhists separated into two large sects, one of which, while following a mere practical tendency, professed a system which most likely hardly differed from that which we have just explained; the other, occupying itself a great deal with speculative questions, with which the Pāli texts did not meddle, or even forbade the investigation. These metaphysicians, whose doctrines are to be found in the books of Nepāl, are idealists, or, rather, absolute nihilists. But it is quite time to draw attention to another essential distinction. Buddhism, as a religion distinct from all others, is almost restricted to monasteries. Everywhere that it has established itself it still allowed to exist by its side the national religion. Let us add that this tolerance is the natural result of the incompleteness of its own character as a religious system; besides which, the knowledge and the practice of that which we have explained up to this is only necessary to those who desire to enter the Nirvāna immediately after this life, the simple adherents contenting themselves by living in such a manner as to merit, in a future existence, the knowledge of those things necessary for deliverance. After this there is, perhaps, no reason to be astonished at the presence of doctrines which are justly qualified as contrary to human nature, but which have produced themselves in other times and other countries.

Modern Buddhism is very different according to the different countries. In Ceylon and in the peninsula of Further India it is based—in the monasteries—upon the Pāli tradition, in so far as the monks are acquainted with it; for a good many of their number are ignorant enough to be ranged among the people who profess the most diverse creeds, while at the same time honouring Buddha. In Thibet, Buddhism has developed a whole hierarchy, probably under the influence of the Christian missionaries of the Middle Ages; the official doctrines are much nearer to Theism than to the ancient Buddhist doctrine. In Nepāl it has become confounded with Çivaism. It is difficult to say really in what the Buddhism of China and Japan consist; to most of those who profess it, it is nothing more than a re-casting, under other names, of the local religions or superstitions. We will not say anything of the religions or intellectual state of the monasteries of these countries, of which little is known. From what precedes it equally results that it is a real sophism to compare the numbers of those who are called Buddhists with those who profess Christianity. The distances separating the different Christian confessions are negligible quantities in comparison with those which separate the Buddhists among themselves. Again, Buddhism as a distinct religion exists only in the interior of the monasteries. The veneration of Buddha and some few moral precepts placed under his name

are not sufficient to enrol among the number of his disciples those who reserve the best part of their religious acts for divinities who have not the slightest connection with Buddhism. Buddhism must not be compared with the Christian religion, but with a religious mendicant order. Let us imagine a convent of Franciscans establishing themselves in a barbarous country; the inhabitants do not become converted, but, being witnesses of the virtues of the good disciples of St. Francis, they begin to venerate the holy patron and to repeat some of his maxims. Let us further imagine that the missionaries content themselves with this *conversion* and promise the Pagans, in return above all for the help which they give to them, the grace of becoming perfect monks in a future life. Now, who would ever dream of counting these singular converts as part of the Christian community? Such is and has always been the normal condition of Buddhists living outside the monasteries. If the writers who defend Christianity had realized these facts, which are exposed in all the serious works which treat of Buddhism, they could have dispensed with defending Christianity upon a point where defence is quite superfluous. In the same manner the short reflections which we have made upon Buddhist Atheism suffice to show that the dissertations upon the possibility of a religion without God are without any real object.

6. *Ethics*.—Buddhist morality is connected by Professor Oldenberg with the fourth tenet of the holy truths. "This, O monks," so runs this tenet, "is the sacred truth of the path to the extinction of suffering; it is the sacred eightfold path, to wit—right faith, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration."

The Buddhists have quite a scholastic manner of enumerating and classing the vices, virtues, and the degrees of perfection; but this has little interest for us. Let us endeavour simply to follow the fundamental traits of their doctrine of morality.

It is quite clear, in the first place, that there can be no question of a legislator whose will was imposed as the rule of good and evil. The metaphysical system, which we have just reviewed, ignores, or even implicitly denies, the existence of a being or principle placed outside of the chain of cause and effect. The only foundation of honest action of which it speaks to us is the interest of the agent, whose actions physically and fatally produce their effects. "He who speaks or acts with impure thoughts, him sorrow follow, as the wheel follows the foot of the horse. He who speaks or acts with pure thought, him joy follows like his shadow, which leaves him not," says the Dhammapada. The foundation of morality is therefore the recompense of good



actions, be it by a happy existence in the future, or by obtaining the last end, the Nirvāna.

The elements of Buddhist morality may be reduced to three categories, the names of which are constantly recurring—uprightness, self-concentration, and wisdom. They are compared to the stages of a journey, the first of which is uprightness. The third category is not, however, independent of the first; this one is without doubt the basis, but this basis itself is only rendered perfect by the accession of wisdom.

It is only in the monasteries that the moral ideal of Buddhism can be realized; the most virtuous ordinary life is but a preparation for it in this life or in another. The final object, in fact, is not to make good use of the world, but to withdraw oneself completely from it. Let us pass on to the consideration of the three categories. Uprightness is acquired by observing the negative precepts, especially destined for the laics or simple adherents :

1. Not to kill any living thing ;
2. Not to lay hands on another's property ;
3. Not to touch another's wife ;
4. Not to speak what is untrue ;
5. Not to drink intoxicating drinks.

For the monks the third prohibition was replaced by the precept of absolute chastity. The first precept also receives a positive development. Buddhism, in fact, gives a large place to that which we call love of our neighbour ; it praises, exalts and pushes even to exaggeration the virtues which it styles compassion, benevolence, beneficence. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by words, and we must not identify these virtues with the Christian virtues which bear the same names. It is quite unnecessary to show at length the total difference in principle which inspires them. The love and the compassion of the Buddhist for the world is nothing but the sentiment which corresponds to his belief of universal suffering. But we must here let the words of the learned author speak for themselves :—

Some who have endeavoured to bring Buddhism up to Christianity have given compassionate love of all creatures as the kernel of the Buddhist's pure morality. In this there is something of truth. But the inherent difference of the two moral powers is still apparent. The language of Buddhism has no word for the poetry of Christian love, of which that hymn of Paul's is full, the love which is greater than faith and hope, without which one, though he spake with the tongue of men or of angels, would be a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal ; nor has the reality, in which that poetry assumed flesh and blood within the Christian world, had its parallel in the history of Buddhism. We may say that love, such as it displays itself in Buddhist

morality, oscillating between negative and positive, approaches to Christian love without actually touching it, in a way similar to that in which the beatitude of the Nirvāna, though fundamentally wholly different from the Christian idea of happiness, does to a certain extent, as we saw, swing towards it. Buddhism does not so much enjoin on one to love his enemy, as not to hate his enemy; it evokes and cherishes the emotion of friendly goodness and tender heartedness towards all creatures, a feeling in which the motive power is not the groundless, enigmatic self-surrender of love, but rather intelligent reflection, the convictions that it is thus best for all, and not least the expectation, that the natural law of retribution will allot to such conduct the richest reward.—(p. 232.)

Buddhism sometimes approaches stoicism, of which the following text, perhaps, may recall the superb self-complacency:—“Those who cause me pain and those who cause me joy, to all am I alike; affection and hatred I know not. In joy and in sorrow I remain unmoved, in honour and dishonour; through all am I the same. That is the perfection of my equanimity.” As for the rest benevolence brings to him who possesses it a kind of magic power, which conquers all creatures upon whom it directs a ray. We arrive at last at beneficence, the ideal of which confounds itself with that of abnegation and of voluntary suffering, and with it knows no limit. It is thus that it is related how Buddha, in an anterior existence, when he lived as a hermit in the woods, had successively given up his goods, his wife and his children. These anterior existences of Buddha were numerous, and the history of them forms the great mass of the legends or fables with which the disciples of the great sage edified themselves. Thus it is told that Buddha was once a white rabbit; he lived a very virtuous life, and even preached the good doctrine to a monkey, a jackal, and an otter, who were his friends. He ended this existence by an act of the most heroic beneficence. The god Sakka (Indra) having disguised himself as a Brahman, begged of him some food; the poor rabbit having nothing to give him to eat, begged him to prepare a fire which Sakka kindled, and on which the rabbit placed himself and allowed himself to be roasted, and to serve as food for his host. It is thus that the future Buddha prepared himself for his mission. But—and this does honour to the Buddhist doctrine—exterior justice is only deserving the name when it is accompanied by interior justice. It does not even suffice to keep guard over one’s self, to carefully preserve one’s soul from all dangerous contact with exterior objects; one must have besides the will, the good intention, it is this which really makes the merit of the action. The scholastic doctrine gives to these duties of interior watchfulness, self-education, and self-puri-

fication, a middle place between uprightness and the two higher ranges of perfect life. This work of man upon himself is a warfare against evil, against the seductive world which surrounds him. Buddha did not teach the origin of this bad principle, which is the essence itself of the world; we know that he systematically avoided all questions regarding origins. He contented himself with declaring the fact of evil, of universal suffering; he also personified it even under the figure of Māra (death), who is not the one by whom evil has come into the world, but rather the supreme Lord of all evil, the chief seducer to evil thought, word, and deed. The philosopher's idea was that Māra was simply the impersonal power, the fatal law which determines the course of things in this world, which we have already studied; but for the simple faith it is a personal being, as real as Buddha himself, and subject like all beings to change at death and to being re-born again. To Māra are attributed all the temptations, all the disasters that occurred to the virtuous monks; he appears under every form to crush and to tempt those who endeavour to advance in the way of deliverance. Thus it is that having passed over a thousand obstacles, after many existences in the most diversified worlds, the beings tossed upon the ocean of pain attain at last to the highest degrees of perfection, at the threshold of the Nirvāna. It is then that the Buddhist can proudly contemplate himself; for he is indebted to nothing but his own efforts; the gods themselves render homage to his spiritual greatness. The only help which has been given to him has come to him from one of his fellow-creatures, from Buddha, or from one of his disciples more advanced than he, who have simply shown him the road to victory.

Meditation, contemplation, or rather the concentration of the faculties of the soul upon the holy truths, the entire abstraction from all perishable things is placed in close relation with the last stages which lead to final deliverance. The Pāli documents describe with enthusiasm the state of the monk who gives himself up in solitude to this exercise, which takes the place of prayer with the Buddhists. It appears that in the midst of the various fantastic descriptions of which they are full, one must give admittance to the fact of hallucination, which could very easily occur owing to their mode of life; we cannot absolutely deny all reality to the recitals of marvellous visions, of celestial music, of the apparitions, of gods or of Māra. But that was not the regular type of concentration which is described an incalculable number of times as being composed of four degrees. Let us here reproduce a text which describes one of the methods by which they endeavoured to approach themselves to the final term:—

As this house of Migāramātā is empty of elephants and cattle, of stallions and mares, empty of silver and gold, empty of the crowds of men and women, and it is not empty only in one respect, viz., not empty of monks, so also Ananda the monk gets rid of the notion "man," and thinks only of the notion "forest," . . . then he perceives that emptiness has entered his notions in respect of the notion "village," and emptiness has entered in respect of the notion "man," non-emptiness is alone present in respect to the notion "forest." And next the notion "forest" also is got rid of, so that the notion "earth" is attained with the omission of all the multitudinous variety of the earth's surface; thence the mind mounts in a similar way to the notion of the "endlessness of space," of "endlessness of reason," of "nothing-whatever-ness," step by step approaching deliverance.—(p. 317.)

The fruit of contemplation is the perfect knowledge of doctrine, particularly of the four holy truths; wisdom, in its turn, favours and perfects contemplation.

Side by side with the doctrine of contemplation preparatory to the Nirvāna, comes a theory which equally relates to the last stages of the way of deliverance; it is the division of those persons who are approaching the last end into four classes. This theory appears but little in the most ancient doctrines. The last of these stages can only be obtained by the monks; it is the state of the saint, of the *arhat*, who has already entered into Nirvāna, and of whom death will efface even the exterior appearance.

Above the *arhat* himself is found the *paccekabuddha*; that is, he who has attained perfection with the help of a universal Buddha, but the perfection of these is not great enough to enable them to announce the good doctrine to the entire world; they are Buddhas for themselves. In short, the summum of perfection, the supreme ideal of Buddhist holiness, concentrates itself alone in the person of "the exalted, holy, universal Buddha." The idea of Buddha and of Buddhahip already exists in the ancient texts; it is evidently an abstraction of the person of the historical Buddha from the mission with which he charged himself; but an abstract developed and exalted by the zeal and the pious imagination of his disciples. Buddha does not by any means occupy the same place in the Buddhist religion as Christ does in the Christian religion; this follows from the nature itself of the doctrine. Buddhism knows no God, neither the personal God whom we adore, nor the pantheistical god who includes all reality; there was, therefore, no place for a mediation, nor for an incarnation, nor even for a posterior deification of the Master. Nor could there be question of redemption, since all is subject to a fatal and inevitable law. Buddha is therefore a Master simply, a teacher who, by his word and his example, shows to men the way of salvation. The Gotama

Buddha is not an isolated example; there have been and there will be Buddhas in all the innumerable periods, in all the worlds which exist, to an infinite number side by side with our own. The Buddhas who preach the doctrine upon our planet are all born in the eastern portion of Central India; all belong to the Brahman or Kshatriya caste; all acquire the necessary learning at the foot of a tree, and all present a certain number of physical and moral characteristics, which the School reckons and enumerates most scrupulously.

Thus Buddha always remains a man, and all the marvellous qualities and powers that are attributed to him do not present anything superior to human nature. According to the Buddhist conception, the Gotama Buddha is nothing more than a man, but an ideal man, far superior to the divinities which the polytheism of all countries has so often debased to the imperfect and oftentimes vicious conditions of men. Let us quote a text which celebrates the excellence of the supreme Buddha.

Buddha says:—

The all-subduing, all-knowing, am I, in everything that I am, without a spot. I have given up everything; I am without a desire, a delivered one. By my own power, I possess knowledge; whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is to be compared to me. In the world, including the heavens, there is no one like unto me. I am the holy one in the world; I am the supreme Master. I alone am the perfect Buddha; the flames are extinct in me; I have attained the Nirvāna.

Will the mission of the Buddhas ever have the effect of leading all beings to the Nirvāna? Will this Nirvāna itself consist in universal void? Buddha has not revealed these things, and his followers did not much occupy themselves with them; we will, however, quote a passage which seems to answer the first of these questions:—

“In the worlds beings all put off corporeity at some time, just as at this present time Buddha, the prince of victory, the supreme master of all worlds, the mighty, perfect one, hath entered into Nirvāna.”

PH. COLINET.

## ART. III.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASS.

I ENDEAVOURED to give an account, in a late number of this REVIEW, of the manner in which the Liturgy was probably derived from the Jewish services. I was anxious to state Professor Bickell's view with a fulness which may have seemed unnecessary, because, so far as I know, he has been the first among Catholics to suggest a definite hypothesis whereby the framework of the Mass could be connected with sources anterior to Christianity. There has always been a tradition in the Church, as SS. Jerome and Gregory Nazianzen,\* for instance, bear witness that the Christian Church derived its services from the Synagogue. But the great liturgiologists of former times were deterred from further inquiry by a belief which I must consider before I can proceed further. They held that in the earliest ages of the Church there was no definite Liturgy beyond the words of institution and the Lord's Prayer, which, they thought, were alone used whenever stress of persecution or other circumstances made it expedient to shorten the Mass as much as possible. It is only due to the authority of these illustrious scholars that this opinion should be carefully examined. It was based, so far as I can see, solely upon the supposed authority of St. Gregory the Great. In a passage which has been much disputed he has been generally thought to say that the Apostles were wont to use the Lord's Prayer only at the offering of the sacrifice.†

It is, however, equally possible grammatically, as Probst points out, to connect "oblationis" with "orationem," taking the two words together as equivalent to our "Canon," and in opposition to the "oratio dominica." As St. Gregory's object was to direct "orationem dominicam mox post canonem dici," this construction would be much more consistent, and removes all difficulty. If St. Gregory's language admitted of no such simple interpretation, we should be driven, with Le Brun, respectfully to put aside his authority for this historical statement, for it is hardly possibly he should have been unaware that several of his predecessors had explicitly affirmed the Apostolical origin of parts

\* S. Hieron. Ep. ad Evag. 85; S. Greg. Naz. Hom. in Pentec.

† "Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent; et valde mihi inconueniens visum est, ut precem, quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam redemptor noster composuit, super eius corpus et sanguinem taceremus. Sed et dominica oratio apud Graecos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote."—*Ep. ad Joan. Syr.* 1, 9; *Ep.* 12.

of the Liturgy. The same conclusion follows as certainly from all that we know of early liturgical history. I have already remarked upon St. Paul's language to the Corinthians, as showing that he delivered to his disciples, not merely the formula of consecration, but also such liturgical details as he thought needful; and a hundred years later St. Justin states that the Liturgy had been handed down to the faithful of his own time from the Apostles,\* Again, the agreement of all Liturgies, not merely in their general character, but also in many details, must point to a common origin, which can hardly be other than the Apostles themselves.† Finally, the recovery of the lost passages of St. Clement's Epistle has revealed so much that is even verbally identical with the Alexandrian Liturgy as to lead to the belief that the Pontiff was quoting the text of the Mass. Even such a cautious scholar as Dr. Lightfoot was satisfied that in St. Clement's time—the end of the first century—there must have been already not only a definite framework, but more or less uniformity in the substance and very language of the Liturgical petitions.

We may, then, safely assume that the main substance of the Liturgy was delivered, and delivered orally, by the Apostles to their disciples; the next question will naturally be, if there is any evidence how long it continued unwritten. Le Brun supposed that it was handed down by word of mouth alone until the fifth century; but the passages on which he based this opinion—and Dr. Lightfoot could not add to their number—are all susceptible of different interpretations. St. Justin speaks of the bishop as pronouncing the Liturgical prayers ὄση δύναμις αὐτῶ, a phrase which may refer merely to fervency of supplication, and occurs also in a written Liturgy. Tertullian, when he said “ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio, provocatur in medium canere,” was evidently not speaking of the celebrant, and apparently not of the strictly liturgical part of the service; and St. Basil points out that the Liturgy has its warrant in tradition, as distinguished from Scripture.‡ On the contrary, Celsus stated

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\* “We Christians . . . have learned the divine worship through the Apostles of Jesus, from the law and the word which have gone forth from Jerusalem.”—*Dial.* cap. 110. See, too, Tertullian, de Cor. 3 and 4.

† Such details are: the Lessons and the Gospel; the “Sursum Corda,” the Preface, the Consecration; the “Unde et memores”; the Intercession for the Living and the Dead; the Lord's Prayer; and the Fraction.

‡ To these passages might now be added the permission in the “Didache” (xi. 7) for the prophets to “give thanks as much as they would”—εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. This obscure phrase seems to me to refer to the outpourings of the charismata, which I have before remarked probably took the place of the Lessons in the primitive Church upon occasion. But the concession of such a liberty shows that there was even then a Liturgical order binding on the faithful.

that he had seen the "barbarous books" of the Christian priests "with daemonic names and portentous expressions"; and Origen's reply seems to show that this must refer to Liturgical books, and not merely to the diptychs, as has been supposed.\*

However this may be, it is clear that definite liturgical formulæ must have existed in the second century. Much of the evidence for this will appear from what I shall have to say hereafter, so that I will here only mention two points which will not recur. The *πύμπαι καὶ ὕμνοι* of St. Justin, the *προσταχθεῖσαι εὐχαὶ* of Origen, can only be supposed to mean set forms; and this is completely proved by finding the closest identity, not merely in substance, but even in expression, between the Liturgies and the liturgical allusions in these and others of the early Fathers. Again, St. Irenæus and Tertullian could not have blamed the Gnostics for corrupting the Liturgy if a text did not already exist.

At the same time, it is not to be thought that the Liturgy was looked upon as fixed and unchangeable. A large amount of discretion in modifying details was clearly in the hands of every bishop, and was exercised—to mention no less illustrious names—by such great Pontiffs as St. Leo and St. Gregory in Rome, and St. Basil and St. Cyril of Alexandria in the East. The circumstances of the early Church, differing much in various places, are a sufficient explanation of this liberty, which probably existed from the beginning, since the very earliest testimonies we have to the Liturgies imply that there were already local differences. Thus the account in St. Justin corresponds most closely to the Clementine Liturgy; the characteristic features of the Roman Mass may be recognised in Tertullian; and Probst has shown that some of the chief peculiarities of the Alexandrine rite are to be found in Clement and Origen. Sir W. Palmer has very justly remarked that this twofold aspect of the Liturgy—identity of general characters and divergence in details—is the strongest proof of its Apostolic antiquity. "The uniformity between these Liturgies, as extant in the fourth or fifth century, is such as bespeaks a common origin. Their diversity is such as to prove the remoteness of the period at which they were originated." †

The local conditions that produced particular liturgical developments cannot, however, now be estimated. Fortunately, we are able to form a better judgment of those much more important general influences which have moulded the Liturgies into their present shapes; and some account of these is necessary to any understanding of our subject.

1. The "disciplina arcani." The early Church, as is well

\* Cont. Cels., vi. 40.

† Orig. Liturg., vol. i. p. 80.



known, kept from the heathen, as far as possible, the knowledge of those mysteries of the Faith which were likely to be misunderstood; and only imparted them even to inquirers who were fitted for their reception by the intellectual and moral training of the catechumenate. This reserve applied more urgently to the Holy Eucharist than to any other part of Christian belief or practice. Around it had gathered the most senseless and revolting heathen accusations, of hidden orgies and Thyestean banquets; and it is wonderful to note how the Christians hardly ever attempted more than a simple denial of the atrocities with which they were charged. Nothing can account for their silence, save the knowledge that the miracle wrought on Christian altars would have been unintelligible to the Pagan mind, and would have been received with blasphemous incredulity. Even when St. Justin broke through the rule, we can see that his account of the Holy Sacrifice, though intelligible to us, can have given his non-Christian readers no information as to the essential character of that mystery. Archdeacon Freeman, then, is quite right in assuming that the "disciplina arcani" must have played an important part in shaping the Liturgy. But the instances he suggests are conjectural, for there is no evidence that the entrance of the elements or the Lord's Prayer have been moved from the beginning of the service to their present positions. But in one respect the law of reserve, and the catechumenal discipline which was connected with it, have left a deeper mark upon the Mass than any other ecclesiastical condition. I mean, of course, the dismissal of the catechumens after the sermon and before the sacrificial part of the service began; whence the division of every ancient Liturgy into the "Missa Catechumenorum" and "Missa Fidelium."

2. The penitential discipline of the early Church had the same effect. As is well known, those who were sentenced to public penance had to leave the church after the catechumens and before the "Missa Fidelium," with the exception of the *Συστάντες* or "Consistentes," who were allowed to assist at the whole of Mass, though not admitted to communion. One Liturgy still in use—that of St. Chrysostom—retains the form of dismissal of the catechumens; and we learn from St. Gregory and St. Ambrose that the deacon proclaimed "qui non communicatis exite" in their time in Rome and Milan.\* Happily, a Liturgy is extant, though not in use, which shows how the discipline of the Church was carried out; and I can imagine nothing more calculated to impress on our minds the awfulness of those holy mysteries which are now unveiled to us all. In the

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\* Dial. ii. 23.

Liturgy called the Clementine, which we may on other grounds suppose to be the most ancient,\* we have the rubrics of a Mass when the discipline of the early Church was in full vigour. According to this, four classes were excluded from assisting at the Holy Sacrifice—the catechumens; the energumens, or possessed; the “competentes,” φωτιζόμενοι, who had finished their course of instruction and were awaiting baptism; and the penitents. Over each of these classes in turn the deacon pronounced a bidding-prayer calling upon the faithful for their intercession, the people answering, “Kyrie eleison;” they were desired to bow their heads while the celebrant pronounced a prayer over them, and then left the church. The prayer over the penitents will give some idea of this very beautiful part of the service:—

“Almighty eternal God, Lord of the universe, Creator and Governor of all things, who didst through Christ design man to be the ornament of the world, and gavest him an innate law and a written one, that he might live as is reasonable according to Thy precepts, and granted him when he had sinned Thine own goodness as a ground for repentance; look down on those that have bowed their souls and bodies to Thee, for Thou willest not the death of the sinner, but his repentance, that he may be converted from his evil way and live. Thou that didst receive the repentance of the Ninivites; Thou that willest all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; Thou that didst with a fatherly heart receive, because of his repentance, the son that had wasted his substance riotously; do Thou Thyself even now receive the penitence of Thy suppliants; since there is no man that sinneth not before Thee, for if Thou, O Lord, shalt mark iniquities, Lord, who shall abide it? because with Thee there is mercy. And restore them to Thy holy Church in their former repute and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour, through Whom,” &c.

The “Kyrie eleison” before the Gloria of our present Mass seems to me a vestige, directly or indirectly through the Alexandrian Mass, of these prayers. St. Gregory speaks of the Kyrie as in use before his time; it was prescribed in Gaul early in the sixth century; and there is a tradition that St. Silvester introduced it from the East. In the Alexandrian Liturgy there are

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\* The publication of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which contains this Liturgy, is put by Drey at the beginning of the fourth century, but the documents it embodies are doubtless much older. I will here only notice the striking similarity between the prayer over the energumens, presently referred to, and St. Justin's language on Possession. It seems impossible to resist Mr. Moultrie's conclusion, that the prayer must have been known to that Father in the middle of the second century.

nine "Kyrie eleisons," divided equally by three prayers which are clearly of later date than the Council of Chalcedon.

3. The relaxation of the discipline of the Church—catechumenal and penitential—probably began soon after persecution ceased, though it was completely effected at different times in various parts of Christendom.\*

The disuse of the prayers over the catechumens and penitents left a void which was filled in the Roman Mass by the "Gloria in excelsis," and by the Collects, of which such a wealth is found in the earliest sources.

4. The gradual development of the festivals of the ecclesiastical year led, in the West, to the multiplication of variables to commemorate the several mysteries celebrated, the special Prefaces and additions to the "Communicantes"—at first so numerous—being designed for this purpose. There are indications of variations on different days at a very early period; the different accounts of the Liturgy in the "Didache" and St. Justin are probably thus explained; and we find in Origen that in his day the Scripture was not read through in order, a lesson from Leviticus following one from Isaias.

5. Finally, the separation between the East and West, which began with Constantine, caused further divergence between the Liturgies. The supremacy of the Holy See led to the gradual substitution of the Roman rite for the Hispano-Gallican, the other great Liturgy of the West. It is well known that the latter survives only in the Mozarabic services which have been perpetuated by the care of Cardinal Ximenes at Toledo. The Gallican rite has been suppressed ever since the ninth century, but it left behind considerable traces in the Uses of mediaeval England, France, and Germany, which were Roman with peculiarities of Hispano-Gallic origin. At the same time the Gallican Liturgy reacted to a less extent on the Roman, some of even the later additions to the Roman Mass being derived from that source. In the East the political supremacy of Constantinople, and its theological orthodoxy at the time of the great heresies bearing on the Incarnation, gave it an ascendancy over the rest of the Orthodox Church, so that all the Liturgies were modified by conformity with the Constantinopolitan. Their earlier forms can, however, be in great part traced by comparing the rites which the Nestorians on the one hand and the Monophysites on the other took with them when they left the Church.

Such are the chief conditions which have produced the Litur-

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\* Innocent I. speaks of the penitential discipline as long obsolete even in his time; and it is not found even in the oldest Sacramentaries (Funk in Wetzler and Welte's "Kirchenlexicon," *s.v.* Bussdisciplin).

gies as we now find them. A very summary account of them, with their several characteristics, which I borrow mainly from Mr. Hammond's valuable text-book, will be necessary to make the relations of the Roman Mass to them intelligible.

The Oriental Liturgies, in the first place, are distinguished from Western ones by having no variable parts except the lections and subordinate hymns. The Eastern ones may be divided into the following groups, the distinctive mark chosen by liturgiologists being the position of the Intercession for the Living and the Dead :—

1. In the *West Syrian* group this is placed after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, which in the Eastern Liturgies follows the words of Institution. The earliest Liturgy known of this type is called the "Greek St. James," which seems to be descended from the Clementine, noticed above, with several changes to bring it into conformity with the rite of Constantinople. It has in turn been the parent, on the one hand, of the numerous Liturgies used by the Syrian Jacobites, and, on the other, of the Liturgy of St. Basil, which there is some ground for connecting with that saint.

Later modifications of the same Liturgy are the Armenian and that named after St. Chrysostom. The latter is the usual Mass of the Greek Church, the Liturgy of St. Basil being said on the Sundays in Lent and a few other days. This group corresponds roughly in its original extent with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

2. The *East Syrian* family seems to have grown up in the Patriarchate of Antioch; it is now used only by the Nestorians. The Malabar Liturgy, used by the Christians of St. Thomas in India until the Portuguese conquest, belongs to this family, the distinguishing mark of which is the position of the Intercession between the words of Institution and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

3. The *Alexandrian* group is marked by the prominent place assigned to the deacon in the Office, and the position of the Intercession in the middle of the Preface. The earliest extant document of this family is the Greek Liturgy known as "St. Mark's," which has evidently been modified under the influence of Constantinople, and represents the rite followed by the few orthodox Christians who remained in Egypt after the Monophysites broke off from the Church. The Liturgies which these took with them, and still use, enable us to form a clear idea of what was the Alexandrian norm at the time of the Council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century. These Liturgies are: two used by the Copts, St. Basil's and St. Cyril's, and the Ethiopic, which is the Mass of the Monophysites of Abyssinia.

Turning to the Western Liturgies, the most striking peculiarity of the *Hispano-Gallic* family is the precise opposite of the Oriental Liturgies—the great abundance of variable elements. Not only do the Collects and Prefaces change with every holiday, but the greater part of the prayers corresponding to our Canon vary also. In other respects its affinities are with the Eastern Liturgies rather than with the Roman; for example, the Kiss of Peace comes before the Anaphora; there are “Preces” like the Deacon’s Litany of the Orientals; and the exclamation “Sancta Sanctis” comes after the Consecration. The origin of this Liturgy is still rather a *crux* to liturgiologists. Since Sir W. Palmer’s researches, it has been generally believed in this country that it is derived from a type which prevailed in Asia Minor before the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century. The Abbé Duchesne,\* however, takes a different view. He urges that the very highly developed character of the Hispano-Gallic rite points to its importation from the East at a much later date than the first or second century; and that the Church of Lyons had, after that time, not the ascendancy in Gaul which would be required to account for the wide diffusion of the rite. He prefers to think it was introduced directly into Milan from the East by the Arianising Bishop Auxentius about the middle of the fourth century, and spread thence over Gaul and Spain. As far as I can judge with my much more limited knowledge, I am unable to follow him in this. I can hardly doubt that the Liturgy was sufficiently developed in its main structure in the time of St. Irenaeus to allow of its transference from Asia Minor to Gaul, as a tradition of great antiquity† asserted. On the other hand, it is exceedingly improbable that a Liturgy could have been brought in so late, and under such unsatisfactory auspices, and have sup-

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\* “*Origines du Culte chrétien*” (Paris: Thorin), chap. iii. This learned work has appeared since I began to write on this subject, or I should have had frequent occasion to refer to it. It is devoted to describing the Western Liturgies from the fourth to the ninth century, and the production of the present Mass by their fusion. I cannot too warmly recommend it to all who wish for more than the very brief account which is all I have been able to give of this stage of Liturgical evolution.

† I refer, of course, to the fragment of an Irish MS. in Spelman’s “*Concilia*,” i. p. 177, assigned by that antiquary to the date 681 or 682. As the extract which Palmer gives suppresses the first part, in which the early prevalence of the Roman rite in Southern Gaul is stated, I give a longer quotation:—“B. Trofimus Ep. Arelatensis, et S. Photinus martyr, discipulus S. Petri in Gallia, sicut et refert Iosephus et Eusebius, cursum Romanum in Galliis tradiderunt. . . . B. Ireneum Clemens ordinavit; hoc in libro ipsius S. Irenei repereries. . . . Ioannes Evangelista primum cursum Gallorum cantavit; inde postea B. Polycarpus discipulus S. Ioannis; inde postea Ireneus qui fuit Episcopus Lugdunensis, tertius ipse ipsum cursum decantavit in Galleis.”

planted those which had then been long in possession of the West. It is, however, very likely that some of the details of this rite may have been so imported from the East; it is certainly difficult to account for them otherwise.

Finally, the *Roman* Liturgy is distinguished from all others by the separation of the Intercession into two parts, the Prayer for the Living being said before the Consecration, and that for the Dead after it. This is also the only Liturgy which puts the Pax after the Consecration. The Mass of the ancient Church of Africa was doubtless closely allied to that of Rome. There has been more doubt concerning the Ambrosian Liturgy; but the general opinion is that it was an early offshoot of the Roman, with a few traces of Oriental and Gallican influences.

Many of the Liturgies I have briefly mentioned are now obsolete, and our knowledge of them is based upon one or two manuscripts only. Moreover, the development even of those which are still in use, such as the Roman in the West and St. Chrysostom's in the East, can only be studied by going back to the earliest documents which have preserved them. In the case of the Roman Liturgy these have been rendered accessible and edited critically by the great scholars of past generations, from Thomasius to Daniel, though it is more than probable that a fresh collation of the original texts would yield results of interest and importance. But the Greek Liturgies have, strangely enough, never been examined critically since their first publication in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until Dr. Swainson took them in hand. His edition demands, and would well repay, a detailed notice; I can here only give the shortest summary of the results of his careful and competent labours.

It is clear that many more changes have been made in the course of time in even the oldest Liturgies extant than had been generally suspected. "We must look to the Anaphora in each, commencing with the Apostolic Benediction and ending with the Lord's Prayer, as containing the only ancient parts of the service."\* The earlier part of the Mass, of course, in each instance, contains much of great antiquity; but so many changes of position and so many additions have been made that no part is to be regarded as ancient without independent evidence. Thus, the Greek St. James, which has been looked upon as the most primitive rite by many scholars, is (according to Dr. Swainson) not older in its present form than the seventh century, and is clearly much indebted to other Liturgies.† Again, the growth of the

\* Swainson's "Greek Liturgies," p. xlii.

† Thus, I have already mentioned that the  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  in the Commemoration of the Institution, which Dr. Neale regarded as denoting the authorship of an Apostle for St. James, turns out to be a very late addition.

Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom may be to a great extent traced, the pro-Anaphoral parts having been combined and recast between the eighth and eleventh centuries; and we are also informed that the preparatory prayers are considerably later still. We also learn that the name of St. John Chrysostom was in the earliest MS. given only to two of the prayers in this Liturgy, whence it must have spread to the whole. It will not be thought that I refer to this evidence of the changes which time has wrought in the Oriental Liturgies as derogating in the least from the value of these venerable rites. Immobility in the public worship of the Church, as in every other matter, is only a sign of death, and the beauty of the Liturgy is enhanced by traces of the piety of successive generations. Yet Dr. Swainson's results are of great importance as showing that the verbal antiquity of the Eastern Liturgies cannot be pressed. The belief that considerable portions of them are word for word the same as in the days of the Apostles appeals with seductive force to the imagination, and has also, I fear, been exaggerated in order to suggest by implication that the Roman Mass is less primitive; but it will not bear examination.

I now turn to the history of the Roman Mass alone, and it will be convenient that I should first give a short account of the oldest documents containing it, to which I shall frequently need to refer.

1. The most ancient is a Sacramentary discovered by Blanchini at Verona, and attributed by him to St. Leo the Great; but most authorities differ from him, and ascribe it, with Muratori and the Ballerini, to an unknown Roman ecclesiastic of the time of Felix III. (483). It contains only variable parts of the Mass—Collects, Prefaces, Post-communions, and Benedictions—and is, unfortunately, mutilated, beginning with April. The very disorder and incompleteness of the collection is a strong proof of its antiquity, and that it must have been compiled before any order had been introduced into these parts of the Mass.

2. The Gelasian Sacramentary is derived from the comparison of various MSS. published by Cardinal Thomasius and Gerbert, which date from the eighth to the tenth century. There seems no reasonable doubt that the greater part of the Canon and variables they contain are the recension of Pope Gelasius (492), who, as we know independently, revised the Liturgy.\* This collection is much more orderly in its arrangement than the preceding one; it contains two Collects for every Sunday and a

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\* Anastasius says of him, "Fecit sacramentorum praeationes et orationes cauto sermone;" and Walafridus, "Preces tam a se quam ab aliis compositas dicitur ordinasse."

large number of special Prefaces and additions to the Canon. M. Duchesne points out that Thomasius' MS. must have been brought into France about the seventh century, that it contains many Gallican peculiarities, and probably belonged originally to the celebrated Abbey of St. Denis.

3. St. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, revised the Liturgy—"multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla superadiciens" (Joan. Diac.)—and practically reduced the Canon of the Mass to its present form, making the last addition to it ("diesque nostros . . . numerari"), and placing the "Pater noster" immediately after the Canon. He omitted most of the special Prefaces and additions to the Canon given in the earlier Sacramentaries, reduced the number of Collects to one, and rearranged them all. M. Duchesne gives reasons for believing that the Gregorian Sacramentary, as it has reached us, dates from the time of Hadrian I. (about 790), to whom Charlemagne applied for the Roman Mass, which he wished to introduce into his empire.

In order to arrive at some idea of the Mass in its earliest form, we had best start from it as we have it now, and note all the additions of any importance that have been made, with their sources and dates. We shall find that the chief alterations that took place in the later Middle Ages were the gradual addition of prayers, which can be traced back for many centuries in France and Germany, though they were at first only local and optional. The latest are the Gospel of St. John, at the end of the Mass, and the Psalm "Iudica," at the beginning, both of which were introduced into the Roman Missal at the revision of St. Pius V. But the former had been for some time recited in many dioceses; and the latter is found in many mediæval Missals, being probably derived from the Gallican Liturgy. It was generally recited as the celebrant went from the sacristy to the altar, but was recommended by Innocent III. to be said as at present. The "Domine non sum dignus" is of about the same date; it is found in at least one mediæval Missal, but was not in general use until the end of the sixteenth century. It must, however, have been recognised as an appropriate prayer before Communion from very early times, for it is recommended as such by Origen.\* The three prayers after the "Agnus Dei" are all ancient, but did not come into general use until the end of the Middle Ages. The third prayer ("Perceptio corporis Tui") is probably the oldest; it alone is found in the Good Friday Mass, and it is closely similar to the prayer before Communion in almost all the Oriental Liturgies.

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\* Hom. vi. in Evang.



The "Confiteor" was inserted at the beginning of Mass in the eleventh century. There is, however, reason to suppose that a confession was made by the priest before the Offertory at least as early as St. Augustine's day, and it would seem from the "Didache" to have formed part of the Liturgy in sub-Apostolic times.

There were no fixed prayers at the Offertory until the twelfth century, the priest before then making the offering in silence, with the exception of the "Oratio super oblata," or Secret. Those now contained in the Missal were derived from the Hispano-Gallic rite, the "Offerimus" and "In spiritu" from the Gallican, the "Suscipe" and "Veni sanctificator" apparently directly from the Mozarabic. The last is particularly interesting, as containing the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; it originally contained the words "Sancte Spiritus," and even in Le Brun's time the "Veni s. Spiritus, reple tuorum corda" or the "Veni Creator" was recited in its stead in some churches in France.

The two prayers after Communion were also added in the Middle Ages, though somewhat earlier than the offertory prayers. They first occur as Post-communions in the Missale Gothicum of the eighth century.

About the same time the latter part of the "Orate fratres" was added by way of explanation, the request for the prayers of the people being older. Other responses were made in various places, such as "Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi" (also used in Greek Liturgies), or "Memor sit Dominus sacrificii tui."

The "Agnus Dei" is considerably more ancient, having been introduced by Sergius I. in 680; but the ending "dona nobis pacem" is later, having been brought in, according to Innocent III., at a time of special trouble in the Church. The use of the "Gloria in excelsis" on Sundays and holydays by priests must be also mediaeval, since the Gregorian Sacramentary only permits this to bishops, others saying it on Easter Sunday only.\*

If John the Deacon's authority, three hundred years later, is to be accepted, St. Gregory drew up the Introits, Offertories, and Communions very much as we have them now, being abridgments of the Psalms originally sung by the choir on the entrance into the church, while the gifts were being placed on the altar, and while Communion was being given. I shall return to these later; meanwhile it may be remarked that we have one survival of the long Offertory in the Mass for the Dead, where probably it was retained because the custom of offering

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\* The rubric "Sic dicitur etiam in Missis B.V.M." which has given rise to inquiry, is to exclude the mediæval additions to the "Gloria" in Masses "de Beata."

lingered longer than in other Masses. The principal change concerning the Introit, Offertory, and Communion during the period we are now studying was that the celebrant came to recite these parts of the service, which were at first choral; I suppose the custom began with private Masses, and extended thence to all. It may be well to remark that liturgiologists believe the "Oremus" before the Offertory did not originally belong to that prayer, but to one before the unveiling of the chalice, still preserved as the "oratio super sindonem" in the Ambrosian rite. The Creed was first brought into the Mass in the West by the third Council of Toledo in 589, whence it spread into France and Germany to exclude the Adoptianist heresy in the eighth century. It occupies the same position in the Oriental Liturgies as in our Mass; but the Mozarabic rite puts it after the Consecration, and during the Fraction.

We can now form a tolerably accurate conception of the Ordinary of the Mass as it must have been in St. Gregory's day. A Psalm or part of one was sung by the choir on the entrance of the celebrant, who then said the Collect. The Epistle followed, separated from the Gospel by a Psalm, represented by our Gradual or Tract; and after the Gospel came the sermon, and the withdrawal of those who had no right to assist at the Holy Sacrifice. The choir sang a Psalm while the faithful brought their offering, the celebrant making the oblation in silence, and ending with the Secret. Then came the Preface and Canon, as at present, followed by the Lord's Prayer, the Fraction, and the Kiss of Peace. The celebrant and faithful then received Communion, a Psalm being sung meanwhile; and the Mass was concluded by a variable Post-communion and a "Benedictio super populum."

It will be remarked that none of the alterations and additions I have enumerated affect the Canon. This most important part of the Mass remains now word for word the same as it was when St. Gregory revised it 1300 years ago. Two changes have indeed been made since then, but neither has affected the verbal identity of the Canon in all that time. The first is, the addition of the Elevation, after the Consecration, as a protest against the heresy of Berengarius in France in the eleventh century. The Elevation of the Greek Liturgies appears to correspond more to what has been called the "lesser elevation" at the end of the Canon. The other change is at the conclusion of the Canon. It seems from the Gelasian Sacramentary that the words "Per quem haec omnia . . . praestas nobis" were originally the end of a Benediction of the new fruits of the spring. Many mediæval Missals, too, direct that bread, oil, and other things should be blessed at this part of the Mass, so that the custom of doing so

must have long prevailed. This appears to give the original meaning of the words "haec omnia bona" and "creas," though there is no doubt that—as Le Brun urges—they are now very fitly applied to the Blessed Sacrament. Even these exceptions, it will be seen, do not touch the words of the Canon, which remains the same now as when it left the hands of St. Gregory. Nothing further would be needed to justify the measured language of the Council of Trent. It was there laid down (Sess. xxii. cap. 4) that "the Church instituted the holy Canon of the Mass many centuries ago," and that "it consists of the very words of our Lord, of the traditions of the Apostles, and of the devout institutions of holy Pontiffs." We can now, however, trace the main order and structure of the Roman Liturgy, and even part of its language, to a much earlier period; and this is what I propose to do next.

J. R. GASQUET.

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#### ART. IV.—TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

"I agree most heartily with you that the great curse which withers our people, the pestilence which is devouring them, is drunkenness. I feel that to labour to put it down is our duty; and I am convinced that to put it down legislation is absolutely necessary."—*Speech of Cardinal Manning at a meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.*

THE reawakening of interest in the Temperance question is unquestionably one of the most remarkable signs of our times. Its indications are everywhere around us; and if we read them aright, they mean that it is becoming generally felt that the Drink Curse—as it has come to be called—must be set down as one of the worst evils of our time, and one of the most threatening dangers of our country. Within the Church, as well as among the sects outside, the interest is felt alike; in Parliament and in the country it is the same, in pulpit and platform, in magazine and daily paper no subject receives more earnest or more constant attention. The drink traffic, in countries so distant as India and Africa, has recently been engaging the attention of our legislature. Some of our leading journals\* have been devoting their columns for weeks and months together to an exhaustive discussion of the question; and we have heard grave statesmen speaking a language, which almost seems to

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\* See *Freeman's Journal*, October 1889.

savour of the enthusiasm of the temperance lecturer. "Drink, drink"—says one—"the only terrible enemy England has to fear."\* While another adds: "I have always said that the temperance movement in this country is the greatest movement, the most far-reaching and deep-seated movement, since the great anti-slavery time." †

But last, and most important of all, comes the voice of God's Church. Writing from the Maynooth Synod, the bishops of Ireland some fifteen years ago addressed to their people the following solemn and eloquent words:—

But there are other dangers against which we must raise our warning voice. With deepest pain, and after the example of the Apostle, weeping, we say that the abominable vice of intemperance still continues to work dreadful havoc among our people, marring in their souls the work of religion, and, in spite of their rare natural and supernatural virtues, changing many among them into "enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction; whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame." . . . To drunkenness we may refer as to its baneful cause almost all the crime by which the country is disgraced, and much of the poverty from which it suffers. Drunkenness has wrecked more homes, once happy, than ever fell beneath the crowbar in the worse days of eviction; it has filled more graves, and made more widows and orphans, than did the famine; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more ruthlessly than the enforced exile, to which their misery has condemned emigrants.

The Lambeth Conference of two years ago supplies an evidence of a similar kind for the Protestant Church; for in what was called its "Encyclical Letter," the very first subject treated was that of temperance.

To the friends of temperance all this is a subject of congratulation. What they desire is light. To their thinking the evil is there, and an evil so widespread and appalling, that it needs only to direct public attention to convince us of our danger, and to unite us for self-defence. To them the "signs of the times," to which we have just referred, are therefore healthy and hopeful, as well as unmistakable and universal. In looking around for a remedy, they are reminded that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," ‡ and they will welcome with joy every new contribution to the discussion of the question. We must not be taken, however, as acquiescing in all that has been written by temperance reformers—much that common sense as well as sound teaching must condemn is often spoken by them; indeed, before

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\* Late Duke of Albany.

† Mr. J. Morley's speech at the Eighty Club, November 1889.

‡ Proverbs.

touching our subject, we find ourselves confronted by a fallacy sometimes heard in their midst.

To make the people temperate is not the business of the Legislature. Law cannot do it, nor bolts, nor bars; it is the work of religion and education; it will follow in the wake of the social amelioration of the masses, to which we should first of all direct attention: you must "assert power over the hearts and souls and imaginations of the people." Now all this is true, or, to speak more accurately, there is some truth in it all. It is the work of religion in the first place. Drunkenness is a sin, and as a sin we must combat and conquer it. As a sin it must be combated by God's grace, and grace is to come to us through the appointed channels. All that is true. The Church must take the chief part in the work; education will help, and the social improvement of the masses. But does it follow that there is nothing left to be done by the laws of the land? By no means. As in most such matters, so in this: both Church and State have each to do; and it is to the discharge of the duties of both that we may look for an adequate remedy for the evil. The Church, by its legislation, its sacraments and associations, can do much, but a sad and daily experience proves that it cannot do all, and that its beneficent action is often nullified or thwarted by that of the State. The latter, however, has its duty, too; a duty intimately touching its own end and interests; but its discharge of that duty may range from a most effective and necessary support of the action of the Church, to a thwarting and, to a certain extent, nullifying the same. No one who takes part in the great temperance movement of our time will need to be convinced of this: we insist upon it here only because we are constantly and painfully reminded that herein is to be found the reason why the efforts of the Church and of religious organizations have not hitherto been blessed with a larger measure of success. The words which we have set at the head of this paper as a text—and they are the words of one who of all living men can speak with authority—would suffice for most of our readers. There are, however, other words of his still more decisive. In his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1868, he stated, *inter alia*: "The legislature has multiplied the facilities and temptations to drunkenness." In reply to a question as to whether the housing of the poor was not a more urgent matter for legislation than the temperance question, he said: "No, I think not. I think that in the order of time, this is the more urgent; and I think that in the order of moral mischief, this is the more vital." If words like these needed corroboration it would be forthcoming, from great statesmen in the past, one of whom declared long ago that "every day's experience tends more and more to confirm me

in my opinion that the temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform;"\* or again, in the words of a statesman no less distinguished, and who is still happily among us: † "A government should so legislate, as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

The history of legislation on the subject of drink and its traffic in those countries is a long one; it is by no means an inviting study, for the word Failure is "large writ" across it all; but a glance at it will serve our present purpose. That purpose is to show that all our legislative efforts for the past three hundred years have failed, because they have been in the wrong direction; that what may be called our Drink Laws are, at the present moment, nearly as bad as they could be; that we must attempt something more drastic if our legislation is to succeed in the time to come; that Parliament has on different occasions accepted the principle of Local Control, and that it is the right of the people to claim, and the plain duty of Government to grant, some measure by which the people themselves, who best know their own wants and dangers, shall, by power of the law of the land, have the means of self-protection in their own hands. Whoever looks at any manual of our law will not fail to notice the extraordinary number of enactments on this subject of drink and its traffic which have been placed on the statute book. A little closer inspection will reveal the fact, still more worthy of notice, viz., that nearly all have aimed at regulating or restricting that traffic. To hedge it around, to make it harmless, and even respectable—this was the will-o'-the-wisp that our law-givers seemed ever to be following for those long centuries. Often the preamble of the fresh Act proclaimed the failure of all preceding measures of the same kind; but from such admissions the only logical conclusion drawn was the venerable saw—Try again. To illustrate what we mean a few instances will suffice. So early as the tenth century we find the law attempting to restrain the evil, A.D. 995. In the reign of Edward I. it was enacted "that taverns should not be opened for the sale of wine and beer after the tolling of the curfew." In that of Edward III. a law was passed which permitted only three public-houses in London! Verily we have been advancing since then. Passing down a long list, we come to our own century, and we find the legislature as busy as ever. In 1825 we come to an Act which—whatever the intentions of its makers—gave a great impetus to the distillation and sale of intoxicating drink; in 1828 a Licensing Act; in 1830 a Beer Act, and so on down to 1872, when an important Licensing Act (Bruce's) became law. Later on, in 1874, there was

\* Cobden.

† Gladstone.

another of the same kind, and, we believe, a modification of its immediate predecessor of 1872. We might prolong the list almost indefinitely, but it will be more instructive to ask what was the effect of this legislation. There was a steady and, in the end, an alarming increase of the use of intoxicating drinks, as well as of the misery and crime which inevitably followed. Let us go back a few years, to a time which was untouched by Sunday Closing Acts,\* and to render our calculations the more reliable, let us count by decades, rather than by years. For the ten years immediately preceding 1850 our annual drink bill was seventy-one millions sterling (£71,000,000). Thence to 1860 it was £81,000,000—an increase of a million a year! From that to 1870 it amounted to £102,000,000. Finally, during the ensuing decade, up to 1880, it rose to £136,000,000. And what has this vast annual expenditure purchased? is a question to be answered, if we would give due weight to those figures. Reason, as well as economy, demands that expenditure should produce some benefit to the individual or the community, or to both. What has this produced? Gain to one, and loss to millions; and to the State a heritage of poverty and crime, pauperism and lunacy, together with extra charges on rates and taxes, &c. Nor was this the only fruit of the traffic, nor the only reward of the labours of our legislators. Statistics began to appear from the prison and the reformatory, from the asylum and from the work-house, and the tale they told was far more appalling still. The judge and magistrate told of their experiences from the bench, and the priest from his pulpit, till at length the public, or at least its *sanior pars*, came to see that the drink traffic had become the scourge of the nation, and that to meet the difficulty other methods should be adopted than multiplying drink-shops throughout the land.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we should not omit to observe that there were some of those Licensing Acts passed by the support of friends of the temperance cause, and with the avowed purpose of furthering its interests. But the results—and nothing shows more conclusively the futility of such measures than this—were not alone disappointing; they were the very opposite of those that had been expected. We may take as instances, the Grocers' Licensing Act, passed by Mr. Gladstone "in the interests of temperance"; or the Wellington Beer Act, supported by many who had hoped that beer would take the place of ardent spirits. Few will now maintain that such hopes have been justified; very many hold that such Acts have been worse than failures. The licensed grocery establishment

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\* It was only Scotland which had Sunday closing so early as this, the Forbes Mackenzie Act having passed in 1854.

has become a training school for those who are yet too respectable to go to the dram-shop, and especially for women; and men have not found it necessary to abandon ardent spirits, in favour of beer; if indeed they have not been led to a liking for the former by the constant use of the latter.

Having said so much about our Legislature, it is only right that we should add a word on the Executive. The working of the licensing laws is practically in the hands of the magistrates; and we have no difficulty in adding that in this capacity—we speak, of course, of the country with which we are most familiar—the Licensing Justices, as they are called, have been tried and found wanting. For one writing from this side of the water, it is hard to avoid using language that will appear harsh and unmeasured. But we are persuaded that in this matter the magistrates of Ireland, at least, have incurred a frightful responsibility; and that to their action in multiplying public-houses, to an extent that to some must appear absolutely illegal, and to all unaccountable, must be attributed a very large percentage of the crimes that have disgraced this country, and which, on the best authority, are traceable to drunkenness. The Licensing Acts are practically Permissive Acts; they put the power of permitting or forbidding in the hands of a local body; and had that body done its duty, crimes, that no man can number, would have been prevented, and we need not be agitating for direct popular veto now. If we understand aright, the system in its origin meant that the *wants* of the public would be supplied, and it was given to the licensing justices to determine what that meant in practice; or, in other words, what number of houses, if any, were to be licensed in a given locality. What is the principle that guides the action of these justices as a matter of fact? We do not know, nor do we think it ever can be stated in intelligible terms; but certain it is, that it has nothing to do with the *wants* of the public. Some years ago the world seemed to be puzzled by the same question, and Sir W. Lawson asked in the House of Commons what magistrates had to consider before granting licences? Lord Selborne replied they had to consider—1st, the fitness of the man; 2nd, the fitness of the house; and 3rd, *the wants of the neighbourhood*. Have they considered these very practical points? and if not, is it not time to find another local body which may be relied upon to do so? And we may add here, in passing, that the conviction is gradually forcing itself on many minds that it is the *people* of each locality that should have themselves the power to determine, in this all-important matter, what are the *wants* of the locality.

It has been established, on incontrovertible evidence, that drunkenness increases with the multiplication of public-houses;



and, with that evidence before them, or with a culpable ignorance of it, the magistrates of this country have been multiplying them year after year, till a stranger visiting Ireland for the first time will be struck with nothing more than the number of drink-shops to be seen in every town, and village, and hamlet, and will come to the conclusion that there must be no legal control, and no practical limit as to the number of such establishments.

It has been said that our legislatures had almost exclusively, and for centuries, confined their attention to Licensing Acts. Occasionally, however, the monotony was broken; and something more drastic was attempted or called for. At times of great distress, and generally on like emergencies, the distillation of spirits was prohibited. This happened in 1556; again in 1690, owing to the scarcity of grain, which was needed for food; and again from 1757 to 1760 for a similar cause. A similar temporary prohibition was repeated in 1796-97. Writing of the last prohibition, Colquhoun ("Treatise on Police of London") says:

It is a curious and important fact, that during the period when the distilleries were stopped in 1796-97, though bread and every necessary of life were considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed, than at any period for some years before, even though they had not had the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795.\*

But such testimonies were of no avail. When the emergency had passed, our legislatures removed the prohibition as a source of revenue—as a writer naïvely adds, "often for war purposes." It reminds us forcibly of another kind of conversion, under suspicious circumstances:—

The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be,  
The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he.

RABELAIS.

Often, too, during those centuries, voices saying, "Save us, we perish," were heard from the people, and Governments were reminded of the duty which they were neglecting. In Ireland, as well as in England, there were frequent petitions from public bodies, followed by debates in the House of Commons; there were Committees appointed to consider the subject; but the result was hardly ever more than strong resolutions. It was a struggle between duty and patriotism on the one hand; and policy and revenue on the other, and in the struggle—let it be said in

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\* *Vide* "Temperance League's Annual," paper by Mr. Malins on "Brit. Restrictive and Local Option Legislation," which was read at Temperance League Conference at Exeter, September 1889.

truth, though, at the same time in humiliation—the latter interests generally prevailed. The following petition from the Grand Jury of the City of Dublin was presented to Parliament in 1785. It is remarkable, not alone for its rather strong phraseology, but for the fact that it seems to point to the remedy which we are still hoping for:—

Idleness, profligacy, and outrages, are to be attributed to selling spirits, which is, therefore, become a DANGEROUS NUISANCE, *and being authorized by law, can be corrected only by the Legislature. . . . the temptation to indulge therein being offered in every street*, by the multitude of dram-shops and public-houses licensed for this purpose, they (the people) soon become weak, diseased, and disabled, unfit for labour, useless to the State, *and burthensome to the community.* THAT NEITHER THE LAWS NOW SUBSISTING for the suppression of vice, and the maintenance of order, nor the authority and exertions of the magistrates—NOR ANY FUTURE LAWS that may be enacted for these good purposes,—WILL HAVE ANY MATERIAL EFFECT, SO LONG AS THIS PERNICIOUS PRACTICE IS PERMITTED TO EXIST.

The Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1878, from which our legislation on the subject is likely to date a new departure, made an important report, from which the following is an abstract:—

When great communities, deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance; witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it; conscious of the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed; watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast, and at a rate of progression so rapid, as to constitute a new reproach and new danger; believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity, is dependent upon the diminution of these evils; seeing also that all that general legislation has been able to affect has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance, it would seem somewhat hard when such communities are willing, at their own cost and hazard, to grapple with the difficulty, and undertake their own purification, *that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to entrust them with the necessary powers.*

These last words naturally bring us to the part of our subject with which we are most concerned—to the measures on which the hearts of temperance reformers in these countries seem now to be set. First, however, a passing word on Sunday Closing. The Scotch Sunday Closing Act (Forbes Mackenzie Act) became law in 1854; the Irish, in 1878, this latter exempting Dublin, Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, and Cork, in which places sale was, however, restricted to the hours between two o'clock P.M. and seven o'clock P.M. The principle of Sunday closing is that

of State Prohibition ; and hence the importance attached to the witness which the working of those Acts gave, friends and enemies trying to manipulate figures so as to suit themselves. Before extending the same principle, or even the somewhat kindred one, of Direct Popular Veto, men would surely ask what had been the results of the tentative measure of Sunday Closing. We refer now to the two Acts just mentioned ; and, speaking generally, we say that each has been a great and unqualified success. In some places the results may not have been—and they were not—so satisfactory ; but this is neither strange nor peculiar to those laws. No wisdom in the legislature is a match for *laissez-faire* in the executive ; and where the local magistracy were careless or hostile, and the police, as a consequence, lukewarm or worse, it was only to be expected that Sunday closing should become a dead letter. If we were to study and analyze the facts and figures relating to the working of Sunday closing at length, we should have a subject wide enough for a separate paper, and at the present moment an interesting subject it would be ; but for the present we cannot cumber our pages with extracts or many figures. With regard to Scotland, suffice it to say that its spirit consumption is 25 per cent. less now than before Sunday closing, and that immediately after the passing of the Act there was a large and evident *decrease* in that consumption, notwithstanding an *increase* in the population at the same time !\* We now come to the Irish Act. Passing over very striking figures, and statements from public men, which no special pleading could possibly get over, we find from a Parliamentary return, the very latest and most authentic information. It treats of arrests for drunkenness on Sundays up to eight o'clock A.M. on Mondays, and covers from May 1, 1888, to April 30, 1889. In the five partially exempted cities the arrests were 2352 ; all the rest of Ireland, which enjoys complete Sunday closing, gives a total of only 3395. Comparatively this meant about one arrest in the exempted parts to five in the partially exempted cities ; in one case there was an arrest for every 1326 persons, in the other one arrest to every 280 persons !† It will be observed that we say nothing of the Welsh Sunday closing. On that subject the Report of the Parliamentary Commission will be the latest and most reliable authority ; but we will venture to observe, that if this Act has indeed, in places, failed to produce the undoubted blessings which similar Acts have manifestly produced elsewhere, that result

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\* See paper already quoted, "Brit. Restrictive and Local Option Legislation."

† See "National Temperance League Annual," p. 113.

must be traced to some causes of a local or other special character.\*

So much for Licensing Acts and Sunday Closing Acts. The time came, however, when public opinion, as well as temperance reformers, called for something more drastic than the one, and something of more extended application than the other, as we shall now see.

Mr. Lawson introduced his Permissive Bill in 1864. It was "A Bill to enable owners and occupiers of property in certain districts to prevent the common sale of intoxicating liquors within such district." It would give to the ratepayers of a parish the power to say, by a majority of at least two to one, that the sale of such drinks was in that parish illegal. The Bill passed a first reading; its progress, however, for many years afterwards was slow, if not discouraging. But the history of minorities, some one has said, is a history of victories; and the able and indefatigable advocate-in-chief of the good cause was not easily discouraged. The Bill had a powerful support; Cardinal Manning, among others, if we mistake not, accepting its principle in some of his great annual pronouncements at the Crystal Palace. In the House, however, it was annually introduced, only to be defeated by large majorities, and in 1879 Mr. Lawson resolved on a change of tactics, and, thinking it better to proceed by way of resolution, he introduced his Local Option Resolution. The change was one rather of policy than of principle, for the Resolution embodied the principle of the Permissive Bill, the difference between them being chiefly this—that while the Bill gave power to the inhabitants to declare Yes or No as to the sale of intoxicating drink in their midst, Local Option would, beyond that, give them power to *control*, if they did not wish to *abolish*, that traffic. Since 1879 the cause has been steadily advancing in and out of the House, till we find a high authority in the State recently declaring that the temperance party are "the most powerful and the most moral

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\* While this paper was being printed, we have been enabled, through the kindness of the Editor, to see a summary of the Report of the Welsh Commissioners. Without attempting any detailed analysis of the document, we think we may claim that it is of the character which we have ventured to foreshadow, and which was as much as the friends of the measure had expected. Those who had been looking forward to an unfavourable finding, and even to repeal of the Act as a probable outcome—those and only those are destined to a bitter disappointment. In some places the measure has done well; elsewhere, and notably in towns where public opinion was hostile, it has been partially or entirely a failure. We think all this accords well with the principles we have been insisting on. It goes to show—and it is only a fresh illustration—that in such questions it is eminently essential that legislation shall follow, and not go in advance of, public opinion; hence the necessity of "creating and fostering" such public opinion.

since the days of that which fought against slavery." To indicate its rapid advance, as well as the position it now holds, two facts will suffice. The first that the principle of Local Option—or, as we now prefer to say, Direct Popular Veto—has in some way been accepted by the two great parties in the State; the second, that the Resolution itself has been carried in the House of Commons on three several occasions, and with ever-increasing majorities.

The "Local Option Resolution," moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., and seconded by Hugh Mason, Esq., in the House of Commons, on June 18, 1880, runs as follows:—

"That, inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquor is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of Local Option."

The numbers voting on June 18, 1880, were (including tellers and 14 pairs)—

For the Resolution . . . . .	245
Against . . . . .	219

Majority for the Resolution . . . . .	26
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The motion, as moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., and seconded by Thos. Burt., Esq., on June 14, 1881, in the House of Commons, runs as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to give legislative effect to the Resolution passed on the 18th day of June 1880, which affirms the justice of local communities being entrusted with the power to protect themselves from the operations of the liquor traffic."

The numbers voting on June 14, 1881, were (including tellers and 33 pairs)—

For the Motion . . . . .	231
Against . . . . .	189

Majority for the Resolution . . . . .	42
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The motion, as moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., seconded by W. S. Caine, Esq., on April 27, 1883, and as accepted by the Government, runs as follows:—

"That the best interests of the nation urgently require some efficient measure of legislation, by which, in accordance with the Resolution already passed and reaffirmed by this House, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors may be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves."

The numbers voting on April 27, 1883, were (including tellers and 34 pairs)—

For the Motion	. . . . .	264
Against	. . . . .	177

Majority for the Resolution . . . . . 87

We are aware, of course, of the difference between such Resolutions and Acts of Parliament; but if there is any meaning in Constitutional Government, no one can deny that great weight must attach to figures such as those. As to the second fact, Sir William Harcourt, when Home Secretary, in 1883, accepted the principle of Local Option on behalf of the Liberal Government. "It was my duty in 1883 to declare, on behalf of the Government of that day, their adhesion to the principle of Local Option. . . . I adhere entirely, without modification, to what I then stated on behalf of the Government. We desire that the local authorities should have complete control over the drink traffic; that the locality should determine what houses should be licensed, whether any or none at all, or how many." After referring to the question of areas, stating his opinion that the smaller the better, and suggesting the parish as probably as good as any other, he adds in the same speech—we quote from a speech delivered in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, October 9, 1888—the pregnant words—words, too, so very eloquent and so *apropos* of our subject, that we venture to make a lengthened quotation:—

I was challenged in the House of Commons, I think it was by Mr. Goschen, when it was I adopted the views I held upon this question. I did not find it a difficult question to answer. I replied, principally since I had occupied the office of Home Secretary, an office, I venture to think, more favourable to the impartial consideration of that subject even than that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is impossible that anyone who has been charged, as I was for five anxious years, with the criminal and domestic administration of this country, should fail to be painfully and deeply impressed with the terrible evils which have their principal source in drink. If you can only eliminate that single spring of crime, of madness, of poverty, and of misery, how much would you add to the health and the wealth of this nation. Much has been accomplished in many respects in my lifetime, now no longer short, and particularly in sanitary reform. The death-rate of the people has been signally lessened. Their vital energies and powers have been raised in a marked degree. The education of the people has permeated the masses, which in former days it never reached. The food and the comforts of the people are more cheap and more abundant. These are elements in the moral and material progress of this country which philanthropists and statesmen alike may view with solid satisfaction. Yet with all these fair hopes of a

rich and abundant harvest there comes this fatal mildew which blasts the ripening grain, and the social husbandman finds he has laboured in vain. In spite of all your progress your gaols are still replenished with crime, your workhouses are filled with paupers, homes that might be happy become the abodes of wretchedness, men who might be an honour and a service to their country become either mischievous drunkards or useless sots, and women who should be the nursing mothers of future generations offer to their children the fatal example of intemperance and vice. Depend upon it, gentlemen, there is no place like the Home Office for impressing upon the mind the terrible signification of this cancer which eats into the vitals of society. Can we sit with folded hands and accept this shocking and far-reaching mischief? You don't act with helpless impotence in other things. If you have foul sewers, you cleanse them; if you have swamps which breed fever and endanger the vital powers of the community, you drain them. But this fruitful source of moral pestilence is allowed to work its unnumbered evils. Is there no remedy for it? The remedy is at your hand. It is the very thing which this Alliance exists to promote—it is to give the people the power to protect and save themselves. That is a very simple, a very English, a very constitutional—I hope I shall frighten nobody when I say, a very democratic remedy. It is the principle which is known by the name of Local Option—a phrase once despised, ridiculed, and rejected, but which is now accepted and even patronised. Are the people of this country willing to possess and ready to exercise these powers in their own defence?

Readers need not be reminded of the references to the subject made by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley during the course of the past year, nor to the still more important fact—the most important, far, to be found in the modern history of drink legislation in those countries—viz., the acceptance of the principle of Direct Popular Veto at the great Liberal Conference of last year.

In 1885 the present Prime Minister gave a qualified adhesion to Local Option; and although not, we believe, referring to week-days, he, however, accepted the principle that the people should have control of the traffic. The Government waited for an opportunity to deal with the matter comprehensively—Governments are very fond of comprehensiveness in legislation—till at length the Local Government Bill of 1888 presented the desired occasion. At first sight the Bill seemed to embody the Local Option principle; but it was soon found to be a mockery and a snare, and the friends of the temperance cause gave voice to their bitter disappointment:—

And be those juggling friends no more believed  
That palter with us *in a double sense*,  
That keep the word of promise to our ear  
And break it to our hope.—*Macbeth*.

The temperance party soon saw that it was more a peril than a boon, and determined to oppose it in every possible manner. While being supposed to embody Local Option it would rather tend to make it impossible. In appearance an assault on the liquor traffic, in reality it would make that traffic impregnable, and place it on a basis of permanency and strength hardly hoped for by its warmest advocates. So thought, at least, the temperance leaders in these countries. Among the objections to the Government proposal it was found—(1) That the question was so mixed up with other matters that it could hardly ever be considered as a separate issue; (2) that no district could determine *finally* the matter for itself—the very thing insisted on; and (3) there were attached to the Bill the fatal “Compensation Clauses,” which provided that a heavy fine should be imposed on the district in which licences had been cancelled. Neither in reason, or law, or precedent was there any justification for the compensation claim thus set up in the Bill, by which the people had only the power to *buy out* the licences if they desired their discontinuance. The judges in various courts had refused to acknowledge it, even the publicans hardly made it, and yet the Government inserted the iniquitous proposal and clung to it, until forced to yield to the strong popular feeling which had been called forth against it in the country. It was only on the eve of the contest—and what proved to be the Government defeat—at Ayr Burghs, that Mr. Smyth, in the House of Commons, performed a *volte face* on the subject of the obnoxious liquor clauses.\* The following resolutions were passed at a meeting held immediately after the introduction of the Local Government Bill; they are of interest as showing the chief grounds of opposition on the part of the temperance party:—

That the Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance deeply regrets that in their Local Government Bill just introduced into Parliament, the Government have altogether failed to deal in an adequate manner with the question of the liquor traffic; and the Executive emphatically declares that no mere transfer of the licensing authority will satisfy earnest temperance reformers, or can be efficient, which does not confer upon the people of a locality the power to prohibit by a direct vote the issue or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in that locality.

That this Executive emphatically condemns the proposal of the Government, embodied in their Local Government Bill, to endow the present holders of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, with what is “practically a vested interest” in those licenses. It also

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\* See U.K.A. pamphlet, entitled, “Fight Against the Licensing Proposals of the Local Government Bill.”



protests in the strongest manner against the proposals for compensation, and calls upon all good citizens to assist in opposing these portions of the licensing clauses of the measure.

Among the reasons urged against compensation \* were—(a) because licences were privileges and not property; (b) because they confer on their holders a monopoly, and monopolists are, by all political economists, excluded from compensation, for which the monopoly itself is a substitute; (c) because the system takes its origin from a supposed public necessity, and should therefore cease when it procures only evil to the community, or when the public themselves no longer want it; and (d), passing over many other reasons, because licences are granted *only for one year*, on the expiration of which time the licensee has no further claim. "In every case, in every year, there is a new licence granted. The Legislature recognizes no vested right at all in any holder of a license" (Mr. Justice Field, Court of Queen's Bench, November 1882). Before leaving this part of the subject we should observe—and the observation may seem called for by some of the remarks just made—that we have no wish, as we certainly have no right, to make the question, about which we must be all anxious, a mere party question. How far our strictures are justified, let the action of the Government determine; only we would add those words from one of its ablest supporters—Lord Randolph Churchill—who is reported to have said: "I am asked, Would you give to the local authority power to prohibit totally all sale of drink within their district? I reply, *I would and I wouldn't*. I would in theory, *but in practice I would not*." †

Within the limits of the space which we can at this point hope for, it would be quite impossible to set forth at length, or in form, the arguments in support of the principle of local control of the drink traffic. It will, however, be sufficient to add a few propositions, which we think will sufficiently indicate their nature and force. Readers of temperance literature often meet with the words Local Control, Local Option, and Direct Popular Veto, not to add the Permissive Bill, which has been referred to already. This seems the place to say wherein these differ one from the other, and what it is precisely that we propose to advocate. In the schools the *Status questionis* used to precede the *Argumenta* and the *Difficultates*; and we see no good reason why we should not

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\* For these and further reasons, see a paper published by U.K. Alliance, "Reasons against Compensation to Liquor Traffickers and Replies to Pleas in favour of it."

† Speech in Sunderland, October 19, 1888, *vide* pamphlet before quoted.

adhere to so logical an order in what remains of this paper First, as to Local Control. The principle common to local controllists generally seems to be the local control or management of the traffic through boards, and thus, without prohibiting it, to keep it within certain safe limits. Local Option, as already defined, would include prohibition—if the inhabitants so desired (*opted*)—or the traffic regulation, should they not so desire. In fine, Direct Popular Veto objects to the traffic being imposed on any locality against the will (*veto*) of the people of that locality. Like the Permissive Bill, it makes this its one business; and it requires that the people themselves, be they ratepayers or Parliamentary voters, shall have the right to say, *directly*, Yes or No, to the question, “Will we have drink traffic in this area?”\*

The following propositions embody the arguments, or some of the chief among them, in favour of Direct Popular Veto, or other form of local control :—

1. In a matter intimately connected with the welfare and happiness of the community, the people should have the power of self-protection against what they believe to be a source of danger and ruin. If they declare that the drink traffic in their midst is such a danger, then the State should, at their desire, protect them against it.

2. The traffic in intoxicating drinks, as it exists in these countries, is opposed at once to the interest and happiness of individuals, as well to the public order and good, and ought therefore to be prohibited, at least where the community so choose.

3. Legislation, so far, has left undone much that the Legislature could and ought to have done; legislation on the basis of licensing has resulted, after centuries of trial, in utter failure; we need, therefore, further legislation, but of a more drastic kind, and on some new principle.

4. Legislation, on the contrary, on the principle of the Popular Veto, or of prohibition when supported by the will of the people, has produced in different countries the happiest results—results that would fully justify a more extended application of the same principle. Witness the Sunday Closing in Ireland, the Forbes Mackenzie Act in Scotland, and the Maine Law in America.

5. It has been sufficiently proved that nothing less than

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\* The principle of Local Option leaves nothing to be desired, but in practice it is open to objections; and Direct Popular Veto is now generally, and justly, adopted by the temperance party. Its meaning is definite and unmistakable; that of Local Option, on the contrary, is not fixed. The latter, too, is usually supposed to work through boards elected for different purposes, such as County or Town Councils, and whose members are supposed to represent the public on several issues. Direct Popular Veto, on the contrary, appeals directly to the people on the *one* subject: their reply will be distinct and final.

Popular Control or State Prohibition can supply an adequate remedy for the drink curse of our times, so far as such remedy may be found at all in legislation.

6. Such a law is—(a), *just*, because there is question of the public good, and “*salus populi, lex suprema* ;” (b) it is *feasible*, because it has been carried out elsewhere, with happiest results, and “*ab actu ad posse licet consequentia* ;” (c) it is entirely *consonant with rational liberty*, because it is supposed to be at the desire and demand of the community—a feature, we think, not usually found in Coercion Acts, at least in this country.

7. The present system is unreasonable and mischievous: by its endless licensing it everywhere sets traps for the people, and then it punishes its victims by fines and imprisonment.

8. It is English law that whatever injures the public health or good, be the detriment physical or moral, thereby becomes a nuisance. Hence it closes gambling hells, and it prohibits or safeguards the sale of certain poisonous drugs. The drink traffic has become a fruitful source of public detriment: physical, by sickness and increase in the death-rate, and moral, because it produces three-fourths of our crime.

Under each of these heads much might be written: we have only aimed at gathering together, and putting in a few words, what appeared to us to be the chief arguments of temperance advocates, or which we have most generally found them using, and we must only hope that in the compression, which was necessary, we have done them no injustice, while succeeding in making ourselves intelligible. Nearly everything in this paper will go to illustrate and support one or other of these points; one little incident we shall only add, which struck us very forcibly on our first reading it, and which may affect some reader in a similar manner. On May Day of 1887 or 1888—for we cannot now remember, though the fact was duly chronicled in the daily press—a procession through the streets of Birmingham was organized by a great local brewer; it was a mile in length, and consisted of drays and other vehicles used in the trade. What the precise object was we don't know, but a counter-demonstration was got up by the temperance party. A great crowd of children, poor, wretched, starving, and unkempt, with pallid faces and tattered garments, were got to walk immediately after the brewers' carts, and at their head was borne a banner with the words, “*Our fathers support the brewers and we starve!*” It was added by the writer whose account we read, that the counter-demonstration might have been made much more imposing had there been sufficient notice, and for a possible future occasion of a like kind we may be allowed the suggestion that, after the ghastly line of children, the inmates of the gaols and workhouses

and asylums of the great city, or at least three-fourths of them, should be made to take their rightful places in the sad procession.

The proposition which will call forth the warmest contention of rival advocates is that which refers to the *results* of Prohibition and Popular Veto where tried. We cannot wonder at this: there have been in the world's history great battles in which victory has been claimed by both sides; and at the present position of the great temperance question in our midst the results of such legislation in other lands will be a witness to which many will appeal with confidence. Naturally our thoughts turn to America, where, both in the United States and in Canada, people thought it necessary, long years ago, to deal with the drink traffic after a very drastic fashion. They did not think it necessary to palter with it, for 300 years, by licensing experiments; and, whatever may be thought of their claims in other matters, in this we must acknowledge we have much to learn from their example. To deal comprehensively with the subject of drink legislation in America is obviously out of the question here—it would be a most interesting and useful subject for some one more conversant with the facts; what is either necessary or possible, for our purpose at present, may be set forth in a very few words. Referring to the Prohibition and Local Option laws of that country, one often meets with such statements as this, and sometimes, as in this case, by writers from whom we should expect accurate information: "It has, however, been proved by incontrovertible evidence that these measures have rather tended to encourage than to diminish intemperance; and that evasions of the law, on a scale of enormous magnitude, have demoralized public feeling, and thrown open the door to scandalous abuses.\* Now, if these words refer to State Prohibition where popular opinion is counter, and the executive luke-warm, we have no quarrel with the statement, and we can have no surprise at the information. What *laissez-faire* could do with a Sunday closing law in parts of Ireland and Wales, it surely could effect, particularly when supported by popular opposition, with a prohibition law in America. But if, on the contrary, the writer refers to local option, in places where the community assents and the officials are earnest, then we must meet the assertion with a direct negative. If we ever come to treat of the subject at large, we shall find no difficulty in establishing that much, and on "incontrovertible evidence." For the present, we must be content with a reply that will be very brief, but sufficient, we trust, withal. In the extract given

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\* "Nat. Encyclopædia," Latest Edition, Art. "Temperance Movement."

reference is made to the State of Maine; and, indeed, it is the State most generally referred to by writers on the subject. The Governor of that State will be credited with some knowledge on the subject: in reply to a query put to him he sent the following very pertinent and decisive letter:—

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of note requesting of me some statement of the standing and results of the policy of Prohibition in Maine, to be forwarded to friends of temperance in England. That policy was adopted here in 1851, and now there is no organized opposition to it in the State. After an experience of its results during more than a quarter of a century, it is acquiesced in by both political parties as beneficial to the people. The quantity of liquors smuggled into the State and sold surreptitiously is vastly less than was consumed in former years, and the law is executed easily and as well as any other of our criminal laws. I do not think the people of Maine would for any consideration go back to the old policy of licence.

SELDEN CONNOR, Governor of the State of Maine.

Augusta, Maine, April 24th, 1878.

In 1851 the State adopted what is known as the Maine Law—it abolished the sale of intoxicating drinks—by a majority of 2 to 1. In 1884, after a long experience of the law, it was made a standing part of the Constitution by a majority of 3 to 1. It will be enough to add that the State was, before the enactment, the very poorest in the Union, and that in after years it became one of the richest!

But all this, the objector may say, has become ancient history; and what of more recent statistics? Fortunately they are entirely of the same character. On the very day on which these words were being penned an American paper came to hand, from which the following is taken, being part of an address of the Governor of Iowa to the Legislature of Nebraska:—

Prohibition for us has been a marked success. Half our gaols are empty, and our criminal business in many of the counties has decreased fully one-half since we enforced the law. The number of convicts in our penitentiaries has decreased rapidly. Poor people are better fed, better clothed, and better provided for than ever before. People spend their money for those things which do them the most good. I have nothing but good words for the prohibitory law.

In this State of Iowa there was a very stringent law enacted in 1884. Let these few figures tell the result:—

In 1882,	criminal expenditure,	4 million dolls.
In 1888,	„	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ million dolls.
In 1882,	„	convictions, 1282
In 1888,	„	634 only!

But even in these countries prohibition has had a trial, for

what Government has not done individual proprietors have, and in cases more numerous than many may have imagined. Bessbrook is a large manufacturing town in the North of Ireland, with linen works at which 4000 people are employed, and for the past thirty years no intoxicants have been allowed to be sold. In Tyrone, not far from this, there is a large district of country in which prohibition is also the rule. Of both places a recent writer says: "There has resulted wonderful good for health, morals, and prosperity of the people." Of the first place, a large manufacturing town, it is added that some years ago "there was neither police barrack nor pawn-office." In several of the great centres in England—Liverpool, for instance, and London, and Birmingham—there are large districts similarly circumstanced. That the happy results are equally noticeable will be manifest from the following abstract:—

Your committee, in conclusion, are of opinion that as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system. Such a power would, in effect, secure to districts willing to exercise it, the advantages now enjoyed by the numerous parishes in the province of Canterbury, where, according to reports furnished to your committee, owing to the influence of the landowner, no sale of intoxicating liquors is licensed.

Few, it may be believed, are cognisant of the fact, which has been elicited by the present inquiry—that there are at this time within the province of Canterbury upwards of one thousand parishes in which there is neither public-house nor beer-shop, and where, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated. ("Report of the Convocation of Canterbury on Temperance.")

We come now to hear the other side. Indeed we have done so to some extent already. Those who speak of the "futility of attempting to make people sober by bolts and bars" have, we trust, been answered; and those who appeal to what they fancy the adverse witness of results; and those who insist that the remedy must be sought only in religion, or in education, or in the social amelioration of the masses;—anywhere and everywhere, provided the law of the land be allowed no share in the work. To such objections there is no need of returning, only we would add that the lessons of experience are entirely against them.

There are countries where education is universal and advanced, and public opinion enlightened and strong, but where drunkenness has kept *pari passu* with one and the other; and, on the other hand, there are peoples among whom education and civilization are certainly at low-water mark, but who, in the matter of temperance, compare very favourably with the most civilized nations in Europe. What is said of education applies proportionately to the other remedies above suggested.

Of what remains there is much that need not detain us long, much that can serve no cause by its advocacy and that calls for no serious attention, except it be from those engaged in the pleasant pastime of collecting literary curiosities. In the discussion carried on in a leading Irish journal a few months ago, and to which reference has already been made, there was a great deal written of this kind, and any reader who, like the bee gathering honey from every flower, is blessed with the happy disposition of finding amusement in every event of life, may be directed to a careful perusal of that lengthened correspondence. We have lately heard, too, of a brilliant statistician who, by dint no doubt of deep research, had found that, where drunkenness prevailed, there crime decreased, and *vice versa*, and, as in duty bound, hastened to enlighten a world that had been all along credulously believing the contrary. But there is something more brilliant still. In a leading London Review there has recently appeared an article, able in many respects, written certainly in a style faultless and fascinating, in which the writer seems to state that most of those who had been up to his day treating of the subject were incompetent, and that the subject of our drunkenness and its cure should be left to those who had a personal experience in such matters, by which, we presume, he meant that section of society yeilded reformed drunkards.

There are, however, other points claiming more attention; less, however, because of the objections themselves, than of the names and character of those who use them. With such as those the favourite shibboleths are Liberty, Revenue and Trade; and with a word on each we may fitly conclude.

(a) *Liberty*.—"The intemperance we have to deal with"—are the words of a leading English statesman of a few years ago "is not a wrong we can redress, nor a crime we can punish, but a vice, an evil habit, which is not within the reach of the law, *without an intolerable inroad on public liberty.*" And, re-echoes the *Times*: "It is the inalienable *right* of every Briton to make a fool or a beast of himself as much as he pleases, so long as it does not directly interfere with the safety, comfort, and morals of others!"

*En passant*, we are tempted to ask that once great authority

to reconcile such an astounding statement with other words of its own: "No way so rapid to increase the wealth of nations, and the morality of society, as the utter annihilation of the manufacture of ardent spirits, constituting, as they do, an infinite waste and an unmixed evil."\* Now in reply to statements such as these—for they may be multiplied indefinitely—it would be enough to say, that the legislation we advocate presupposes, not alone the consent, but the *demand*, of the people themselves; and that therefore not alone would it not be an "inroad" on liberty, but the highest and freest exercise of the same. It will be found, moreover, that all such objections are founded on misapprehension; and the most effectual reply to them would be a reference to some hand-book to determine, once and for all, what liberty *is*. If anything better than that could be recommended to our objectors, it would be the careful study of the noble Encyclical of Leo XIII. on the subject, in order to learn what liberty *is not*. Till assured of such preliminary and essential knowledge, we would feel ourselves free to pass on; but it may be well to add that such arguments tell against all the laws that ever were made, or will be made, by man, if they tell against one; "that all that makes existence valuable, to any one, depends upon the enforcement of restraints on the action of other people;" † that when a thing becomes socially injurious, the law may interfere, and we have no right to prevent it; that the law is constantly doing so, in other matters, even in what, ordinarily speaking, is most sacred in its eyes, such as parental rights; and that, in fine, when we reflect on the subject deeply, we come to see that drink, and drink traffic, have much more to do with the opposite of liberty than with liberty itself. This will go to explain a sentiment, for which Mr. Henry George is responsible, "There is no better friend of the unjust monopoly of landlords than intemperance. As soon as men begin to drink, they will not think." Liberty! Why, in what is called the land of liberty, by a return of last year, there were 5,000,000 English-speaking people living under Prohibition, and 18,000,000 under Local Option, enjoying liberty notwithstanding their drink laws; yes, and a degree of liberty which would not be theirs *were it not for these same laws*.

(b) *Revenue*.—Our proposed legislation would involve the nation in financial difficulties: our Exchequer draws £30,000,000 a year from liquor and liquor traffic; what will be a substitute for such a loss? To this class of difficulties two answers, resting on

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\* Both extracts will be found in Dr. Lee's "Arguments for Prohibition," a most interesting and able work, to which we are indebted for much information and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

† John S. Mill.



totally different principles, at once suggest themselves. Much, as a matter of fact, is nowadays sacrificed to the Moloch of revenue, public and private; but we venture to hope that, in our days, the Macchiavelli is not to be found who would boldly proclaim that at the altar of such an idol all that man holds dear—virtue, peace, life, and death—must be made a holocaust. These interests are far too dear to be sacrificed for revenue; and if any trade clashes with them, then it is that trade, and not those interests, that must perish. That is our first reply.\*

But is this disastrous loss to the national revenue assured? We deny it; and, before we can assume it, we must calculate what has never been even approximately calculated—and never will be—the countless crimes and miseries that follow from our drunkenness, and even the financial losses that accrue to the nation from the same source. Before coming to a hasty conclusion, we must place much on the other side of the scale: premature deaths—about 30,000 annually, or, as some would have it, 60,000; waste of time on the part of drinking workmen, and consequent loss to industry; increase of taxation coming from support of drunkards and their families, in workhouses, prisons, and asylums; extra charges by way of salaries of judges, magistrates, and other officials, necessitated by drunkenness; and much more that will be obvious to all. Statisticians tell us that the indirect cost of our drinking is not less than the direct, and that both is fully 250 millions sterling annually. It has been said that many of these considerations are never weighed: certainly not their financial value. When we hear of the 30,000 deaths a year from drunkenness, we think of the ignoble end, and of the sins represented; but how few trouble to count up the monetary deficit to the State as well as to the family.† If we go back to the time of Father Mathew's great crusade, we shall find some very instructive figures under this head. Notwithstanding the great decrease in the use of intoxicants, the revenue actually *rose above the average*, what it lost in one respect having been gained in others. A reminiscence of a far less pleasant kind comes to us from the same time. It has been established that during the terrible years of 1847 and 1848 there was destroyed for purposes of distillation enough of corn to support the thousands that died through hunger; "that they could have been saved by stopping

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\* "Certainly I shall not think it compatible with my duty to oppose any such plan as the Permissive Bill on fiscal grounds. I should myself urge that fiscal grounds, whether they be important or not, must necessarily be secondary to that question. . . . It ought to be decided on entirely social and moral grounds" (Mr. Gladstone's speech in 1860).

† We have seen such a calculation somewhere, and, as the figures were startling, we regret we cannot now lay our hands on them.

the distilleries and breweries;” and that it is simple truth to say “that half a million of souls were sacrificed to the traffic.”\*

(c) *Trade*.—Nearly all that has been said under the last head applies, in a measure, to the question of trade. Hence we may be very brief. We deny that, while the proposed drink legislation will be replete with blessings to the community at large, it will interfere with the true interests of any one of its sections; and, even though it should, that fact must not stand in the way for a moment of the public good. Has any census been ever taken that tells (1) the number of premature deaths in the year of drink-sellers and their wives and members of their family, from drink; and (2) the proportion borne by those numbers to the numbers of deaths from similar causes among the community at large? That piece of information, we imagine, is not to be found easily; till it is attainable we refuse to decide the question of the true interests of those engaged in the trade. We might go much further, for we are of the large number of those who believe that the legislation we advocate, and which we hope to see in full force in our midst, will be a source of countless blessings to us all, but that the first and greatest boon of all will be for those who are now engaged in the miserable trade itself. Loss of the trade! Why there are towns in Ireland in which whole sections of the people—and those the most businesslike and wisest—entirely eschew the trade, and seem systematically to leave it to one hapless party, who appear too dazzled by its seeming advantages to notice the almost inevitable curse it brings.

But, secondly, loss or no loss, the trade must go if the nation, in its own interests, demands it. Not to introduce the question of health and drink, which we have found it necessary thus far to avoid, but merely to illustrate the case, we take the following instance. The cholera raged in Washington in 1832; the doctors declared rum-shops to be centres of danger, and drunkards its surest victims, and a means of spreading the infection; thereupon the Board of Health declared the sale of all ardent spirits a nuisance, and therefore illegal. Was the Board of Health not justified in its action? Would not the authorities to-day, as well as then, be bound, as well as justified, in acting in a similar manner in similar circumstances? And if all that are best and wisest in the land—the *senior pars* of the people—join together to demand the abolition of one trade for the public good; if bishops of a whole nation, gathered in Synod, declare “drunkenness to be the cause of nearly all our crime,” and priests call it “the blight of their missions;” if judges declare it “the source of nearly nineteen-twentieths of the crimes of this country;” if

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\* “Argument for Prohibition,” p. 98.

doctors believe "that alcohol is the most destructive agent that we are aware of in this country;" and if the officials of our gaols, workhouses, and asylums proclaim that drunkenness is among the chief feeders of those institutions—in fine, if from all sides, and from every rank, an indignant protest is heard against what has become the "scourge of a nation," who will say that a demand so universal can be resisted because of the so-called rights or interests of one trade?

We may conclude with the word with which we began. The Church and the State has here each its work to do. We have to deal with that which is at once a sin in the individual and a crime in the nation. Drunkenness—that is the sin of the individual. To abet it, to tempt to it, not to aid in its prevention—that is the nation's crime. The Church has done its duty, but with lessened results, because with cramped action; and we venture to remark that so it will be in the future, notwithstanding new departures, and the accession of great names. The Church has done its part; we must agitate—and we would make this suggestion to the Temperance organizations among us—till the action of the State be a help rather than a hindrance, and till our public men recognize the fact "that a Government should so legislate as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong," and "that the end of Government is only to promote virtue, of which happiness is the consequence, and therefore to support Government by propagating vice is to support it by means which destroy the end for which it was originally established."

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.



## ART. V.—MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

WITH the declaration of the Royal Supremacy by Henry VIII. the first stone had been laid of that grotesque and insecure, yet costly and luxurious, edifice, the English State Church. It was years before it rose above its mere foundations, decrepit even in its infancy, for as long as Henry lived the country remained Catholic. There was still some outward reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; Masses were still offered for the living and the dead, and it was exceedingly unsafe to show any leaning towards the new doctrines. Nevertheless, slowly but surely, a change was being effected. When allegiance to the Holy See had been given up, men quickly lost the tradition of spiritual authority, and with the religious houses were swept away all notions of an austere life. A dissolute Court could not but have a bad effect upon the country at large. Religion was brought into contempt by the negligence and licentiousness of a corrupt aristocracy, while the revolutionary wave then agitating Germany and Switzerland was steadily advancing towards these shores.

In 1547, the year of Henry's death, priests were allowed to marry, and "this year," says a contemporary writer, "the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat openly in Lent, in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country."

Cranmer conducted the King's funeral services, which lasted two days, and said the Requiem Mass. All the peers of the realm attended the Masses and Offices for the dead, and nothing was omitted that would have been seemly at the death of a monarch in the most Catholic periods of our history.

But hereupon followed the coronation of Edward VI., and Montio, an Italian eye-witness of the ceremony, wrote to the Duke Hercules, of Ferrara, that when Cranmer, in the act of anointing the young prince, told him that he was to promise to defend his people and the Church of God with the sword, Edward inquired, "What Church?" The Archbishop, who has been aptly described, with others of his kind, as a "movable Catholic," replied diplomatically that he meant "the faithful and the Gospel." The King answered that with all his heart he would do so.

Whatever this promise may have meant, Edward's people soon fell from the position they had hitherto occupied in the politics of Europe, and mainly through the self-seeking of his counsellors, bent on their own personal advancement. Their abject compliance with

the dictates of France, resulted in the shameful surrender of Boulogne, and paved the way for the loss of Calais in the next reign. So little prestige did the country enjoy all over the Continent, that during the six years of Edward's sovereignty, the Emperor Charles V. was in a position to demand the Princess Mary's rights, at the point of the sword.

Internally, the nation was divided by poverty and discontent. Those only were satisfied, who had been enriched by the plunder of the religious houses. The monopoly of land having been Henry's main object in seizing Church property, the new owners enclosed every stray piece of waste ground they could lay violent hands on, and rack-rented it, so that the poor man, "who had hitherto been able to keep a cow and a few sheep, could not now so much as find food for a goose or a hen." The fishing population of the coast suffered as much as the country people, for the fisheries declined through want of a market, where to dispose of the smack loads with which they returned to port; \* the suppression of the monasteries affected, more or less, the arts and crafts throughout the kingdom. Nine years afterwards, at the beginning of Edward's reign, vagrancy had to be dealt with summarily. The indigent had become the great bulk of the nation, while those who had grown fat on the wealth which had formerly been distributed to the poor at the convent gates, thought little of feeding the hungry. Stringent poor laws were enacted, but failed to meet the difficulty. A vagrant might be pressed into the service of any person who met him on the king's highway. If he refused to do the work assigned to him, how vile soever it might be, he was to be branded with the letter V, and adjudged a slave for two years, to be fed on bread and water and refuse meat. A first attempt at escape was punished by the slave being branded with an S, after which he was kept a slave for life. A second attempt resulted in his dying a felon's death. † Besides all this, we are told that a vast number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, and idle vagabonds lay and crept begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster.

But although the people might lack bread, doctrines were as plentiful as leaves in summer. Questions which had formerly occupied the minds of schoolmen alone, were now bandied about in the market-places and at street corners by the unlearned, and the novelties in religion, so sternly forbidden under Henry, broke forth in wild luxuriance. Some of the innovators were keen to

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\* Dom Gasquet's "Henry VIII., and the English Monasteries," vol. ii. p. 505.

† "A History of the English Poor Law," by Sir G. Nicholls, K.C.B., Poor Law Commissioner, and Secretary to the Poor Law Board.

discover Papistry even in the Ten Commandments; all teaching that in any way enjoyed discipline, was denounced as heresy. Divinity ceased to be taught at the Universities; the Godhead of Jesus Christ was denied. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, refused to wear the episcopal habits, and denounced them as "the livery of the harlot of Babylon."\* Finally, the laws forbidding bigamy, were declared to savour of the bondage of Rome. The more moderate of the fanatics sometimes gave in to the more violent, through fear of being suspected of a want of zeal. All might *live* as they pleased, provided only they *talked* the jargon of the reformers.

It was impossible that such a condition of things, the outcome of spiritual and moral decadence, should contain any elements of stability. At the death of Edward, the new State religion was in peril of its life. In spite of the looted monasteries, the exchequer was in an impoverished condition, and the kingdom almost without an army, while money urgently needed had been squandered in the erection of magnificent public buildings. In Soranzo's report on England, in 1553, he says of London, that on the banks of the river were many large palaces, making a very fine show, but that the rest of the city was much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries, belonging heretofore to friars and nuns. The population was dense, amounting to 180,000 souls.† The poor were lawless, and the rich hard-hearted; no wonder that the lovers of order and equity welcomed Mary as "the restorer of a popular Church and of honest government."‡

To gain time for the organization of their schemes, the conspirators hoped to conceal the fact of Edward's death for some days, it being necessary to keep the Emperor in ignorance of the state of affairs, lest he should interfere, on behalf of his cousin. It was, however, through the dictates of no foreign Power that Mary ascended the throne of her ancestors, but by the free choice of the nation.

Edward had scarcely ceased to breathe when the news was communicated to her by the Earl of Arundel, together with the designs of the Council in favour of the Lady Jane Grey. The late King would willingly have appointed Elizabeth his successor, all her interests being closely bound up with Protestantism, but when he had passed over Mary, on account of her religion, Northumberland easily persuaded him that the marriage of Elizabeth's parents, valid or invalid, had been clearly and lawfully undone.§ Northumberland's ambition would have been

\* Green's "History of the English People," p. 352.

† "Calendar of State Papers, 1553. Venetian Archives."

‡ Gardiner's "History of England," vol. i. p. 11.

§ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1553."

scarcely better satisfied by Elizabeth's accession than by Mary's. While the conspirators were taking possession of the Tower, the Crown jewels, and the State prisoners, while the Lady Jane was being prepared for

"the burthen of an honour  
Unto which she was not born,"

Mary, without a single accessory of royalty, without money, and without means of defence, was gathering round her all the flower of the eastern counties, and issuing manifestoes to proclaim her accession to all her subjects. The Duke of Northumberland, hoping by a sudden attack to drive her across the sea, marched into Suffolk with an army of eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, only to find that he had been declared a rebel, and that a price had been put upon his head. Mary had left her house, Kenninghall, in Norfolk, and had ridden to Framlingham. In the neighbourhood of this place, Northumberland, losing heart at the enthusiasm with which the people greeted her approach, ordered a retreat to Cambridge, the headquarters of the Protestant faction. Mary took shelter that night at the house of Mr. Huddleston, of Sawston. Early in the morning she rose, and rode southwards with her followers. Looking back from the summit of a neighbouring hill, she saw the smoke rising in volumes from the house she had just left. The Protestants had set fire to it, thinking that it still sheltered the Queen. Later on, she granted to Mr. Huddleston the materials from the ruins of Cambridge Castle, with which to rebuild his house.

Northumberland's irresolution produced a bad effect on his party, and numbers deserted hourly to Mary's standard. In London, dissension reigned in the Council. The Lady Jane, moreover, less pliant than when she had been forced to usurp the throne, persisted in refusing to share the crown with her husband, whose sulky attitude in consequence greatly embarrassed their affairs. Meanwhile, that crown was passing for ever from their grasp. The Duke of Suffolk, Jane's father, was one of the first to sign Mary's proclamation, and the nine days' Queen retired to the seclusion from which it had been better she had never been drawn. Northumberland's conduct, when, being ordered to disband his troops, he proceeded to the market-place, threw his cap into the air and proclaimed Queen Mary, with every token of joy, was equalled in meanness by that of every member of Edward's Council. The tame submission of each, when it became evident that further delay would be dangerous, revealed the paltry nature of the conspiracy itself. Had they been men of courage and conviction, possessing the confidence of the nation, the result of their action might have been disastrous,

in the miserable state of the country. As it was, never had victory been so bloodless, never battle more easily won. After the rebellion of a week, Mary was everywhere recognized as Queen of England, and the insurrection quelled with such rapidity, that De Noailles, the French Ambassador, never Mary's sincere friend, saw in it the direct interposition of God's Providence.

Continuing her journey southward, Mary was joined near London by Elizabeth, who had prudently abstained from taking any part in the contest, till it should be clear on which side success lay. She had declined Northumberland's overtures, but she had also avoided moving a finger in Mary's cause, and had shut herself up in her room, pleading illness. The illness fortunately allowed her to recover at the very moment when her sister was approaching her capital in triumph. They rode together through the densely lined streets, the crowd accompanying them with deafening shouts of applause. At the Tower, Mary first exercised her royal privilege of pardoning condemned prisoners. She found them kneeling on the Green, beside the scaffold—there were the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son of the late Marquess of Exeter, Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, whose See had been suppressed, and the lands belonging to it transferred to the Duke of Northumberland; and Gardiner, the deprived Bishop of Winchester. Bursting into tears, she exclaimed: "They are *my* prisoners!" kissed them all, and ordered the liberation of every one of them.\* The names of twenty-seven persons concerned in the rebellion were handed to her. Of these she struck out sixteen, and would only permit eleven to be proceeded against. The law having then taken its course, they were all condemned to death, but the Queen again intervened, eight were reprieved and three only of the ring-leaders were executed, "the smallest number of the partisans of usurpation ever known," observes Miss Strickland, while Lingard declares this was "an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages." It was with difficulty that the Queen's Ministers prevailed on her to sign Northumberland's death-warrant, on account of the friendship that had once existed between them. The Emperor urged her, through his ambassador, to include the Lady Jane in the number of the condemned. She would, he maintained, never reign in security, while so dangerous a pretender might, at any time, be set up against her. Willingly or not, she had usurped the throne, and there was no safety but in her death. Mary, however, remained immovable. She represented to the Emperor that Jane had been but the tool in Northumberland's

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\* Lingard's "History of England."



hands, and that she would not have her punished for another's crime.

Far different had been the vengeance taken by Henry after the famous rising in the North.

The rigours of martial law are only by chance recorded, and it is impossible to calculate the number of religious, and of the people who rose to defend them, that perished during the months when legal trial was suspended in the North, and Sussex and Norfolk acted upon the royal command "to cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony." And even, when Sussex stayed his hand in compassion, Henry would hear of no pleading for those who had offended against his Majesty. . . . In some instances, however, the feeling of the people, even in this reign of terror, was manifested against the cruelties perpetrated, by the secret removal of the bodies of those who suffered, from the gallows or trees on which they were left hanging, The Duke of Norfolk was urged to make inquiries and vigorously punish those who had been bold enough to do even this act of Christian charity.\*

Mary's chief desire was the welfare of the people. It had actuated her in claiming her right to reign, more than that right itself. She has scarcely mounted the throne when she drew down upon herself the blessings of the whole country by the benefits she conferred upon it. One royal proclamation restored a depreciated currency, another remitted two odious and oppressive taxes granted to the Crown by the late Parliament. She next acknowledged herself answerable for the salaries, three years in arrear, of all the officers and servants of the Crown, and although she had no private purse of her own, she restored the estates of several noblemen which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. Mary's justice was given in good measure, full and overflowing, but it left her little with which to make a show of generosity. It had ever been the custom for monarchs to reward those who had fought in their quarrel with rich gifts of money and land; but, clamour as her friends might, her conscience forbade her to make grants of Church property, and there were no other resources at her command. She was beset with difficulties in the choice of her Ministers. Of those who surrounded her, there were few whom she could trust; among the best, were some who had failed in the past, and who, in a moment of weakness, had been unfaithful to their consciences. Gardiner and Tunstal had both given in to Henry in the question of the divorce, but they had both expiated their weakness by years of imprisonment for their adherence to the True Faith. Gardiner's ability was undeniable, his integ-

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\* Gasquet's "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," vol. ii. p. 163.

riety in the management of finances known to all, and Mary gave proof of no ordinary judgment and discretion in appointing him to be her Chancellor. Henceforth, his life was one continued act of reparation for the injury he had inflicted on the Queen in the past. While he lived, she was never in debt, and so faithfully did he labour in her service that he never considered he had done enough to expiate his fault. Preaching once before the Queen, he exclaimed: "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not loved and wept like Peter!"

Lord Paget was next in importance to Gardiner in the Council, and was remarkable for ability and tact, but is not entirely free from the suspicion of having been somewhat fascinated by the new doctrines, and inclined to favour heretics. The Archbishop of Canterbury being in prison, on a charge of high treason, for having conspired, in favour of the Lady Jane, Gardiner performed the ceremony of coronation. One of Mary's first acts had been to reinstate him in his bishopric, of which he had been deprived by an uncanonical process; the sentence was proved to be invalid, and he at once took possession of his spiritualities and temporalities. The coronation took place in Westminster Abbey, according to the ancient rite. By restoring something of the splendour of the Court festivities, by bringing dancing and music again into vogue, by abolishing the sombre Puritanical dress of Edward's reign, Mary gave a much-needed impetus to trade; and while she offended some of the reformers, found favour with the ladies of her Court, weary of the dull, colourless garments which had been supposed to indicate a contrite spirit. The country awoke as if by magic to a new life. Even Protestant London felt the benefit of the reaction. The streets were gaily decorated for the coronation, money began to circulate again, and the satisfaction depicted on all faces was in keeping with the magnificence of the surroundings. Within the Abbey, however intrigue, "like a worm in the bud," was already beginning its fatal work. Elizabeth, as nearest blood-relation to the Queen, carried the crown in the procession. She whispered to De Noailles that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied; "it will seem lighter when it is on your own head." Henceforth it was the policy of De Noailles to keep up a perpetual friction between the contending parties in the State, and Elizabeth's name was cunningly thrust forward whenever capital was to be made of it. The Queen's sympathies were known to be Spanish. The French antagonism to Spain was, on the Continent, open and avowed; in England it was carried on under an assumed name.

Four days after the coronation Mary opened her first Parliament. It annulled all Acts which had been passed concerning Queen Catherine's divorce, but in its transactions both Elizabeth's

name and that of her mother were skilfully avoided. In all the six Parliaments of Mary's reign not one actor in the cruel drama of the divorce is held up for opprobrium but Cranmer, "the first Archbishop that ever failed in faith, from the rest that were before him, and from the obedience of the See Apostolic." Acts were also passed by the first Parliament restoring the Catholic religion to its ancient position in the country, and all the Acts of Edward VI. concerning religion were repealed.

Among the State prisoners whom Mary had restored to liberty on her accession, was Edward Courtenay, afterwards created by her Earl of Devon. He was of the blood royal, being descended from a younger daughter of Edward IV. His father, the Marquess of Exeter, had been beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII., on the same charge which hurried his kinswoman, the Countess of Salisbury, and her eldest son to the scaffold, and banished her third son, Reginald Pole. Courtenay had been a close prisoner in the Tower for fifteen years, and at the time of his release was twenty-nine years of age. His handsome face and form, no less than the romance of his unmerited fate, made him a favourite with the nation, and invested him even in the Queen's eyes with an interest which his character did not deserve. His mother, the widowed Marchioness of Exeter, was Mary's intimate friend and constant companion; it was therefore easy for the Queen to keep him near her person, and to form and reform manners which had suffered from long confinement and neglect. It was not unnatural, since Mary had declared her intention of marrying, that the nation should see in him an aspirant for the Queen's hand. Gardiner used all his influence to bring about their union, and would probably have succeeded if Courtenay's own conduct had not effectually destroyed his brilliant prospects. Regardless of the Queen's advice and remonstrances, he made use of his newly-acquired freedom to plunge headlong into those pleasures and dissipations the very existence of which had hitherto been unknown to him. He evinced a taste for the lowest company, and gave himself up to the most degrading vices. Even, if the Queen's heart had been touched, Courtenay in forfeiting her esteem, could have no hope of retaining her regard. Convinced at last of his unworthiness, Mary declared in public that it was not to her honour to marry a subject; but to her confidential friends she attributed the change in her determination to Courtenay's immorality. Lingard is careful to note this circumstance, on account of "Hume's romantic statement, for which he could have no better authority than his own imagination."\*

It had been Queen Catherine's darling wish, that a marriage

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\* "History of England," vol. vii.

should be concluded between her daughter and Reginald Pole, who no less than Courtenay, was closely allied to the blood royal. But Pole was utterly devoid of worldly ambition, and preferred the studious retired life of a clerk in holy orders to the most brilliant career that might be offered to him.\* Mr. Rawdon Brown's tribute to the greatest Englishman of his age is too valuable to be passed over. He says:†—

From the day Reginald Pole entered as a student at Padua in 1521, until his final departure from the Lake of Garda in 1553, my belief is that he did more to maintain the repute of his country for high breeding, scholarship, integrity, and consistency, than any other Englishman I ever heard of. An able diplomatist, his countryman and contemporary, who knew him well, said "there was not a better English heart than Pole's."

The Emperor Charles V., to whom Mary had been affianced as a child, and who was now worn out more with the cares of government than with age, conceived the bold idea of marrying her to his son Philip, eleven years younger than herself. He entrusted the negotiation of the marriage to Simon Renard, a man of consummate tact, some duplicity, and a profound knowledge of human nature. It is interesting to observe how, in the midst of all the political intrigue which distinguished this negotiation, in the midst of much fine language, which Mary could hardly have taken to be entirely sincere, her intention was simple and direct—the furtherance of God's glory and the welfare of her people. The correspondence between Renard and the Emperor, as well as her own letters to Charles, redound to Mary's honour, and show her to have been singularly free from self-seeking or wilfulness.

Elizabeth's illegitimacy then being considered by all parties a barrier to her succession, Mary welcomed the project of an alliance with the Prince of Spain, as being honourable for the country, and capable of reinstating it in the position it had formerly enjoyed among the Powers of Europe. As for herself personally, she told the Emperor, through Renard, that hitherto she had never loved any man, that she would have been content to remain in her present state until her death, but that she was prepared to honour and obey him to whom she should be destined, according to Divine commandment. She was careful to inquire regarding the disposition and conduct of Philip, and Renard, of course, assured her that both were worthy of his illustrious name and descent. Replying to the objection that the prospect of the marriage was unpopular with the

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\* Michiel's "Despatches. Calendar of State Papers."

† Preface to "Calendar. Venetian Archives, 1534-1555."

English nation, he said that so great an alliance could only secure its peace and opulence, its freedom and glory, and that with regard to Philip's plurality of kingdoms, his Highness would like nothing better, if the marriage were brought to a happy conclusion, than to remain in England with her (Mary having objected that he would not be able to do so). Renard urged further, that Philip's States being so near England, he could scarcely be considered absent when visiting them, and that the Infanto, his son, would reside in Spain and administer the affairs of Sicily and Naples. Before coming to any decision, Mary passed several weeks praying and deliberating over the matter; and when at last she summoned Renard to her presence, and communicated her resolve to him, her voice, he told the Emperor, was choked with tears. She told him that she had not ceased to implore God to inspire and counsel her, invoking the Blessed Sacrament, which was always reserved in her chamber, as her protector and adviser. Kneeling down, she recited the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, Lady Clarence being the only other person present. Then she rose, and pledged her royal word to marry the Prince of Spain, standing in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament.\*

This account of the way in which Mary settled the question of her marriage may have been unknown to Mr. Green when compiling his history, but he is scarcely justified in hastily concluding that "the temptation was great, and Mary's passion overleapt all obstacles."

The first attack came from Gardiner. An Englishman to the backbone, he desired above all that no foreigner should have it in his power to sway the counsels of the nation, and a Spaniard least of any. Philip himself, moreover, was known to be proud and arrogant, and the Chancellor, more inclined to espouse the cause of France than that of Austria, foresaw that a war would probably be the result of the marriage. De Noailles, on his part, at once became uneasy, and urged the ratification of the existing treaties between France and England. This Mary was disinclined to do, for fear of prejudicing her relations with the House of Austria. Paget assured the French Ambassador that the Queen had declared she would never be the one to break the treaty, that neither husband, nor father, nor cousin, would ever make her forget her duty to God and her honour. Between princes of honour, and such as fear God and esteem His promise, she maintained it was the word and not the seal or wax that bound them. Her whole efforts, before and since entering upon this alliance, had been to bring about an

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\* Renard's "Despatches to the Emperor Charles V. Belgian Archives."

honourable peace between the Emperor and the French King, whose concord should, in her opinion, not a little serve for the furtherance of Christ's Catholic religion, and the universal commodity and surety of Christendom. The French having interfered with some English ships in their passage from Dover to Calais, justified the proceeding by the fact of the non-ratification of the treaties. Mary replied indignantly, through her Ambassador at Paris, that she "meant not to provoke quarrels, but that, if assailed, she would not fail to take such steps as were befitting her honour and safety, not but by the help of Almighty God she should be well enough able to defend herself, her country and subjects, and *meet with* any injury that should be any ways offered to her."\*

The French, in their hatred of Austria, continued to put every obstacle in the way of the marriage, and De Noailles, overstepping his master's instructions, did not scruple to sow the seeds of rebellion in a country to which he was an accredited envoy. Cardinal Pole was known to share Gardiner's opinions regarding the match, and the Emperor, fearing that his influence with the Queen might exceed his own, caused him to be detained as he was proceeding to England, charged with the faculties of a Papal Legate, *pro pace*. Meanwhile the country was in a state of fermentation. Three distinct insurrections broke out in different parts of the kingdom. The Duke of Suffolk, who had not only been pardoned for the part he had taken in his daughter's usurpation, but had been admitted into the Queen's confidence, judged the moment favourable for striking a blow in the cause of the Lady Jane, and effected a rising in the Midland Counties, proclaiming his daughter Queen, at Leicester. Sir Peter Carew raised the standard of revolt in the west, with the object of placing the Princess Elizabeth on the throne, and marrying her to Courtenay; while Sir Thomas Wyatt headed the insurgents in Kent, crying: "The Spaniards are coming to conquer the realm!" This last rising was the only really formidable one of the three, and was caused directly by the party opposed to the marriage, although, among his other inaccuracies, Foxe declared that Wyatt's party "conspired for religion." The other riots were occasioned partly by the furious anti-Catholic element in the country, partly by Suffolk's ambition and treachery; but that the insurrection was not in reality a religious war is proved by the fact that a considerable number of Protestants fought on the Queen's side. Among them was a certain hot-gospeller named Edward Underhill, who fought like a lion in defence of his rightful sovereign, both in the first

\* "Calendar of State Papers. Foreign, 1553-1558." Letter to Wotton.

rebellion and against Wyatt. For a time Mary was in the greatest peril. She possessed a strong force of cavalry, but was not so well provided with infantry, and had the rebels marched directly on London the gates would undoubtedly have been thrown open to them. In the confusion, Mary alone was calm and self-possessed. She rode to the Guildhall, and called upon the citizens to stand loyal in her defence. Addressing them, without sign of fear, she declared her confidence in her people, and her conviction that they loved her too well to deliver her into the hands of rebels. "Certainly," she continued, "did I think that this marriage were to the hurt of you, my subjects, or the impeachment of my royal estate, I could never consent thereunto. And I promise you, on the word of a Queen, that if it shall not appear to the Lords and Commons in Parliament to be for the benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry while I live. Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enemies and mine; fear them not, for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all; and I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my Lord Admiral, who will be assistant with the Mayor for your defence."

"In the critical moment," says Mr. Green, truly, "Mary was saved by her queenly courage." Courtenay, breaking into her presence at St. James's, cried out that her troops had surrendered to Wyatt. Not even then did Mary's courage fail, but with a noble and serene bearing, she exclaimed that she would herself ride into the battle, and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men. "God," she said, "will not deceive me, in whom my trust is."

When Wyatt reached Temple Bar he found it, against his expectation, closed, and his friends inside unable to afford him the least help. Four hundred rebels (some records say five hundred) were led into the tilt yard at Whitehall, with ropes round their necks; but the Queen, appearing at a balcony above, pardoned them all, and told them to go home in peace. In a letter, dated March 27th, 1554, Renard tells the Emperor that on Good Friday she had liberated eight other prisoners suspected of being concerned in the revolt. He had told the Queen that he had no right to complain of her having used mercy, but that it would have been better to defer the proceeding until it had been evident whether they were guilty or not, and that she had by her haste to pardon, only increased the number of her enemies and had strengthened Elizabeth's party. With regard to Courtenay, there was, he said, sufficient matter for punishing him; but that it was not clear what part Elizabeth had taken in the insurrection, those who had been in communication with her having escaped. Elizabeth, it may be remarked, invariably contrived that it should not be "clear" what part she had taken in any of

the intrigues in which she was concerned; nevertheless suspicious circumstances came to light daily. Several witnesses came forward to testify to arms and victuals having been supplied to her at Ashridge, where she intended to fortify herself, and Wyatt directly accused her of complicity in his schemes, immediately on his being taken prisoner. Wyatt is everywhere spoken of as a gentleman, brave, accomplished, and honourable, and there was no reason to doubt his word, although Elizabeth had taken care that no clue of her own giving, no line of her own writing, could make it possible to bring treason directly home to herself.

Paget declared that if the proofs were insufficient to justify her death, he saw no other expedient than to get rid of her by marrying her to some foreigner; and the Emperor told Mary that in dealing with her sister it was her duty to consult her own safety, hinting that while such an element of conspiracy was permitted to be at large, Philip might well hesitate before he trusted himself among such dangerous barbarians!\* Hereupon the Queen sent for Elizabeth, but that Princess had recourse to her usual plea of sickness. Mary was inclined at one time to believe in her innocence, and at another prepared to restore her to her favour, if Elizabeth had shown the least disposition to frankness, or had thrown herself on her sister's mercy. But in the characteristic words of Kate Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, applicable to her at all times, "She would not cough out more matter than it suited her purpose to confess." On receiving Elizabeth's message that she was ill, and therefore could not obey the Queen's behest, Mary granted her a fortnight's delay, then sent her own litter to fetch her, her three physicians and Lord William Howard, Elizabeth's kinsman and best friend, as an escort. She received the physicians in bed, but they pronounced her able to travel, and she was brought to London in State, where she imperatively demanded an audience of the Queen. Mary replied that she must first clear herself of the charges brought against her. This she refused to do, but protested loudly that she was innocent. The Queen, unwilling to send her to the Tower, asked each Lord in succession to undertake the charge of her in his own house. Not one of them would accept the dangerous office, and Mary was obliged to issue a warrant for her arrest. Elizabeth continued to protest, "with many oaths and curses," and there is no doubt but that she was convinced she should share her unhappy mother's fate.

Foxe complains of the "straight charge" in which she was kept, although it amounted only to this, "that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient licence, that presents

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\* "Calendar of State Papers."



were examined before being delivered to her, that when she walked in the gardens, the gates were locked, and that the house was patrolled at night by a body of guards !\* When she was removed from the Tower, her prison was always a royal palace, her journeys were like royal progresses, and at the country houses at which she rested she was always entertained in a princely fashion. This very mitigated form of captivity lasted but a little over one year when she regained her liberty. Scarcely was the insurrection at an end than Mary was importuned on all sides for the execution of Suffolk and of the Pretenders. Her position was one of much difficulty and danger. Open and avowed attempts were made upon her life by the Reformers who had built their hopes on the success of the rebellions, and who were stung to the quick by their failure. Public prayers were made in the Conventicles for her death ; intolerable insults offered to her religion, her government and her person. Libels on her character were thrown about the streets, seditious and treasonable books written against her ? † It was no longer possible to mistake the revolutionary character of the movement.

To treat the heads of the rebellion with further indulgence, would have been a despicable weakness. Suffolk had not only shown himself unworthy of the clemency he had enjoyed, but in reviving the pretensions of his daughter he had made it plain that as long as she existed there would be no guarantee of peace or security. At the least murmur of discontent she would be made the puppet of religious fanaticism, and a deadly weapon against order and good government. As for Dudley, if Mary had listened to her own desire for leniency "the people," wrote Renard to Charles V., "would have torn him piecemeal had he fallen into their power." The malcontents were insignificant numerically, but they made up in fierce invective, clamour, and turbulence what was wanting to their importance ; and De Noailles was always on the watch, to insinuate motives, and keep alive the seeds of discord he was for ever planting. Lingard, after enumerating the judgments passed upon the chiefs of the conspiracy, observes that "these executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty. Perhaps," he goes on to say, "those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the

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\* "Calendar of State Papers."

† Milner's "History of the Antiquities of Winchester."

offended majesty of Elizabeth." And in a note, he adds: "If we look at the conduct of Government, after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times." These statements are the more valuable, because every fact brought to light by the increased facilities of historical research in our day shows that Lingard invariably understated the case for the Catholics, and notably for Queen Mary.

Besides De Noailles, there was another foreign spy, who, under the cloak of an Ambassador, was in secret league with the Protestant party, to render Mary's Government odious. This was the Venetian Envoy Soranzo. As soon as he discovered the Emperor's intention of marrying his son to the Queen of England, he began to see in the projected alliance, a danger to his own Government, on account of the increased importance which would accrue to the Imperial dominions. From that moment he made it his business to intrigue in every possible way against the marriage, so that De Vargas, the Imperial Ambassador at Venice, complained of it to the Signoria, and demanded a cessation of these covert hostilities. Nevertheless, it was Soranzo who furnished Sir Thomas Wyatt with arms and ammunition for the revolt.\* Soranzo was recalled soon after this, in the hope that more cordial relations might be established between England and Venice; but his successor, Michiel, proved to be as French in his politics as Soranzo, and in his letters to the Doge his anti-Spanish prejudices are the medium through which all his information is conveyed.

On the day of Lady Jane Grey's execution Courtenay was sent to the Tower. The different construction put upon Mary's conduct by the French and Venetian and the Imperial Ambassadors is curious and instructive. While Renard urges the Emperor to counsel the Queen against yielding too much to her inclination to pardon traitors, De Noailles, the echo of the Venetian Envoy, eager to push the King of France to extremes, expatiates on what he considers Mary's cruelty, in causing her sister to be arrested, and Wyatt and the other promoters of rebellion to be executed.

Lest the King should not be moved hereby to the pitch of indignation required, he cunningly insinuates that it is enough to be suspected of enmity to France to gain Mary's entire favour.

Meanwhile Parliament had assembled, and had ratified the Queen's Marriage Treaty, April 23rd, 1554. Gardiner having had experience of De Noailles' treachery, and foreseeing the con-

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\* Friedmann. Preface to "Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel," p. 31.

sequences to which it might lead, withdrew his opposition. The necessity of creating some preponderating influence to parry the French thrusts in the dark, was great, and France had, moreover, by the betrothal of the little Queen of Scots to the Dauphin, taken up a position which threatened the independence of the English Crown. In default of issue by Mary, the next *legitimate* descendant of Henry VIII. was the Queen of Scots, and thus England was in danger of becoming a mere appanage of France. After some debate, in which guarantees were given that no Spaniard should be allowed to take office in the Government, and that the liberties, franchises, and honour of the people should be scrupulously observed, Mary addressed both Houses in a speech which was frequently interrupted by loud acclamations, and shouts of "God save the Queen." At its conclusion Parliament was dissolved, and both Lords and Commons assured her that her husband would be received with every demonstration of duty and affection.

The ratification of the Marriage Treaty on the part of the Emperor and of Philip had already taken place. The Count of Egmont had been sent to espouse the Queen in the name of the Prince of Spain, and had put a costly ring on her finger sent for that purpose by the Emperor on behalf of his son. Mary had taken the opportunity to repeat to Philip's proxy the substance of her declaration to the English people at the Guildhall.

She had not determined to marry through dislike of celibacy, nor had she chosen the Prince of Spain through respect of kindred. In the one and the other her chief object had been to promote the honour of her crown, and to secure the tranquillity of her realm. To her people she had pledged her faith on the day of her coronation; it was her firm resolve to redeem that pledge; nor would she ever permit affection for her husband to seduce her from this—the first, the most sacred of her duties.

Philip landed at Southampton on the 19th July, 1554, on the anniversary of Mary's accession, and remained there four days, in order that the Queen might remove from Windsor Castle to Winchester, which was to be the scene of the marriage ceremonies. He had been invested with the Order of the Garter the moment he set foot on English soil, and the Queen had sent him a Spanish genet with rich trappings, on which he rode to the parish church at Southampton to return thanks for his prosperous voyage, a royal salute having been fired from all the ships in the harbour. He took an oath to observe the laws of the realm. He made the English lords who had been sent to meet him, a Latin speech, in which he told them that he was come to live among them as a native Englishman and not as a foreigner; he

sent the Queen a present of jewels, he dismissed his fleet, only a stipulated number of Spanish grandees and followers being allowed to land, and then set out for Winchester. The descriptions of Philip's person and bearing, of the impression he created, and the manner of his reception by the people, are so conflicting in the different accounts of his arrival that it is difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion. Lingard says that "his youth, the grace of his person, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of 'God save your Grace,' and he, turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations."

He is said to have promised to be "grateful, affable, and affectionate," and to have shown his intention of conforming to English customs, by pledging the deputation from the Queen in a tankard of ale. An enthusiastic admirer describes him as "so well proportioned of bodi, arme, legge, and every other limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more perfect paterne."

According to the French Ambassador it was necessary to order the people to light bonfires to express the joy which they did not feel.

It is quite true that before this rejoicing demonstration the Mayor was in nearly every street commanding their part in it, in the name of his mistress, the Queen, under the penalty usual in this country, which is no other than penalty of life. So that the affair was rather constraint than affection.\*

De Noailles may well be suspected of some exaggeration, all the circumstances considered. He absented himself from the wedding ceremony not only to express the disapprobation of his Royal master, but in order that the Imperial Ambassador might not take precedence of him, the King of France esteeming himself the first and greatest King of all Christendom, Eldest Son of the Church, and very Christian monarch. But in support of his statement is the fact that Philip's portraits, in no way, answer to the eulogistic descriptions we have quoted. His dull, colourless complexion, his long serious face unrelaxed by a smile, his sandy hair, his cold unsympathetic glance might well have failed to attract at first sight, while we know from subsequent events that by his haughty bearing, his taciturn and suspicious manner, he won for himself later on the fear and dislike of the English nation. It is therefore most probable that the bulk of the people

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\* "Bien est vrai qu'avant la démonstration de cette réjouissance, le maire fut presque par toutes les rues pour leur en faire commandement de la part de la reine sa maîtresse, sur la peine acoutumée en ce pays, qui n'est autre que de la vie; de façon qu'il ya eu en cela plus de contrainte que d'affection."—M. De Noailles à M. le Connétable, 23 juillet, 1554.

were neither carried away with enthusiasm, nor altogether apathetic. They had protested against the marriage, their protests had been overruled, and with that doggedness, which is as much a part of the English character as is their native pluck, they put as good a face upon the matter as they could.

Philip arrived at Winchester on the 23rd, and took up his lodging in the Bishop's palace, and the next day he saw Mary for the first time. On the 25th, the Feast of St. James of Compostella, the Patron Saint of Spain, the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner.

The Queen, with a gallant train of lords and ladies, and Philip with Figuera, the latter's father, the emperor's ambassador, and other foreigners of distinction, repaired to the Cathedral. Here they were received with the utmost solemnity by the bishop and his clergy, who conducted them to the chapel of the Queen's patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was chosen for the scene of this important ceremony. As soon as this was concluded, the ambassador, in the name of the emperor, presented Philip with an instrument, by which he conferred upon him the kingdom of Naples with its dependencies. This, in some degree, put the royal pair upon a footing of equality. Accordingly, the trumpets being sounded, they were solemnly proclaimed by the following style, in the English, Latin, and French languages: *Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Habsburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol.* This done, the King and Queen marched out of the church together, hand in hand, and two swords were carried before them, to denote their distinct capacities in the public government.\*

In the accomplishment of this union Mary had triumphed over the Revolution; she had shown that the old Tudor spirit had not departed from her sceptre, but that, more than any other Tudor, she had the best interests of the people at heart, and was willing to sacrifice everything to them saving her conscience and honour. In pursuit of this end she had reached the summit of what little happiness fell to her lot; and the rest of her days were "few and evil."

J. M. STONE.

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\* Milner's "Antiquities of Winchester," p. 270.

ART. VI.—THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF THE  
COVENANT SACRIFICE.

THE close parallelism between the sacrifice at the foot of Mount Sinai with that of our Divine Lord on the Cross seems to have been somewhat strangely overlooked; and yet it is so striking in many particulars as to cause the idea at once to arise that it was designedly typical.

And I use the word typical here to express not merely a resemblance, but a foreshowing, as distinct and precise as any verbal prophecy. Indeed a type, strictly so-called, is a prophecy, but expressed by facts instead of by words; and it is no less divine in its origin and purpose, and no less powerful in producing conviction than a prophecy that is expressed verbally.

Types, however, are of different classes: some being expressly declared to be such by our Lord Himself—as, for instance, Jonas being swallowed by the whale, and restored to land, or the manna in the wilderness. The former was expressly intended by God as a symbol of our Lord's death and resurrection, and the latter of the Holy Eucharist. To this class must be added any other types mentioned as such in Holy Scripture—as, for example, the Flood, which is expressly mentioned by St. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 21) as a figure of Baptism.

In a second class may be placed such facts and events as are quoted as typical in the office or liturgy of the Church—such as the sacrifice of Melchisedec, quoted in the Missal in reference to the Mass, or the Tabernacle which, in the Office of the Immaculate Conception, is alluded to as a type of our Lady. “Sanctificavit tabernaculum suum Altissimus.”

A third class of types is made up of those mentioned as such in the writings of the Fathers, which are very numerous.

All these are types and prophetic beyond doubt, and serve to connect most closely the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations with the Christian one, for which those earlier dispensations were intended as preparative.

But besides these we may form a fourth class of such types as appear to be such from their accurate correspondence with the events and facts of Christianity; and this, because St. Paul assures us (Rom. xv. 4) that “what things soever were written, were written for our learning, that through patience and the comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope;” while if we rejected a symbolical meaning, much of that which is written in Holy Scripture would be altogether without meaning to us. And again,

St. Augustine, speaking of the Israelites, says, "Whatever that people suffered in the desert, and whatever God bestowed on them, both their punishments and their gifts are symbols of the things which we who are walking with Christ, and seeking the true land through the wilderness of this life, receive for our consolation, and suffer for our good" (St. Aug. Enar. in Ps. 72-3).

From these words we may gather that every rite and ceremony observed by the Jews not only had a special meaning for them, but was also symbolical, even in its details, of some doctrine or practice of the Christian Dispensation; and that, therefore, every analogy and similitude which we may notice between the observances of the Jews and those of the New Law may be regarded as an intentional type, at least of the fourth of the classes which I have enumerated.

That the explanation of a type appears at first sight to be far-fetched, or anything but obvious, does not in any way disprove its truly prophetic character. No one would have thought that the life of the world to come was prophesied in the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob," had not our Lord told us that this was really a part of their meaning; nor without a similar Divine assurance should we probably have known that His death, burial, and resurrection were prefigured in Jonas being swallowed by the whale.

Hence we may well expect to find a real meaning, even if it require looking for, in the details of an event which we know with certainty to have been typical as a whole. That the sacrifice at Mount Sinai was a type of the Crucifixion of our Lord is beyond all doubt; and I think it is worth while calling attention to it, not merely as a very interesting and instructive figure of the basis of our worship as Christians, but also for the simple and sufficient answer that it seems to afford to the common Protestant difficulty with regard to the sacrifice of the Mass, founded on the meaning of the word *εφάπαξ* in Heb. x. 10.

It may be well here to recall the order of the events which led up to the offering of the Covenant Sacrifice.

Before the Israelites left Egypt, although they were descended from a common father, and possessed traditions alike as to family and religion, they possessed no organisation that could entitle them to be styled a nation. This name became theirs for the first time on the great day of their deliverance, when they set out, 600,000 men besides women and children, and a great "mixed multitude," on their journey towards Succoth. This mixed multitude was probably made up of proselytes, persons connected with the Israelites by marriage, and such as joined them either from curiosity or fear of approaching destruction in Egypt. The whole number, hitherto unorganised, and perhaps slaves

of different masters, now became one body by virtue of their submission and obedience to Moses.

Being now collected and formed into a nation under a single ruler, God Himself appeared as their guide in the Pillar of Cloud and Fire.

Then followed a series of miracles at the Red Sea, Mara, and Raphidim.

At Sinai God promised them that they should be to Him a priestly kingdom and a holy nation, and then gave them the Ten Commandments and the Moral Law. These were followed by the 33 Precepts of the Civil Law, and when these had all been reduced to writing by Moses, there followed the Special Covenant Sacrifice, to which I now call your attention.

It is thus described in the Book of Exodus (chap. xxiv. 4-11):—

“And Moses rising in the morning built an altar at the foot of the Mount, and twelve titles according to the twelve Tribes of Israel; and he sent young men of the children of Israel, and they offered holocausts, and sacrificed pacific victims of calves to the Lord.

“Then Moses took half of the blood and put it into bowls; and the rest he poured upon the altar; and, taking the book of the Covenant, he read it in the hearing of the people, and they said: All things that the Lord hath spoken we will do, we will be obedient.

“And he took the blood and sprinkled it upon the people, and he said, ‘This is the blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words.’”

To this account St. Paul adds a few particulars which were, doubtless, in his time well known to Jewish tradition. He says (Heb. ix. 19, 22):

“When every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats with water, and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying: ‘This is the Blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you. The tabernacle also, and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner, he sprinkled with blood; and almost all things, according to the law, are cleansed with blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission.’”

This Covenant sacrifice was followed by a special sacrificial meal, which is thus described (Exod. xxiv. 9-11):

“Then Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abiu, and seventy of the Ancients of Israel went up; and they saw the God of Israel: and under His feet, as it were, a work of sapphire stone, and as the heaven, when clear. Neither did He lay His hand upon



those of the children of Israel that retired afar off; and they saw God, and they did eat and drink.”

On this description of what happened, Dr. Edersheim, a learned Jew, who became a Protestant clergyman, makes this remark :

“This Covenant sacrifice with the sprinkling of blood and sacrificial meal that followed it, formed the most important transaction in the whole history of Israel. By this one sacrifice, never renewed, Israel was formally set apart as the people of God; and it lay at the foundation of all the sacrificial worship which followed. Only *after* it did God institute the tabernacle, the priesthood, and all its services.”

It is not a little singular that so remarkable a foreshadowing of the death of our Lord on the Cross should have received so little attention from commentators.

Amongst the existing Jewish writings of early times there are many minute commentaries on the details of the ritual of the Old Law, but none, I believe, on their spiritual significance; though the passage above quoted from St. Paul shows plainly that in his time the shedding of blood had a special meaning, and was commonly connected in the minds of the Jews with the remission of sins. They were well aware that in the sacrificial system of the Mosaic Law blood was looked upon as the very seat of life (Gen. ix. 4; Deut. xii. 23; Lev. xvii. 2, &c.), and by the shedding of blood its life was not considered as destroyed, but as separated from the body it had quickened (Gen. iv. 10; Heb. xii. 24; Apoc. vi. 10).

Turning to Catholic commentators, I have not met with any who specially point out the typical character of this sacrifice as contrasted with those of the Levitical Law. They notice, however, as one might expect, many minor points of interest connected with it.

Thus St. Augustine (*Quest. in Ex.* 453) notes that the twelve stones of which the altar was built indicate that the people are the altar of God, as they are also His temple. He seems here to assume that tiles or columns of stone actually formed the altar. He also notes that the sacrifice was a “hostia salutaris” (in the Septuagint, *σωτηρίου*), and signified Christ our Lord Himself.

Tostatus (*Com. in Exod.* c. xxiv.), speaking on the twelve stones, remarks that at that time the tribe of Joseph was not divided, as the Levites were not yet separated to the Divine ministry.

Calves only are mentioned in the text of Exodus, but it is clear from St. Paul’s words that these were not the only victims, and Tostatus thinks that while twelve calves were offered as holocausts, many other cattle were offered as peace offerings, so that

the whole people might be able to eat and rejoice. At this time the special laws regarding the sacrifices of the Old Law had not been given; only two kinds of sacrifice were known—holocausts and offerings for sin or peace offerings. No distinction had been then made between peace offerings and sin offerings, and no prohibition then existed to eat of sin offerings. Hence this one sacrifice partook of the nature of all the separate kinds afterwards distinguished, although the victims were subsequently eaten in the sacrificial meal.

As to the “juvenes” who slew the victims, Menochius (Ex. xxiv. 5) notes that in the Chaldæan version they are called the “first-born of the sons of Israel,” and Tostatus describes them as the eldest sons of the twelve Princes of the Children of Israel, who were priests according to the law of nature. Dionysius the Carthusian mentions this opinion, and also one that supposes them to have been the sons of Aaron, whom God intended subsequently to call to the priesthood. All seem to agree, however, that those selected held a place of dignity and nobility among the people.

These young men, whoever they were, actually slew the victims, while Moses himself, as St. Augustine notes, took a share in the act of sacrifice by his pouring the blood; and it is remarkable that this is the first time that Holy Scripture plainly speaks of his offering sacrifice, though there was some mention of sacrifice in his talk with Jethro (Exod. xviii. 12).

The next point which is touched on by the commentators is that of the sprinkling of the blood. We learn from St. Paul that water was mixed with this blood, possibly, as Tostatus suggests, to prevent its congelation. In this mixture, however, Theophylact sees a symbol of the blood and water which came forth from the wound in our Lord's side. The sprinkling was made with a bundle of hyssop, probably bound together with scarlet wool—the wool indicating, according to Theophylact, our Lord led as a sheep to the slaughter, and the scarlet colour meaning His blood.\*

The sprinkling of the book and people was made with a ceremonial solemnity by Moses, saying, “This is the Blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you”—words precisely parallel to those of our Lord, “This is the Blood of the New Testament”; as the sprinkling itself reminds us of the saying of the Jews, “His blood be upon us, and on our children.” For two things were signified by this sprinkling—firstly, the purification of the thing sprinkled by the blood; and, secondly, the punishment to be incurred by those who violated the covenant thus ratified.

It has been noticed that as there were two parties to the Divine

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\* “Speaker's Commentary” on 1 Cor. xi. 25.

arrangement—God and man—the blood was divided into two halves, one for sprinkling on the altar with a view to reconciliation; the other, as given back from the altar for sprinkling on the people, with a view to cleansing or purification. The blood thus was regarded as one in itself, two in its uses.

After the sacrifice, but closely connected with it, was the sacrificial meal which followed, and of which Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abiu, and the seventy Elders of Israel partook. Of these it is said (Exod. xxiv. 10), “and they saw the God of Israel.” Not, of course, in His invisible essence, but, as Dionysius the Carthusian says (in Exod. art. 46), in an assumed form or human likeness.

Tostatus seems to think that the whole of the people actually ate and drank, but St. Augustine says (Exod. xxiv. 9) that this privilege was limited to those expressly named, and that the seventy Elders were called up “in the person of those who are elected among the people of God.”

It would therefore seem evident that this sacrifice, which was the ratification of the Covenant with God, on which all the subsequent worship and ceremonial of the Old Law was based, and in connection with which all the people saw God in a human form, was a true type or prophecy of the great sacrifice once offered on Mount Calvary, which is the basis of all our Christian worship and sacraments.

To see this more clearly it may be well to consider some of the points of detail in which the type was fulfilled.

1. First, we may notice that the precepts of the Civil Law by which the Israelites were to be governed, both as a nation and as to their individual conduct, were given *before* this Covenant Sacrifice; so in the New Covenant our Divine Lord laid down the laws by which we are to regulate our lives as members of His kingdom, during the three years’ teaching that preceded His crucifixion.

2. The sacrifice by which the Covenant was ratified with Israel was not offered by the Aaronic priesthood, to whom alone was to pertain the offering of the sacrifices of the Old Law; but young men were chosen for the purpose, of the noblest rank of the tribes who made up the chosen nation of which God was the King; so the sacrifice on Mount Calvary was not offered by the ministry of the Christian priesthood, to whom alone it was given to offer the Sacrifice of the New Law; but, by the instrumentality of Romans, who were the noblest nation of the Gentiles, for in the New Law all nations are to be included as subjects of the one Kingdom of Christ.

3. The Sacrifice offered at Mount Sinai was offered once for all, and never repeated; all the Levitical sacrifices that followed

it were dependent on it, and acceptable to God only through the covenant ratified by it; so the Sacrifice on Mount Calvary was offered once for all, and needs no repetition, for the Sacrifice of the Mass, now daily offered, is offered in an unbloody manner and procures for us all the benefits of the Blood once shed on Calvary.

4. The Covenant Sacrifice was not intended as a daily act of worship, but was the seal and basis of the dispensation which it inaugurated. A provision was made for its renewal and commemoration in the Old Law by a fourfold system of typical sacrifice, since the Old Law was one of type and promise, and the intentions for which sacrifice is offered are four in number—viz., supreme adoration, thanksgiving, the obtaining pardon for sin, and petition for particular favours and graces. Whilst in the Old Law each of these purposes had its own special typical sacrifice, in the New Law the Sacrifice of Mount Calvary is perpetually renewed by a sacrifice which is substantial, not typical, and offered for the same four ends.

5. It was *after* the Covenant Sacrifice that God gave to Moses minute instructions as to the ceremonial worship and the services of the Old Law; similarly, it was during the forty days *after* the Sacrifice on Mount Calvary that our Lord gave His Apostles directions for the worship of the New Law and the administration of the sacraments.

These similarities and parallelisms would alone seem to be sufficient grounds for considering the Covenant Sacrifice to be a true type of that on Mount Calvary.

But we may claim a much higher authority for the assertion of its truly typical character. For St. Paul (Heb. ix. 23), speaking of the ordinances which were the only outward means of grace for the Jews under the Mosaic Law, says of them that they themselves were cleansed by blood, and that they were "patterns of heavenly things." He then adds that the "heavenly things" themselves, *i.e.*, the ordinances of the New Law, of which the Jewish ones were types, depend for their value on better sacrifices; or, in other words, that while the Levitical rites derive their justifying value from the Covenant Sacrifice, the Sacraments of the New Law derive theirs from the great sacrifice on Mount Calvary. His words are: "It is necessary, therefore, that the patterns of heavenly things should be cleansed with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these" (Heb. ix. 23).

We have therefore the authority of Holy Scripture for the typical and prophetic character of this sacrifice; and the recognition of this fact might help to convince those out of the Church that the type cannot end here. If the Covenant Sacrifice typifies

that of Mount Calvary, the subsequent Levitical sacrifices which rested on it, and were the application of it, must themselves have antitypes in the ordinances of Christianity.

If the full typical and prophetic character of this Covenant Sacrifice be admitted, it follows that the worship of Sacrifice cannot have come to an end with Mount Calvary. For there, as at Mount Sinai, the Covenant Sacrifice, the basis of our reconciliation and worship, was offered once for all; but the worship of sacrifice which depends upon it must be continued daily, or the four-fold sacrifices of the Old Law would have no meaning, and would not be, as St. Paul calls them, "patterns" or types "of heavenly things."

Nor is it in controversy only that this great typical teaching is of value. It is a distinct prophecy of the sacrificial and sacramental system of the Church. And it is of no little importance that Christians should recognise a prophecy of this system as a whole.

Indeed, the primary object of types and symbols was not controversy, but the edification of those who believe. So St. Paul teaches (in 1 Cor. x. 11) that the things that happened to the Israelites in figure were written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

Temptations against faith are of two kinds; those which arise upon particular doctrines or details, and those which assail the whole revealed system—the latter perhaps are specially characteristic of our own time. Prophecies are of great value in confirming faith, and overthrowing both these classes of temptation; and perhaps such a type as that we have been considering may be of help to some, as presenting a distinct confirmation and corroboration of the main system of the sacrificial worship of the Church.

In some respects teaching by type is more effective than teaching in plain words. For words appeal chiefly to the understanding, while a type impresses the imagination and memory as well.

I have passed over all passages in which the sacrifice of Mount Sinai is mentioned in connection with the Holy Eucharist or the Mass; my object being to show that, although it may have more than one meaning, its special value as a prophecy lies in its foreshadowing what was to happen on Mount Calvary; and that, not merely as all sacrifices of Patriarchal or Mosaic times foreshowed it, but in an especial manner as the Sacrifice once offered on which all other worship must rest.

I may perhaps add two remarks to what I have said on this subject. First, I notice that simple analogy has a very powerful effect in producing conviction in the human mind. It is not, perhaps,

so much that it produces certainty itself, as a sort of sense of certainty ; it has what may be called a "clinch" effect in fixing and confirming the conclusions arrived at by the intelligence. Mere analogy, though its evidence is probable only and not demonstrative, is sufficient, according to Bishop Butler, in certain degrees to create the highest moral certainty. Few persons can have read carefully his treatise on the "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature" without feeling how great is the force of his argument in support of religion, and yet it rests simply on evidence which is in itself only probable, though cumulative. A true type has all this convincing force of analogy, and something more, for it is, as I have said, a real prophecy.

Secondly, Of the practical effect of analogies on the minds of men we have a very remarkable instance in the history of the religious body known as Irvingites. Starting from Scotch Presbyterianism, they were led on by a series of supposed symbols which they believed they saw in Holy Scripture, to a very highly sacramental system and a very elaborate ritual. Every detail in their organisation and worship having been arranged in accordance with a mystical explanation of the details of the construction of the tabernacle of Moses, it is no matter of surprise that very extensive analogies are to be seen between the two. This system of false symbolism has so great a power of conviction with them, that very few of their number are ever converted to the Catholic Church ; although they have fully admitted the necessity of Apostolic authority in the Church to which even the bishops must be subject, and the need of a perpetual teaching of the Holy Ghost in the Church—two doctrines which would be quite sufficient to bring any ordinary well-disposed Protestant to recognise the Catholic Church as the One Church of God. The positive evidence offered by the Irvingites in support of their own apostles and hierarchy is so weak that few would be convinced by it, yet the pre-arranged analogies on which their system is based are so numerous and exact as to exercise the greatest hold upon their imaginations.

Does not this suggest that we might make more use than we do of the argument of true symbolism in confuting those who are in error, and confirming those who have the Faith ?

W. J. B. RICHARDS.

ART. VII.—WERE THERE FOUR MONTHS BEFORE  
THE HARVEST?

AN EXAMINATION OF JOHN IV. 35.

Οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; Say ye not there are yet four months, and then the harvest cometh? John iv. 35.

AT the outset it may be well to give very briefly and without any attempt to justify it, the chronological order here followed, of some of the earlier events of the public life of our Lord. Without this the treatment of the time of year when our Lord sat by the Sychar well, and spoke with the Samaritan woman, would be hardly intelligible.

It will be evident to any one at all acquainted with the harmonical difficulties of the Ministry, that the subjoined list of approximate dates does not pretend to any kind of finality. Probably every statement in it has been controverted a hundred times over, not only by conflicting assertion, but by volumes of argument. Take one example: An incident will be here mentioned apparently lightly—that is, no single argument will be given for fixing the time of its occurrence, and yet round this unnamed feast of John v. 1. commentators have done battle since the days of St. Irenæus, and will in all likelihood protract the dispute to the end of time and the day of full knowledge.

For the opinion that this feast was Pentecost, we have nearly the whole of the Greek Church, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Origen (most probably), Euthymius, Theophylactus, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Maldonatus, Calvin, Beza, Westcott and Hort (apparently). In support of the Pasch, there is a great array of names, among others, St. Irenæus (probably), Bengel, Bishop Middleton, John Lightfoot, Luther, Scaliger, Grotius, Kuinoel, Coleridge, Corluy, Bloomfield, Erasmus, Lohmann, Greswell, à Lapide, Archbishop McEvilly, Martini, Fouard, Fillion, Reischl, Grimm. For Purim, a feast more rollicking than religious, there are Kepler,\* Petavius, Lange, Bishop Ellicott (favourable) Canon Cook (favourable), Archdeacon Farrar, Olshausen, Meyer, Wieseler,† Stier, Lamy, Winer, Lücke,

\* The first advocate of Purim.

† This very learned critic is strongly opposed to the Pasch theory. Greek scholars instinctively feel that if ἡ is omitted before ἐορτή in John v. 1, the feast cannot be the Pasch. Of the omission of the article, Wieseler says. "Exegetisch und Kritisch steht das Resultat fest, dass der Artikel ἡ . . . spätere Correctur ist." Chronolog. Synopse der vier Evangelien.

Neander. The claims of the Feast of Dedication are supported by Ebrard, and those of the Day of Atonement by Caspari. Dean Alford can come to no conclusion whatever.

The following is the rough outline of the scheme of which the following criticism on John iv. 35 forms a part—not so much a logical part, for my contention about the harvest verse would stand, though the general scheme were to fall, but a chronological part, the time-relation of which to other parts, must be shown :

The Baptism and Fast over, near the end of March.

The Wedding at Cana, end of March.

Our Lord leaves Cana for Capharnaum with His Mother for some days.

Leaves Galilee for Jerusalem for the first Pasch, middle of April. Signs worked on this occasion chiefly for His fellow-Galileans. Same occasion, interview with Nicodemus.

Leaves Jerusalem for the desert to baptise through his disciples, while the Baptist was baptising near Salim.

Stays in the desert about a fortnight (according to some, many months).

Leaves the desert to begin the Galilean Mission, last day of April.\*

On His way passes through Sychar, meets the Samaritan woman ; SPEAKS OF THE HARVEST WHILE LOOKING AT THE RIPE FIELDS. *John* iv. 35.

Moves north. Beginning of the Galilean Mission with Capharnaum for base, early in May.†

Interruption of Mission for journey to Jerusalem for Pentecost. (*John* v. 1.). One miracle worked, that on the Paralytic, rather early in June.

Immediate return. The Galilean Mission resumed.

From this point we must occupy ourselves with the passage through Samaria and the mention of the Harvest.

What then was the date of this event?

From a very large and learned body of critics the answer comes readily: It was four months from the April Harvest. Therefore it was December.

\* In parts lower than the slopes of Gerizim, harvest had already begun. "Harvest began about middle of April, and lasted till end of May." Dr. Tristram, "The Land of Israel," p. 583.

† It was in the month of April I visited this holy place on the Jordan. It was already the time of harvest, for the people of Jericho were reaping their little fields up on the plain." Rev. J. L. Porter, "The Giant Cities of Bashan," p. 110.

The Samaritan harvest was later. See, too, the admirable section on the Bible Calendar in "Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible."

† Origen says *ad loc.* very remarkably, *ὡς νεωστὶ τοῦ πάσχα προγεγνημένου καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεπραγμένων αὐτῶν*. The Speaker's Commentary quite inconsistent with this.



Before we enter on a close examination of the text, it will be useful to show the immense importance and wide bearings of this conclusion on the after life of our Lord. The advocates of the midwinter theory must necessarily proceed to argue thus :

Christ passed up to Galilee through Samaria in December, spent the following January and February in the north. Soon after came a Pasch. It was not the "Pasch of Miraculous Bread" (John vi. 4), for if it was, the Galilean Mission proper, which ended about the time of the multiplication of loaves would have occupied an impossibly short space. Therefore we must suppose another Pasch between the "Nicodemus" Pasch, and that of the Miraculous Bread. This Pasch which we are compelled to insert can be no other than the unnamed feast of John v. 1.

To me this reasoning seems unreasonable, once we grant that the journey through Samaria was made in winter. But we need not linger over it. It is only given to show the greatness of the views involved in the date of the words spoken in John iv. 35 about the harvest.

A very large body of critics, not less eminent than the first, maintain that the time was summer. So far we are fortunate in having them with us, but at this very point they are confronted by a difficulty which they meet in one way and we in another.

If we succeed in making good our solution, two results will follow :—first, the summer theory will have its one serious drawback removed ; secondly, the midwinter theory will have to be abandoned.

The difficulty thus differently met affords a very interesting and instructive chapter in the history of Gospel criticism, and calls for a somewhat detailed examination here. At first sight it is very formidable indeed. "Say not ye there are four months and then the harvest cometh?" How could the time be summer if the corn has yet to grow for four months? Nothing, perhaps, shows so much the strength of the conviction that it was summer, as the nature of the answer returned. Rather than give up that enchanting picture of the warm summer day, and the shady tree, and the cool well, and the tired but majestic figure waiting for a drink at the hands of the wondering and abashed woman, it is worth while to make a sacrifice, but it should not be the sacrifice of reason or any sound canon of criticism. The answer given by the upholders of the theory under consideration, appears to me lame and unsatisfactory in the highest degree, and but for the number of commentators who have accepted it since it was first proposed, some three hundred years ago, it might be a little difficult to give it a patient hearing. It is this. The companions of our Lord on the journey, or the country people about, had some saying touching the harvest—some kind of agricultural saw embodying

the wisdom or the expectations of the farmers of Samaria. What precise form the saying took is never conjectured. The most that commentators will commit themselves to is, that probably the people had some way of heartening one another to look forward to an ingathering of fruits some four months off. There is, besides, a conspicuous dearth of anything like parallel examples taken from the husbandry, either of antiquity or modern times. No other people is said to have had a similar saying to this "proverb," the proverbial character of which is very obscure. There is no shred of evidence to indicate the existence of any such expression as to the four months. What could the Samaritans or Apostles have meant by it? If the fields were at this moment ripe, it is hard to see the relevancy of the remark about a harvest still distant. Or did those who used the expression to our Lord go back in mind to the sowing time? But if there was a popular proverb in vogue at sowing time, it could scarcely take this form. It would more likely refer to an interval between sowing and reaping, that was longer than four months. On most of the table-land of Samaria, with a temperature much lower than that of the Jordan valley, neither barley nor wheat could ripen much sooner than in England, and a four months' crop is, as far as I know, an impossibility with us. "Barley was sown in October or beginning of November, ripened in March, and was generally cut in April" (Dictionary of the Bible, Art. "Wheat"). Wheat is of slower growth. Sown about October or November as with us, it was reaped by the Jews "towards the end of April or May or June, according to the difference of soil and position" (*Ibid.*) Pliny, indeed, speaks of a "bimestre," but it grew "circa Thracium sinum." This is very fast growth, but the opinion of botanists might perhaps bear out Pliny, and confirm our faith in his veracity. He is on safer ground when he rebukes the sceptical Columella, another scientific farmer, for doubting of the existence of a *trimestre* corn (Hist. Nat. 18 17). Theophrastus, too, speaks of this same corn ὁ καλοῦσι τρίμηνον διὰ τὸ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τελειοῦσθαι (His. Plant. 8. 1). But in Palestine, or least of all in Samaria, there was no "three-month" or "four-month" grain of any kind.

Again, is it probable that when the corn was about a month and a half in the ground, a proverb should go the rounds to the effect that four months more remained. It is quite conceivable that there should be agricultural sayings, or even witticisms, at the two terminal points of sowing and reaping, but not at regular intervals between. Supposing that this was reaping time, a "proverb" referring to reaping as four months off would be singularly ill-timed. On this theory one can hardly make the smallest calculation about time without committing oneself to a "proverb." Is "three days more" a proverb? Most

of the disciples hailed from the busy marts of Galilee, and were not likely to indulge in harvest proverbs.

It was said above that the theory of the proverb was started some three hundred years ago. Among modern critics it has become very popular. They seem to forget that it has a poisoned source, for its author was no other than the Jesuit Maldonatus (see Suicer, *ad voc. τετραμήνον*).

It seems, then, that some other explanation must be given of the remark of the Apostles, afterwards repeated by our Lord. "Have not you been saying?" (*οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε*).\*

It must not, however, be thought that the advocates of the midwinter time of John iv. 35 have not a grave, though not as grave a difficulty to meet. For the question naturally arises: If it was winter, how could our Lord say with any propriety, "Behold I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see the country that it is white already to harvest." The following explanation has received so wide an acceptance, especially among German critics, that one is tempted to think that the gregarious instinct is not wholly wanting in that great nation.

It is said that Christ had no such field before Him, but seeing the crowds whose curiosity had been roused by the woman's story approaching Him, He took occasion to raise the minds of His Apostles to the contemplation of the true harvest, which is souls. Pointing to the advancing throngs, He said, "This is the country that, irrespective of the times and seasons of the natural world, is white unto the harvest. Be filled with a great longing to reap." Of this explanation I think it may be said, "Qui potest capere, capiat." I confess, with a becoming sense of confusion, that I find it difficult to see how these critics have our Lord or His Apostles in mind at all. This was not His way with them. As easy is it to believe that there was no real well or no real water to serve as the type of the living water; that there was no real food offered Him, which led Him to speak of the food of His Father's will; that there were no real birds overhead when He uplifted His eyes, and said, "Behold the birds of the air"; that there were no real flowers of the field to point the moral of trust in the Father; no real bread given to prepare the minds of His hearers to accept the greater gift of the Bread from Heaven; no weeping over the real city of Jerusalem, but only over a picture of the imagination—these things are not much harder to believe

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\* It is certain that both Greek and Latin possess the time-concept expressed by our paraphrastic tenses, like "I have been speaking," "I had been expecting." (See Xen. Ana. i. 2, 22; Cic. ad Att. i. 4.) No word like *Jampridem* is required to give this meaning. By omitting altogether this form, the Revisers seem to have missed the point of two *verōs* in John vii. 1. Cf. John xvii. 9. Also John vii. 21.

than that there was no corn waving white on the uplands of Samaria, when Christ bade His Apostles lift their eyes and see the fields, and after He and they had gazed on the glorious scene, drew them gently on to consider the nobler harvest for which He destined His reapers.

Yet there seems to be very little misgiving on the part of those who prefer the purely metaphorical interpretation. Lange, for instance, must surely forget that the Apostles at this stage of their training were not as well informed as he concerning the peculiarly Christian signification of a "Harvest of Souls." Much has been written about the ignorance of the Apostles, and much exaggeration indulged in, with the view no doubt of enhancing the wonderful patience of our Lord. Archdeacon Farrar, for instance, with that habit of declamatory denunciation which has become a second nature to him, and has borne bitter fruit in his latest work, sometimes allows himself to lapse into an unseemly degree of scorn for the dull wits of the Apostles. But while this spirit of underrating them is much to be deprecated, it would be folly to claim for them during the years of the ministry any high degree of spiritual intelligence. We may take it as certain, that if there was no physical foundation for the metaphorical language of our Lord (John iv. 36-38), the lesson which He undoubtedly wished to emphasise was lost on His hearers, while there is no reason to suppose that a metaphor, which to say the least was far-fetched, was cleared up by our Lord on His being further questioned by His puzzled Apostles.

It is quite true that the Apostles very often misunderstood the *spiritual* side of our Lord's allusions, but unless I am mistaken, there is no single instance in which He did not take particular care to make the *material* side of His similes and metaphors perfectly clear. Thus, by giving His Apostles a solid basis to begin with, He succeeded in stimulating their curiosity to obtain an insight into His spiritual meaning. If the material element was not palpably presented to their eyes, the mental state in which His figurative language would have invariably left them, would have been one of sheer bewilderment.

Is it then probable that the invitation of our Lord to gaze (*θεάσασθε*) on that beautiful summer prospect, and thus to attune their minds to the lesson He was about to teach, was equivalent to an excessive demand on slow intelligences, to see a "harvest" in a crowd of men and women? We have the New Testament to help us, and yet we are often slow of heart, but in the Old Testament there is no sort of analogue that could have aided the Apostles in their perplexity. "What are we to look at? And why?" Surely men must forget that this day at Sychar was the birthday of the metaphor so familiar to us, and that a metaphor

takes its rise in tangible and visible and non-metaphorical things.

Enough has been said about the main difficulties involved in the midwinter and summer interpretations. It is time to turn to the text itself, and see what information it yields. First of all, is there any doubt as to its genuineness? There is absolutely none. The variants, too, are of slight moment. Critics are not disconcerted by the omission of *ἔτι* from Codex D (Bezae). They account for it by "Homœoteleuton"—that is, similarity of ending with the preceding *ὄτι*. But though D is thus at variance with the great uncials *N*, A, B, C, &c., it is not alone. Besides a number of Cursives which omit the particle, among them being the Codex Leicestrensis collated by Scrivener, the Syriac version (Cureton's), St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, Theophylactus, Origen (some say five times, others eight) give the text without the *ἔτι*.

Of greater importance is the reading of the *Textus Receptus* *τετράμηνον* instead of *τετράμηνος*. Griesbach rejects the neuter form, Mill keeps it.\* It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that there was once some difficulty in understanding the meaning of the *τετράμηνος*, for which the Codex authority is overwhelming. This question will reappear later on. It has its value as a probable symptom that there was a little hesitation about the meaning of this very rare word, only once used in the Gospels, and which I am inclined to think the Evangelist could never have picked up except among Asiatic Greeks.

In our further inquiry, we shall assume that the usual reading with both *ἔτι* and *τετράμηνος* is absolutely correct.

Is the translation so? The answer we are about to give to this question would never be given if *τετράμηνος* were not a very unusual word, if it were not liable to be mistaken even by the learned, much as scores of Shakespearean words like "Chrisom," "Nine men's morris," &c., may be misunderstood even by eminent English scholars; lastly and chiefly, this paper would not have been written at all, were not the instances of *τετράμηνος* in Greek literature so few, that with a little diligence, an inquirer might arrive at something like a perfect induction on the point.

Our thesis then may be: The translation of *τετράμηνος* by "four-months" or anything equivalent to this, is impossible.

As some little apology for this round assertion, it may be said that neither the Revisers nor the Douay translator† can have been absolutely satisfied with their work on this text. There

\* See Bruder, Scholz, Schleusner.

† For the "four months" of the Douay translation, it may be said once for all that it did what it professed to do—that is, translated nothing but the "Quatuor menses" of the Vulgate. The Authorised Version, left unchanged by the Revisers, professed to render *τετράμηνος*.

must be some difficulty about it; else no scholar would have been reduced to the extraordinary device of inserting without a shadow of warrant from the original, the word *then*—thus, “There are yet four months and *then* the harvest cometh.” This purports to be a translation of *ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἐρχεται*.

The fact seems to be that an analogy which I cannot help regarding as false, strongly influences the minds of translators of this verse. Expressions beginning with “yet,” “adhuc,” *ἔτι, γὰρ*—for they are all the same—are exceedingly common in Scripture. The “yet” introduces the phrase; there comes a measure of time; then an event that is to take place when that measure is fulfilled. The following examples from the Vulgate are to the point. “Adhuc paululum modicumque et consummabitur indignatio et furor meus super scelus eorum” (Is. x. 25). “Adhuc sexaginta et quinque anni et desinet Ephraim esse populus” (*Ibid.* vii. 8). “Adhuc duo anni dierum, et ego referri faciam ad locum istum omnia vasa domus Domini” (Jer. xxviii. 3). “Adhuc modicum et veniet tempus messisionis ejus” (*Ibid.* li. 33). Cf. Osee. i. 4, and John xiv. 19, *ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ*. The Masoretic text of Jonas iii. 4. exhibits this favourite construction in the clearest form: *יֵם אַרְבָּעִים וָיָוֶן*, or as the LXX. with a different numeral puts it, *ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ Νινευὴ καταστραφήσεται* (Cf. Agg. ii. 7). The translators of John iv. 35 evidently regard the construction as identical with the above. According to their rendering, our Lord must have said some such words as *γὰρ אַרְבָּעָה וָיָוֶן יֵם*. If so, they are naturally justified in inserting the *then*, and reading off “Yet four months and then, &c.”

Before leaving this point to examine the *τετράμηνος* of Greek authors, an argument that must be allowed to have some weight against the translators must be noticed. Granting for a moment that Christ made use of some such expression as the Hebrew above, it is not likely that St. John would turn the last two Hebrew words into the one very rare word, *τετράμηνος*. For consider the state of the case. The LXX. were in the same position as St. John. They, too, had to translate about a hundred and sixty collocations of “month” with a numeral, and they seem not to have had the least hesitation in setting down *τρεις* or *τέσσαρες* as the case might be with *μῆνες*.

In 1 Kings xxvii. 7 they had an opportunity of translating “four months.” They use the ordinary Greek—that is, the two words. Again, in Judges xix. 2, and xx. 47, they met the same expression and translated as before. As to these last two instances, there is some reason to doubt whether they did not write the neuter noun of time *τετράμηνον*. Even though they did, it will be shown later that the difference between this noun and

S. John's word is very wide. But the best recensions do not give *τετράμηνον* *once* throughout the whole of the Bible, but prefer the readings *μηνῶν τεσσάρων* and *τέσσαρας μῆνας*. True, that the cognate form *τρίμηνον* is used by the LXX. four times, Gen. xxxviii. 24, 4 Kings xv. 8, 2 Par. xxxvi. 2, 9 (compare Heb. xi. 23), but *τρίμηνον* is a word far better known than the other. As to *ἑξάμηνον*, our "half year," the LXX. employ it only twice—4 Kings xv. 8; 1 Par. iii. 4. To come to the New Testament. The Evangelists had occasion about fifteen times to use the word "month" or "months" with a numeral, yet they never made the smallest attempt to form any such extraordinary combination as *τετράμηνος*; "four months." St. John himself uses the small numerals as freely as the Synoptists, but never in composition, except in this one case of iv. 35.

The foregoing seems to establish at least a *prima facie* presumption against the likelihood of a Scriptural writer going out of his way to translate the commonest of expressions that in all the principal languages, ancient and modern, is divided into two words, as "four months," by a most uncommon and almost utterly unknown term like *τετράμηνος*. We think, then, that it is a question imperatively demanding an answer: Why did not St. John write here *τέσσαρες μῆνες*, in a way at once consonant with his usually simple Greek, and familiar to his readers? The attempt to solve this and the other yet unanswered questions will be made later on.

We now come to the examination of the word *τετράμηνος* as Greek, and out of all relation with the Scripture, and as we go on the suspicion ought to gather strength that the word, whatever it means, does not mean "four months." And here we may premise that if in the scarcity of the word itself we turn to others which must follow the same laws as it, our reasoning will not be thereby vitiated or weakened in the least. Rather if it be proved as to a certain class of words whose form and meaning is fixed by etymology and usage, cause must be shown why *τετράμηνος* should not conform to ordinary law, but be regarded as an errant word *sui juris* and *sui generis*.

Fortunately, there is no difficulty in classifying *τετράμηνος* as, originally at least, an adjective of two terminations. This is something gained. We are now free to compare with a vast host of precisely similar formation and combination.\* Here are a few: *τετρακότυλος*, *τετράκωλος*, *τετράπτερος*, *τέτρωρος*, *τετράκυκλος*. Compounds of the numerals three and four can thus be formed *ad infinitum*. It is of course a flagrant truism to say that they all have the characteristics of adjectives. But when

\* See Suidas, Stephanus, Liddell and Scott.

we say this, few of us advert to the fact that some of the very largest issues of the philosophy of grammar are here involved. The chaotic state into which our minds are thrown by grammarians, compilers of grammars, and practical teachers of grammar, makes it hard to see even superficially the distinction between an adjective and a noun; and as to a thorough understanding, the thing is not to be contemplated. The whole scholastic system of Substance and Accident is at the bottom of the distinction, and few are prepared to become philosophical, and not merely philological grammarians, at the cost of refurbishing the tools of the only philosophy that sounds the depths of the psychological mine, lightens the dark places where word-making is done,

Finds bottom in the uncomprehensive deeps,  
Keeps place with thought, and almost like the gods,  
Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.\*

It is only the shallowest of sciolists or sneerers that talk about the purely arbitrary character of language. The arbitrary sphere extends no farther than the answer to the one question, What name is to be given? Natural processes under the name of law precede the naming of the idea, or mental word, and follow it. The moment for free action is the moment of naming. Now there is no law of language but has a metaphysical basis, and the discredit into which metaphysics have fallen is the destruction of the science of grammar.

But to return to our list of Adjectives. We shall take *τετράκυκλος* as a fair sample of this family, and proceed to reason, but not in too *à priori* a fashion, about it. Some dictionaries are accustomed to define such words as "That which has, &c.," in our case, that which has four wheels. Nothing could be more incorrect. *τετράκυκλος* is "four-wheeled." Its objective counterpart *has* nothing itself; it *is* not anything subsistent by itself, as the chariot or "growler" is something subsistent, it is only a quality in virtue of which the substantial thing is properly called four-wheeled.\* Old dictionaries would say, and correctly, "The quality of being four-wheeled," not meaning, of course, the abstract and subjective quality of "four-wheeledness," but the concrete objective characteristic of this or that vehicle. This being so it need hardly be said that it is an absolute impossibility, dependent on no arbitrary convention to translate *τετράκυκλος* by "four wheels." Four wheels are very substantial things indeed. They are more than *properties* in

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\* "Troilus and Cressida." Ulysses, *log.*

† "Accidentia et formæ non subsistentes dicuntur entia non quod ipsa habeant esse, sed quia eis aliquid est." St. Thomas. Summa: Prima Secundæ, 55. 4.



virtue of which things are this or that, round or square, white or black. They are things which *have* properties, and *are* in a much truer sense than properties *are*. Take again the English expression, three-year-old, as a Predicate. Looking at it simply as it stands, it cannot possibly mean a subsistent thing, capable of separate existence, not needing to *inhere* in something else, if it is to *be* at all. Give it something to be *in*, and it has all the reality it is capable of. Thus a "three-year-old horse" not only brings out the substance horse, but a certain time-relation which cannot be except in the horse or in something equally substantial. But to show that τετράμηνος is not wholly forgotten, it must be brought on the scene at once. It seems to us to make a great difference whether we translate it by "four months," or by "four months old," quite as much as between "four wheels" and "four-wheeled." In the former case we have a *substantive*, in the second an *adjective*. Just now we are not saying which it is, but only that the two are different. *By itself*, four-months-old has no real existence. To be anything, something must take it up and *be* four months old.

At this point we may ask: Can any one who translates τετράκυκλος and scores of similarly formed words without a moment's hesitation, doubt of the strength of the argument from analogy? As surely as τετράκυκλος is four-wheeled, and not four-wheels, nor four-wheeler, so is τετράμηνος four-monthed, that is four-months-old, and not four months.

Here an objection must be promptly met. Adjectives, it is said, and substantives are interchangeable. If there is any validity in the previous reasoning, this statement, as it stands, must be denied. Without some unmistakable mark to show that you are devoting a given adjective to other than adjectival functions, no mental effort can make a word which is an adjective, a substantive. μεγαλόψυχος is an adjective, and cannot be anything else; the French "pauvre" is the adjective *poor*, and nothing else. If I wish to speak of Aristotle's great personage, I am compelled to make some palpable change to indicate that I am speaking of a man now. This is most easily done by prefixing the article, ὁ μεγαλόψυχος.\* The same way with *pauvre*. If "un" or "le" is added, the word remaining materially the same becomes capable of doing duty as the sign of the concept of a man, who is in the state, or has the form (μορφήν) denoted by the adjective.†

Similarly ὁ τετράμηνος, though there is no such expression in

\* Aristotle's creation in Ethics 4. 7. is called by some the Great-souled Man, by others, not without some show of reason, the Utter Prig.

† When the functions of a substantive are not fixedly assumed, there is no harm in saying that such and such a substantive is understood with the adjective.

the Greek language, *would* be a substantive. Still keeping to the mere hypothesis of its existence, what would it mean? Some attention should be given to this question, which can be answered very briefly by an example. Supposing Euripides (Hippol. 1229) chose to drop the ὄχος, and to speak of ὁ τέτρωρος, he would mean by this expression "that which *has* four yoke-fellows," not four yoke-fellows. So, too, with the often-repeated τετράκκλος. If made to do duty for a substantive by the prefixing of ὁ, it means, not "four wheels," but "that which *has* four wheels." With this compare the substantive formed out of the adjectival expression three years old. We say "a three-year-old," or, "the three-year-old," not meaning three years, but an animal that *has* that age, or is three years old. Thus ὁ τετράμηνος would signify not four months, but that which has, or is, that age, though it is far more usual to employ an adjective, as in Plautus, "Filia trima," a daughter three years old, or in Varro, "trimestres hædi," goats three months old, or Horace's

Quæ velut latis equa trima campis  
Ludit exultim metuitque tangi.—Od. iii. 11.

To sum up this part of the argument. An adjective, τετράμηνος exists. It denotes not months, but an *accidental* time-relation with months. No substantive has been formed thus—ὁ τετράμηνος. If it had been, it would most probably signify a thing, say a child of four months old.\* Lastly, to put things at their worst for ourselves, even supposing the substantive did exist, and did mean four months, it is not found in John iv. 35. Hence objections on the point may be dismissed as irrelevant.

A little discussion must now be given to the question of the use of τετράμηνος, or similar compounds of μήν and numerals, in profane authors. The adjectival meaning "lasting four months" comes out clearly in Thucydides, v. 63. The Lacedæmonians left Argos, τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι. In the lament of Dejanira at her husband's absence (Sophoc. Trach. 165) τρίμηνος is an adjective, just as much as τεταρταῖος in John xi. 39, and Herod ii. 89.

τρίμηνος ἡνίκ, ἂν  
χώρας ἀπέτη κἀνιαύσιον βεβῶς.

Æschines in Ctesiph. speaks of the χρόνος τῆς τριμήνου. This is a feminine that gives editors some difficulty, which is solved by the *deus ex machina* of περίοδος understood.† This is a most

\* Compare "Uno porco tremessale." This three-month-old pig flourished in the year 777, and fetched a third of an *as*.—Muratori's "Antiquities." A German mother may call her child, ein Dreitägiges, or say he is viermonatig, four months old, τετράμηνος.

† Herod. ii. 124. does not justify this assumption.

unusual word, and not to be brought in without grave reason. There seems to be no evidence that ἡ τρίμηνος can mean a space of three months. The orator has been speaking so much of the *συμμαχία* formed after the capture of Amphipolis by Philip, that there is reason to think this is the substantive understood. But it must be repeated again, even if ἡ τρίμηνος with or without *περίοδος* means three months, and ὁ ἑξάμηνος\* with or without *χρόνος* means six months, our simple *τετράμηνος* has nothing of the substantive about it.

While on the question of the gender of the substantive understood after ὁ or ἡ τρίμηνος we may observe that to avoid confusion, we have hitherto refrained from determining the meaning of the neuter *τετράμηνον*. Undoubtedly, did such a word occur in John iv. 35, it would mean four months, just as the Latin neuter *triduum* means three days. There is no proof that such a word is Greek, but its occurrence in the *Textus Receptus*, and many *Cursives* excites some curiosity as to its origin.

Few classes of men fare so ill at the hands of their judges as the unfortunate Scribes, who are summoned by the Critics from the dust of hundreds of years, to answer for their "blunders." The only parallel to it is the case of ladies discussing the little failings of servants. Whoever wrote *τετράμηνον* first, no doubt blundered, but, perhaps, he blundered intelligently. At least let him have the benefit of the doubt. It is quite possible, that thinking it necessary to write a compound of *μήν* that would express "four months," he sat down quickly and wrote the *only* word that could really serve his purpose. This may have been unscrupulous, but it is a rather clever mistake.

So far the *τετράμηνος* of John iv. 35 has been regarded out of all relation to its immediate context, that is to say, no direct reference has been made to the word in what we may call the agricultural colour it derives from its surroundings.

A brief treatment of this part of our subject will best begin with Liddell and Scott's account of *πυρὸς τρίμηνος*. They say it is a wheat sown in spring "so as to ripen in three months." In support of this they refer to a comic poet named Philyllius, who wrote about the year 398 B.C. The fragments of his plays are very few and uninteresting. They are said to show traces rather of the Middle than the Old Comedy. Athenæus, the grammarian who, by his own account, accomplished the dismal task of reading through eight hundred comedies, has preserved a passage from the *Αὔγη* of Philyllius. It is that referred to by Liddell and Scott, and is given in full in "Meineke, *Fragmenta*," vol. ii.

\* ὁ ἑξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη. Xen. Hell. ii. 3. Cf. *Ibid.*, iii. 4.

pt. 2. p. 857. It seems to show that the *τρίμηνος* wheat did not ripen in three months.

αὐτὸς φέρων πάρειμι πυρῶν ἐγγόνους τριμήνων  
γαλακτοχρῶτος κολλάβους θερμοῦς.

On which Athenæus remarks, *γίνονται δ' οἱ ἄρτοι οὗτοι* (the *κόλλαβοι*) *ἐκ νέου πυροῦ*. The epithet *γαλακτοχρῶτος* has its difficulties, but it is certain that there is milk in it, and that unripe grain is milky, and ripe grain not milky but horny. Children admitted to cornfields know the distinction well. The luscious cakes here spoken of were, it would seem, made of three month-old wheat, precisely because it was not ripe, but was still full of the sweet milk that the epicure required. Besides, it may be asked, how could wheat in those days ripen in three months? The mean annual temperature of Attica is about 63° F. For such a climate as Greece, the ripening of wheat in three months is incredible.

Much light is thrown on this question by Littré. It seems that the French have a word which is an exact equivalent to the *τρίμηνος* wheat. It is the "trémois," thus described in the great dictionary. "Blé de mars, blé de trois mois . . . qui se sème pour être coupé *en vert*, au printemps et donné aux bestiaux." Every word here will help us to a clearer understanding, both of the *τρίμηνος* and *τετράμηνος πυρός*. Du Cange has much important evidence to give in the same direction as Littré and the Greek poet. The abundance of the words he gives bearing on three-month wheat shows how well the term was known in the Middle Ages. In those days men grew wheat and cut it before it was ripe, presumably not as a delicacy for themselves, but for their cattle. *Trimenstruum* in Du Cange is "trimense triticum"—"our trémois," he adds. Again, "trimense dicitur quoddam genus ordei quia satum post tres menses, colligitur." This is taken from the old Glossarium of J. de Janua. "Trimesium" occurs in an old charter of 1171. There was even a word for the time of the "trimense triticum;" it was *tremisium*. Lastly, we find in the same authority, "Tetransiton." Analogy points unmistakably to its meaning. It must be four-month old corn, but as we have not had access to this author's very rare Glossary of "Low" Greek, we cannot pursue the subject further.

We hope to be acquitted of the charge of hastiness in our conclusions if we say that this evidence points to the meaning of the *τετράμηνος* in John iv. 35 as four-month old applied to corn.

"Say ye not the crop is already four months old and the harvest is coming?"

Their reckoning was too mathematical. Four months and

more the Samaritan wheat *ought* to have taken to grow, but the lovely summer, the first that saw the Son of God going his rounds of mercy, God gave the increase, and in a short four months the harvest was ready for the sickle.

It will be noticed that the *ἔτι* of John iv. 35 must now be rendered, not by the future "yet" but the past "already." This translation hardly needs justification. Like the Latin *adhuc*, "up to this point," and therefore "before, in the past," *ἔτι* primarily connotes past and not future time. In the best lexicons its future sense appears long after the treatment of its primary meaning.

"*Ἐτι κόρος* is "while yet a boy:" *ἤδη* seems to have more of a future connotation than *ἔτι*. Thus *οὔτε νεανίσκος ἤδη, οὔτε παῖς ἔτι*; nec adhuc juvenis, nec jam puer. Stephanus gives the same two words remarkably contrasted in a passage from Philostrates: "You will wonder at certain figs"—*ἦ τὸ ἤδη ἢ τὸ ἔτι*, that is, either at their coming already, or at their keeping so long.\* Also the scriptural use of *ἔτι* gives full warrant for the proposed change. See Luke xxiv. 6, xxiv. 41, xxiv. 44. John xx. 1, *σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσης*. 1 Cor. iii. 3, *Ibid.* xv. 17. 2 Thess. ii. 5.

One word as to St. John's knowledge of the strange word. At Ephesus he was sure to meet with an agricultural population. On the hills that enclose the Cayster, corn is grown in abundance, and terms to describe the various stages of its growth would probably have been in circulation. If he wanted to say of a crop that it was four months old, he would have had a technical word to hand.

This is conjecture, but we have nothing better to offer.

Little remains to be done. The arguments advanced, if they prove anything, prove the need of the revision of a translation, while they leave every syllable of the original untouched. We give them for what they are worth. If of any weight, they will be justly appraised; if worthless, they will be justly, and we are sure not harshly condemned.

But turn we now to the Scripture scene; to the peaceful but tired figure sitting by Jacob's well; and, leaving behind us the din of argument, we may be allowed to take a brief survey of the place and the journey thither.

Our Lord of course knew it. So did the Apostles. Unless when the Samaritans were particularly hostile, and threatened to molest travellers to or from Jerusalem, everyone would prefer this route past the east entrance of the matchless Valley of Shechem, to the circuitous route on the east of Jordan.

\* Stephanus seems to misunderstand the passage.

The good Galilean fishermen, like Peter and Andrew, whose work was suspended by the cold of the northern winter, would have come down this way and joined the throngs who were flocking to John, the new preacher in the desert (Matt. iii. 5). They would have been enrolled amongst John's more special disciples, before Christ Himself started as a penitent in their track, and wended His way to do penance in the desert, and to beg the baptism of sinners. For reasons into which we cannot enter now, John's preaching probably began in January. Peter was likely at the first echoes of that voice to hurry with his usual impetuosity to the scene. At this time the Galileans would have noticed the Samaritans sowing their seed.

Near the favourite disciples of John, our Lord must have been hiding in the desert, but quite unknown to them. Even John did not know where He was, for He wandered out one day into the desert with two disciples (John i. 35), and scanned the horizon, but could not see Him whom He longed to behold once again. When at last he caught sight of Jesus walking, he uttered the cry of joy, whereat his disciples ran to overtake the Lord. The overpowering impulse of curiosity was too great for them, and their first question was, *Where hast Thou been staying?* (John i. 39). Now that they had found Him they would never leave Him, and they went up together to Cana to the wedding. Then down again—it was only three or four days' journey—to the Pasch; then, shortly afterwards, up again to begin the Galilean mission.

It was now the end of April, and the conversation turned on the crops that the Apostles had seen sown four months before. They knew roughly, and in the half-experienced way of men whose life is widely severed from that of toilers in the fields, that the harvest was approaching. It was not quite ripe as they neared Gerizim, and the mountain-spur that faced them is untilled and rocky. They were now only half way to the north, and our Lord had to rest at Jacob's well on Gerizim. The disciples went on to buy some food, probably at Sychar, on the south-east foot of Mount Ebal, and north-east of the well where they had left their master. Thus they did not pass into the valley between the two mountains, and, like many men who are indifferent to nature, or are too used to her charms, they did not care to stop and look up the valley.

Travellers in Palestine speak in a uniform strain of rapture of this view. They still see what Joatham saw (Judges ix.) when he addressed his parable of the trees to the men of Shechem, and pointed to the olives that overhung him on the side of Gerizim. The Apostles saw no difference between the unequalled luxuriance and verdure of this paradise and the less favoured field they had

just passed through. They had to be told to lift their eyes and look along the golden carpet of the teeming plain. The calculations made on their journey were outstripped by the bounty of Nature. In a spot like this they should not speak so much of the harvest coming as of the harvest come. Outside the vale, they might argue that four months were gone, and a fortnight or so would bring the harvest. But all was changed here, and yet they did not notice the burst of the glory which His eyes drank in. Well might He have said : Look ! Ecce !

M. A. POWER, S.J.

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ART. VIII.—IRISHMEN IN THE FRENCH  
REVOLUTION.

1. *Englishmen in the French Revolution.* By JOHN G. ALGER.  
London : Sampson Low & Co. 1889.
2. *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France.* By  
JOHN CORNELIUS O'CALLAGHAN. Glasgow : Cameron &  
Ferguson.

THE Irish Brigade in the service of France grew out of one revolution and received its deathblow from another. During the hundred years that passed between the English Revolution and the French, 480,000 Irishmen, it has been calculated, died in arms for his most Christian Majesty. Recruiting for the ranks thinned by death was carried on actively in Ireland until 1748, but in that year, stringent measures were taken by the Government, warned by Fontenoy, to prevent the enlistment of Irishmen into foreign services; these precautions, coupled with the decline in the hopes of seeing king Louis's troops come across the sea to raise up "dark Roisin," gave a serious check to this foreign enlistment, and soon a "flight of wild geese," as the emigration of such recruits was fancifully called, became a rare event even on the wild coast of Kerry. Changes had meanwhile been gradually taking place in the Irish régiments in France, one corps diminished in numbers or left without a colonel-proprietor being amalgamated with another, with the result that, at the time of the Revolution, we find the fifteen Irish regiments of 1691 reduced to three—those of Dillon, Berwick, and Walsh—and they were Irish but in their names and in their officers. The language of the Gael, which had been heard in many a French garrison town and on many a battlefield, was no longer spoken in their ranks, the soldiers marched no more to the airs of the "White Cockade" or "St. Patrick's Day": the rank and file were French, with a sprinkling, it is true, of Irishmen, composed partly of rare recruits from head-quarters and partly of deserters from the English army.\* The officers, as said, were Irish or of Irish race: indeed there were more Irish officers than places could

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\* "When the Irish regiments are opposed to English troops in war, a great many of the Irish desert and join their countrymen in the service of France. This was seen recently during the American war, in which, on one single occasion, more than 350 Irish Catholics taken prisoners at Saint Eustache, enlisted in the Dillon and Walsh regiments, in which the greater number still remain." "Historical Notes on the Services of the Irish Officers in the French Army." By General Arthur Dillon, 1792. Translated by J. P. Leonard.



be found for. Here then we have one of the main elements of the Irish population of France, at the time of the Revolution: but there were many Irish residents besides. There were Irish colleges at Paris, Bordeaux, Lille, Toulouse, Nantes and elsewhere, containing, between masters and students, some 450 inmates; there were Irish priests holding parishes, or in French religious houses, or acting as chaplains; there were no purely Irish convents, as far as I am aware, but there were many Irish nuns in French or English communities. There were, too, numbers of Irish Catholics, men and women of position, merchants, students, driven abroad by the storms at home, quietly breathing the air of freedom denied them in their own land, and soon to be denied them in the country of their adoption. To almost all of these the Revolution brought trouble in one form or another; it was hurried flight, loss of property or position to some; to others, it was imprisonment of short or long duration; to an unhappy few it was death itself.

Mr. Alger has told the story of the troubles, hopes and sympathies of the British in France during these stormy days in his interesting and carefully-compiled book, "Englishmen in the French Revolution." I shall only refer to such portions as relate to the Irish, and shall make some additions.

"The Revolution," says Mr. Alger, "which ended by imprisoning several hundred Englishmen in Paris alone, began by liberating two, if not three, who had grown grey in captivity." The three were Irishmen. For nineteen years the Earl of Massareene had been in prison as a debtor, first in Fort L'Evêque, and afterwards in La Force, the victim, according to one story, of swindlers, according to another, of his own follies and extravagance. His prison life, however, does not appear to have been a very hard one, for the rents of his Irish tenants, pretty punctually paid apparently, enabled him to keep open table, and lead, within his stone walls on a small scale, the same luxurious life he had led outside. He had on one occasion made an attempt at escape, and with the outbreak of the Revolution these thoughts of liberty were renewed. He proposed to his fellow-prisoners, among whom was François Richard-Lenoir, afterwards the reviver of the French cotton industry, that they should burst their bonds. This they did without very much difficulty, frightening their gaolers by stoically exclaiming, "Kill us, and then you will have to pay our creditors." After a visit to the English embassy, his lordship, true to himself, gave his companions a "capital dinner," during the preparation of which Lenoir, "always thoughtful and saving," as he himself boasts, hastened back to the prison to fetch his few things. Lord Massareene finally escaped to England; on landing at Dover he is said to have fallen on his knees and kissed

the ground, exclaiming, "God bless this land of liberty," to the astonishment of the spectators.

The storming of the Bastille, in which an Irish medical student, named Blackwell, subsequently a companion of Napper Tandy, and an officer of the Irish Legion, took some part, released seven captives, among whom was a strange creature with a beard "at least a yard long," and scarcely knowing how to express himself. He is reported to have said on his liberation, that he was "majeur de l'immensité," and to have made inquiries for Louis Quinze. He was a M. Whyte de Malleville, born at Dublin, and an ex-officer of the Irish Brigade. Becoming deranged in mind, he was confined at Vincennes, and afterwards transferred thence to the Bastille. The Dawn of Liberty did not mean much for him, poor man, and an asylum was soon again his home.

The third captive released at freedom's call was Andrew Macdonagh, who for twelve years and a half had occupied the cell of the Man with the Iron Mask, in the Ile Ste. Marguérite. He was a native of Sligo, and, like Whyte, an officer of the Irish Brigade. While his regiment, which was Dillon's, was stationed at Lille, he became acquainted with, and eventually got secretly married to, Rose Plunkett, daughter of Lord Dunsany. Her brother, on learning the secret alliance, had Rose confined in Port-Royal Convent, from which she appealed to the English embassy, and there followed diplomatic correspondence about the "demoiselle Plunkett." Rose did not presumably, like her namesake in the old chronicle, "represent in sinceritie of life the sweetness of that hearbe whose name she bare," for we are told that she "proved faithless, and to prevent Macdonagh's opposition to a second and more brilliant marriage, she got him arrested in 1777 under a *lettre de cachet*." She, meanwhile, married a M. Carondelet, a Belgian officer. On his release, Macdonagh gave a history of his love affair to the extraordinary Chevalier Rutledge, who published an account of it in Camille Desmoulins' newspaper, and drew from M. Carondelet a reply to the effect that Rose had spoken to Macdonagh but once, and then through the grating of a convent, and that that was the sum total of her acquaintance with him. In the *Moniteur* for May 7, 1792, there is a letter from Macdonagh, in which he complains of his wife's infidelity, and threatens to go to Hainault to punish Carondelet. It is accompanied by a copy of a letter from Rose, addressed most affectionately to Macdonagh, as "mon cœur et mon ami," acknowledging her marriage, and likewise the receipt of some money and oranges, "qui sont très bonnes comme vous-même." Rutledge's newspaper contribution was published as a pamphlet—"Amusements du Despotisme"—in 1791, and it is from it that Mr. Alger quotes. Mr. O'Callaghan in his "History of the Irish

Brigades," gives a somewhat different version of this story, taken from a "Memoir of M. Macdonagh," printed at Lyons in 1792. Here the hero is heir-presumptive to the wealthy old Count Charles O'Gara, Councillor of State at the Imperial Court, and a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and was intrigued out of his inheritance by Lord Dunsany, General Plunkett, Governor of Antwerp, and his own wife, Rose Plunkett. Particular abuse—it is on account of it that Mr. O'Callaghan refers to the Memoir—is showered on Count Walsh de Serrant, who procured the *lettre de cachet* from the Minister of War, and who is made out to be the descendant of a "Sieur Wash, a Jew of Strasbourg." Whatever way the story runs, Macdonagh was for twelve years and seven months in Ste. Marguérite, and was liberated by the Revolution. Thus gaily for these three Irishmen was ushered in the Revolution, which was destined before its close to bring woe to many of their countrymen.

The tempest was not yet come, but the sky was overcast; most foreigners took heed of the threatening aspect and fled in time. In 1790 the English *chargé d'affaires*, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, a brother of Lord Edward's, cautioned British subjects against visiting France. Two years later, Lord Kerry found it hard to procure a passport, and was obliged to leave behind him his French servants, unfortunately for two of them, for during the Terror, P. F. Nicolas, "domestique de Kéry, se disant lord d'Irlande," and Brunel, his lordship's valet, were guillotined. Kerry was possessed of considerable property in France, for which his heirs were indemnified thirty years afterwards. To his quiet home at Toulouse and his studies, the increasing Revolution in Paris drove Nicholas MacCarthy, born in Dublin, subsequently the great Jesuit preacher; back to their native land it sent nuns, such as those who joined the newly-established Ursuline convent in Cork, or officers of the Brigade, like those whom Lady Morgan met in Kilkenny, and who furnished her with material for the plot and characters of "O'Donnel," and others of her novels; or young collegians, like Daniel O'Connell, from Douai; across the border or to England fled many bearers of Irish names, such as Count O'Connell, the Walshs de Serrant, Count O'Mahony, Mgr. Dillon, the princely Archbishop of Narbonne, and patron of Irish *littérati*. To those of the Brigade who were with him at Coblenz, the Comte de Provence presented a *drapeau d'adieu* bearing the motto, "Semper et ubique fideles."

The Irish protomartyr was General Theobald Dillon, who fell in 1792. He was born in Dublin, entered Dillon's regiment and fought with distinction in America, where he won the Cross of St. Louis, and was made a member of the American Order of Cincinnati. During the Revolutionary War while serving under

Dumouriez at Lille, he received orders to make a feigned assault on Tournay, but was, at the same time, instructed to carefully avoid any encounter with the enemy. Being attacked by the Austrians, he ordered a retreat, which only resulted in the complete disarray of his ranks. It became suspected that Dillon, being an aristocrat, was in league with the enemy: "Sauve qui peut! nous sommes trahis! Aristocrates à la lanterne," was shouted on all sides; a pistol shot was fired at the General, and he was obliged to dismount and enter a cabriolet. The wounded soldier was driven into Lille, but no sooner had his carriage entered the city gates than an attack was made on him, and he was stabbed to death; his body was thrown out, and drawn through the streets. According to Lord Cloncurry,\* Patrick Lattin, Dillon's aide-de-camp, was in the cabriolet with the General at the time of his death. If so, his escape must have been miraculous. Lattin belonged to a family long-established in Kildare, and was looked upon as a splendid specimen of the Franco-Irish officer. He was educated at the Collège Henri IV., and at Turin, and then joined the Irish Brigade. He kept a house in the Chaussée d'Antin, much frequented by the Paris *beau monde*, and at his Kildare residence, Morrinstown-Lattin, some of the most distinguished Irishmen of the day used often meet. Lady Morgan was an occasional visitor at the latter place, and said of her host that beside him "Sheil was silent, and Curran dumb."† "When his purse was full," says Lord Cloncurry, "he drew upon it without scruple, to gratify his taste for pleasure or to help a friend; when it was empty, I have known him to sit down and, in three months' work, to complete a translation of the 'Henriade,' in order that he might relieve the necessities of an *émigré* friend with the proceeds of its publication. In the one case and in the other, he was equally blithe, and victorious over care." He made some other translations too and was a vigorous advocate of Catholic claims entering the lists with the Protestant champion, Dr. Patrick Duigenan, who, Protestant champion though he was, was married to a Catholic lady, and allowed her and her sister, a refugee from the French Revolution and resident in the Doctor's house, the most complete religious liberty.

Two Irish priests, Fathers Flood and Corby, narrowly escaped the September massacres, according to Mr. Alger, but under what circumstances he does not tell us. Many "narrow escapes"

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\* "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Valentine, Lord Cloncurry." Dublin, 1849.

† Note on the Lattin Family, by John M. Thunder, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland.*

are recounted of these times, there being a great tendency to magnify, if the bull be excused, any escape into a narrow one. Here will be the best place to mention one or two such, though they occurred at a later stage of the Revolution. The place of honour certainly belongs to one related by John Francis Maguire, in his "Life of Father Mathew," as falling to the lot of Father Donovan, a Capuchin, who was the Temperance Apostle's superior in Cork. Father Donovan was acting as chaplain in a French noble family when the Revolution broke out and forced the nobleman and his family to emigrate. Father Donovan who had remained in Paris, in charge of his patron's hotel, was arrested and condemned to death. The tumbril conveying him reached the hideous guillotine that appeared never to be sated with blood, and inevitable death stared the poor Irish friar in the face: he bade his companions, whom overnight he had done his best to console, think of the Saviour they were about to meet and in silent prayer resigned himself to his fate. But this time the guillotine was to be cheated: an Irish officer mindful of the land that had given him birth, rode up and cried out in Irish: "Are there any Irish among you?" "There are seven of us," answered Father Donovan. "Then have no fear": saying this, the officer made his way to the officials in charge, and on some pretext had his seven countrymen released. Father Donovan's special vocation in after life was to minister to the condemned: he was chaplain to Cork County gaol for very many years.

Dr. MacMahon, nephew of Dr. O'Reilly, who was one of Louis XVI.'s physicians, had, too, a narrow escape. After the king's execution, both uncle and nephew were suspected. Dr. MacMahon's latter was luckily a captain in his district, and he informed the doctor that orders had been issued for his arrest. The captain was to march a battalion of volunteers out of Paris on their way to the German frontier, and he advised his old customer to enlist in his corps, which was to be reviewed next day in the courtyard of the Collège Louis le Grand; the doctor had some friends at the college, and managed to conceal himself there for the night. Next morning he appeared, musket on shoulder, thanks to his captain's attention passed unnoticed at the parade, and marched out to join the army of the Rhine. His medical skill becoming known, he was attached to the military hospital, and after some campaigns under Moreau, he returned to Paris, finished his studies, and in after years was appointed doctor to the Irish College and head librarian of the Ecole de Médecine. The author of the "Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian," tells the story about MacMahon with many dramatic details. MacMahon was in the ranks to be first inspected; his captain,

noticing this, had him removed beneath an archway, where he was more or less concealed: the Mayor's clerk called out a list of the suspects, who, it was thought, might escape with the volunteers. "Is MacMahon here? Does any citizen recognise MacMahon?" was cried out, and so forth. The simple narrative is borrowed from the "Memoirs" of Miles Byrne, a Wexford man, who, having taken part in the Rebellion of '98, was obliged to escape to France, and became one of the most prominent officers of the Irish Legion, an Imperial counterpart of the Bourbon Irish Brigade.

In October 1793, the arrest of British subjects was decreed by the Convention, and between the 10th and 14th of that month some 250 persons were imprisoned. Of the Irish prisoners we shall refer to one only at any length, with all the more reason as Mr. Alger has taken no notice of him. This was James Roche, who came of a good Irish family, was educated at the College of Saintes, and apparently spent a great deal of his life in France. He finally settled down in Cork, and devoted much of the spare time left him by his business as a banker to the books in his well-stocked library. He became, as he himself says, a "literary volunteer," contributing pretty often to the magazines, more especially to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the DUBLIN REVIEW, and meriting thereby at the hands of his fellow-townsmen the flattering *sobriquet* of "the Roscoe of Cork." Towards the close of his life, in his eighty-first year, he collected many of his papers, and had them privately reprinted, under the title "Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous, by an Octogenarian," telling us in his preface that "they mainly originated in what appeared to him the necessary correction of numerous errors that struck him in his current reading." Through these essays occur bits of information about the French Revolution which I shall put together, with much regret that the author has not left us a connected account of his experiences. Most of Mr. Roche's early French life was spent in the South, in Bordeaux especially—a city that seems to have been a very favourite resort of his compatriots. It contained a church belonging to the Irish (St. Eutrope), an Irish college, of which a few words later on, and a monastery for Irish monks of St. Bernard. A citizen of the United States, who visited France in 1805-6, speaks of the vast number of Irish in that city.\* Many of these, however, were fugitives from Ireland after the Rebellion, and they were not looked upon with much favour by the older and wealthier Irish inhabitants. One of the latter class, an opulent merchant, lost £50,000 sterling by

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\* "Sketches of Society in France and Ireland in the years 1805-6-7." By a Citizen of the United States. Dublin: 1811.

the *assignats*. The American visitor met two Irish nuns whom the Revolution had thrown on the world. One was a Carmelite abbess, a native of Dublin, who is described as being possessed of very refined manners; she, and some of her sisters, deprived of their convent, conducted a boarding-school in the city. But we must return to Mr. Roche. At Saintes he had known the family of Guillotin, who as a young man was occupied about heads in a different way from that which afterwards claimed his attention, for he was a teacher at the Irish College, Bordeaux. Here we correct Mr. Roche the corrector, who places Guillotin at the Irish College, Paris. At the Rue St. Cathérine, in Bordeaux, Roche used often visit Vergniaud, then a barrister, always kind and obliging to the young Irishman, subsequently the deputy that pronounced sentence of death on the king. Others, too, of his Girondist colleagues he knew—Gensonné and Ducos, the latter of whom, he recollects, “wore false calves, to make his legs correspond with the comparatively greater fulness of his body.” Roche was able to speak of de Tocqueville as a man “whose society I have enjoyed.” He casually met Samson, *fil*s, the hangman, knew Madame Dubarry’s nominal husband, was well acquainted with several distinguished officers of the Irish Brigade, such as O’Moran, O’Meara, Count Walsh, and General Conway, the last named a firm opponent of the Revolution, and an ex-aide-de-camp of Washington. On the 28th May 1793, Roche dined at the house of his banker, M. Vandenyver, in company with twelve Girondist deputies, and his host’s son. Of the fifteen then present only two, one of the Vandenyvers and Mr. Roche were alive at the end of the year. In October he was arrested, and remained in prison till Robespierre’s downfall, when he “passed the *scrutin épuratoire* (vulgarly called *le purgatoire*) in order to obtain his *carte* or *certificat de civisme*,” and was again a free man. He some time after saw prison scenes again, but this time on the stage, in the play “*L’Intérieur du Comité Révolutionnaire*,” and was much pleased with a certain actor’s impersonation of Robespierre. We find him touring in the year 1795 in the South, “*pedes et expeditus*, partly from choice, and partly to avoid the danger which at that period a more aristocratic mode of travelling would have exposed me to.” He was quite at home with the peoples of Gascony and Languedoc, as their *patois* was familiar to him. In the same year, too, he was in Paris, and saw Napoleon :

Of his (Napoleon’s) first public manifestation in that capital, in October 1795, when he overthrew the Sections, armed in opposition to the Convention, I was a witness, and well remember the prognostics raised on the fearful energy of his conduct on that occasion.

That same year, also, 1795, an event worth noting, he paid 15,000 livres for a hat not worth fifteen shillings. Mr. Roche lived to the age of eighty-three, and witnessed before he died another but minor French revolution—that of 1848.

Let us name some others of the Irish prisoners of this period—1793–4. There was Isidore Lyneh, an Irish officer in the French service, born in London, who had fought in India and America, and at home under Dumouriez. On his release from confinement, he was re-instated in the army and eventually became a general but on being ordered to fight against the Vendéans,\* he refused, and withdrew into private life. There were two fellow captives namesakes of the general's : one was a priest, Nicholas Lynch, the other was Jean Baptiste Lyneh, a Bordeaux barrister, only Irish by race, who, in after years, was mayor of his native city at an important crisis. General Kilmaine, whose real name was Jennings, was a prisoner at this time. He was brought by his father at an early age from Dublin to France and enlisted in Biron's hussars. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he embraced the new doctrines, but was for some time debarred from promotion by his foreign birth, though his bravery and talents were recognised. "He is a foreigner," said the Convention Commissaries in 1793, "he is Irish ; Republicanism does not easily penetrate such skulls." He was arrested for retreating before the enemy and was imprisoned with his wife until July 1795. He was afterwards replaced in the army, served in Italy, and was commander designate of the intended expedition to Ireland in the time of the Directory. General O'Meara was arrested at Dunkirk as an Irishman and an aristocrat, but was soon released ; he defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York.

The Abbé Edgeworth's mother and sister, whom Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, had requested the abbé, his old fellow student at Toulouse, to bring with him to Ireland, were prisoners too. The wife of the Marquis de Châtellux, who had made the acquaintance of Dr. Moylan's brother, General Moylan, aide-de-camp to Washington, during his travels in North America, was arrested and confined for a year in the well known English Austin Convent. She was Mary Plunkett, daughter of the General Plunkett, Governor of Antwerp, already alluded to.

Of the Abbé Edgeworth nothing need be said. The friend of the poor and of the Irish exile, the faithful adviser and servant of the royal family, in the end the martyr to his zeal for the sick, his holy career in this life is well known to all. He was not the only Irish priest present at Louis XVI.'s execution, for the

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\* Among the reputed chiefs of the Vendéans was a M. MacCurtin, and an officer named O'Daly fought for them.



Abbé Kearney, from the Irish College, had come to bestow his blessing on the martyr king. Father Kearney was afterwards arrested and spent three years in the Temple. He was a learned and most charitable priest, who would undergo any inconvenience when a friend or countryman was concerned. Here we find him helping his noble connections, the de Castelbajac ladies, when a call was made on all classes, men and women, to assist in the erection of an esplanade on the Champ-de-Mars. There he is met in the Rue de l'Estrapade carrying some clothes to a poor Irishman looking for a situation. He was devoted to the king, and he was likewise devoted to his college.

There were two Irish institutions in Paris—the Collège des Lombards, a foundation of the year 1677, and the Collège des Irlandais, established a hundred years afterwards. The Abbé Kearney was superior of the latter, and the Abbé Walsh had been transferred from Nantes shortly before the Revolution to take charge of the former, but into the Abbé Walsh's hands fell to a great extent, the care of the Irish College, and to his watchful stewardship during these terrible years, the college mainly owes its existence to-day.\* In the year 1790 a law was passed, in virtue of which all ecclesiastical property was to be confiscated, the British establishments, however, being exempted. On St. Nicholas' day in this year, the college students were playing football in the Champ-de-Mars, when one of their number happened to overturn the statue of Liberty on the Federation altar, that stood there. Needless to say, this was regarded as an insult to the nation: the sentry on duty before the altar forthwith proceeded to arrest the offender, whose companions ran to his defence. A mob gathered which would have had very little hesitation about sacrificing the delinquent and his companions as hostages to Liberty—many a man was hanged for much less—but luckily for them Lafayette arrived on the scene with some horsemen, and the students had the benefit of calmer judgment. Six of them were arrested, and were lucky in escaping with a fortnight's imprisonment.

As the Revolution increased the Irish College became naturally more and more exposed to danger. On September 25, 1791, Catholics who had come to hear the orthodox Mass were driven out and ordered to go to a Constitutional Church. One woman was torn from the confessional, and another flogged by ruffians who came from a grog-shop close by.† Some six months afterwards the Abbé Walsh was arrested, charged with having passed a forged note. The charge was false, and he was promptly

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\* "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," March 1866

† Taine, "The Revolution," vol. ii.

released with apologies for the mistake. During the Reign of Terror Dr. Walsh, at the request of the Vicars-general of Paris, assisted in the management of the diocese, and afforded a place of refuge to many a persecuted priest within the College walls; among others, the well-known Abbé Emery and his Sulpicians were much indebted to him. The College was attacked by a mob, but was saved by one of the students, MacCanna by name, who stood at the gate, pistol in hand, threatening to shoot the first assailant. He then made a speech pointing out that the Irish were exiles relying on French hospitality, and he mentioned that he himself was going to fight against their enemies, the English. The speech was a success, and the mob went away. MacCanna did take part in two French expeditions, intended to help his fellow-countrymen, and after some time spent on board a French privateer, he settled down as an *armateur* in Boulogne, in which city he had the pleasure of entertaining the officers of the Irish Legion. The Irish College of Paris, as well as those of Bordeaux and Nantes, managed to escape the law of 1793, ordering the sale of property belonging to subjects of nations at war with France. Nantes College was sold some thirty years ago, and the writer remembers hearing a few years since of the sale of the Bordeaux College, which, like the Collège des Lombards in Paris, had been let to tenants. The Irish College, Paris, was closed as an educational establishment in 1793, and was used as a prison, but not to the same extent as the Scotch College. It was not for some time after the establishment of the Empire that it was again in good working order. The Irish Recollect monastery at Boulay in Lorraine, was closed at this time; one of its inmates, Father Connelly, was arrested as a recusant priest, and died in hospital in Rochefort on the eve of his transportation. We can class, too, as victims of the Revolution the celebrated Irish Colleges of Louvain, which were confiscated when the French invaded Belgium.

The Irish—indeed we should say the British—religious foundations in France were doubly unfortunate; they were considered English establishments by the French, and so were freely pillaged during the Revolution; they were regarded as French by the English, and so denied any share in the indemnification funds placed at the disposal of the English Commission.

Through prisons and confiscations we have come to the guillotine. Its most remarkable Irish victim was General Count Arthur Dillon, of the Roscommon Dillons, and a kinsman of Theobald Dillon, whose unhappy fate has been mentioned. He was born in Berkshire; and becoming an officer in the Dillon regiment, saw active service in the West Indies, was appointed Governor of St. Kitts, and subsequently of Tobago. The Revo-

lution found in him a moderate partisan, and he was sent by Martinique as deputy to the National Assembly. He attended the banquet organised in 1792 by British sympathisers with the Revolution to celebrate the victories of the French over the invading Prussians and Austrians—victories in which he himself had no inconsiderable share. At this dinner, rendered remarkable by Lord Edward Fitzgerald's renunciation of his title thereat, Dillon proposed the toast—"The people of Ireland, and may government profit by the example of France, and Reform prevent Revolution." But Dillon's opinions, which were of the constitutional monarchical *nuance*, soon brought him into suspicion. Already, on hearing of the storming of the Tuileries, he had pledged himself and his troops as supporters of the monarchy; for this he had lost his command, and was obliged to serve under his former subordinate Dumouriez. Shortly after the British feast he was arrested, and imprisoned first at the Madelonnettes, and then at the Luxembourg, where he had, as fellow captives, Danton, Camille Desmoulins with his wife, and Tom Paine. It was given out that a plot was on foot among the prisoners to make their escape. What was called an inquiry was held, and as a result of it, Desmoulins and Danton were executed on the 5th April 1794, and were followed nine days afterwards to the guillotine by Dillon, Camille's wife, and nineteen others. Hangman Samson is said to have touched one of the female prisoners on the shoulders and pointed to the scaffold: "Pray, Mr. Dillon, do you go first," the lady said; and replying with the utmost politeness, "I can refuse nothing to a lady," the General bravely mounted the scaffold. His last words were, "Vive le Roi!" Dillon loved his countrymen well, and often professed his willingness to fight for Ireland as he had fought for France, should the opportunity occur. When, too, the National Assembly decreed the suppression of foreign troops in the service of France, General Dillon rose up in defence of the threatened Irish Brigade, and wrote his "Historical Notes on the Irish Officers in the French Army." He was not the first man connected with Roscommon who had been executed; four months previously, General James O'Moran, a native of Elphin, had fallen beneath the revolutionary axe. He, too, had welcomed the party of Reform. He signed the register as a witness on the occasion of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's marriage with Pamela, and perhaps we are to see his enthusiasm for one part of the new programme—the abolition of distinctive titles—in his method of writing his name, Omoran. As a foreigner, he became suspected, and was arrested during the Terror and imprisoned. From his gaol he sent to the Comité de Salut Public a memorial of his services, which had been brilliant at home and in

America ; the members of the Comité, who examined the memorial, wrote their reply on it ; it was : "Send him to the Abbaye and to the scaffold."

Brigadier General Ward, born at Dublin, and educated at the Irish College, Paris, was arrested as a foreigner and guillotined this same year, and with him, his servant, John Malone, from Limerick.

"Revolutions are not made with rose water," Danton said. Not even youth was spared by the Terrorists, as two Irish lads of seventeen learned to their cost. One Thomas Delany—"sometimes called Lainy or Laing, perhaps," suggests Mr. Alger, "because he had renounced the first syllable of his name, lest it should be mistaken for the aristocratic particle"—was charged with being a spy, and arrested. He protested his innocence, and declared himself eager to join the French army, but all to no avail. He was executed along with a fellow-countryman, Patrick Roden, a deserter from the English army. The other was François Ursule Burk, a sailor-boy from L'Orient, whose story is thus told :

On June 9, 1794, the charge against him was dismissed, and it was ordered that he should be detained till 21 years of age, but on July 23 he was again tried for prison plot at the Carmelites'. He was accused of saying that the English were brave ; also that it was absurd to make citizens serve as soldiers when there were regular troops. He replied that he had said the Irish were brave ; his father was one and served France well.

A martyr thus to a patriotic boast in favour of his father's countrymen, he was guillotined, and was, as the Marquise de Montagu tells in her "Memoirs," huddled into the tomb in the distinguished company of the Prince de Salm-Kyrburg and General Viscount de Beauharnais. We are not to look for choiceness of language or delicacy of sentiment in the Revolutionary despatches. The end of an officer in Walsh's regiment, William Bulkeley, is thus told by one of the brutal revolutionary agents in the Provinces : "Our holy mother Guillotine is busy. In the last three days she has shaved eleven priests, one *ci-devant* (noble), one *ci-devant* nun, one general, and a splendid Englishman of six feet, whose head was *de trop* ; it is now in the sack." Another of these monsters sent along with four prisoners the following despatch : "I send you four—to be shortened," [then follow the names of three of the prisoners], the fourth is an Irishman, named Mandeville, whom I heard styled 'M. le Marquis,' this morning. As I don't like marquises, I send him to you."

We could increase our list of the guillotined by as many more names, but these we must omit, and with some allusion to the

Irish sympathisers with the Revolution, must finish this paper. From Ireland, particularly from the North, came some addresses of congratulation, to the new rulers of France. In Belfast, there was a grand procession in honour of the Revolution; Friends of Liberty at Newry presented 6,850 francs; a National Guard was formed at Dublin.

In France itself there were few Irish sympathisers; Irishmen in Paris brought 145 francs to the Bar of the Assembly, to equip a volunteer—a sum that does not give evidence of the presence of many such in Paris. Lord Edward Fitzgerald delighted with the new order, was present at the British banquet already spoken of; Archibald Hamilton Rowan escaped from prison in Dublin, got safe to France in 1794, and after detention in several places, arrived in Paris. He had known the city in the days of the *ancien régime*, had even been something of a prominent figure in it, owing to a foot-race which he ran and won, weighted with jack-boots, against an officer of the Body Guard, lightly equipped, in the presence of Marie Antoinette and the Court. He now came as a United Irishman, but found the French too busy among themselves to think of Ireland. He saw a good deal of blood shed and was disgusted:

In two days after the execution of Robespierre, the whole commune of Paris, consisting of about sixty persons were guillotined in less than an hour and a half in the Place de la Révolution; and though I was standing above a hundred paces from the place of execution, the blood of the victims streamed under my feet. What surprised me was, as each head fell into the basket, the cry of the people was no other than a repetition of *A bas le maximum*.

Procuring a passport through the assistance of an Irish ex-Abbé, Madget, who was in the Government employment, he started for Havre by boat, under the assumed name of Thomson. He was suspected of being a refugee, and was stopped at a couple of places; indeed his life was once in danger, as a mob that had collected near the river at Passy, wanted to have him hanged *à la lanterne*; he was brought before the Mayor, and permitted to resume his journey, which was broken at Argenteuil to pay a visit to his friend, the *curé*, an old Irish priest named McLaughlin. He finally reached Rouen safely, and there got a ship bound for the United States.

Henry and John Sheares, whose name Mr. Alger guillotines of its final letter, calling them Sheare,\* disgusted O'Connell, a fugitive from Douai and their fellow-passenger in the Calais packet, with their exultations over the execution of the king:

\* Mr. Alger also calls Alban Butler, Allan Butler, and places Kinsale in the County Kerry.

Yet gentler sentiments are accredited to John, who is reported to have said on visiting the Trianon, that he would plunge a dagger in the heart of every Frenchman, if a hair of the Queen's head were touched. To him, too, is attributed a passionate admiration for Théroigne de Mericourt, the wild Republican heroine, grown mild since the days she led the mob to Versailles, and took part in the attacks on the Bastille and Tuileries. He proposed the invasion of England to the Convention, and both he and his brother, the English Government was warned, were "men of desperate designs, capable of setting fire to the dockyards."

In the employment of the Revolutionary Government, there were some Irishmen. Clarke, afterwards Duke de Feltre, born of Irish parents at Landrécies, held an official position, and in the Foreign Department there were two; Nicholas Madgett, a native of Kerry, who had been a priest in France, but who, like another compatriot, Richard Ferris, that gave some trouble at the Irish College, did not remain faithful to his sacred calling; he was a friend of Wolfe Tone's, and was very active about the organisation of the French expedition to Ireland; he had a brother official in Sullivan, who had been a teacher at La Flèche, and who was probably the inspector of prisoners of war of that name, that befriended Hamilton Rowan. Rowan had written a petition for his release, which his gaoler brought to Sullivan with the request: "Sacré Dieu! débarrassez moi de cet homme-là, qu'on le renvoie ou qu'on le guillotine, car il m'ennuie." Sullivan remembered Rowan's name, and fortunately chose the first of the gaoler's alternatives; he afterwards took part in Hoche's expedition. A man who was almost a namesake of his, made himself unenviably conspicuous in the brutalities in La Vendée. There were two brothers, natives of this province, Charles and Jean Baptiste O'Sullivan, the former a collector of stamp-duties, the latter a fencing-master. In the troubles of the times, the two brothers took different sides; Charles was a Royalist, and took part in the Vendean rising and, it is said, during the insurrection saved the life of John, who was fighting for the Republicans. An opportunity occurred for a return of this brotherly charity, for, when there was no hope for the Vendéans, Charles came, and threw himself into his brother's arms; but he received no welcome, "he was my country's enemy," said John, "I performed a Republican's duty and denounced him, and justice pronounced his fate"—the guillotine at Angers on the last day of 1793. John went from crime to crime, and became an accomplice of the infamous Carrier.

"Summoned to Paris as a witness against Carrier, he was himself placed in the dock. It was alleged that, dining with a party of men in a garden he had boasted that when superinten-

ding the 'noyades,' he would distract a prisoner's attention by bidding him look at something on the shore, and when the man turned his head stuck a knife into his throat. . . . In a conversation on muscular strength, he was alleged to have said that his brother was stronger than himself, so that the guillotine had to strike twice before his head fell. It was also said that he had boasted of having slaughtered men like sheep with his pocket-knife."

O'Sullivan was acquitted, and in after life became a school-master; he died in 1841. He, or perhaps rather, his wife, who is described as a handsome and virtuous woman, was partly instrumental in saving the life of Madame de la Rochejaquelein's waiting-maid. Of course, O'Sullivan was of Irish origin only.

Mr. Alger says that he may have been the grandson of a Daniel O'Sullivan, who was a fencing-master in France, in the middle of last century, and who himself may have been the Young Pretender's Quartermaster. Prince Charles' Adjutant-General and Quartermaster was John—afterwards Sir John, by Prince James's creation—O'Sullivan and far different was the fate of his descendants.\* He had apparently but one son, Thomas Herbert O'Sullivan, who was successively in the Irish Brigade, in the British Army in America, and in the Dutch service. He, too, left one son, who was American Consul at the Canary Islands and at Mogador in Morocco, and lost his life in a shipwreck in 1825. This family became extinct in the person of John Louis O'Sullivan, United States Minister to Portugal from 1854 to 1858.

Another man of Irish extraction, Joseph Kavanagh, a shoemaker of Lille, was a violent but cowardly *sans-culotte*, and a butcher of defenceless prisoners in the terrible September massacre. Were we to try, we could hardly enlarge our list of the Irish that took any part in the Revolution: that of the Irish prisoners we could readily have increased fourfold, even that of the guillotined we could have doubled.

It was almost entirely then as sufferers that the Irish figured in the Revolution, for they were really all ardently devoted to the monarchy and to religion; to the Franco-Irish of this school and to King Louis, Ireland had looked for assistance during the first half of the eighteenth century; towards its close, she turned for deliverance to the Republic; but were we to pursue this subject, we should have to couple with our heading "Irishmen in the French Revolution," that of "Frenchmen in the Irish Rebellion."

PIERCE L. NOLAN.

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\* O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigades."

## ART. IX.—CREMATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Se sia lecito abbruciare i Morti.* Di GIACOMO SCURATI. Milano. 1885.
2. *Modern Cremation.* By Sir H. THOMPSON, F.R.C.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

PHILOSOPHY argues in vain against the intuitive reverence of man for the relics of his dead. The complex and beautiful structure of the human form, the shrine of the immortal soul, moulded by the inner workings of the mind, bearing in legible characters the record of a life, and stamped with the seal of individual consciousness, can never be an object of indifference to the living, even when bereaved of the informing spirit. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the different forms in which this universal feeling manifests itself; suffice it to say, that among all the nations of the earth funeral rites and ceremonies form a large, and in many cases, the largest portion of the instinctive religion of humanity. Among a not inconsiderable portion, indeed, of mankind this natural piety is exaggerated into actual worship, and the spirits of the departed, regarded as still bound by some mysterious tie of affinity to their earthly remains, become the tutelary deities of the living. Thus the modern materialistic conception of the body as for ever dissociated by death from its indwelling consciousness, has against it all the weight of tradition, and of the unanimous consensus of the human race. For we find, in all times and places, a general prevalence of the opinion, sometimes definitely held, sometimes existing as a shadowy sentiment, rather than belief, that the divorce of body and spirit is only temporary or partial, and that a link more or less renewable, subsists between them. If it were not so, it would indeed be difficult to see on what grounds the human remains could be considered as entitled to more consideration than those of any other animal, nor would there be any reason why cannibalism itself should revolt our feelings. It is the indefinable idea of a haunting spirit, the survival, in a more or less degenerate form, of the primitive revelation to man, that invests these poor relics with their sacred character, and renders any act of wilful disrespect, even to their perishable dust, an outrage on our common nature. Violation of the sepulchre for purposes of robbery is thus regarded in all civilised countries as a crime, in which the guilt of sacrilege is added to that of theft, and body-snatching is, in popular estimation, held in little less reprobation than murder. Mutilation of the slain in battle ranks in the same manner with the



worst excesses of savage warfare, and stamps the peoples who practice it as amongst the most degraded of their kind.

The universality of these feelings, and the sanction they receive from the inner witness in every human heart, are sufficient to justify their classification as part of that divinely inspired system of morality which forms the natural standard of right in the absence of a fuller revelation. The treatment of the dead is thus not matter of indifference from an ethical point of view, and when we find immemorial prescription, the teaching alike of the Synagogue and of the Church, together with the example, not alone of the patriarchs of the Old Law and the Saints of the New, but of the Redeemer of mankind Himself, in favour of earth sepulture, as opposed to all other methods of disposal of the body, we are entitled to assume it as part of the unwritten code in which so many of the divine ordinances are implied rather than expressed.

The practice of the chosen people from patriarchal times is in itself strong evidence on this point. Abraham's purchase of the field of Ephron as a place of sepulchre for Sara his wife is recorded in full detail in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis. "And so Abraham buried Sara, his wife, in the double cave of the field that looked towards Mambre; this is Hebron, in the land of Chanann." In Hebron, too, were buried, according to Jewish tradition, all the other patriarchs and their wives, Adam and Eve, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah. The Jews are still accustomed to say, when they bury their dead, "Ye fathers, who sleep in Hebron, open to him the gates of Eden." The deaths of the kings of Israel, beginning with David, are usually recorded in the formula, "He slept with his fathers, and was buried with them." The case of Saul, indeed is an exception, but the burning of his remains with those of his sons was probably due to their having remained so long on the field of battle, and afterwards ignominiously suspended to the walls of Bethsan, as to be unfit for transport in any other way. This deprivation of the ordinary rites of sepulture may also have been part of the punishment of his transgressions. The bodies of the victims of the pestilence in Samaria were also burned, probably as a precaution against the spread of contagion.

Taking, however, the general bearing of the Scripture narrative, we find the denial of sepulture to the dead treated as the heaviest chastisement and mark of reprobation: To the wicked wife of Ahab it is foretold by Elias that "The dogs shall eat Jezebel in the field of Jezrahel,"\* in punishment of her slaughter of the prophets. The prediction was literally fulfilled,

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\* iii. Kings, xxi. 23.

for when Jehu, after having had her put to death by being thrown from the wall of the city, sent his servants afterwards to bury her "because she was a King's daughter," they found nothing of her but "the skull and the feet, and the extremities of her hands." The body of her son Joram too was thrown unburied on Naboth's field by order of Jehu, the instrument of Divine vengeance. "Take him and cast him into the field according to the word of the Lord" was the sentence passed on him. A like dishonour was inflicted on the remains of Jason, the impious high priest who perverted Israel to heathen customs in the time of the Macchabees, the reason alleged for this special judgment being his similar treatment of others. "But he that had cast out many unburied, was himself cast forth unlamented and unburied, neither having foreign burial, nor being partaker of the sepulchre of his fathers." \*

The story of Tobias throws a strong light on the sacredness of funeral rites among the Hebrews, for the special work of charity for which he was commended was his interment of his fellow captives under Sennacherib left unburied by that King's orders. Nay, even when himself condemned to death for his disregard of the royal decree, he still persisted, drawing down the animadversion of his neighbours, "who blamed him, saying, Once already commandment was given for thee to be slain because of this matter, and thou didst scarce escape the sentence of death, and dost thou again bury the dead?"

"But Tobias (the narrative goes on) fearing God more than the King, carried off the bodies of them that were slain, and hid them in his house, and at midnight buried them." † This good work is evidently regarded as nowise inferior in merit to an act of charity towards the living.

The teaching of the Old Law in this, as in all other essentials, received its final seal and ratification in the New. The practice of sepulture is there recommended to Christians by the Highest Example, nor can they forget that Mary Magdalen earned a special meed of praise for her lavish offerings of unguents and spikenard as having "wrought a good work" in anticipation of the burial of her Lord. Our Lady too according to universal belief, was laid in the tomb ere being thence assumed into heaven, the legend being that the sarcophagus in which she had lain was found filled with flowers. A very ancient tradition, handed down by Metaphrastus, Nicephorus, and the Damascene, avers that the Jews, mindful perhaps of the dismay caused in their ranks by the incontrovertible fact of the Resurrection, desired in their impious malice, to consign her body to the flames.

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\* iv. Kings, ix. 34-35.

† Macch. 5-10.

‡ Tobias ii. 8-9.

The cells of the catacombs, with their wealth of evidence as to the practice and belief of early Christianity, remain to show how closely the example of its Founder was followed by those who came nearest to His teaching. In this they deliberately deviated from the usage of the society around them, in which modern cremationists have, on the other hand, found the pattern they prefer to follow. The funeral pyre, the method most in vogue in Pagan Rome, for the destruction of the remains of the higher classes at least, was borrowed from the Greeks, who had in their turn substituted it for the primitive custom of earth-burial prevailing in the time of Cecrops. Obviously of eastern origin, this rite belongs to the wide-spread system of nature-worship, in which fire was revered as the primary element and source of the vital principle. Heraclitus of Ephesus, an apostle of this creed, is quoted as the earliest advocate of cremation, and according to his commentator, "maintaining that everything is from fire, declared that bodies should be dissolved in fire." Classical writers are, however, by no means unanimous in approving the innovation, and Pliny writes as follows :

This mode of burning was not of ancient institution among the Romans, formerly they (the dead) were laid in the ground. But when they learned that those buried in distant wars were disinterred, then it was instituted. In many ways, however, the early rites were still preserved. Thus it was said that in the Cornelian family none was burned before Sylla, the Dictator, and that he desired it in order to escape the *lex talionis* for having disinterred the body of Caius Marius.

Nor was natural feeling always so completely overborne by Pagan superstition as to resign itself without a struggle to the pitiless destruction of the loved remains. Quintilian describes the despair of a Roman mother at surrendering to the consuming element, in obedience to custom and the wishes of her husband, the mortal relics of her son.

She hated the flames (he says), she hated the pyres, and desired that the body should be laid in earth, that the members should be preserved. You know too with what difficulty the day of the obsequies was decided by lot, until which she held her son fast while invested by the approaching flames. Rejoice, she said, rejoice, oh! husband, thou perhaps this night shalt see thy son; him whom thou hast burned with cruel flames; him of whom the ashes and bones remain, thou shalt see in his youth.

She here refers apparently to the idea that the spirit, set free by fire, would return to visit its home, no doubt one of the consolatory assurances held out to her in order to gain her consent. Her case is a striking instance of the rebellion of natural feeling,

unfalsified by perverted usage, against the violence done to the form, which though inanimate, yet bears the imprint and semblance of life.

The burial of the dead has in Christian times always ranked among the corporal works of mercy, on equal terms with those performed for the benefit of the living. This principle is recognised in early mediæval legislation, and among the capitulars of Dagobert, King of France (628-638), is one decreeing a reward to any one giving interment to an unburied body, to be paid by the relatives of the deceased if a free man, or by his master, if a slave. To which is subjoined the addenda: "Otherwise he will receive the guerdon of the Lord; for it is written, bury the dead." The light in which cremation was viewed in those dark ages is indicated by the following Draconian provision in the capitulars of Charlemagne for the Saxons. "If any one shall have caused the body of a man to be consumed by the flames according to the custom of the Pagans, and shall have reduced the bones to ashes, he shall be put to death."

The universal consensus of Christendom in abandoning obsequies by fire, stigmatised by Tertullian as "most atrocious" ("De Anima," cap. 1), rendered any definite pronouncement against them by the early Church unnecessary. But that the treatment of the dead, was not therefore regarded as matter of indifference is proved by the stern Decretal, *Detestanda feritatis*, promulgated by Boniface VIII. on this subject. The occasion of its issue was the growing prevalence of a custom which originated in the desire to transport for burial at home the remains of those who died in foreign countries, especially during the Crusades. The mangling and mutilation of the bodies under these circumstances, in order to facilitate their removal, is denounced by the Pontiff in the following energetic terms:

We, guided by the pious end we have in view, have justly resolved to abolish an abuse of detestable savagery, unthinkingly adopted by some of the faithful, in accordance with a horrible custom, in order that the barbarities of the aforesaid abuse may not continue, rending human bodies, and moving to horror the hearts of the faithful, and shocking their ears by their recital. Because the said faithful, allowing themselves to be misled by the vice of this, their undoubtedly reprehensible usage, if any of them of noble birth or eminent dignity pay the tribute of nature, especially if beyond the confines of their own lands, choosing their place of burial in these, or other remote countries, with a certain affection of impious piety, either savagely disembowel the body of the deceased, or cruelly dismembering or cutting it in pieces, expose these latter to the fire to cook immersed in water. And, finally (the bones being thus separated from the flesh), they send or transport them to the aforesaid places to be buried there. Which is not only in the highest degree abominable in the eyes of the divine

Majesty, but presents itself even to the view of human consideration as a thing to be abhorred with great vehemence.

After absolutely prohibiting these barbarities, and prescribing as an alternative, that the bodies, in the cases in question, should receive temporary religious burial in the place of death, before removal for permanent sepulture elsewhere, the Decretal goes on to pronounce sentence of excommunication *ipso facto* against the authors of the acts condemned, reserving to the Holy See alone the power of absolving from them save at the point of death, and forbidding religious burial to the bodies so treated.

Father Scurati, who cites this document in his work, points out, in commenting on it, that it bases its strictures, not on any pre-existing prohibition civil or ecclesiastical, but on the intrinsic nature of the acts themselves. They are declared to be "abominable in the eyes of the Divine Majesty," that is to say inherently and unquestionably sinful, as well as atrocious in the sight of man, from their violation of the instincts of piety and reverence. All the censures here pronounced, with the full authority of the Apostolic See, against these early abuses, seem equally applicable to cremation, as practised at the present day, nor can any moral distinction be drawn between the two. The latter is, in all its essential characteristics, identical with the processes denounced by the Decretal of Boniface. Whether the unnecessary substitution of cremation for inhumation be actually in itself a sinful breach of the natural law is a matter about which theologians may be found to differ. Upon this the Church has not yet pronounced any judgment, although she has forbidden the latter "detestable abuse" as she forbade the former.

The next intervention of the Church in an analogous matter occurred in reference to the dissection of bodies, demanded on the ground of its necessity for the advancement of medical science. Here, since anticipated benefit to the living was accepted as a valid plea, the study of anatomy on the human subject, under strict limitations, and to the extent demanded by absolute necessity alone, was sanctioned by Benedict XIV. The subsequent burial of the remains so used was stipulated for, and every safeguard, including the requirement of an authorisation from the bishop in each case, was introduced to prevent possible abuses of the system.

We thus find violence or outrage to the remains of the dead regarded in all times and ages as a grave offence against society and religion, while earth-burial comes recommended to us by its conformity with instinctive feeling, and by the general usage of mankind, especially by that portion of it to which the guidance of revelation has been vouchsafed. It was practised in patriarchal ages, it was practised in apostolic times, it has been invariably

practised down to our own day, not only by the Catholic Church, but by every denomination of Christians throughout the world. To whom, then, is the present movement of hostility to it due, and under what auspices has it been initiated and carried on?

The modern agitation in favour of cremation as opposed to inhumation, may be traced to its germ in a decree of the French Republic, 25th Brumaire 1797, giving the practice a permissive sanction. Its introduction, therefore, formed part of that general scheme of revolt against Christian usage and prescription to which all forms of modern impiety owe their origin. This special innovation, however, found no favour at the time, and the idea here enunciated lay dormant for more than half a century before finding a propitious atmosphere for development. It was first revived in an address delivered by Dr. Colletti in 1857 to the Academy of Science at Padua, and its principle was adopted twelve years later by the Medical Congress which then met in Florence. The first actual experiment was made in that year, and the second and third in the following one, by Professor Brunetti, of Padua, who used an open furnace out of doors as the mechanism for the operation. The burning, about the same time, of the body of an Indian prince, the Rajah of Kolapore, which took place by night in the Cascine of Florence, according to the rites of his own religion, may have helped to stimulate the movement.

Lombardy continued to be its head-quarters, and societies formed for its diffusion pressed it on the public with all the ardour of fanaticism. Milan, selected as the holy city of this new form of fire-worship, witnessed its first cremation in January 1876, when the remains of M. Albert Keller, of Zurich, were burned in a closed gas furnace. A royal decree legalised the process, and the method underwent what was considered an improvement, in the introduction of Signor Gerini's furnace, heated by ordinary fuel. Its inventor's previous life had been devoted to elaborating a process for a diametrically opposite end, that of preserving bodies after death by a species of petrification chemically produced. His apparatus for expediting their destruction is, despite its many imperfections, the one still in use. The example of Milan, where down to the close of 1886, 463 bodies had been thus consumed, was speedily followed by the other Lombard cities, and Lodi, Cremona, Brescia, Padua, and Varese had each its crematory oven. Nor was Rome behindhand in reviving its ancient Pagan rites. The first cremation there took place at the Campo Verano (San Lorenzo) in April 1883, and was followed by 123 others. Yet the total number in Italy, 788 to the end of 1886, bears a minute proportion to the annual death-rate, put down at 800,000.

Other countries have followed her lead, though with some hesitation, and the first German experiment, performed at Breslau in

1874, was followed, in October of that year, by another at Dresden, an English lady\* being there the subject. The foundation of a Cremation Society in this country dates from the same year, but its operations at first encountered many obstacles. An attempt to come to terms with the proprietors of a London cemetery was frustrated by the prohibition of the Bishop of Rochester, and though a site was procured at Woking in 1879, where Dr. Gorini's furnace was erected and tested on the body of a horse, the Home Secretary refused to sanction its use for human remains. Meantime the process attracted the attention of scientific men; it found a warm advocate in Sir Henry Thompson, and was favourably brought to the notice of the British Medical Association by Sir Spencer Wells in August 1880. Captain Hanham, of Blandford, Dorset, an enthusiastic convert to their views, having been refused permission for the public cremation of two deceased members of his family, had the operation privately performed in his demesne, in October 1882. His own death, in the following year, provided another subject for the crematorium, the authorities still maintaining a passive attitude. But from this they were roused by an overt act of defiance shortly after, when the cremation of the body of a child in Wales, in contravention of the orders of the coroner, was made the subject of legal proceedings against the parents. The result was the establishment of the legality of the process, conditionally on its performance without creating a nuisance, by the judgment of Sir James Stephen, in February 1884.

The next move of its promoters was the introduction, in the following April, of Dr. Cameron's Bill, intended to give it Parliamentary sanction, and containing, among other provisions a clause rendering burial illegal without medical certificate. Both the Government and Opposition of the day, however, united in hostility to the measure, which was rejected by 149 votes to 79. Undaunted by this rebuff, the Society, secure as to the legality of its action, issued a prospectus, undertaking the incineration of bodies at a fixed rate of charges, and under certain specified conditions. The building erected at Woking was used for the first time on March 20, 1885, and twice again in the course of that year. In 1886, ten bodies were burned, one of them being that of a Brahmin, and before the close of 1887, a total of twenty-six cremations had been reached, to which have been added since, twenty-eight for 1888, and forty-six for 1889. Public subscriptions are required for the maintenance of the movement, of which the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford are the most zealous supporters. The latter has had a private crematorium erected on

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\* The first wife of Sir Charles Dilke.

the Society's ground at Woking, and has contributed £4100 to the building and other funds. The new system has, however, remained in England rather the craze of a small though enthusiastic band of sectaries, than a movement which has taken any hold on the general public.

In other countries its fate has been the same. Artificially introduced and propagated in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, it has attracted but a small number of adherents. In Paris, it was at first looked coldly on by the municipality; but a beginning was made in Père la Chaise in October 1887, with the burning of the bodies of two victims of small-pox. Since then there have been a few cremations, the subjects having been for the most part atheists or free-thinkers. In Germany, Gotha alone has a crematorium, in which, from its inauguration in January 1879 to the beginning of 1889, 600 cremations had taken place. The same partial success has attended the introduction of the system into the New World, and the United States have furnished but a small contingent of devotees to the funeral pyre. An attempt to transplant the custom to the southern hemisphere proved a total failure, a Bill to legalise and regulate it presented to the New South Wales Legislature in 1886, having been rejected by that assembly. The Lutheran clergy of Prussia incurred much obloquy from the infidel press by their opposition to it, and those of Denmark showed themselves equally hostile.

We have thus for the first time an innovation in immemorial custom, on a matter touching the deepest sentiments of humanity, not spontaneously adopted in conformity with gradual change of opinion, but forced on the public in a spirit of aggressive partisanship, with all the leverage of an extensive and active organisation. In July 1882, there were in Italy alone, twenty-two cremation societies, with 5000 subscribing members, and five "propagating commissions." A like machinery is at work in other countries, disseminating in the press as well as by means of conferences, congresses, and every other denomination of collective gathering, arguments in favour of this new religion of the dead. Such ardour in a cause apparently so little calculated to attract sympathy cannot be the chance product of aimless opinion; but must have its source of inspiration in some unavowed motive.

This is found in the hostility of Freemasonry to all the observances of revealed religion, and in its consequent adoption of Cremation as a substitute for the Christian method of disposing of the dead. Superabundant proof of this is found in the avowals of its own organs, from which Father Scurati gives numerous extracts. Thus the *Rivista della Massoneria*



*Italiana* of June 1st, 1871, reports a meeting of the brethren held on May 26th previous, at which the wish was formulated that "the cemeteries may become purely civil without distinction of creeds or rites," while "the promotion of Cremation among the municipalities," and "the study of the best system for attaining that object" were recommended to those present. A German paper *Deutsche Republikanische Zeitung*, of October 31st, of the same year, affirmed that "Cremation was proposed by the Lodges," and that "our brethren in North Italy have placed it among the number of works to be undertaken."

Adrien Grimaux in the *Monde Maçonique*, August-September, 1876, writes to the same effect :

Our institution in Italy calmly prosecutes its labours. The Lodge *La Ragione* of Milan, has taken the initiative in experimenting on the burning of the dead. Under the direction of Dr. Pini, one of the brothers, such a ceremony was performed in presence of a great concourse of people. The experiment was, it appears, eminently successful, and *La Ragione* has made numerous recruits.

*La Chaîne d' Union*, again, the Parisian organ of universal Freemasonry, in its number of August 8th, 1877, reports a meeting of the General Assembly of the Lodges of the Grand Orient of Italy, at which 120 Lodges were represented, and says :

The proposal presented by the Lodge, *La Ragione* of Milan that Masonry should take under its auspices the question of the burning of bodies, was most favourably received and approved.

Cremation, therefore, by the adoption of this resolution, became the *mot d' ordre* of the confederated Lodges of United Italy to the number of 120. The same paper contained, in its number of December 10th, 1877, a description of the obsequies of one of the sect in Milan, and described the cremation of the body, with the attendance of greater part of the brethren of the Milanese Lodges, as "a most moving ceremony which consecrated anew this fresh step in human progress, the triumph of which in Italy is due in great measure to Freemasonry."

In a noteworthy circular from the Masonic authorities, recently published in the *Gazette du Midi*, we find the following among other admonitions :

We recommend in an especial manner to the brethren never to lose sight of the orders of Masonry in regard to the cremation of bodies, civil marriages, and funerals, and to preventing, as far as possible, the baptism of infants.

The true object of the Masonic body in the adoption of this new tenet, disguised from the profane vulgar under the cloak of hygienic and sentimental considerations, is openly avowed in the

speeches and writings of some of its less discreet members. It is no other than that which dictates all the activity of the society—namely, the desire to remove or undermine one by one the external props which buttress up religious belief in the human mind. The following sentence alone is conclusive on the subject. It is part of an address published in May 1885 by Signor Luigi Castellazzo, Secretary to the Freemasons of Rome, in which, in speaking of the deaths of Victor Hugo and Terenzio Mamiani, he enumerates as follows the moral losses suffered by the Papacy and the clergy in Italy :

Civil marriage deprives them of the control of the family. Lay education will shortly withdraw from them that of the rising generation. Civil funerals and cremation pyres will then rob them of their last pretension to rule over death. Progress will thus soon have annihilated them.

The hope, equally impious and inane, of eradicating from the human mind the fear of death, the great fulcrum of religion, is avowed in the following extract from another exponent of the views of the Lodges. Signor Ghisleri, in the *Almanacco dei Liberi Muratori* for 1881, is here their spokesman :

Catholics have good reason to oppose cremation ; this purification of the dead by means of fire would shake to its foundations Catholic predominance, based on the terror with which it has surrounded death. Death would then cease to be horrible, and the horror and repugnance which the grave inspires are among the most efficacious instruments of the hobgoblin machinery which Catholic rhetoric makes use of in order to humble the faithful. The *Remember thou must die* is the keystone of their dominion ; strip death of this character of horror and fantastic repugnance, purify it as Gorini says, render it, as it were, amiable in the eyes of the living, and the priests are done for. (*I preti son fritti.*) The *Remember thou must die* would no longer produce its old effect.

The apex of philosophic folly is here reached, in the idea that the natural fear of death is artificially created by the subsequent treatment of the remains. As to the “amiability” with which it is invested by the rites of the cremation temple, we shall see later on how far they are adapted to that end. But the obliteration of that sentiment of reverence for the frail clay which has once enshrined an immortal spirit implanted by nature herself as an argument of its survival, is the real aim of this sacrilegious conspiracy. This was expressed in the following utterance of one of its chief pillars, Professor Gorini, in his book “*La Purificazione dei Morti*”:

Our task is not confined to the mere burning of the dead, but extends to burning and destroying superstition as well, purifying the

religion of the urns from the prejudices in which it has been wrapped by those to whom belongs the doubtful prerogative of having been the cremators of the past.

The *Secolo* of Milan of November 23, 1883, declares that by cremation :

Death is stripped of its tremendous aspect of bones and skulls, and is reduced to a handful of ashes in an urn, to an indelible memory in the heart.

A vague Pantheistic belief in "the transformation," as they phrase it, "of the human body into Nature," is substituted by these Neo-Pagans for the Christian dogma of the resurrection of the dead. Professor Gorini even proposed at once to accelerate the above consummation, and render cremation a paying business, by selling the resulting ashes to farmers for manure. We give in his own words the impious arguments by which he supports this odious suggestion :

The result would be that this osseous material would partially return to be reincarnated in the bodies of the living Milanese, that which had served the lives of their former progenitors resuming in them a new life. Such is the only transmigration of souls that can be verified, such is the only resurrection of the body recognised by science.

Nor is any effort of eloquence spared in endeavouring to invest with a halo of poetic sentiment this redistribution of the physical elements of life, as though these professed materialists, shrinking from the conclusions of their own dark creed, clung involuntarily to the belief in the survival of individual consciousness in association with them. Signor Ghisleri, in the periodical already quoted from, develops as follows this branch of the subject :

To burn, or rather to transmute our flesh in which the pulsations of the organism had ceased, into gaseous waves and vibrations which will mingle in renewed fecundity in the eternal life of the universe ! Oh rapid transformation ! in one short hour commingled with the inner being of the great All ! We shall be dissolved, our destiny will be fulfilled, but it will be fulfilled in peace. We shall have said adieu to our sentient form, without exciting the disgust of our fellow-creatures, without frightening children or scaring weak women. Death is the dissolution of our form of life when worn out, in order to make way for and lend shape to other lives, born again in the eternal spring of the universe. It is a drop returning to its native ocean. And it will be life indeed, this transformation of ours in one short hour ! As invisible atoms we shall stoop to kiss the corollas of the flowers, to toy with the grasses in the fields, we shall enter into the respiration of the trees, we shall perhaps fly with the hurricane to visit new tracts of sky and distant regions.

In recapitulating these blasphemous ravings, we cannot help stopping to ask ourselves what must be the intellectual perversion of those who can accept this silly *rechauffée* of Hindu Pantheism in substitution for the sublime Christian doctrine of a future state, what the mental degradation of men who can reject St. Paul in order to adopt Gorini. "These be your gods, O Israel," and from the wisdom of the preachers of the new philosophy we may make an approximate guess at that of their disciples. Their attitude towards the Founder of Christianity may be judged of by the following impious stanza from an Ode to Cremation, by its poet laureate, Signor Mariotti :

Thus to the gnawing worm no longer given as prey,  
 Be man, nor life quite o'er,  
 As to the Nazarene the after world shall say,  
 He died, to rise once more.

These extracts are sufficient evidence of a deliberate attempt to veil the dread realities of death under a cloud of sonorous but unmeaning phrases, while removing from the eyes of the living all such relics of it as tend to keep fresh in their hearts the reverent memories of those who have gone before. The tremendous lesson of mortality is, as far as possible, hidden out of sight, and the mortuary ceremonies are made to assume almost a festive character. The extravagant use of flowers at modern funerals originates in the same desire to distract the minds of survivors from the tragic solemnity of the occasion, though we do not mean to imply that this purpose is recognised by all who follow the usage.

The permissive sanction at present accorded to the rites of cremation is far from satisfying its votaries, and they look forward to the day when the funeral pyre shall be made universally compulsory. The expectant attitude they at present assume is openly declared to be but temporary, by their most doughty champion, Professor Gorini.

In order that the columbarium may serve its purpose (he says), cremation must have entered to such an extent into the usages of the population that only a few, and those the incorrigibly retrograde, shall continue to prefer inhumation. Only then will the law be able to intervene to render cremation obligatory. Until then, all that can be done by the law is to leave every one free to choose, as regards the treatment of his own remains, between cremation and inhumation. And now there is no longer any doubt that following the initiative of Italy, this liberty will be granted to all the civilised populations of Europe. For several years after this, cremations will still be in limited number, because prejudice will long continue to struggle with reason, and to throw obstacles and impediments in the way of cremation ; but reason, as ever, will triumph in the end, and I imagine that

after two or three generations, that is towards the end of the next century, we shall be in such a position that it will be practicable to promulgate the aforesaid law, prescribing the obligation of cremation.

This then, is the ultimate goal of those who now claim for themselves, in the name of liberty, that freedom of choice they are prepared, when strong enough, to deny to others. Hence the era of this "new and civil religion of the sepulchre," as another of its votaries calls it, is not intended to inaugurate freedom of conscience for non-believers.

Among practical objections to cremation is one which Lord Dartmouth in a recent letter to the secretary of the Church of England Burial, Funeral, and Mourning Reform Association, declares to be insuperable, namely the destruction, together with the remains, of all evidence of the cause of death, so often ascertained in criminal cases by subsequent examination and analysis. The annals of jurisprudence abound in instances of the detection, by this means, of murder either by poison or bodily violence, but even the actual number of such cases is no clue to what it might become, were the restraining fear of this form of proof removed. Safeguards are suggested in the requirement of medical certificate of the cause of death and of post-mortem examination in all doubtful cases. Such regulations, however, are apt to degenerate into mere formalities, nor would they meet the many recorded cases in which suspicion has been awakened only after the lapse of a considerable interval. Thus in Rome, within the last few years, the exhumation after a month, of the remains of General Gibbone, furnished evidence of his death by poison, of administering which his servant was convicted.

Another argument against the process from the utilitarian point of view, is deduced from the withdrawal from the soil in the destruction of the human body by fire, of certain elements restored to it in the course of its gradual assimilation by the earth. Dr. Carlo Besana, in the *Bolletino dell' Agricoltura* for February 1876, gives the following chemical results.

Cremation transforms human bodies into water, carbonic acid, sulphuric acid, and nitrogen; hence of the three elements essential to vegetation only two, water and carbonic acid are restored. The third, ammonia, is not there, because completely oxidised, and converted into water and nitrogen; now free nitrogen is not assimilated by plants, as is proved by the experiments of many chemists and physiologists.

Those treating the subject from this point of view even profess to give an arithmetical value to their calculations, reckoning the loss to agriculture from the cremation of a human body weighing sixty kilogrammes, as equivalent to fifty kilogrammes of corn.

Such scientific deductions are, however, rather fanciful than practical, and only serve to show under how many different aspects the subject may be regarded.

A reform in burial usages is indeed believed by many to be urgently required, but it is not in cremation that the desired remedy is to be sought. Mr. Seymour Haden, in his pamphlet on "The Disposal of the Dead," has pointed out that the overcrowding complained of in urban cemeteries, with all the consequent dangers to the living, is due to the practice of burying in hermetically-sealed coffins, by which the natural processes of transformation are artificially prolonged. These are harmlessly and rapidly accomplished by contact with earth, the great disinfectant. By its aid the body is absolutely resolved into its elements in a period of from three to five years, at the end of which the same soil is ready to play its part in the process once more. Thus, by the substitution of perishable for imperishable coffins, the problem of the innoxious disposal of the dead is satisfactorily solved.

The physical effects of cremation, painful as they are to investigate, are intimately bound up with its ethical position, since they constitute that brutal violence to our common humanity, which revolts and outrages the moral sense. The destruction of the body by the agency of fire is accomplished only with much difficulty, and presents a horrifying spectacle. The Siemens oven in use at Gotha, the most powerful calorific apparatus designed by modern science, requires two hours to effect incineration, even when heated to 1400° Fahr. by nine hours' previous preparation. The calcined bones and ashes constituting its residuum, weigh in the case of a man six, and in that of a woman, four pounds. The violence of the resistance offered by the body to the action of the flames causes, despite the iron bands constraining the limbs, contortions scarcely less horrible to witness than those of a still sentient organism undergoing a like destruction. We will spare our readers the gruesome details enumerated by an eye-witness in Milan, noting only the effect of horror produced on his mind by the spectacle which haunted his mental vision for days.

Nor is the combustion, even in the improved Milanese apparatus, so complete as to consume all the animal products; the smoke of the unholy sacrifice carries the dreadful odour of their exhalations to a distance of several kilometres, and dishonoured fragments of humanity have been detected in that fetid reek, and amid the grimy flux of the furnace passages. It is by profanations like these that death is to be rendered "amiable," according to the programme of the new school of mortuary reform.

Perhaps the most pitiable case of cremation on record is one detailed by Professor Porri in the pages of the *Gazzetta Medica Italiana Lombarda*, in which the subject was an infant of six months old, the only child of parents in a good social position. The ceremony, performed on January 21st, 1883, furnished a spectacle for the loungers of the city, who came and went while the frail form, strained by metal bands on the plate of the furnace, underwent the sickening phases of combustion. To these it offered an unexpectedly obstinate resistance, and at the end of two hours was still only partially consumed, while the supply of wood, even reinforced by the tiny coffin, was exhausted, and had to be renewed before the operation could be completed. The parents were not present, and we may presume that not even fanatical enthusiasm in an evil cause could steel the mother's heart to witness, though she permitted, the inhuman desecration of the relics of her dead baby.

To Catholics, indeed, the argument from sentiment need no longer be adduced since the Church has pronounced authoritatively on the subject. The present Pontiff having ordered the examination of the question by the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, the latter has declared that "it is not lawful to inscribe one's name in societies whose object is to propagate the usage of cremating human bodies," that "in the case of societies affiliated to Freemasonry, their members incur the penalties decreed against Freemasons," and finally, "that it is not permitted to order one's body, or the bodies of other persons to be cremated after death." The Holy Father, moreover, has recommended the bishops to instruct the faithful, when circumstances require it, as to the reprobation by the Church of the practice, and to take all means to deter them from it.

Acting in conformity with this decree, Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, has recently addressed a letter to the *curés* of his diocese in reference to the subject.

The doctrines (writes His Eminence) professed by the men who seek to bring this custom into honour were a motive for rendering such an attempt suspected by the faithful. In fact, they are generally men openly affiliated to Freemasonry, or at least not sufficiently on their guard against the influence of the sects hostile to the Church, and the seduction of the errors diffused through modern society by naturalism under the pretext of scientific progress. Moreover, the enemies of religion have more than once publicly declared that the great advantage of cremation was to keep the priest away from the funeral, and to replace Christian burial by civil obsequies. It is not, therefore, surprising that several bishops and even earnest Christians have addressed themselves to the Holy See to know what rule of conduct ought to be followed in reference to the cremation of bodies.

His Eminence, after reciting the Decree as quoted above, goes on to declare that in presence of these formal declarations of the Holy See, no religious ceremony can for the future be permitted for those who have desired to be cremated after death, as by this very fact they put themselves in contradiction to the laws of the Church, and voluntarily place themselves among those persons to whom it is necessary to refuse ecclesiastical burial. Cardinal Richard pronounces the system of cremation a triumph of materialism over spiritualism, and says that

Such a custom tends to weaken religious feeling and to introduce naturalism among the population, and would inevitably destroy, little by little, the necessary conditions of moral order and even the security of States.

He distinguishes, however, between the different motives of those who advocate it, and recognises in the following passage the good faith of those who only do so through ignorance of its real meaning.

If the efforts to propagate the custom of incineration have been, in most cases, inspired by hatred of the Christian faith, there have been, and there are, we believe, men of sincerity and honesty who have merely seen in this practice a scientific and social question.

The publication of this letter, which caused no small sensation in Paris, was generally approved by the religious world. M. Renan, though in the hostile camp, declares the instructions of the Archbishop conformable to the Christian tradition, but bases his personal antagonism to cremation on other grounds.

As regards myself (he is reported to have said) you know I do not believe in the resurrection, at least not according to the dogma of the Church, and therefore it matters little to me whether I am burned or buried. But I oppose cremation on social and scientific principles which it would take too long to explain.

Thus condemned by the intuitive religion of the heart, as well as by the tradition of the divinely taught depositaries of revealed truth from the beginning of the world, cremation is now denounced by a decree of the Church, unmistakably enunciated. Its position is clearly defined henceforth as a perversion originally sprung from heathen error in those who had not known the light, and now revived by the worse prevarication of those who have rejected it. It comes to them recommended by its far-breathed perfume of Paganism, derived from the days when men worshipped the elemental fire-god on Syrian heights, and handed down through the practice of other nations, who had forgotten that early faith while inheriting its forms. Raked out from the



lumber-room of history by those who adopt it neither from creed nor custom, it is symbolical of the retrograde character of a philosophy which boasts of leading the van of progress, yet reverts to the primal age of the world to seek a weapon against Christianity in the cast-off trappings of effete superstitions. But to the Catholic who takes his teaching from the unwavering ray that alone leads onward and upward, cremation stands thrice-condemned—by the instinct of nature, by the dictate of prudence, and by the decision of the Church.

## EDITORIAL.

P.S.—It may be useful to add here a translation and also the original of the Decree of the 19th May 1886 referred to in the text, in which the practice of cremation is styled a “detestable abuse.”

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“Several bishops and prudent members of Christ’s flock, knowing that certain men possessed of doubtful faith, or belonging to the Masonic sect, strongly contend at the present day for the practice of the Pagan custom of cremation, founding special societies to spread this custom, fear lest the minds of the faithful may be worked upon by their wiles and sophistries so as to lose by degrees esteem and reverence towards the constant Christian usage of burying the bodies of the faithful—a usage hallowed by the solemn rites of the Church. In order, therefore, that some fixed rule may be laid down for the faithful to preserve them from the insidious doctrines above mentioned, the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition is asked—

1. Is it lawful to become a member of those societies whose object it is to spread the practice of cremation?

2. Is it lawful to leave orders for the burning of one’s own body or that of another?

Their Eminences the Cardinals General Inquisitors, after grave and mature consideration, answered :

To the 1st question, No ; and if it is a question of societies connected with the Masonic sect, the penalties pronounced against this sect would be incurred.

To the 2nd, No.

When these decisions were referred to our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., his Holiness approved and confirmed them, and directed them to be communicated to the bishops, in order that they might instruct the faithful upon the detestable abuse of cremation, and might do all in their power to keep the flock entrusted to their charge from such a practice.”

Non pauci Sacrorum Antistites cordatique Christifideles animadvertentes, ab hominibus vel dubiæ fidei, vel Masonicæ sectæ addictis magno nisu hodie contendit, ut ethnicorum usus de hominum cadaveribus comburendis instauretur, atque in hunc finem speciales etiam societates ab iisdem institui: veriti, ne eorum artibus et cavillationibus fidelium mentes capiantur, et sensim in eis imminuatur existimatio et reverentia erga Christianam constantem et solemnibus ritibus ab Ecclesia consecratam consuetudinem fidelium corpora humandi: ut aliqua certa norma iisdem fidelibus præsto sit qua sibi a memoratis insidiis caveant; a Suprema S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisitionis Congregatione declarari postularunt:

1. An licitum sit nomen dare societatibus, quibus propositum est promovere usum comburendi hominum cadavera?

2. An licitum sit mandare, ut sua aliorumve cadavera comburantur?

Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales in rebus fidei Generales Inquisitores, supra scriptis dubiis serio ac mature perpensis, præhabitoque DD. Consultorum Voto, respondendum censuerunt:

Ad 1. Negative, et si agatur de societatibus Masonicæ sectæ filiabus, incurri pœnas contra hanc latas.

Ad 2. Negative.

Factaque de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papæ XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua resolutiones Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit, et cum locorum Ordinariis communicandas mandavit, ut opportune instruendos curent Christifideles circa detestabilem abusum corpora cremandi, utque ab eo gregem sibi concreditum totibus viribus deterreant.

IOS. MANCINI,

S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. Notarius.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE  
CHIEF DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis aliisque locorum Ordinariis pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentibus,*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

**S**APIENTIAE christianae revocari praecepta, eisque vitam, mores, instituta populorum penitus conformari, quotidie magis apparet oportere. Illis enim posthabitis, tanta vis est malorum consecuta, ut nemo sapiens nec ferre sine ancipiti cura praesentia queat, nec in posterum sine metu prospicere.—Facta quidem non mediocris est ad ea bona, quae sunt corporis et externa, progressio: sed omnis natura, quae hominis percellit sensus, opumque et virium et copiarum possessio, si commoditates gignere suavitatesque augere vivendi potest, natum ad maiora ac magnificentiora animum explere non potest. Deum spectare, atque ad ipsum contendere, suprema lex est vitae hominum: qui ad imaginem conditi similitudinemque divinam, naturâ ipsâ ad auctorem suum potiundum vehementer incitantur. Atqui non motu aliquo cursuque corporis tenditur ad Deum, sed iis quae sunt animi, cognitione atque affectu. Est enim Deus prima ac suprema veritas, nec nisi mens veritate alitur: est idem perfecta sanctitas summumque bonorum, quo sola voluntas aspirare et accedere, duce virtute, potest.

Quod autem de singulis hominibus, idem de societate tum domestica tum etiam civili intelligendum. Non enim ob hanc causam genuit natura societatem ut ipsam homo sequeretur tamquam finem, sed ut in ea et per eam adiumenta ad perfectionem sui apta reperiret. Si qua igitur civitas nihil praeter commoditates externas vitaeque cultum cum elegantia et copia persequatur, si Deum in administranda republica negligere, nec leges curare morales consueverit, deterrime aberrat ab instituto suo et praescriptione naturae, neque tam est ea societas hominum et communitas putanda, quam fallax imitatio simulatioque societatis.—Iamvero ea, quae diximus, animi bona, quae in verae religionis cultu constantique praeceptorum christianorum custodia maxime reperiuntur, quotidie obscurari hominum oblivione aut fastidio cernimus, ita fere ut, quanto sunt earum rerum incrementa maiora, quae corpus attingunt, tanto earum, quae animum, maior videatur occasus. Imminutae plurimumque debilitatae fidei christianae magna significatio est in iis, ipsis iniuriis, quae catholico nomini in luce atque in oculis hominum nimis saepe inferuntur: quas quidem cultrix religionis aetas nullo pacto tulisset.—His de causis incredibile dictu est, quanta hominum multitudo in aeternae salutis discrimine versetur: sed civitates ipsae atque imperia diu incolumia esse non possunt, quia labentibus institutis moribusque christianis, maxima societatis humanae fundamenta ruere necesse est. Tranquillitati publicae atque ordini tuendo

sola vis relinquitur: vis autem valde est infirma, praesidio religionis detracto: eademque servituti pariendae quam obedientiae aptior, gerit in se ipsa magnarum perturbationum inclusa semina. Graves memoratu casus saeculum tulit: nec satis liquet num non sint pertimescendi pares.—Itaque tempus ipsum monet remedia, unde oportet, quaerere: videlicet christianam sentiendi agendique rationem in vita privata, in omnibus reipublicae partibus, restituere: quod est unum ad pellenda mala, quae premunt, ad prohibenda pericula, quae impendent, aptissimum. In id nos, Venerabiles Fratres, incumbere opus est, id maxima qua possumus contentione industriaque conari: eiusque rei causâ, quamquam aliis locis, ut sese dedit opportunitas, similia tradidimus, utile tamen arbitramur esse in his Litteris magis enucleate officia describere catholicorum: quae officia, si accurate serventur, mirabiliter ad rerum communium salutem valent. Incidimus in vehementem eamque prope quotidianam de rebus maximis dimicationem: in qua difficillimum est non decipi aliquando, non errare, non animo multos succumbere. Nostrum est, Venerabiles Fratres, admonere quemque, docere, adhortari convenienter temporis, ut *viam veritatis nemo deserat*.

Esse in usu vitae plura ac maiora catholicorum officia, quam eorum qui sint fidei catholicae aut perperam compotes, aut omnino expertes, dubitari non potest. Cum, parta iam hominum generi salute, Iesus Christus praedicare Evangelium Apostolos iussit omni creaturae, hoc pariter officium hominibus universis imposuit, ut perdicerent et crederent, quae docerentur: cui quidem officio sempiternae salutis omnino est adeptio coniuncta. *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.\** Sed christianam fidem homo, ut debet, complexus, hoc ipso Ecclesiae ut ex ea natus subiicitur, eiusque fit societatis maximae sanctissimaeque particeps, quam summa cum potestate regere, sub invisibili capite Christo Iesu, romani Pontificis proprium est munus.—Nunc vero si civitatem, in qua editi susceptique in hanc lucem sumus, praecipue diligere tuerique iubemur lege naturae usque eo, ut civis bonus vel mortem pro patria oppetere non dubitet, officium est christianorum longe maius simili modo esse in Ecclesiam semper affectos. Est enim Ecclesia civitas sancta Dei viventis, Deo ipso nata, eodemque auctore constituta: quae peregrinatur quidem in terris, sed vocans homines et erudiens atque deducens ad sempiternam in caelis felicitatem. Adamanda igitur patria est, unde vitae mortalis usuram accepimus: sed necesse est caritate Ecclesiam praestare, cui vitam animae debemus perpetuo mansuram: quia bona animi corporis bonis rectum est antepone, multoque, quam erga homines, sunt erga Deum officia sanctiora.—Ceterum, vere si iudicare volumus, supernaturalis amor Ecclesiae patriaeque caritas naturalis, geminae sunt ab eodem sempiterno principio profectae caritates, cum ipse sit utriusque auctor et causa Deus: ex quo consequitur, non posse alterum officium pugnare cum altero. Utique utrumque possumus et debemus, diligere nosmetipsos, bene-

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\* Marc. xvi. 16.

volentes esse cum proximis, amare rempublicam potestatemque quae reipublicae praesit: eodemque tempore Ecclesiam colere uti parentem, et maxima, qua fieri potest, caritate complecti Deum. — Nihilominus horum officiorum ordo, vel calamitate temporum vel iniquiore hominum voluntate, aliquando pervertitur. Nimirum incidunt caussae, cum aliud videtur a civibus respublica, aliud a christianis religio postulare: idque non alia sane de causa, quam quod rectores reipublicae sacram Ecclesiae potestatem aut nihil pensi habent, aut sibi volunt esse subiectam. Hinc et certamen existit, et periclitandae virtuti in certamine locus. Urget enim potestas duplex: quibus contraria iubentibus obtemperari simul utrisque non potest: *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*,\* ita ut omnino, si mos geritur alteri, alterum posthaberi necesse sit. Uter vero sit anteponendus, dubitare nemo debet. — Videlicet scelus est ab obsequio Dei, satisfaciendi hominibus causâ, discedere: nefas Iesu Christi leges, ut pareatur magistratibus, perrumpere, aut, per speciem civilis conservandi iuris, iura Ecclesia migrare. *Obedire oportet Deo magis, quam hominibus.*† Quodque olim magistratibus non honesta imperantibus Petrus ceterique Apostoli respondere consueverunt, idem semper est in causa simili sine haesitatione respondendum. Nemo civis pace belloque melior, quam christianus sui memor officii: sed perpeti omnia potius, et ipsam malle mortem debet, quam Dei Ecclesiaeve causam deserere. — Quapropter non habent vim naturamque legum probe perspectam, qui istam in delectu officii constantiam reprehendunt, et ad seditionem aiunt pertinere. Vulgo cognita et a Nobis ipsis aliquoties explicata loquimur. Non est lex, nisi iussio rectae rationis a potestate legitima in bonum commune perlata. Sed vera ac legitima potestas nulla est, nisi a Deo summo principe dominoque omnium proficiscatur, qui mandare homini in homines imperium solus ipse potest: neque est recta ratio putanda, quae cum veritate dissentiat et ratione divina: neque verum bonum, quod summo atque incommutabili bono repugnet, vel a caritate Dei torqueat hominum atque abducat voluntates. — Sanctum igitur christianis est publicae potestatis nomen, in qua divinae maiestatis speciem et imaginem quandam tum etiam agnoscunt, cum geritur ab indigno: iusta et debita legum verecundia, non propter vim et minas, sed propter conscientiam officii: *non enim dedit nobis Deus spiritum timoris.*‡ Verum si reipublicae leges aperte discrepent cum iure divino, si quam Ecclesiae imponant iniuriam, aut iis, quae sunt de religione, officiis contradicant, vel auctoritatem Iesu Christi in pontifice maximo violent, tum vero resistere officium est, parere scelus: idque cum ipsius reipublicae iniuria coniunctum, quia peccatur in reipublicam quidquid in religione delinquitur. — Rursus autem apparet quam sit illa seditionis iniusta criminatio: non enim abiicitur principi legumque latoribus obedientia debita: sed ab eorum voluntate in iis dumtaxat praeceptis disceditur, quorum ferendorum nulla potestas est, quia cum Dei iniuria feruntur, ideoque vacant iustitia, et quidvis potius sunt quam leges. — Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, hanc esse ipsis-

\* Matt. vi. 24.

† Acts v. 29.

‡ 2 Tim. i. 7.

simam beati Pauli Apostoli doctrinam : qui cum scripsisset ad Titum, monendos christianos *principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto obedire*, illud statim adiungit, *ad omne opus bonum paratos esse* : \* quo palam fieret, si leges hominum contra sempiternam legem Dei quicquam statuunt, rectum esse non parere. Similique ratione princeps Apostolorum iis, qui libertatem praedicandi Evangelii sibi vellent eripere, forti atque excelso animo respondebat, *si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire, quam Deum, iudicate: non enim possumus quae vidimus et audivimus non loqui*.†

Ambas itaque patrias unumquemque diligere, alteram naturae, alteram civitatis caelestis, ita tamen ut huius, quam illius habeatur caritas antiquior, nec unquam Dei iuribus iura humana anteponantur, maximum est christianorum officium, itemque velut fons quidam, unde alia officia nascuntur. Sane liberator generis humani de se ipse *Ego*, inquit, *in hoc natus sum et ad hoc veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati*.‡ Similiter, *ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut accendatur*? § In huius cognitione veritatis, quae mentis est summa perfectio, in caritate divina, quae perficit pari modo voluntatem, omnis christianorum est vita ac libertas posita. Quarum rerum, veritatis scilicet et caritatis, nobilissimum patrimonium, sibi a Iesu Christo commendatum, perpetuo studio vigilantiaque conservat ac tuetur Ecclesia.

Sed quam acre adversus Ecclesiam bellum deflagaverit quamque multiplex, vix attinet hoc loco dicere. Quod enim rationi contigit complures res occultas et a natura involutas scientiae pervestigatione reperire, easque in vitae usus apte convertere, tantos sibi spiritus sumpserunt homines, ut iam se putent numen posse imperiumque divinum a communi vita depellere.—Quo errore decepti, transferunt in naturam humanam ereptum Deo principatum : a natura petendum omnis veri principium et normam praedicant : ab ea manare, ad eamque esse cuncta religionis officia referenda. Quocirca nihil esse divinitus traditum : non disciplinae morum christianae, non Ecclesiae parendum : nullam huic esse legum ferendarum potestatem, nulla iura ; imo nec ullum Ecclesiae dari in reipublicae institutis locum oportere. Expetunt vero atque omni ope contendunt capessere res publicas et ad gubernacula sedere civitatum, quo sibi facilius liceat ad has doctrinas dirigere leges moresque fingere populorum. Ita passim catholicum nomen vel aperte petitur, vel occulte oppugnatur : magnâque cuilibet errorum perversitati permissâ licentiâ, multis saepe vinculis publica veritatis christianae professio constringitur.

His igitur tam iniquis rebus, primum omnium respicere se quisque debet, vehementerque curare, ut alte comprehensam animo fidem intenta custodia tueatur, cavendo pericula, nominatimque contra varias sophismatum fallacias semper armatus. Ad cuius incolumitatem virtutis illud etiam perutile, et magnopere consentaneum temporibus iudicamus, studium diligens, ut est facultas et captus singulorum, in christiana doctrina ponere, earumque rerum, quae religionem

\* Tit. iii. 1.

† Acts iv. 19, 20.

‡ Io. xviii. 37.

§ Luc. xii. 49.

continent, quasque assequi ratione licet, maiore qua potest notitia mentem imbuere. Cumque fidem non modo vigere in animis incorruptam, sed assiduis etiam incrementis oporteat augescere, iteranda persaepe ad Deum est supplex atque humilis Apostolorum flagitatio, *adauge nobis fidem*.\*

Verum in hoc eodem genere, quod fidem christianam attingit, alia sunt officia, quae observari accurate religioseque si salutis semper interfuit, hac tempestate nostra interest maxime.—Nimirum in hac, quam diximus, tanta ac tam late fusa opinionum insania, profecto patrocinium suscipere veritatis, erroresque ex animis evellere, Ecclesiae munus est, idque omni tempore sancteque servandum, quia honor Dei, ac salus hominum in eius sunt tutela. At vero, cum necessitas cogit, incolunitatem fidei tueri non ii solum debent qui praesunt, sed *quilibet tenetur fidem suam aliis propalare, vel ad instructionem aliorum fidelium sive confirmationem, vel ad reprimendum infidelium insultationem*.† Cedere hosti, vel vocem premere, cum tantus undique opprimendae veritati tollitur clamor, aut inertis hominis est, aut de iis, quae proficitur, utrum vera sint, dubitantis. Utrumque turpe, atque iniuriosum Deo: utrumque cum singulorum tum communi saluti repugnans: solis fidei inimicis fructuosum, quia valde auget remissior proborum opera audaciam improborum.—Eoque magis christianorum vituperanda segnities, quia falsa crimina dilui, opinionumque pravae confutari levi negotio, ut plurimum, possunt: maiore aliquo cum labore semper possunt. Ad extremum, nemo unus prohibetur eam adhibere ac prae se ferre fortitudinem, quae propria est christianorum: qua ipsa non raro animi adversariorum et consilia franguntur. Sunt praeterea christiani ad dimicationem nati: cuius quo maior est vis, eo certior, Deo opitulante, victoria. *Confidite: ego vici mundum*.‡ Neque est quod opponat quisquam, Ecclesiae conservatorem ac vindicem Iesum Christum nequaquam opera hominum indigere. Non enim inopia virium, sed magnitudine bonitatis vult ille ut aliquid a nobis conferatur operae ad salutis, quam ipse peperit, obtinendos adipiscendosque fructus.

Huiusce partes officii primae sunt, catholicam doctrinam profiteri aperte et constanter, eamque, quoad quisque potest, propagare. Nam, quod saepius est verissimeque dictum, christianae quidem sapientiae nihil tam obest, quam non esse cognitam. Valet enim per se ipsa ad depellendos errores probe percepta: quam si mens arripuerit simplex praeiudicatisque non adstricta opinionibus, assentiendum esse ratio pronuntiat. Nunc vero fidei virtus grande munus est gratiae bonitatisque divinae: res tamen ipsae, quibus adhibenda fides, non alio fere modo quam audiendo noscuntur. *Quomodo credent ei, quem non audierunt? Quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? . . . Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi*.§ Quoniam igitur fides est ad salutem necessaria, omnino praedicari verbum Christi consequitur oportere. Profecto praedicandi, hoc est docendi, munus iure divino

\* Luc. xviii. 5.

‡ Jo. xvi. 33.

† S. Thom. 2. 2<sup>ae</sup>, Quaest. iii., art. ii., ad 2.

§ Rom. x. 14, 17.

penes magistros est, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*,\* maximeque penes Pontificem romanum, Iesu Christi vicarium, Ecclesiae universae summa cum potestate praepositum, credendorum, agendorum magistrum. Nihilominus nemo putet, industriam nonnullam eadem in re ponere privatos prohiberi, eos nominatim, quibus ingenii facultatem Deus cum studio bene merendi dedit: qui, quoties res exigat, commode possunt non sane doctoris sibi partes assumere, sed ea, quae ipsi acceperint imperitare ceteris, magistrorum voci resonantes tamquam imago. Quin imo privatorum opera visa est Patribus Concilii Vaticani usque adeo opportuna ac frugifera, ut prorsus deprecendam iudicarent. *Omnes christifideles, maxime vero eos, qui praesunt, vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Iesu Christi obtestamur, nec non eiusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate iubemus, ut ad hos errores a sancta Ecclesia arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimae fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.*†—Ceterum serere fidem catholicam auctoritate exempli, professionisque constantia praedicare, quisque se posse ac debere meminerit.—In officiis igitur quae nos iungunt Deo atque Ecclesiae, hoc est numerandum maxime, ut in veritate christiana propaganda propulsandisque erroribus elaboret singulorum, quoad potest, industria.

Quibus tamen officiis non ita, ut oportet, cumulate et utiliter satisfacturi sunt, si alii seorsum ab aliis in certamen descenderint.—Futurum sane Iesus Christus significavit, ut quam ipse offensionem hominum invidiamque prior excepit, in eandem pari modo opus a se institutum incurreret; ita plane ut ad salutem pervenire, ipsius beneficio partam, multi reapse prohiberentur. Quare voluit non alumnos dumtaxat instituere disciplinae suae, sed hos ipsos societate coniungere, et in unum corpus, *quod est Ecclesia*,‡ cuius esset ipse caput, apte coagmentare. Permeat itaque vita Christi Iesu per totam compagem corporis, alit ac sustentat singula membra, eaque copulata tenet inter se et ad eundem composita finem, quamvis non eadem sit actio singulorum.§ His de caussis non modo perfecta societas Ecclesia est, et alia qualibet societate longe praestantior, sed hoc ei est inditum ab Auctore suo ut debeat pro salute generis humani contendere *ut castrorum acies ordinata*.

Ista rei christianae compositio conformatioque mutari nullo modo potest: nec magis vivere arbitrato suo cuiquam licet, aut eam, quae sibi libeat, decertandi rationem consecrari: propterea quod dissipat, non colligit, qui cum Ecclesia et Iesu Christo non colligit, verissimeque contra Deum contendunt, quicumque non cum ipso Ecclesiaeque contendunt.¶

\* Act. xx. 28.

† Const. *Dei Filius*, sub fin.

‡ Coloss. i. 24.

*Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent: ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra.*—Rom. xii. 4–5. ¶ Cantic. vi. 9.

¶ *Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit.*—Luc. xi. 23.



Ad hanc vero coniunctionem animorum similitudinemque agendi, inimicis catholici nominis non sine caussa formidolosam, primum omnium concordia est necessaria sententiarum: ad quam ipsam videmus Paulum Apostolum Corinthios cohortantem vehementi studio et singulari gravitate verborum: *Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis schismata: sitis autem perfecti in eodem sensu et in eadem sententia.*\*—Cuius praecepti facile sapientia perspicitur. Est enim principium agendi mens: ideoque nec congruere voluntates, nec similes esse actiones queunt, si mentes diversa opinentur. Qui solam rationem sequuntur ducem, vix in eis aut ne vix quidem una esse doctrina potest: est enim ars rerum cognoscendarum perdifficilis: mens vero et infirma est naturâ, et varietate distrahitur opinionum, et impulsione rerum oblata extrinsecus non raro fallitur; accedunt cupiditates, quae veri videndi nimium saepe tollunt aut certe minuunt facultatem. Hac de caussa in moderandis civitatibus saepe datur opera ut coniuncti teneantur vi, quorum animi discordant.—Longe aliter christiani: quid credere oporteat, ab Ecclesia accipiunt, cuius auctoritate ductuque se certo sciunt verum attingere. Propterea sicut una est Ecclesia, quia unus Iesus Christus, ita cunctorum toto orbe christianorum una est atque esse debet doctrina. *Unus Dominus, una fides.*† *Habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei,*‡ salutare principium obtinent, unde eadem in omnibus voluntas eademque in agendo ratio sponte gignuntur.

Sed, quod Paulus Apostolus iubet, unanimitem oportet esse perfectam.—Cum christiana fides non humanae, sed divinae rationis auctoritate nitatur, quae enim a Deo accepimus, *vera esse credimus non propter intrinsecam rerum veritatem naturali rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest,*§ consequens est ut, quascumque res constet esse a Deo traditas, omnino excipere singulas pari similique assensu necesse sit: quarum rerum abnuere fidem uni huc ferme recidit, repudiare universas. Evertunt enim ipsum fundamentum fidei, qui aut elocutum hominibus Deum negent, aut de infinita eius veritate sapientiae dubitent.—Statuere vero quae sint doctrinae divinitus traditae, Ecclesiae docentis est, cui custodiam interpretationemque Deus eloquiorum suorum commisit. Summus autem est magister in Ecclesia Pontifex romanus. Concordia igitur animorum sicut perfectum in una fide consensum requirit, ita voluntates postulat Ecclesiae romanoque Pontifici perfecte subiectas atque obtemperantes, ut Deo.—Perfecta autem esse obedientia debet, quia ab ipsa fide praecipitur, et habet hoc commune cum fide, ut dividua esse non possit: imo vero si absoluta non fuerit et numeros omnes habens, obedientiae quidem simulacrum relinquitur, natura tollitur. Cuiusmodi perfectioni tantum christiana consuetudo tribuit, ut illa tamquam nota internoscendi catholicos et habita semper sit et

\* 1 Corinth. i. 10.

† Ephes. iv. 5.

‡ 2 Corinth. iv. 13.

§ Conc. Vat. Const. *Dei Filius*, cap. 3.

habeatur. Mire explicatur hic locus a Thoma Aquinate iis verbis: *Formale. . . . obiectum fidei est veritas prima secundum quod manifestatur in Scripturis sacris, et doctrina Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima. Unde quicumque non inhaeret, sicut infallibili et divinae regulae, doctrinae Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima in Scripturis sacris manifestata, ille non habet habitum fidei: sed ea, quae sunt fidei, alio modo tenet quam per fidem. . . . Manifestum est autem, quod ille, qui inhaeret doctrinis Ecclesiae tamquam infallibili regulae, omnibus assentit, quae Ecclesia docet, alioquin si de his, quae Ecclesia docet, quae vult, tenet, et quae non vult, non tenet, non iam inhaeret Ecclesiae doctrinae sicut infallibili regulae, sed propriae voluntati.\* Una fides debet esse totius Ecclesiae, secundum illud (1 Corinth. i.): Idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis schismata; quod servari non posses, nisi quaestio fidei exorta determinetur per eum, qui toti Ecclesiae praest, ut sic eius sententia a tota Ecclesia firmiter teneatur. Et ideo ad solam auctoritatem Summi Pontificis pertinet nova editio Symboli, sicut et omnia alia, quae pertinent ad totam Ecclesiam.†*

In constituendis obedientiae finibus, nemo arbitretur, sacrorum Pastorum maximeque romani Pontificis auctoritati parendum in eo dumtaxat esse, quod ad dogmata pertinet, quorum repudiatio pertinax disiungi ab haereseos flagitio non potest. Quin etiam neque satis est sincere et firmiter assentiri doctrinis, quae ab Ecclesia, etsi solemniter definitae iudicio, ordinario tamen et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelatae credendae proponuntur: quas *fide catholica et divina* credendas Concilium Vaticanum decrevit. Sed hoc est praeterea in officiis christianorum ponendum, ut potestate ductuque Episcoporum imprimisque Sedis Apostolicae regi se gubernarique patiantur. Quod quidem quam sit consentaneum, perfacile apparet. Nam quae divinis oraculis continentur, ea Deum partim attingunt, partim ipsum hominem itemque res ad sempiternam hominis salutem necessarias. Iamvero de utroque genere, nimirum et quid credere oporteat et quid agere, ab Ecclesia iure divino praecipitur, uti diximus, atque in Ecclesia a Pontifice maximo. Quamobrem iudicare posse Pontifex pro auctoritate debet quid eloquia divina contineant, quae cum eis doctrinae concordent, quae discrepent: eademque ratione ostendere quae honesta sint, quae turpia: quid agere, quid fugere, salutis adipiscendae causa, necesse sit: aliter enim nec eloquiorum Dei certus interpres, nec dux ad vivendum tutus ille esse homini posset.

Altius praeterea intrandum in Ecclesiae naturam: quippe quae non est christianorum, ut fors tulit, nexa communio, sed excellenti temperatione divinitus constituta societas, quae illuc recta proximeque spectat, ut pacem animis ac sanctitatem afferat: cumque res ad id necessarias divino munere sola possideat, certas habet leges, certa officia, atque in populis christianis moderandis rationem viamque sequitur naturae suae consentaneam.—Sed istiusmodi regiminis difficilis est et cum frequenti offensione cursus. Gentes enim Ecclesia regit per cunctos terrarum tractus disseminatas, genere differentes

\* 2. 2<sup>o</sup>, Quaest. v., Art. iii.

\* Ib. Quaest. i., Art. x.

moribusque, quas, cum in sua quaeque republica suis legibus vivant, civili simul ac sacrae potestati officium est subesse. Quae officia in eisdem personis coniuncta reperiuntur, non vero pugnancia, uti diximus, neque confusa, quia alterum genus ad prosperitatem pertinet civitatis, alterum ad commune Ecclesiae bonum, utrumque pariendae hominum perfectioni natum.

Qua posita iurium et officiorum terminatione, omnino liquet esse liberos ad res suas gerendas rectores civitatum: idque non modo non invitâ, sed plane adiuvente Ecclesia: quae quoniam maxime praecipit ut colatur pietas, quae est iustitia adversus Deum, hoc ipso ad iustitiam vocat erga principes. Verum longe nobiliore instituto potestas sacra eo spectat, ut regat hominum animos tuendo *regnum Dei et iustitiam eius*,\* atque in hoc tota versatur. Dubitari vero salva fide non potest, istiusmodi regimen animorum Ecclesiae esse assignatum uni, nihil ut in eo sit politicae potestati loci: non enim Caesari, sed Petro claves regni caelorum Iesus Christus commendavit.—Cum hac de rebus politicis deque religiosis doctrina quaedam alia coniunguntur non exigui momenti, de quibus silere hoc loco nolumus.

Ab omni politico genere imperii distat christiana respublica plurimum. Quod si similitudinem habet conformationemque regni, profecto originem, causam, naturam mortalibus regnis habet longe disparem.—Ius est igitur, vivere Ecclesiam tuerique se consentaneis naturae suae institutis ac legibus. Eademque cum non modo societas perfecta sit, sed etiam humana quavis societate superior, sectari partium studia et mutabilibus rerum civilium flexibus servire iure officioque suo valde recusat. Similique ratione custos iuris sui, observantissima alieni, non ad se putat Ecclesia pertinere, quae maxime forma civitatis placeat, quibus institutis res christianarum gentium civilis geratur: ex variisque reipublicae generibus nullum non probat, dum religio morumque disciplina salva sit.—Ad hoc exemplum cogitationes actionesque dirigi singulorum christianorum oportet. Non dubium est, quin quaedam sit in genere politico honesta contentio, cum scilicet incolumi veritate iustitiaque certatur, ut opiniones re usuque valeant, quae ad commune bonum prae ceteris conducibiles videantur. Sed Ecclesiam trahere ad partes, aut omnino adiutricem velle ad eos quibuscum contenditur, superandos, hominum est religione intemperanter abutentium. Ex adverso sancta atque inviolata apud omnes debet esse religio: imo in ipsa disciplina civitatum, quae a legibus morum officiisque religionis separari non potest, hoc est potissimum perpetuoque spectandum, quid maxime expediat christiano nomini: quod ipsum sicubi in periculo esse adversariorum operâ videatur, cessandum ab omni dissidio, et concordibus animis et consiliis propugnatio ac defensio suscipienda religionis, quod est commune bonum maximum, quo sunt omnia referenda.—Idque opus esse ducimus aliquanto exponere accuratius.

Profecto et Ecclesia et civitas suum habet utaque principatum: proptereaque in gerendis rebus suis neutra paret alteri, utique intra

\* Matt. vi. 33.

terminos a proxima cuiusque caussa constitutos. Ex quo tamen nulla ratione disiunctas esse sequitur, multoque minus pugnantes.—Sane non tantum nobis ut essemus natura dedit, sed ut morati essemus. Quare a tranquillitate ordinis publici, quam proxime habet civilis coniunctio propositam, hoc petit homo, ut bene sibi esse liceat, ac multo magis ut satis praesidii ad perficiendos mores suppeditet: quae perfectio nusquam nisi in cognitione consistit atque exercitatione virtutis. Simul vero vult, id quod debet, adiumenta in Ecclesia reperire, quorum ope pietatis perfectae perfecto fungatur munere: quod in cognitione usuque positum est verae religionis, quae princeps est virtutum, propterea quod, revocando ad Deum, explet et cumulat universas.—In institutis igitur legibusque sancientis spectanda hominis indoles est moralis eadem ac religiosa, eiusdemque curanda perfectio, sed recte atque ordine: nec imperandum vetandumve quidquam nisi ratione habita quid civili hominum societati sit, quid religiosae propositum. Hac ipsa de caussa non potest Ecclesiae non interesse quales in civitatibus valeant leges, non quatenus ad rempublicam pertinent, sed quia fines debitos aliquando praetergressae in ius Ecclesiae invadunt. Quin imo resistere, si quando officiat religioni disciplina reipublicae, studioseque conari, ut in leges et instituta populorum virtus pervadat Evangelii, munus est Ecclesiae assignatum a Deo. Quoniamque fortuna reipublicae potissimum ex eorum pendet ingenio qui populo praesunt, idcirco Ecclesia patrocinium iis hominibus gratiamve praebere non potest, a quibus oppugnari sese intelligat, qui iura ipsius vereri aperte recusent, qui rem sacram remque civilem natura consociatas divellere contendunt. Contra faultrix, uti debet, eorum est qui, cum de civili deque christiana republica quod sentire rectum est, ipsi sentiant, ambas in communi bono concordare elaborare volunt.—His praeceptis norma continetur, quam in publica actione vitae catholicum quemque necesse est sequi. Nimirum, ubicumque in negotiis publicis versari per Ecclesiam licet, favendum viris est spectatae probitatis, eisdemque de christiano nomine meritis: neque caussa esse ulla potest cur male erga religionem animatos liceat antepone.

Ex quo apparet quam sit magnum officium tueri consensum animorum, praesertim cum per hoc tempus tanta consiliorum calliditate christianum oppugnetur nomen. Quotquot diligenter studuerint Ecclesia adhaerescere, quae est *columna et firmamentum veritatis*,\* facile cavebunt *magistros mendaces . . . . libertatem illis promittentes, cum ipsi servi sint corruptionis* †: quin imo ipsius Ecclesiae virtutis participes futuri, insidias sapientia vincent, vim fortitudine.—Non est huius loci exquirere, numquid, et quantum a novas res contulerit opera segnior atque intestina discordia catholicorum: sed certe erant homines nequam minus habituri audaciae, nec tantas edituri ruinas, si robustior in plurimorum animis viguisset fides, quae *per caritatem operatur*, ‡ neque tam late morum christianorum tradita nobis divinitus

\* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

† 2 Pet. ii. 19.

‡ Gal. v. 6.

disciplina concidisset. Utinam praeteritae res hoc pariant, recordando, commodi, rectius sapere in posterum.

Verum ad negotia publica accessuris duo sunt magnopere vitia fugienda, quorum alterum prudentiae nomen usurpat, alterum iu temeritate versatur.—Quidam enim potenti pollentique improbitati aperte resistere negant oportere, ne forte hostiles animos certamen exasperet. Isti quidem pro Ecclesia stent, an contra, incertum: quandoquidem profiteri se doctrinam catholicam affirmant, sed tamen vellent, certas ab ea discrepantes opiniones impune propagari posse Ecclesia sineret. Ferunt dolenter interitum fidei demutationemque morum: nihil tamen de remedio laborant, vel etiam nimiâ indulgentiâ aut perniciosa quadam simulatione non raro malum augent. Iidem de sua in apostolicam Sedem voluntate nemini volunt esse dubium: sed habent semper aliquid, quod pontifici succenseant. Istiusmodi hominum prudentia ex eo est genere, quod a Paulo Apostolo *sapientia carnis* et *mors animi* appellatur, quia nec subest legi divinae, nec potest subesse.\* Nihil autem minus est ad mala minuenda providum. Inimicis enim, quod praedicare et in quo gloriari multi eorum non dubitant, hoc est omnino propositum, religionem catholicam, quae vera sola est, funditus, si fieri posset, extinguere. Tali autem consilio nihil non audent: sentiunt enim, quo magis fuerit aliorum tremefacta virtus, eo sibi expeditiorem fore malarum rerum facultatem. Itaque qui adamant *prudentiam carnis*, ac nescire se simulant, christianum quemque debere bonum militem Christi esse: qui debita victoribus praemia consequi mollissimâ viâ atque intacti a certamine volunt, ii tantum abest ut iter malorum intercipient, ut potius expeditant.

Contra non pauci fallaci studio permoti, aut, quod magis esset vitio, aliud agentes, aliud simulantes, non suas sibi partes assumunt. Res in Ecclesia geri suo ipsorum iudicio atque arbitrato vellent usque eo, ut omne quod secus agitur, moleste ferant, aut repugnanter accipiant. Hi quidem inani contentione laborant, nihilo minus, quam alteri, reprehendendi. Hoc enim est non sequi potestatem legitimam, sed praevertere, simulque magistratum munia ad privatos rapere, magna cum perturbatione ordinis, quem Deus in Ecclesia sua perpetuo servandum constituit, nec sinit a quoquam impune violari.—Illi optime, qui descendere in certamen, quotiescumque est opus, non recusant, hoc rato persuasoque, interituram vim iniustam, sanctitatisque iuris et religionis aliquid cesseram. Qui videntur sane dignum aliquid antiqua virtute suscipere, cum tueri religionem connituntur maxime adversus factionem audacissimam, christiano nomini exagitando natam, quae Pontificem maximum in suam redactum potestatem consecrari hostiliter non desistit: sed obedientiae studium diligenter retinent, nihil aggredi iniussu soliti. Iamvero quoniam similis obtemperandi voluntas, robusto animo constantiaeque coniuncta, christianis universis est necessaria, ut quoscumque casus tempus invexerit, *in nullo sint deficientes*,†

\* *Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo: legi enim Dei non est subiecta; nec enim potest.*—Rom. viii. 6, 7.

† Iac. i. 4.

magnopere velimus in singulorum animis alte insidere eam, quam Paulus\* *prudenciam spiritus* nominat. Haec enim in moderandis actionibus humanis sequitur optimam mediocritatis regulam, illud in homine efficiens, ne aut timide desperet propter ignaviam, aut nimis confidat propter temeritatem.—Est autem quod differat inter prudentiam politicam, quae ad bonam commune, et eam quae ad bonum cuiusque privatim pertinet. Haec enim cernitur in hominibus privatis, qui consilio rectaeque rationi obediunt in gubernatione sui: illa vero in praepositis, maximeque in principibus, quorum muneris est cum potestate praeesse: ita quidem ut politica privatorum prudentia in hoc videatur tota consistere, legitimae protestatis iussa fideliter exequi.† Haec dispositio atque hic ordo tanto magis valere in christiana republica debet, quanto Pontificis politica prudentia plura complectitur: eius enim est non solum regere Ecclesiam, sed generatim civium christianorum actiones ita ordinare, ut cum spe adipiscendae salutis aeternae apte congruant. Ex quo apparet, praeter summam sententiarum concordiam et factorum, necesse esse politicam potestatis ecclesiasticae observare in agendo sapientiam. Iamvero christianae rei administratio proxime et secundum Pontificem romanum ad Episcopos pertinet: qui scilicet, quamquam pontificalis fastigium potestatis non attingunt, sunt tamen in ecclesiastica hierarchia veri principes; cumque singulas Ecclesias singuli administrent, sunt *quasi principes artifices . . . . in aedificio spirituali*,‡ atque habent munerum adiutores ac ministros consiliorum Clericos. Ad hanc Ecclesiae constitutionem, quam nemo mortalium mutare potest, actio est accommodanda vitae. Propterea quemadmodum Episcopis necessaria est cum Apostolica Sede in gerendo episcopatu coniunctio, ita clericos laicosque oportet cum Episcopis suis coniunctissime vivere, agere.—Ipsorum quidem Antistitum utique potest esse aliquid aut minus laudabile in moribus, aut in sententiis non probabile: sed nemo privatus arroget sibi personam iudicis, quam Christus Dominus illi imposuit uni, quem agnis atque ovibus praefecit. Memoria quisque teneat sapientissimam Gregorii magni sententiam: *Admonendi sunt subditi, ne praepositorum suorum vitam temere iudicent, si quid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, ne unde mala recte redarguant, inde per elationis impulsum in profundiora mergantur. Admonendi sunt, ne cum culpas praepositorum considerant, contra eos audaciores fiant, sed sic, si qua valde sunt eorum prava, apud semetipsos*

\* Rom. viii. 6.

† *Prudentia in ratione est; regere autem et gubernare proprie rationis est; et ideo unusquisque in quantum participat de regimine et gubernatione, intantum conveni sibi habere rationem et prudentiam. Manifestum est autem quod subditi, in quantum est subditus, et servi, in quantum est servus, non est regere et gubernare, sed magis regi et gubernari. Et ideo prudentia non est virtus servi, in quantum est servus, nec subditi, in quantum est subditus. Sed quia quilibet homo in quantum est rationalis, participat aliquid de regimine secundum arbitrium rationis, intantum continet ei prudentiam habere. Unde manifestum est quod prudentia quidem in principe est ad modum artis architectonicae, ut dicitur in VI Ethicorum: in subditis autem ad modum artis manu operantis.—S. Thom. 2. 2<sup>ae</sup>, xlvii., Art. xii.*

‡ S. Thom. Quodlib. Art. xiv.

*diudicent, ut tamen divino timore constricti ferre sub eis iugum reverentiae non recusent. . . . Facta quippe praepositorum oris gladio ferienda non sunt, etiam cum recte reprehendenda iudicantur.\**

Verumtamen parum sunt conata profutura, nisi ad virtutum christianarum disciplinam vita instituat. — Illa est sacrarum Litterarum de Iudaeorum genere sententia: *Usque dum non peccarent in conspectu Dei sui, erant cum illis bona: Deus enim iltorum odit iniquitatem . . . . Cum recessissent a via, quam dederat illis Deus, ut ambularent in ea, exterminati praeliis a multis nationibus.*† Atqui inchoatam formam populi christiani gerebat Iudaeorum natio: atque in veteribus eorum casibus saepe imago inerat veritatis futurae: nisi quod longe maioribus beneficiis auxit nos atque ornavit divina benignitas, ob eamque rem ingrati animi crimen multo efficit christianorum graviora delicta.

Ecclesia quidem nullo tempore nulloque modo deseritur a Deo: quare nihil est, quod sibi ab hominum scelere metuat: at vero degenerantibus a christiana virtute nationibus non eadem potest esse securitas. *Miseros enim facit populos peccatum.*‡ — Cuius vim veritatemque sententiae si omnis retro experta est aetas, quid est causae quamobrem nostra non experiatur? Imo debitas iam instare poenas, permulta declarant, idemque status ipse confirmat civitatum; quarum plures videlicet intestinis malis attritas, nullam ab omni parte tutam videmus. Quod si improborum factiones institutum iter audacter perrexerint: si evenerit iis ut, quemadmodum grassantur malis artibus et peiore proposito, sic opibus potentiâque invalescant, metuendum sane ne totas civitates a fundamentis, quae posuit natura, convellant. — Neque vero prohiberi tantae formidines sola hominum ope possunt, praesertim quia multitudo ingens, fide christiana reiecta, iustas superbiae poenas in hoc luit, quod veritatem obcaecata cupiditatis frustra conquirat, falsa pro veris amplexatur, sibi que videtur sapere cum vocat *malum bonum, et bonum malum, ponens tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras.* § Igitur Deus intersit, ac benignitatis suae memor civilem hominum societatem respiciat necesse est. Quamobrem, quod vehementer alias hortati sumus, singulari studio constantiaque nitendum, ut clementia divina obsecratione humili exoretur, virtutesque, quibus efficitur vita christiana, revocentur. — Imprimis autem excitanda ac tuenda caritas est, quae praecipuum vitae christianae firmamentum continet, et sine qua, aut nullae omnino sunt, aut fructu vacuae virtutes. Idcirco beatus Paulus Colossenses adhortatus, ut vitium omne defugerent, variamque virtutum laudem consecrarentur, illud subiicit, *super omnia autem haec caritatem habete, quod est vinculum perfectionis.*|| Vere vinculum est perfectionis caritas, quia quos complexa est, cum Deo ipso intime coniungit, perficitque ut vitam animae hauriant a Deo, cum Deo agant, ad Deum referant. Debet vero caritas Dei cum caritate proximorum consociari, quia infinitam Dei bonitatem homines participant, eiusque gerunt in

\* Reg. Pastor. p. iii., cap. iv.

† Prov. xiv. 34.

§ Isa. v. 20.

† Iudith, v. 21, 22.

|| Coloss. iii. 14.

se expressam imaginem atque formam. *Hoc mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum, diligit et fratrem suum.\* Si quis dixerit, quoniam diligo Deum, et fratrem suum oderit, mendax est.†* Atque hoc de caritate mandatum divinus eius lator *novum* nominavit, non quod diligere homines inter se non aliqua iam lex, aut ipsa natura iussisset, sed quia christianum hoc diligendi plane novum erat atque in omni memoria inauditum genus. Qua enim caritate Iesus Christus et diligitur a Patre suo et homines ipse diligit, eandem impetravit alumnis ac sectatoribus suis, ut cor unum et anima una esse in ipso possent, sicut ipse et Pater unum natura sunt. Huius vis praecepti nemo ignorat quam alte in christianorum pectus a principio descenderit, et quales quantosque concordiae, benevolentiae mutuae, pietatis, patientiae, fortitudinis fructus attulerit. Quidni opera detur exemplis maiorum imitandis? Tempora ipsa non exiguos admovent ad caritatem stimulos. Renovantibus impiis adversus Iesum Christum odia, instauranda christianis pietas est, magnarumque rerum effectrix renovanda caritas. Quiescant igitur, si qua sunt, dissidia: sileant certationes illae quidem, quae vires dimicantium dissipant, nec ullo modo religioni prosunt: colligatisque fide mentibus, caritate voluntatibus, in Dei atque hominum amore, ut aequum est, vita degatur.

Locus admonet hortari nominatim patresfamilias, ut his praeceptis et domos gubernare studeant, et liberos mature instituere. Initia reipublicae familia complectitur, magnamque partem alitur intra domesticos parietes fortuna civitatum. Idcirco qui has divellere ab institutis christianis volunt, consilia a stirpe exorsi, corrumpere societatem domesticam maturant. A quo eos scelere nec cogitatio deterret, id quidem nequaquam fieri sine summa parentum iniuria posse: naturâ enim parentes habent ius suum instituendi, quos procrearint, hoc adiuncto officio, ut cum fine, cuius gratia sobolem Dei beneficio susceperunt, ipsa educatio conveniat et doctrina puerilis. Igitur parentibus est necessarium eniti et contendere, ut omnem in hoc genere propulsent iniuriam, omninoque pervincant ut sua in potestate sit educere liberos, uti par est, more christiano, maximeque prohibere scholis iis, a quibus periculum est ne malum venenum imbibant impietatis. Cum de fingenda probe adolescentia agitur, nulla opera potest nec labor suscipi tantus, quin etiam sint suscipienda maiora. In quo sane digni omuium admiratione sunt catholici ex variis gentibus complures, qui suas erudiendis pueris scholas magno sumptu, maiore constantia paravere. Aemulari salutare exemplum, ubicumque postulare videantur tempora, decet; sed positum sit imprimis, omnino in puerorum animis plurimum institutionem domesticam posse. Si adolescens aetas disciplinam vitae probam, virtutumque christianarum tamquam palaestram domi repererit, magnum praesidium habitura salus est civitatum.

Attigisse iam videmur, quas maxime res hoc tempore sequi, quas fugere catholici homines debeant.—Reliquum est, idque vestrarum est partium, Venerabiles Fratres, curare ut vox Nostra quacumque per-

\* 1 Io. iv. 21.

† Ib. 20.



vadat, omnesque intelligant quanti referat ea, qua his litteris persecuti sumus, reipsa efficere. Horum officiorum non potest molesta et gravis esse custodia, quia iugum Iesu Christi suave est, et onus eius leve.—Si quid tamen difficilium factu videatur, dabitur auctoritate exemploque operam, ut acrius quisque intendat invictumque praestet a difficultatibus animum. Ostendite, quod saepius ipsi monuimus, in periculo esse praestantissima, ac summe expetenda bona: pro quorum conservatione omnes esse patibiles labores putandos; ipsisque laboribus tantam remunerationem fore, quantum christiane acta vita maximam parit. Alioqui propugnare pro Christo nolle, oppugnare est; ipse autem testatur,\* negaturum se coram Patre suo in caelis, quotquot ipsum coram hominibus profiteri in terris recusarint.—Ad Nos quod attinet, vosque universos, numquam profecto, dum vita suppetat, commissuri sumus, ut auctoritas, consilium, opera Nostra quoquo modo in certamine desideretur. Neque est dubium, cum gregi, tum pastoribus singularem Dei opem, quoad debellatum erit, adfuturam.

Qua erecti fiducia, caelestium munerum auspicem, benevolentiaeque Nostrae tamquam pignus Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque universo, quibus singuli praeestis, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die x Ianuarii An. MDCCCLXXX. Pontificatus Nostri duodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

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\* Luc. ix. 26.

## Science Notices.

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The late Father Perry, S.J.—Called, in the midst of his labours, to leave them and “come up higher”—*ad majora avocatus*—this faithful minister of religion and servant of science has left, by a death congruous with his life, an inspiring example to all Christian students of nature. The son of a well-known manufacturer, Stephen Joseph Perry was born in London in 1833, and after some years of study at Douai and Rome, joined the English Province of the Society of Jesus, November 12, 1853. Recognition of his mathematical abilities followed in due time, and he was appointed in 1860 to the direction of the Stonyhurst Observatory. With his magnetic surveys of parts of France and Belgium in 1868–71, in conjunction with Father Sidgreaves (his present successor at Stonyhurst) and Mr. Carlisle, his public career may be said to have begun; but it was as the leader of astronomical transmarine expeditions that he attained celebrity. And deservedly, for self-devotion could scarcely be carried further than in his readiness to incur risks and sufferings, aggravated to an intense degree by his liability to the worst forms of sea-sickness. His first eclipse-journey was to Cadiz in 1870; in 1874 and 1882 respectively he was sent with Father Sidgreaves to Kerguelen Island and Madagascar, to observe the successive transits of Venus, from which so much was expected, and so little was really obtained. The hardships of the voyage to Kerguelen, appropriately named the “Land of Desolation,” were formidable, even to seamen, and the sojourn there was of unmitigated dreariness; yet it was deliberately protracted to five months by Father Perry’s gallant determination to work out the programme of the Astronomer Royal, even at the risk of semi-starvation, to the last of the required observations for longitude. Stationed at Carriacou, in the West Indies, for the solar eclipse of 1885, and at Pogost, on the Volga, for that of 1887, he was little favoured by the weather upon either occasion; but a similar final enterprise was in this respect more fortunate. At the Salut Islands, off Cayenne, on the morning of December 22 last, the sky cleared in time for the whole phenomenon of totality to be witnessed, nine good photographs of the corona being secured, a drawing from one of which, by Miss Violet Common, is published in the *Observatory* for March.

But the pestilential climate had already done its work on the heroic observer. Struggling with fatal illness, he still managed to be at his post when the critical moment came, and carried through the pre-arranged series of operations with all his wonted coolness and alacrity. Then, asking Captain Atkinson, R.N., to call “three cheers for the most successful eclipse I have ever been engaged in,” he added, with unconscious pathos, “I can’t cheer, but I will wave

my helmet." A collapse immediately followed; he was carried on board the *Comus*, and the order was given to put to sea in the vain hope that fresher air might bring some alleviation of his sufferings. Their end indeed—the universal end—was not far off. On Friday, December 27, he was visibly sinking; and after giving his last scientific directions to his devoted assistant, Mr. Rooney, he made, in holy peace, his preparation for death, remaining absorbed in prayer while consciousness lasted. Nor would he take the champagne prescribed for him, so apprehensive was he of losing the mental self-command needed to enable him, as he said, "to die making acts of the love of God." At the last, however, as Father Strickland relates in touching words, his mind began to wander, "and thinking himself again in the supreme moment of the scientific mission which had so long filled his thoughts, he began to give his orders as during the short minutes of the eclipse." When all was over, his body, "dressed in his white vestments, as if going to the altar," was reverently carried up to the bridge, and then enclosed in a coffin, consigned for burial, a few days later, to his friend and former pupil, the Archbishop of Demerara.

Although a stranger to the little community on ship-board, "he was grieved for" (we again quote Father Strickland) "by many as a friend; for, by his kindliness of manner, his urbanity, and his happy aptness of speech, he had gained the kindest goodwill of all those he came in contact with." Father Perry preached his last sermon in French to the miserable convicts of Salut Island on the Sunday preceding the eclipse; he was extremely popular as a scientific lecturer, and delivered an address as President of the Liverpool Astronomical Society shortly before quitting England for the last time. The value of the researches in solar physics carried on by him at Stonyhurst was universally acknowledged, and he had made arrangements for widening their scope by calling in the powerful aid of photography. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1874, and was, at the time of his death, a member of the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society.

The news of his loss was received with heartfelt sorrow throughout the astronomical world. "It is hard to believe," Mr. Turner writes in the *Observatory*, "that we shall not see his strong, kind, cheery face again, that we shall no longer be able to count on the hearty response of one ever-ready volunteer when there is a question of some difficult scientific enterprise. He has fallen in action; and we can claim for him all the laurels due to the soldier who pays for victory with his life, and dies bravely, cheerfully, nobly, at the moment of success. *Requiescat in pace!*"

**Spectrographic Discoveries Among the Stars.**—“Spectrography,” or the investigation, by photographic means, of the spectra of the heavenly bodies, is gradually assuming the proportions of a new branch of science. It has a twofold aim, physical and dynamical. On the one hand, it inquires into the constitution, on the other, into the movements, of remote luminous masses. Its powers, in the

latter respect, depend entirely upon the curious effect of motion "in the line of sight," in shifting from their normal places spectral rays otherwise fixed and invariable. The refrangibility of the rays is, in fact, altered by the crowding together, or spreading out, of the waves of light, according as the body emitting them is approaching towards or receding from the spectator. The direction of change—upward or downward in the spectrum—gives then the direction of movement; the measured amount of change gives its rate. But, although the validity of this principle was demonstrated by Dr. Huggins in 1868, results of satisfactory accuracy founded upon it have only been obtained from the stars since Dr. Vogel turned the developed faculties of the camera to account for securing them.

The solution, by this means, of the singular problem set by the variability of Algol, the "demon-star" in Perseus, is a veritable triumph of modern methods. The object in question loses and regains three-fifths of its light by rapid phases, recurring with unfailling regularity every two days and nearly twenty-one hours, as if through the interposition of a large dark satellite. The question whether this is so or not is evidently one capable of being answered by "line of sight" determinations. For movement is never all on one side, and Algol must revolve round its companion no less than the companion round Algol, or rather, both must revolve in the same period round their common centre of gravity. But, in this case, alternate shiftings to and fro of lines in the spectrum of the bright star might be expected to become apparent, corresponding to its alternate advance towards and withdrawal from the earth at opposite sides of its orbit. The anticipation has been verified by the Potsdam photographs. At definite intervals before and after each obscuration Algol is found to be rushing first away from, then towards us with a velocity of twenty-seven miles a second. Thus the conjecture that the luminous fluctuations of this star result from genuine eclipses, put forward by Goodricke, their first investigator, more than a century ago, has at length been fully confirmed.

On the somewhat hazardous assumption of an identical mean density for the dark and the bright bodies so strangely coupled, Dr. Vogel has calculated the dimensions and mass of the system formed by them. He finds the distance between their centres to be six-and-a-half million miles, and the satellite to be as large as our sun, although containing only two-ninths as much matter. It is only, then, of one-fourth the solar density, and can scarcely be of other than a gaseous constitution. The same conclusion applies to Algol itself, the diameter attributed to which is one million miles, while its mass is less than half that of the sun, but double that of its companion, which accordingly travels twice as fast in an orbit twice as large.

Astronomers are acquainted with eight variable stars of the Algol type, and the eclipse explanation must obviously apply to all, if adopted for one. The systems thus presented to their consideration are, however, of a very extraordinary nature. They undeniably

exist; yet the closeness of their members, the contrast between the effulgence of one and the obscurity of the other, notwithstanding approximate equality in size, above all, the extreme tenuity that must, from the circumstances of their revolutions, be ascribed to these bodies, make a combination so anomalous that its reality could scarcely be credited were it less certainly proved.

The Harvard College photographic plates have similarly brought into notice associations of bright stars of such intimacy as to be quite beyond the reach of telescopic detection. The conjoined objects never *visibly* separate; the most powerful telescopes in the world can only show each as a single star. It is merely through the periodical doubling of the lines in their combined spectra that their real duplicity becomes manifest. For since the members of revolving systems are always, at any given instant, inevitably found at opposite sides of their orbits, it follows that when one is receding from the earth, its companion is advancing towards it, and *vice versa*. Obviously, then, their respective spectral lines must separate and come together again twice in the course of each revolution; so that photographs taken at certain definite epochs will display all the lines as double, while at intermediate times, when the movement takes a *cross-wise* direction, they will appear single. In this way it has been discovered that  $\zeta$  Ursæ Majoris—the middle “horse” of the Plough—is one of two nearly equal suns, circulating in a period of fifty-two days at a distance about equal to that of Mars from the sun, the two together being equivalent in mass to at least forty of our suns! A still more remarkable combination has been detected in  $\beta$  Aurigæ. Here two lustrous bodies, each slightly exceeding the sun in attractive power, revolve only eight million miles apart in a period of four days. Completely new views as to the nature and conditions of binary systems are suggested by these revelations, equally singular in themselves, and in the unexampled manner by which they have been procured.

**The Nebular Hypothesis.**—Mr. Herbert Spencer has republished, with additions, an essay on the Nebular Hypothesis originally contributed by him to the *Westminster Review* for July 1858. The views contained in it, together with the fresh arguments by which he now supports them, are urged, it is needless to say, with conspicuous ability, and cannot be too carefully studied by those whose intellectual instinct prompts them to “look before and after,” rather than around them. Mr. Spencer, however, assumes the rôle of an advocate, not of an arbiter. He makes the most of his strong points, and emphasises (as he is justly entitled to do) his successful forecasts of later results—the inference of the intra-galactic position of the nebulae being a striking example. But he overlooks or undervalues objections, some of which, as M. Faye has shown, are absolutely fatal to the unmodified cosmogony of Laplace. The general views, nevertheless, finely expressed in the ensuing passage, are of a nature to obliterate the effect of minor disagreements. “It remains” (we are told at page 157) “only to point out that while the genesis of the

solar system, and of countless other systems like it, is thus rendered comprehensible, the ultimate mystery continues as great as ever. The problem of existence is not solved; it is simply removed further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter; and diffused matter as much needs accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by evolution. A man can put together a machine, but he cannot make a machine develop itself. That our harmonious universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organized state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena, may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending 'the mechanical God of Paley,' as this does the fetish of the savage."

**Projection Lightning Flashes.**—At a recent meeting of the Royal Meteorological Society, a Fellow of the Society suggested a new class of Lightning Flashes—the "Projection" Flash. As was pointed out in a note in the April number (1889) of this REVIEW, the Royal Meteorological Society have been busy in classifying the forms of lightning flashes as depicted by the photographic plate. It is not, however, to photography that we owe the idea of the "Projection" Flash, but to the observation of the human eye supported by experiment. In the note above referred to, I pointed out that the photographs of lightning flashes did not reveal the angular zig-zag or forked forms, which are, without doubt, at times presented to the eye, and have so often been depicted by the artist. I then suggested that the zig-zag appearance might be due to an optical illusion. In the paper on "Projection" Flashes, recently read before the Royal Meteorological Society, the author stated his belief that the zig-zag is not a mere eye-sight illusion, but an optical reality; that it is not, however, the flash itself, but the optically projected image of the flash formed on clouds. The image is zig-zagged, because the clouds on which it is cast are often of the rocky cumulus type, so as to admit of an angular surface. The image of the flash takes the angles of the uneven surface. When an angular flash is spoken of, it is important to bear in mind that it does not refer to the irregularity of the line of light that a flash of lightning or the spark of an electric machine display; for this is well marked in many photographs, but only those long angles so often seen in the representation of the artist.

The experiment by which this theory is supported is exceedingly simple. A photograph of a flash of lightning is projected on to a model cumulus cloud. The type of lightning chosen for projection is that called stream lightning in the recent classification by the Thunderstorm Committee. It presents the appearance of a stream of

light without much irregularity in its course. When, however, the photograph is projected on to the model cloud, the stream of light is distorted and broken into sharp angles. It is, in fact, a zig-zag flash. The appearance of this distorted flash was compared at the meeting to the lightning flash in Wilson's picture, "Celadon and Amelia."

Those who are familiar with the science of optics might account for the projection of flashes on clouds in more ways than one, but at the meeting at which the paper was read one of the simplest ways in which it might occur was shown. An incandescent electric lamp flashed on and off was supposed to represent a flash of lightning, the reflection of which, simulating sheet lightning, was cast on the model cloud. It was shown that the sheet lightning can be transformed into "projection" lightning by the simple process of the presence of a second cloud with a small opening in it somewhere between the flash of lightning and the cumulus cloud. As is well known, when rays of light are made to pass through small apertures the image of the source of these rays is cast upon any receiving surface. To illustrate this, it was only necessary to provide a second model cloud with an opening in it. This was placed between the incandescent electric lamp and the cumulus cloud at such an angle as not to interfere with the view of the cumulus cloud. The image of the white hot filament of carbon inside the lamp was thrown upon the cumulus cloud—a distorted image, owing to the uneven surface. If another opening is made in the second cloud, there are two images of the white hot filament of carbon, and so in nature a multiplication of openings in the cloud will produce a corresponding number of images of the lightning flash. This, perhaps, may explain the forked appearance so often depicted.

In answer to this theory of the "projection" flash, one may conceive an objector saying that it is inconceivable how the zigzag type came to be generally regarded by painters as the only type, for the image would probably be not nearly so frequently seen as the flash itself. "Perhaps the fact that the image of the lightning flash would not have that intense and dazzling brilliancy of the flash itself may explain this. If any brilliant source of light, such as the electric arc light, is suddenly flashed upon the average human eye, it would not recognise the form of the source, but if its image were flashed upon a screen through a lens any eye could distinguish the image of the white-hot carbon points, and so the projection of the flash would lose the bewildering brilliancy and its distorted form would be impressed upon the mind. The diminution of brilliancy probably also explains that other objection that no photographic plate seems to have yet registered the zig-zagged 'Projection' flash."

**Practical Vision Testing.—Colour Blindness.**—The efficiency of the system by which the vision of railway and maritime officials is tested for a clear discernment of form and a true appreciation of colour is a question which concerns the safety of the travelling

public. Those who followed the remarks of Mr. Brudenell Carter, in his address on the subject recently delivered before the Society of Arts, must have felt their sense of security weakened when they heard it was the opinion of the eminent oculist that the methods now in vogue on the British railways for testing colour vision are not calculated to attain good results. It appears that any day we may be travelling in an express train piloted by an engine-driver who does not know red from green, even though he may have gone through a farcical examination.

Mr. Brudenell Carter's somewhat sweeping assertions have not been allowed to pass without hostile criticism. He has been attacked by an eminent scientist in the *Times*, but in the columns of the same journal he has not shrunk from maintaining his arguments.

As regards the power of any individual to see the shape or outline of an object, Mr. Brudenell Carter says the most accurate test is obtained by using groups of spots, each one of which is separated from its neighbour by intervals equal to its own diameter. Different persons would distinguish the names of spots at different distances, therefore it has been found necessary to establish a standard of vision which is expressive of average human capacity. The requirements of this standard are fulfilled when the spots of a certain group are correctly counted at a distance of 50 mètres, another group at 25 mètres, and another at 10 mètres. The painted types of regulated sizes, which are much used, are inferior to spots in Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion, as they do not correspond with the anatomical structure of the eye—the hexagon-shaped nerve-fibre of the retinal mosaic. For the same reason, the dots used in the army are untrustworthy. Being square in shape their images easily transgress the hexagonal boundaries of a nerve-fibre. They are also separated by uncertain and too great distances, so that they are made more distinct than they should be.

Mr. Brudenell Carter gives an account of what he considers the best mechanical device for testing vision by groups of dots. A series of groups are placed in a circle near the margin of a revolving wheel. This is placed behind a disc with a marginal aperture of such dimensions as to show only one group at a time. The examinee is placed at a certain distance from the apparatus, and the disc revolved. As each group is in turn disclosed he should name the number of dots composing it, quickly and accurately. If he does this he has normal vision. If, on the other hand, the examinee makes mistakes, the business of the examiner is to ascertain his practical limit of inaccuracy by letting him approach the dots until he reaches a point where he is able to see correctly. By such a method the degree of acuteness of vision which he possesses can be stated in a fraction. It is for the railway authorities to decide how far a man may fall short of the normal, and yet be competent to serve them. Mr. Brudenell Carter asserts that the ophthalmic expert has another function to perform besides the decision of the degree of



faculty vision in a candidate. He should look into its cause, for it may be remediable by medical or surgical treatment, or even by glasses. Mr. Brudenell Carter, however, is not inclined to recommend this latter remedy; in fact, he thinks them inadmissible if good vision is required from a worker exposed to weather. He mentions a curious defect of vision called "astigmatism," which can be corrected by glasses, but which would be most dangerous left uncorrected. "Astigmatism" consists in the sight being not equally acute of lines in different directions. A man may be long-sighted for a vertical signal post, but he may be short-sighted for the horizontal arm. The spot test would, however, find him out. According to Mr. Brudenell Carter's statistics, as many as 4 per cent. of the males of this country are possessed of imperfect colour vision. On our railways and in our ships red and green lights are used for signals of safety and danger; therefore, before a man is allowed to fulfil a responsible position, he should be examined with a view of finding out his capabilities of distinguishing these colours. Mr. Brudenell Carter tells us that on many railways the worst possible test is employed. The examinee is shown the actual signals as they would be seen by him in working, and is asked to name their true colours. He maintains that the fact that the man may name them correctly is no guarantee that he sees them aright. Neither a red lamp nor a green lamp would be really invisible to him. The glasses of the lamps are never of a red or green so pure in tint as to exclude all other rays. The lamps will therefore be seen by him as of faint luminosity by virtue of rays other than red or green which the glasses transmit. From a natural quickness he may learn to distinguish between the degrees of luminosity, and may make right guesses. But in the case of a fog these faint luminous appearances might be so confused as to leave a man in utter doubt. It seems that the only test which commends itself to Mr. Brudenell Carter is the one with coloured wools originated by Professor Holmgren. In this system, as is well known, the person to be tested is made to match a skein of wool, of a particular colour, from a quantity of skeins of various colours laid out on a white cloth. Professor Silvanus Thompson objects to this process on the ground that red and green signals in practice are always seen in the dark, whereas this test is carried out in daylight. He thinks the examination test should be analogous to the actual test he will have to face. The eye, he says, is more sensitive in darkness than in daylight. His ideas as to a true test are that the person should be brought into a dark room in which one small candle is burning, and under this light the person should be required to select from a number of coloured glasses of the actual tints as those used for railway signals and lights at sea, those which are of the requisite colours. Mr. Brudenell Carter's objection to this theory is that the object of an examiner is to find out, not whether the vision of a candidate distinguishes red from green on a particular occasion, but whether he can be trusted to do so on every occasion and in all circumstances.

This can be accomplished in no better way than by the simple wool process.

Although Mr. Brudenell Carter disapproves of the system of testing in the first instance by coloured lights, he allows that the wool test may be desirably supplemented by a test of the former description when it is wanted to ascertain the degree of colour blindness present in any individual. Professor Holmgren employs an arrangement by which a shadow is illuminated by coloured lights. One of the best contrivances, in Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion, is one that has been long in use on the Belgian State railways. It is a lantern before which glasses of different colours can be placed. In the front of the glass is a metal screen, with a central opening filled in with what is called the "Iris diaphragm," an arrangement by which the size of the opening can be increased or diminished. The examinee is told to look at the lantern, and call out "stop," or "go," as soon as he sees the requisite signals. The size of the "Iris diaphragm" can be regulated so as to represent a signal lamp at the furthest distance it would be seen, and is enlarged at such a rate as to represent the increasing velocity of a signal towards which an engine is running at the speed of 30 miles an hour. When the examinee speaks the operation is stopped, and the actual size of the opening measures the acuteness of his colour vision. This method of supplementing the original test might be useful if any degree of deficiency is allowed by the railway authorities. It is, however, Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion that it would be safer to exclude all who run in any degree short of the normal colour sense. He thinks that, considering that defective colour vision affects only 4 per cent. of the male population, there is no hardship in rejecting the whole of them from the railway or marine service. Surely this opinion will be unhesitatingly endorsed by the travelling public.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Florida and its Features.**—Intending emigrants to Florida will find valuable information in the account of that State given in the "Journal" of the Manchester Geographical Society (April-June, 1889). The peninsula, 500 miles long, to which the Spanish explorers gave the name of "The Flowery Land," is in some respects a singular formation. Its basis is coralline rock, and it resembles a great natural jetty, built into the ocean to enclose the landlocked basin of the Gulf of Mexico. The northern portion of the State is uninteresting, for it consists of leagues of pine forest growing in

columnar monotony, from a grey soil only partially veiled by thin wire grass. It belongs, in fact, to the region of sand which forms the eastern fringe of the continent, furnishing in the south some of its most characteristic products, such as the famous Sea Island cotton of Carolina. Neither is this tract unproductive in Florida, as it is the peculiar district of the "truck farms" for fruit and vegetable gardening on a large scale, which form an important item in the industry of the State. It is south of Jacksonville, whence the traveller generally pursues his journey by steamer up the long lacustrine chain of the St. John's River, that the orange belt proper, extending over two degrees of latitude, is entered. Here nature assumes a semi-tropical aspect, the woods in the low marsh lands are a dense growth of red bay, mahogany and magnolia, intermixed with palmetto and cabbage-palm; water-oak and cypress, draped with grey Spanish moss, grow to the river's edge, and the stream is covered with a web of broad-leaved aquatic vegetation. Multitudinous lakes of all sizes, from mere ponds to great inland seas, are the chief geographical features of this section, orange groves having now replaced the primeval pine forest of their setting, as a "lake-front" is a great desideratum of the planter. Here English colonisation becomes predominant, the settlers living in wooden bungalows, and cultivating twenty or forty acre farms.

**Indian River Orange Belt.**—The finest quality of the fruit, however, is grown in a district of smaller area, where one of the coralline reefs which fringe the coast of Florida encloses a narrow inlet, miscalled a river, over a hundred miles in length. The coralline belt separating it from the ocean varies in width from a furlong to five miles, while the lagoon is never less than one, or more than seven miles across. Its saline waters have a slight tide, but are of course perfectly smooth. The soil of the shores is formed of a conglomerate, called by the Spaniards *coquina*, formed of disintegrated coral and shells cemented by the action of the sea water. On the barrier, pine apple is successfully cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm on its southern extremity. The western, or inland shore of the lagoon, for a breadth of about three miles, after which a region of wet prairie begins, produces an orange of the highest quality, cultivated by settlers whose homes are either on the bluffs edging the lagoon, or on the navigable streams flowing into it. Each farm has its landing-place, and sailing boats of every rig take the place of wheeled vehicles as means of locomotion, the river being the great highway. It also contributes delicacies to the settler's table, abounding in oysters, turtle, and varieties of fish.

**Southern Florida.**—South of the orange belt, begins a more flat and swampy region; which the writer terms the sugar belt, as the cane flourishes here, and rice is also successfully cultivated, two crops of the latter being, as in Japan, a possibility. Then comes an area of coarse pasturage, the zone of the great ranches of Florida, and the home of its cowboy, a variety of the western genus. A large export trade in beef is done with Cuba, although the meat is

anything but prime in quality, the cattle being allowed to roam wild over prairies and salt marshes, and only "rounded up" once a year for immediate export.

The extreme south of the peninsula is occupied by a region of cypress swamp, saw-grass marshes, and wooded islands, known as the Everglades. It is as little known to white men as the centre of Africa, but the Indians report a waterway across its diameter, navigable for small boats. This malaria-scourged jungle occupies an area of four million acres, covered with tangled vegetation and stagnant waters, the home of the alligator, and nursery of the mosquito. The Florida Keys, coral islands which fringe its coast and form its southern prolongation, are principally overgrown with mangrove, but some are utilised as forcing houses for fruit and vegetables, and for the production of cocoa-nuts and pine apples.

**Climate of Florida.**—The heat of the long summer of Florida, lasting from April to August, is tempered by a regular sea breeze, as well as by a daily thunderstorm between 2 and 5 p.m. The continuous rains come in the autumn months, September, October, and part of November, which are both disagreeable and unhealthy. Chills and fevers then prevail, as well as dengue fever, identified by many with influenza, as it has the same characteristic symptom, pains in the bones, which have obtained for it the soubriquet of the "breakbone" fever. The Florida winter is a thoroughly enjoyable season, dry, sufficiently cold to be bracing, and with a peculiar elasticity in the air that acts as a nerve tonic. It is consequently a favourite climate resort for northerners, who flock hither to the number of 70,000 to 80,000 every season. Insect pests are among the great plagues of Florida, and mosquitoes, sand-fleas, horse-flies, and gnats require to be kept out by such defences as netting curtains to beds and wire-gauze screens to doors and windows.

**A French Explorer in Southern Ethiopia.**—M. Borelli read before the French Geographical Society an account of recent explorations of the basin of the Omo in Southern Ethiopia, in a journey undertaken at his own cost, though with a scientific mission from the Department of Public Instruction. Starting from Tadjourah Bay with a caravan formed in the face of considerable difficulty, he had first to cross the desert and steppes scoured by a tribe of pillaging nomads, known as Afars or Danakil. In fifty-four days he reached Farré in the Shoa country, and thence proceeded to Ankobar, the former royal city, and Antoto, the present residence of King Menelik. This region is very mountainous, being reached by crossing the eastern slope of the chain which bounds the desert, while the vast table lands of the Gallas slope gradually down from it to the south. After a few months spent with King Menelik, the traveller made the journey to Harrar, which he was the first European to reach from Shoa, the route having been only recently opened by an expedition sent by the king of the latter. After returning to Shoa he pushed southward to explore the source of the Omo, passing through fertile, populous, and well cultivated districts, with an abundant water

supply, and a climate rendered temperate by the altitude, reaching sometimes to nearly 7000 feet. Some very high mountains were seen, one with its summit occupied by a vast crater-lake, and another, Mount Godjeb, exceeding 11,700 feet high, with its sides shrouded in dense bamboo forest. The month of September 1888 was spent with the King of Djimma, a fertile country with industrious inhabitants, whence he continued his journey southward, crossing the Omo, and ascertaining the existence of Lake Abbala, on which some doubt had been thrown. The country here is less populous and cultivated, and the currency changes from Maria Theresa dollars and lumps of salt to slaves, calves, and bars of iron. Eventually he succeeded in getting as far south as the sixth degree of latitude, and ascertained that the Omo does not run east, as had been asserted, to join the Juba, but after running two degrees to the westward, flows straight to the south, and empties itself into a large lake, without an outlet, nearly 200 miles long and called the Schambara or Basso-Narok. In attempting to enter the mysterious kingdom of Zingero, he allied himself with a powerful chief, making a party 1800 strong. They repulsed two attacks, and reached Mount Bor Gouda, where the natives offer up their human sacrifices. Here they were attacked by a strong body of horse, some of their own men betrayed them, and after many had been killed, and M. Borelli had been wounded, they were forced to retire, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the enemy, to be put to death by immersion in boiling water. M. Borelli returned to the coast by way of Harrar and Zeilah, after a journey rich in results both ethnographical and geographical.—(*Times*, Dec. 27, 1888.)

**The Mineral Wealth of Mozambique.**—The American Consul at Mozambique has published a report giving a glowing account of the mineral resources of the country, whose development, he says, has hitherto been checked by restrictive legislation. The result of a new code of mining regulations promulgated in 1887, is that all the old deposits of precious metals have been re-discovered. During that year 21 mines, 7 of coal, 10 of alluvial gold, 1 of gold quartz, 2 of diamonds, and 1 of silver were registered in Lourenço Marques. Gold has been discovered in the Kulumane Mountain, and not far from the Transvaal border, as well as in other places, while the diamond and coal deposits are principally in the Matollo territories. The policy of the adventurers is rather to establish relations with the native chiefs than with the Portuguese authorities, the latter having generally thwarted all attempts made through them by the Capetown mining companies. The new mining laws are nearly as liberal as those of the Transvaal.

**Ascent of Mount Elburz.**—The Russian papers contain an account of the ascent of the great Caucasian peak, by Baron Theodore d'Ungern Sternberg, a translation of which appears in the *Times* of January 3. The party, consisting of the Baron, M. Staritsky, a land surveyor, a Tyrolese guide named Franz Hofer, a servant, and four hunters of the country, started from Oronsby on August 9.

Their baggage, distributed pretty equally between them, consisted of a silk tent for eight people, weighing  $27\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., a theodolite and other instruments, furs, coverings, and provisions. The last ch<sup>^</sup>let in the valley of Bakhsan was passed the following day, and thence, by an ascent of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours, a height of 10,860 feet was reached at the limit of perpetual snow. A day was here spent in surveying, and their second camp was pitched little more than 1000 feet higher, at 11,977 feet above the sea. The night temperature here was not very low, the minimum registered being 6 degrees Centigrade. The scene is described as magnificent, the torrent roaring in the gorge over 4000 feet below, and the snowy volcanic crest of Elburz rearing against a blue-black sky. The chief danger in the subsequent ascent, from crevasses in the snow, was minimised on the present occasion by favourable weather, and the section where they are encountered was safely traversed. When near 16,000 feet, M. Staritsky broke down, and had to turn back, leaving the Baron and Hofer to make the final ascent alone. Their sufferings in the earlier stages were from heat and thirst, and in the latter from an icy wind which filled their noses and ears with frozen particles. A magnificent view of the Black Sea was the principal feature of the panorama, from which, however, Mount Ararat, supposed to be visible, was absent. The summit, 18,469 feet high, is formed by the west cone, on which the remains of two small craters were traced. Even in the short space of ten minutes passed on the peak, Baron Sternberg was slightly frost bitten.

**The Oil Rivers.**—The attention of Parliament will, according to a correspondent in the *Times* of February 7, soon be called to the question of the Oil Rivers, in connection with the report of Major MacDonald on the subject. The territory known by this name extends for 300 or 400 miles along the coast, from the boundary of the British colony of Lagos to the German colony of the Cameroons, comprising in its inland portion the densely populated region between the seaboard and the domain of the Royal Niger Company. It includes the whole network of swampy land and water forming the Niger delta with contiguous inlets, six main channels, the Old and New Calabar Rivers, the Bonny, the Brass, the Lua, and the Opobo, being numbered within this area. The English trading connection with the country dates from a hundred years back, but permanent settlement in it from only sixty years ago. Missionaries and traders, at first satisfied to live in hulks on the waterways, were gradually allowed to acquire land and build on shore, and the whole region was, in 1884, placed under British protection. The merchants in occupation resisted incorporation in the Niger Company, and preferred forming themselves into a separate trading society called the African Association, which is now about to seek a charter. This Company possesses on the coast thirty-five or forty principal factories, each with a large European staff, and most of them with two or three up-river stations, in connection with the markets of the interior. It has a registered capital of £2,000,000 sterling, with power to increase

it to £5,000,000, and the existing firms have assigned to it £450,000 worth of stock, plant, and ships, by valuation, demanding nothing for the goodwill. The total value of the Oil Rivers trade averaged, for the three years ending December 31, 1888, £1,800,000 per annum, of which more than £1,000,000 represented exports. These are principally palm kernels and palm oil, but the Company is making great exertions to add to these india-rubber, to instruct the natives in the preparation of which they have brought experts from other parts of Africa. Much of the trade is carried on with Hamburg, Rotterdam, and other continental ports, though the bulk of the articles imported are of English origin. Gin, brought in vast quantities from Hamburg, is an exception, and it is to be hoped that whatever form the reorganisation of the territory takes, some restriction will be placed on this nefarious trade.

**The Aborigines of Australia.**—Herr Lumholtz, sent to Australia by the University of Christiania in 1880, records an almost unique experience \* in his account of perigrinations with the cannibal tribes of Northern Australia, whose actual life he shared for weeks and months together. They made no disguise of their man-eating propensities, but had small opportunities for their indulgence, only two natives having been devoured within his experience, while white men, even when killed, are despised as food, though Chinese are eaten greedily. The ordinary diet of the savages is almost exclusively vegetarian, fruits, roots, and the pounded kernels of some trees being their chief articles of food. Animals of all kinds, including grasshoppers, the larvæ of beetles, and the lowest parasites, are however devoured with avidity, and the softer bones and skin of larger creatures are considered edible. M. Lumholtz brought home specimens of four new mammals, the tree kangaroo, and three opossums, with a very large collection of birds and insects. His observations of some of the denizens of the bush are very interesting, and he describes among other singularities the bower-bird, so called from its habit of preparing retreats for recreation, decorated with leaves and glittering objects, and the brush-turkey, which hatches its eggs by artificial heat in mounds of decaying vegetable substances, each being used in common by several birds.

**Matabeleland and the British Zambesia Company.**—The *Times* of March 13 contains some interesting correspondence from Matabeleland, giving an account of the Imperial mission to its chief Lobengula, conveying a royal letter in which the incorporation of the British South African Company was announced to him, and his support requested for it. The mission, consisting of three officers and a private of the Royal Horse Guards, started from Kimberley on December 16 for its journey of 850 miles to Gubulwayo, accompanied by the writer. The first stage lay through British Bechuanaland to Palapye, the capital of Khama, the chief of the powerful Baman-gwato tribe. This tract of 650 miles was traversed in 20 days, the

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\* "Among Cannibals." By Carl Lumholtz, M.A. London: Murray. 1889.

country passed through being sparsely populated and few kraals seen. The natives wander about during the summer season in search of vegetation for their cattle, and of the most favourable soil for raising crops of mealies and Kaffir corn. For the last 80 miles the coach had to be drawn by oxen, no horses or mules being procurable for the newly-established post-service, owing to the prevalence of the horse disease.

**Khama's Capital.**—Khama's capital, Palapye, reached on January 6, had been occupied but six months in substitution for Shoshong, from which it is 70 miles distant, the situation and water-supply being superior. The entire population, 20,000 strong, migrated *en masse*, carefully transporting the aged and infirm, a proceeding quite novel in South Africa, where they are generally left to shift for themselves. The town, which exclusive of outlying kraals, covers a space six miles long by two broad, occupies a fine position 4000 feet above the sea, and commanding a grand view of sloping veldt and wooded hills. The people are fairly well housed in circular huts of sun-dried bricks, each group surrounded by its own trees and gardens, as Khama would not allow fine trees to be cut down. This prince is the most enlightened native ruler in Africa. A sincere Christian, originally converted by the Wesleyan missionaries, he has no thought save the good of his people, and allows no strong liquor to be sold or made in his dominions, even the brewing of Kaffir beer being heavily punished. No traders are allowed within his borders, except the *employés* of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, as he wishes to keep his country for his people. The Company's store does a brisk trade, the people selling their cattle to invest in European garments, clad in which they present a motley spectacle. The less opulent have to eke out their foreign garb with native skins, and the very poorest can afford but a scanty covering of the latter. Mealies and Kaffir corn are the only crops raised, though most semi-tropical products could be reared with culture. Khama has a fighting force 7000 to 8000 strong, with 300 mounted men.

**Lobengula's Kraal.**—A further journey of 90 miles across a fertile rolling country, as yet uninhabited, brought the party to Tati, where auriferous reefs, believed to be promising, are worked by the Tati Gold Mining Company. Thence three and a half days' hard trekking, over a very bad road, through deep spruities with nearly precipitous banks, landed them at Lobengula's capital, seven miles from which the royal kraal was situated. This potentate, who, the writer says, might be styled "The Waggon Chief of South Africa," was suffering from the gout, and seated consequently, not on his favourite throne, the waggon-box, but in a bath-chair in his cattle kraal, robed in a coloured blanket, with dirty flannels swathing his feet. "He has been [says the correspondent] a very powerful man, but is now extremely fat; his age is probably about fifty-five. His headdress consisted of an old naval cap, with a large blue ostrich feather round the peak. As he sat in the midst of dirt and



discomfort, skulls of slaughtered bullocks, and mangy dogs, he looked the picture of the African savage."

His greeting was friendly, and after the royal missive had been read, the presents, a handsome revolver and field glass, knives and blankets, were presented, the uniform of the Blues coming in for a large share of admiration. A feast, consisting of excellently steamed brisket of beef, eaten without knives, forks or plates, was served in the inner enclosure, where thick grass formed the carpet, and the repast concluded with the appearance of two beer girls, who presented on bended knees large pailfuls of the royal beverage, the brewing of which is their sole duty. Lobengula leads a nomad life travelling from one kraal to another, but never moving far from his capital. He rules over 200,000 square miles of country, believed to be among the most fertile in Africa, and known to be rich in the precious metals.

**Impressions of Morocco.**—Mr. Joseph Thomson described for the benefit of the Manchester Geographical Society ("Journal," April–June, 1889) his experiences in his recent journey through Morocco. Starting from Tangier on April 5, 1888, he landed at Casablanca, and with a friend, a servant, and a soldier-guide, continued his journey overland. A breezy grassy expanse, with only an occasional group of Arab huts to give an appearance of habitation, was first entered, while the floral display was what chiefly attracted attention.

The whole country [he said] seems a glorious natural flower garden. Nowhere, in field or conservatory, can anything more rich or profuse and withal so extensive be seen as the exhibition of flowers on these fertile undulating plains in spring. Poppy, marguerite, and marigold, with fifty other familiar and unfamiliar flowers vie in glory of bloom, producing exquisite kaleidoscopic combinations of rich colours on the greensward. Acres of bright yellow marigold contrast with the crimson-flushed poppy. More commonly they are intermingled and sprinkled with the added hues of white and pink and blue, revealing in their gorgeous and striking combinations the sources from which the Moorish artist in wool derives the ideas expressed in his brilliantly coloured carpets.

These flower-tracts alternated with bush, where arbutus, myrtle and palmetto grew side by side, but for 150 miles no full grown tree was seen, and no stream crossed, though the rich black loam bore in places splendid crops of grain. No running water, in fact, exists, and the uncertainty of the rainfall produces frequent famines. Mr. Thomson confirms everything that previous travellers have said as to the cruelty and corruption of the government, which seems to exist only for purposes of oppression. The city of Morocco was visited, but its general aspect proved disappointing, though gems of Moorish architecture were to be found among the dilapidated modern dwellings.

**Mohammedanism among the Moors.**—The fact that the most religious nation on the face of the earth is also the most immoral, was forced upon the traveller by his daily experience. "In no sect [he says] is faith so absolutely paramount, so unweakened by any

strain of scepticism, as among the Mohammedans of Morocco. Among no people are prayers so commonly heard or religious duties more rigidly attended." Yet, side by side with this ceremonial practice is found universal indulgence in the most degraded vices. "From the Sultan down to the loathsome, half-starved beggar, from the most learned to the most illiterate, from the man who enjoys the reputation of utmost sanctity to his openly infamous opposite, all are alike morally rotten. Punctilious performance of ceremonial duties, acknowledged acceptance of orthodox tenets, these are everything in Moorish religion. Moral conduct counts as next to nothing." While Mohammedanism has the power to raise a degraded people to a higher level of civilisation, it does so at the expense of their better tendencies, resulting in what the author calls "the dissociation of religion and morality, the petrification of the one, and the rapid decadence of the other." Christianity alone proves its divine origin, in no other way, by its power of maintaining a moral standard.

**Floods in the Mississippi Valley.**—The rise of the Mississippi in the second week of March is memorable as the greatest on record. The river, which runs in its lower course for a thousand miles principally in an artificially raised bed banked up above the level of the surrounding country, overtopped or burst through its dykes, or levées as they are called, submerging great tracts of the adjoining lowlands. At Memphis, near the northern border of Arkansas, it formed a lake forty miles wide, nearly filling the basin of its tributary, the St. Francis, 4500 square miles in area. Above Vicksburg again, it breached the rampart for a space of 400 yards, and pouring through the gap in a roaring flood, ten feet deep, submerged to a distance of ten miles, the rich cotton plantations of Northern Louisiana. Its affluents were equally unruly, and the Arkansas, swollen by a tremendous freshet drawn from the melted snows of the giant peaks of Colorado, carried away 250 feet of embankment, flooding and islanding Arkansas City, twenty miles above the junction with the Mississippi. The farmers from the drowned out lands, drove their cattle to the mountains, and the citizens worked night and day at strengthening the levées with sandbags piled on by gangs of men in boats. The same work was carried on energetically at all threatened points, the contest resolving itself into a time race between man and the uncurbed element. The two great outlets described had, however, the effect of easing the strain on the banks lower down, and thus obviating further disasters. New Orleans, with the great quay frontage which concentrates its commercial life, saw itself indeed seriously threatened, the water rising half a foot higher than the highest previous flood level, and pouring over the levées into some of the low-lying streets. The damage done here was, however, comparatively trifling. The aggregate injury to property was, on the other hand, enormous, but was not accompanied, as in other inundations, by loss of life.

**National Exhibition in Japan.**—On April 1 was to be opened, according to the official programme, the third National Exhibition

in Japan. The two previous ones, held respectively in 1877 and 1881, were, however, on a comparatively small scale, while the present one, located in the beautiful grounds of Uyeno Park, near Tokio, in buildings covering about 8 acres, and erected at a cost of half a million of dollars, is the result of five years' preparation. The groves of flowering cherry trees, for which the park is famous, will be in full blossom at the end of April, and will be not the least attractive of the sights on view. The exhibition will mark the restoration of Japanese art to its old traditions, from which it had lamentably swerved of late years. The causes of its decadence were twofold: first, the overthrow of the feudal nobility, depriving the artistic artisans of the wealthy patrons by whom they were maintained in the leisured pursuit of art for art's sake; and secondly, the enormous demand for Japanese wares in the European markets, encouraging the unlimited production of what are known in western phraseology as "pot boilers." The reaction against these degrading tendencies in Japan itself dates from 1881, and the efforts since made by official and influential personages, have, to a great extent, been successful in restoring the national standards. The present show will be largely representative of native industry, as space for 160,000 exhibits had been applied for before the end of January, and specimens of the beautiful porcelain, lacquer, silk, brocade, embroidery, ivory carving, enamels, and painting, so characteristic of the country, will rejoice the lovers of art and bric-a-brac. More interesting still will be the collection of ancient art-objects, in which the choicest of the Imperial treasures, as well as those of private collectors, will have a place. The opening of a new and comfortable hotel in Tokio will, for the first time, enable foreigners to stay in the capital, instead of at Yokohama, 20 miles away.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The Bondman: a New Saga.* By HALL CAINE. 3 vols. London: William Heinemann. 1890.

MR. HALL CAINE, in the "Deemster," showed that he could make romance out of the Isle of Man. The present tale is an attempt to do the same thing, but with Iceland brought in to assist. The time is about 1800; but the author ingenuously confesses that his characters are most of them of an older stamp than the beginning of the present century. The story is very full of moving incident, and very violent. There is an attempt made to invest most of the characters with the heroic stature of the period vaguely known as

the olden time. Two or three of them have the marvellous strength of the hero of "Lorna Doone;" their yellow hair, fair faces, unconventional clothes, and boiling passions take us back to the days of the Baresarks. This effect is evidently intended by Mr. Caine, for when the strongest and most tempestuous of them all is about to die, he casually mentions these heroes, and admits that he is not unlike one of them—an idea that can only have come from his creator, for he had probably never heard of them himself. There is no religious tone about the book. The writer evidently wants us to think these Icelanders and Manxmen splendid fellows, with their reverence for ancient law, their magnanimity, their strong passions, and their utter heathenism. Christianity in 1800 must have died out of Iceland and the Isle of Man. We have a "good old" Bishop John, and one or two married parsons, but most of the parsons drink desperately, and the good ones are so decrepit that they hobble, shuffle, pant, and gasp throughout the three volumes, and never seem to influence any one, whether for good or for evil. In the Isle of Man there are two or three howling and ranting Methodists, full of all guile. The story is wild and improbable. An Icelander of tremendous size and strength has two sons, half-brothers, one of whom, for various reasons, vows to kill the other, and ends by laying down his life for him. In the working out of this *saga*, love, politics, revolution, and volcanic eruptions all take part. We have a good-hearted but terribly prosy old Governor; we have another Governor—in Iceland this time—who is the unredeemed villain of the story; we have six brothers, who always appear in the several situations all at once, as if they were a sort of body corporate; we have, it is needless to say, a lovely young woman, who is the sister of the six brothers and the object of the affections of both the half-brothers. Then we have Iceland in summer, Iceland in winter, Iceland at sunrise, at midnight, and between the two; the sea, the sulphur mines, the hot-springs, and a volcanic disturbance of the most appalling kind. There is plenty of interest in the story. It is written in a condensed and rapid style; yet not infrequently the writer uses too many words about the feelings and emotions of the different people; and the flight of Jason with Michael Sunlocks from the sulphur mines is far too long drawn out. With all drawbacks, however, it is a remarkable story, and will amply reward the reader.

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*Lal.* By LORIN LATHROP and ANNIE WAKEMAN. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith.

THE story of a little maiden of ten, strangely orphaned, and still more strangely adopted, is here prettily told in a single volume. The almost simultaneous deaths of both her parents in a gambling saloon in San Francisco leaves her to the incongruous, though kindly, guardianship of a young man of one-and-twenty, the most charitable of the witnesses of the tragedy. With the assistance of his lady

friends, he fulfils his trust, and is rewarded by the passionate devotion of his little ward. The inevitable result follows when the close of her school-days finds her transformed into a lovely girl, and the guardian turns equally rapidly into the *fiancé*. The clumsy contrivance by which these happy prospects are marred and an interlude of misery interposed before their realisation, is a blot on the work, from its violation, not alone of ordinary probability, but of all consistency in the heroine's character. Interest in her fate almost comes to an end when she ceases to command either our sympathy or even our respect. More striking, perhaps, than the more romantic episodes of the story is its picture of the early days of San Francisco, and of the illegal, but beneficent, revolution of 1856, by which the self-constituted Vigilance Committee overthrew the confederacy of crime ruling the city under the forms of law. Equally vivid is the sketch of a later phase of the history of the Golden Gate of the Pacific, when gambling for mining shares was the universal passion of its population. The heroine is involved by her unworthy husband in a discreditable financial intrigue, in which his confidential knowledge of the working of the Crayon Mine is made use of on the Stock Exchange, and only his timely death in the drowning out of the mine by the conspirators releases her from a very dubious position.

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*The Pennycomequicks.* By S. BARING-GOULD. London: Spencer Blackett. 1889.

THE author of "John Herring" generally interweaves an element of the comic-grotesque into the tragedy of his main plot, and this jarring note is somewhat obtrusively struck in his present work. The scheming sister and her instant appropriation of the supposed dead man's shoes are an exaggerated satire on the self-interested tendencies of vulgar human nature. The description of the inundation in which Jeremiah disappears and is believed to be drowned, is the most powerful passage in the book, the interest of which is practically exhausted with the termination of this incident and its resulting complications. The fortunes of Salome, the particularly dull and commonplace heroine, do not stir the reader to anything approaching to sympathy, nor is the attachment between her and the cold-blooded egotist Philip sufficiently strong to make the quarrels and reconciliation of their married life seem worth noting. Both would have been to all intents and purposes equally happy apart, and it seems a work of supererogation to devote a third volume to bringing them together again. There is a running commentary of moralising by the author, which, if it does not help much to elucidate the characters, is at least more entertaining than any utterances put into their lips, as the dry humour with which the foibles of human nature are satirised in these asides to the reader degenerates into caricature in the action. The impecunious

swindler, with his devices for preying upon the avaricious greed of his fellows, is, however, an amusing character, with but a slight touch of exaggeration.

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*The New Prince Fortunatus.* By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Sampson Low. 1890.

THE name of the fairy-tale hero of inexhaustible wealth is used on Mr. Black's title-page as a synonym for a popular tenor, Lionel Moore, who, as a singer in comic opera or operetta, takes the London world of fashion by storm. We have consequently a mixture of life behind the scenes, with which the author seems to have familiarised himself, and of the doings and sayings of the aristocratic circles to which the hero's voice and other attractions prove an *open sesame*. The lady amateur with her craze for notoriety and ambition to rank with professionals is good-humouredly satirised in the trio of noble sisters who enter the lists in painting, music, and literature respectively. Of course, the tenor's adoption into high life transports him duly to the Highlands, where deer-stalking and salmon-fishing are portrayed for us with the author's usual *verve* in expatiating on his favourite pastimes. The latter sport is rendered all the more interesting by the fact that it is a lady expert who handles the rod with such skill as to throw male competitors into the shade. We take exception, however, to the author's reading of female character in representing such a girl as he describes Honnor Cunyngham as admitting a young man to intimate and constant companionship without such a feeling as would have made it impossible for her to refuse his offer of marriage. The two other candidates for the fortunate singer's somewhat volatile affections are in his own walk of life, but the one who finally carries off the prize fails to inspire the reader with the interest intended, as her broken English and snatches of Neapolitan dialect form a grotesque medley. There is an amusing account of the fashionable game of "poker" at a fast club, where the weak-kneed hero indulges in a temporary lapse from virtue in the direction of gambling.

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*James Vraille.* By JEFFERY C. JEFFERY. London: Allen & Co. 1890.

THE series of unmerited misfortunes for which the hero is marked out may have their counterpart in real life, but are a gloomy subject for fiction. James Vraille has one of those natures which, requiring the touch of genuine sympathy to develop their inner qualities, are apt to be misunderstood by the world at large. His misfortunes begin with his marriage to a selfish beauty, whose external attractions are but the mask of a heartless and shallow egotist. Military life in India rapidly develops the worse side of such a character, and the union, which only the husband's long-suffering

disposition had rendered outwardly harmonious, ends in total disruption. The blighted hero, thrown back on the society of his little boy for consolation, concentrates all his power of affection on the child; but even here Fate, when she seemed tired of persecuting him, has her crowning blow in reserve for him. The catastrophe which ruthlessly cuts down all the growing interests of a new life built up on the ruins of the old, might, we think, have been spared to the reader's sensibilities. The author has shown considerable power in portraying a noble, though unobtrusive, character, and giving it perfect consistency throughout. The book is pervaded by religious feeling, although written apparently in a spirit of hostility to Churches and dogmas. The Indian episodes, both military and social, are narrated with *verve* and seemingly intimate knowledge, while the minor personages are lively sketches of character. The devoted nurse, who more than fills the place of the heartless mother to the child, is, in particular, a striking picture of rugged fidelity; and Colonel Dare, with his brainless obstinacy and injustice, is doubtless equally true to nature as a type of a commanding officer of the old school.

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*A Hardy Norseman.* By EDNA LYALL. London:  
Hurst & Blackett. 1890.

THE popularity of Miss Lyall's books is an encouraging sign of the taste of the age, as they all inculcate the highest view of the aims and purposes of life. The present work is no exception, and the hardly learned lesson of patience and resignation under unmerited trials and misfortunes is enforced by the experiences of the hero. The latter is indeed the victim of an accumulation of disasters, beginning with a bitter love disillusion, continued in bankruptcy and well-nigh starvation, and culminating in a charge of theft supported by apparently overwhelming evidence. By these misfortunes he is led back to the faith he had lost, and emerges from their shadow ennobled and softened by the struggle. The scene of the story, after an opening act in Norway, lies mainly in England, whither the Norwegian household, consisting of the hero, Frithiof, and his two sisters, Sigrid and Swanhild, migrate after their reverse of fortune. The Norse character, with its joyous vitality and self-reliant pride, is distinctively realised in all three, and gives novelty and freshness to the family group. The English element in the story is, on the other hand, rather wanting in colour; and the Bonifaces, despite, or perhaps because of, their goodness and amiability, make but a faint impression on the reader's mind. Blanche, too, the treacherous coquette, who lures Frithiof to despair, is but a shadowy personage, and her misdeeds and her romance remain equally unreal. Carlo Donati, the Italian singer, is, if we remember rightly, the "Knight Errant" of the author's previous work, and is, in this an equally sympathetic figure, though but slightly connected with the main action of the story.

*Kit and Kitty.* By R. D. BLACKMORE. London :  
Sampson Low. 1889.

THE droll coincidence of name between Mr. Blackmore's hero and heroine symbolises a sympathy of feeling which defies the most adverse conjunctions of circumstances. There is disparity of station to begin with, and, while in fiction or poetry we have often met the gardener's daughter whose charms attract admirers from a higher rank in life, it is here the gardener's nephew who wins the affection of a highly connected young lady. Parents and guardians will hardly think the example is one to be recommended for practice in real life, and there is still enough of aristocratic prejudice surviving among cultivated readers to make such a subject slightly repugnant. When this initial difficulty is conquered with surprising facility, the course of true love is still thwarted, both before and after marriage, by a pair of villains under the influence of motives which seem scarcely strong enough to account for their action. The machinery by which the catastrophe is brought about, and Kitty stolen from her bridegroom during the honeymoon, seems also slightly inadequate to the results, but Mr. Blackmore's gift of story-telling enables him to silence common-sense with a wave of his magician's wand. Poetic justice is amply wreaked in the end on all ill-doers in an accumulation of horrors, including a parricide, a suicide, a leper husband returned to claim his wife, and her collapse from the shock into paralysis and imbecility. The scene is laid on the Thames near Sunbury, but waterside doings have but a small place in the author's pages, and market gardening, of which he writes with the knowledge of an expert, is the background of all the more heroic doings of the tale.

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*Sir Charles Danvers.* By the AUTHOR OF "THE DANVERS JEWELS."  
London : Bentley. 1889.

THE power of writing a genuine love story is so rare at the present day that the tale of Sir Charles Danvers' wooing stands out on this ground from the mass of recent fiction. That mysterious and indefinable bond of personal sympathy overleaping all disparities and incongruities, which forms the sole basis of genuine and lasting attachments, has seldom been more completely portrayed than in the relations between the hero and heroine of this short tale. True to nature, too, is the light vein of badinage and trifling which masks in both the deeper emotions so thoroughly as to deceive the lady as to the reality of the feeling she has inspired. Hence the complications of the plot, which we will leave our readers the pleasure of disentangling for themselves. The ordinary situations are sketched with a light hand, and the touches of tragic intensity are reserved for the culminating points, yet the sense of earnestness is always present behind the playfulness of the style. Though we must confess to getting a little too much of the nursery in contemporary fiction, we



gladly make an exception in favour of "Molly," who is always delightful, because drawn without the least striving for effect. We have here none of the artificial pathos with which most authors think it necessary to invest their juveniles, but a perfectly natural, wholesome, and unsentimental child. The grown-up characters are equally life-like, though for the most part rather sketches than finished portraits, and both the dialogue and narrative sparkle with point and humour.

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*A Stage Romance.* By LILITH ELLIS. London :  
Rivington & Co. 1889.

A HEROINE whose actions are inexplicable by the ordinary motives of humanity is in this story landed in a series of the most heartrending complications entirely by her own superiority to the ordinary rules of conduct. Her fascinations, which seem to be of the Burne-Jones Rossetti, or, as Mr. Gilbert puts it, "the greenery gallery, Grosvenor Gallery" type, prove fatal to the great majority of the male characters, but the contest for her affections finally resolves itself into a rivalry between two of their number, Sir Gilbert Royal, a consumptive boy-baronet, and Arnold Rivers, a semi-amateur actor in the troupe of which the irresistible Evelyn Erle, under her acting name of Miss Le Strange, is manageress and leading lady. Having accepted the baronet from pique with the actor, she reverses her decision the moment the latter returns to his allegiance, but, from tenderness for the health of her *fiancé*, elects to keep him in the dark as to her change of intentions. While still in this ambiguous position she actually marries lover number 2, and has scarcely gone through the ceremony when she is summoned to the death-bed of lover number 1. Here she arrives in time to commit bigamy, still under the influence of the most "high-toned" feelings, by becoming the nominal wife of the dying man in order to gratify his last wish. This act of complaisance naturally draws down on her the anger of her veritable husband, who comes in pursuit of her, and casts her off as a punishment for her delinquency. An Ophelia-like ramble in damp woods combines with hereditary heart-disease to make an end of her, and her husband, three years after, on the eve of his marriage to another, shoots himself on her grave in a sudden relapse of constancy. Seldom have we seen a greater travesty of human nature presented to the reader as a picture of actual life.

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*The Splendid Spur.* By Q. London : Cassell & Co. 1889.

WE have in this work a stirring tale of adventure during the English Civil War, which might well be a companion volume to Mr. Stevenson's "Black Arrow," and written by the same pen. The hero becomes entangled in the public events of the time rather acci-

dentally than spontaneously, and, though scarcely an active partisan of the Royalist cause, becomes the means of doing it an eminent service. This end is not, however, achieved without many hair-breadth escapes, flights, and combats, in the course of which the fugitive adventurer receives several severe wounds and comes within measurable distance of the gallows. The heroine, thrown by her misfortunes on his sole protection, is in scarcely less distressful plight, and, like many of the damosels errant of fiction, is reduced for a time to hide her charms under the disguise of a country bumpkin. Thus attired, she is the hero's staunch comrade in many of his wanderings, though betraying feminine weakness in an occasional swoon, which in real life would have been attended with more embarrassment than it seems to be in the story. It is of course the bounden duty of her companion to bestow his affections on her, but they seem at one point inclined to stray in the direction of a nut-brown maid yclept Joan, who has to be ruthlessly slain to get rid of the ensuing complication. The massacre of any number of his *dramatis personæ*, however, weighs lightly on "Q.'s" artistic conscience, and the supernumerary pieces on his chess-board are swept away wholesale as soon as their presence interferes with the exigencies of the plot. The narrative style throughout is easy and flowing, suggesting sufficiently that of the time chosen, without undue affectation of antiquarianism.

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*Lippincott's Monthly Magazine.* January, February, March. London: Ward, Lock, & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1890.

**E**ACH number of *Lippincott's* contains, as its chief and principal attraction, a complete story. In January it was "Millicent and Rosalind," by Julian Hawthorne; in February, "The Sign of the Four," by A. Conan Doyle; and in March, "Two Soldiers," by Captain Charles King. Mr. Hawthorne's story is a very simple one, about a young woman who had in her the germs of selfishness and luxury, and who nearly threw away an excellent young man, who was everything that could be desired, except that he was just then not so well off as he was sure some day to be. The dialogue is full of that earnest, spiritual, artistic charm with which Mr. Julian Hawthorne always speaks by the mouths of his characters. Perhaps there is too much fuss made about love. It has been the fashion with some novelists—among whom Anthony Trollope is the greatest sinner—to represent love as fate, as heaven, as necessity, as revelation, &c. &c.; to make love the young person's only business and last end, which, if she misses, all is lost, and if she secures, all is gained. This is bad teaching for the average young person, who has generally nothing more supernal to look for in her partner than the absence of repulsiveness and a very moderate promise of bread and butter. It ought to be made clear in a novel—if the novel is really moral—that Christian "Love" is grounded on prudence,

justice, fortitude, and temperance ; and that physical and even psychical attraction is as often to be dreaded as to be pursued. Mr. Conan Doyle's novelette is a tale of an Indian treasure, and bears traces of books that have already been written—such as "The Moonstone." It contains a wonderful detective, an Andaman islander, and a very good chase on the Thames. The weak point of the story is when the villain, being caught, relates in a style too much like Mr. Doyle's own, how "he came to" get hold of the treasure. As this occurs at the very end, when the Andaman islander has been shot, the box ("of Indian workmanship") found to be perfectly empty, and the preternatural detective again become more or less comatose, the result is not good art. Captain King's "Two Soldiers" is a fairly written narrative of a year or two in the careers of two officers of the United States army, in which the interest oscillates between New York smart society and frontier-fighting with Indians. The sixty page novelette is a trying form of composition, in which the ambitious writer has to make up his mind between elaborately drawn character and slight but pointed sketching. It is not every storyteller who has the gift of thus making up his mind, and Captain King does not seem to be one. The rest of the contents of this magazine are of the usual character. The illustrations—each story has a full-page one—are neither better nor worse than what we are accustomed to from America.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

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### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Paris, Octobre 1889 ;  
Janvier 1890.

**The State of France on the Eve of the Revolution.**—Whatever the victors may think, history has reason to be thankful that the royalist party in France, though beaten, has not been exterminated. A cause that has no defenders has no real history. If we had no records but those of the Revolutionists we should see no redeeming features in the old monarchy. The wickedness and folly of king and nobles have been thoroughly brought to light. But is there nothing to be said in their favour? M. Marius Sepet has lately been contributing to this *Revue* a series of articles on the state of France at the outbreak of the Revolution. He writes in a calm, judicial spirit, readily acknowledging the terrible evils so widespread in 1789, but at the same time pointing to many excellences

which might have been turned to good account for the remedy of the evils. Readers of Burke's "Reflections" will remember the grand Ciceronian sentence in which he describes the state of the country in the reign of Louis XVI. (Works II., p. 402, Bohn's edition). M. Sepet's articles show that Burke's picture is not over-coloured. He maintains that the old system "well deserved to have its excellencies heightened, its faults corrected, and its capacities improved," and that this might have been accomplished without the horrors of Revolution. But as the writer tells us that he proposes to incorporate these articles in a volume, to be entitled "*Les Préliminaires de la Révolution*," it may be well to defer any criticism of them until the work appears.

**An Internal Argument for the Authenticity of the Gospels.**—The struggle that has so long been raging concerning the authenticity of the Gospels passes through a series of cycles. An argument is discovered which at first seems fatal to the orthodox cause. After a time it is closely examined and found to be at least inconclusive. By and by a further examination shows that it really tells in favour of the Gospels. The rationalists now look out for some fresh argument and the old round begins again. Such has been the history of the famous "internal argument." At first it seemed fatal; next it was shown to prove nothing against us; now it tells strongly in our favour. The Scripture scholar will not be surprised to find that the Abbé Vigouroux, the well-known Sulpician, has been actively engaged in turning this weapon upon those who forged it. He has readily consented to fight on ground chosen by the enemy. Philology is one of the most modern and positive of the sciences. The opponents of the Gospels will admit that it affords an admirable means of testing the time and place of the authorship of the Sacred writings. The powers of the liar and forger can now be shown to be limited. Their speech bewrayeth them. If the Gospels were written in the second century by men living in a Greek environment, their language would undoubtedly show signs of a Greek origin. On the other hand, if the language of the Gospels contains no such traces, but rather gives plain proof of having been written by Jews brought up among Jews, then the philological argument can be turned against rationalism. To go over the whole question in detail would be beyond the scope of an article; M. Vigouroux therefore selects some one branch—the philosophical language of the Gospels. In no respect were Hebrew and Greek so contrasted as in their attitude towards philosophy. The Semitic mind was more imaginative than ratiocinative. It was more concerned with phenomena than with causes. "The Jews ask for *signs*, the Greeks seek after *wisdom*" (1 Cor. i. 22). The language of the Old Testament contains few abstract terms and hardly any philosophical expressions. Psychological analysis was especially defective among the Hebrews. They had no proper name for the faculties of the soul; we should look in vain in the original of the Old Testament for terms designating consciousness, perception, reason as a distinct faculty, and even con-

science. Now, it is plain that the writers of the New Testament knew no other philosophical and psychological language than that of the Hebrews. The Abbé Vigouroux proves this most convincingly. Even the apparent objections against his view (occurring in St. Luke and St. Paul) are shown to strengthen his argument.

Another remarkable article in the October number is entitled "L'Eglise et les Judaïsants à l'age Apostolique," by the Abbé Thomas. It deals with the well-known difficulty of reconciling the two accounts of the dispute concerning the Mosaic Law (Acts xv., Gal. ii.).

Madame de Maintenon and Marie Antoinette almost monopolise the January number. M. Baudrillart, who writes about the former, holds that she was not the leader of any political party, but acted as a trusty intermediary between Louis XIV. and those who were in power in France and Spain. She had, indeed, great influence over the king, but to this she was entitled as his wife, and as a person of rare wisdom. This view of her position is supported by ample citations from contemporary documents.

Did Marie Antoinette receive the last sacraments during her imprisonment in the Conciergerie? If so, did she receive them from the Abbé Charles Magnin, afterwards Curé of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois? M. Victor Pierre answers both these questions in the affirmative. After his careful and exhaustive examination of the evidence, it is difficult to see how there can be any further doubt about the matter. He cites the declaration of the Abbé himself:

"I certify that in the month of October, 1793, I had the happiness of making my way into the Conciergerie with Mademoiselle Fouché, and that I several times heard there Queen Marie Antoinette's Confession, said Mass for her, and gave her Holy Communion."

This is plain enough. But, on the other hand, there is the testimony of M. Lafont d'Ausonne, who has written to show that no priest could possibly have gained entrance into the prison. This evidence is, however, merely negative. Besides, if the good faith of the two opposing writers be compared, there can be no hesitation in siding with Magnin, a priest of well-known probity, rather than with Lafont, who was an apostate. Marie Antoinette's last letter to her sister-in-law, Madame Elizabeth, seems at first sight to be in conflict with Magnin's testimony, but M. Pierre has no difficulty in harmonising the two accounts. Quite apart from the interest in the question at issue, his essay is worthy of perusal as an example of painstaking and unprejudiced criticism.

M. Paul Allard still continues his valuable studies in the history of the great persecutions.

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*L'Université Catholique.* Nouvelle Série. Lyon. Octobre, Novembre, Decembre (1889). Février, Janvier (1890).

**Chronology of St. Luke's Gospel.**—In the October number we have a most interesting article entitled "Synchronismes Histo-

riques de l'Évangile de St. Luc," continued from the September number by M. Vigouroux. The learned writer shows, from monumental inscriptions, that both Strauss and Reuss were in error, and St. Luke was right regarding the time of the proconsulship of Quirinius in Syria. They had maintained that Quirinius was not consul of Syria at the time of Herod, as St. Luke asserts. M. Vigouroux shows that Quirinius was consul of Syria twice, once in the time of Herod, and again six years later, and thus St. Luke was guilty neither of an error nor of an anachronism. Again, St. Luke, in order to mark the mission of St. John the Baptist, and the beginning of the public life of our Lord, tells us that at this time "Lysanias was Tetrarch of Abilina" (St. Luke iii. 1). Referring to this Strauss has dared to write: "Luke makes a Lysanias, who had certainly been killed thirty years before the birth of Christ, reign thirty years after that birth; this is a small error of sixty years" ("New Life of Christ," vol. ii. pp. 20, 21). M. Vigouroux shows us that the infidel's sneer arises from his ignorance, and that he confounds two persons of the name of Lysanias. St. Luke is, after all, more correct than his critic.

**St. Ennodius and the Papal Supremacy in the Sixth Century.**—This interesting paper is a study on St. Ennodius's "Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo," a work written by the saint in favour of the Fourth Council held at Rome under Pope Symmachus. From this "study" it comes out clearly that the absolute supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was held on the grounds of tradition, and was law in the whole of the West at the beginning of the sixth century. Of all St. Ennodius's works, his "Apology," on account of the circumstances under which it was written, the doctrine which he so clearly teaches on the Papal supremacy, and the light which is thrown on the history of the period, is by far the most interesting.

**Victor Hugo, the Epic Poet.**—This is a charming paper, in the November number, by M. Vaudon. Those who only know the Victor Hugo of his latter days, do not know Victor Hugo in his true grandeur, and such as he will be remembered among men of genius. He was once Christian, and sublime. When we read passages of true splendour from the "Légende des Siècles" we are startled by the genius of the man, and we can understand M. Vaudon's enthusiasm. Mr. Swinburne's rhapsodies on Victor Hugo only repel and create disgust in us. The man himself in his early and grandest works amazes and fascinates us.

There are other articles of interest in November; for example, "Le Centenaire de 1789," the continuation of "S. Ennodius et la Suprémacie Pontificale au VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle," and "Le Clergé et la Question Sociale," by the Abbé Boudignon; and in the December number, "Vie et Pontificat de S. S. Léon XIII.," by Mgr. Hugues de Ragnan.

"Clovis et les Origines Politiques de la France," by Lecoy de la Marche; "Les Banqueroutes de l'Ancien Régime," and others.

**Saint Avitus.**—The January number opens with "Introduction

aux œuvres de St. Avit." The new edition of the works of "St. Avitus" is coming out under the care of M. U. Chevalier, one of the most erudite and laborious of living editors. Bossuet tells us that St. Avitus was "a powerful and eloquent defender of Christianity, and one of the greatest men of the sixth century." Unfortunately some of his works have been lost. Those which have come down to us are divided into three classes—first, his poems. These are of great merit, and have gained for their author the title of the Christian Virgil. His first three poems, "Creation," "Original Sin," and "The Judgment of God," form, as Guizot says, one whole, which may be properly called "Paradise Lost." The resemblance in the general conception and in the most important details between this and Milton's great work is very striking.

The second class is "Letters." These are imperfect, but what remain to us cast much light on the fifth and sixth centuries. The third class is "Homilies."

**College Days of Leo XIII.**—Mgr. Hugues de Ragnan continues in this number his interesting "Vie et Pontificat de S.S. Léon XIII." We are told of Joachim Pecci's brilliant career in the colleges of the Jesuits at Viterbo and Rome. One of his literary feats was to write, when he was only fourteen years old, 120 excellent Latin hexameters in six hours, without the help of any book, on Baltassar's Feast. Again, at the end of his "Philosophy," he maintained against all comers 200 theses on the complete course of Philosophy and Mathematics.

The February number gives us a translation of the encyclical "Sapientiæ Christianæ." M. Jacquard writes on "Charles Darwin." The article is more biographical than critical. We have also an interesting article by M. A. Devaux on Chanoine Chevalier's great work, "Repertorium Hymnologicum," and a continuation of "Victor Hugo, Le Poète Épique."

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## GERMAN PERIODICALS.

1. *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*. Herausgegeben von Dr. C. GUTBERLET, und Dr. J. POHLE, Professoren in Fulda. Fulda. 1888–89.

**T**HIS periodical has been already noticed incidentally in a former number of the DUBLIN REVIEW; but we are anxious to recommend it more explicitly to our readers. It is edited, under the auspices of the Goerres Society, by two of the ablest professors of philosophy in Catholic Germany. The original articles deal with various points of metaphysics and psychology, and (by a happy innovation in Catholic journals of the kind) with the historical development of the human mind, theories of abstract politics, and the like. The reviews of recently published works are valuable, and there is a very complete abstract of current philosophical literature. The editors adhere loyally and closely to the lines laid down by Leo XIII.

for the guidance of Catholic philosophers, but it would be impossible for any opponent to bring against them the charge that they are ignorant of the latest developments of the subjects they treat

T. R. G.

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## 2. *Katholik.*

With the January number this valuable periodical commences a new series after having for sixty-nine years rendered signal services to the cause of religion and science. The new number opens with a paper by Father Baeumer, a Benedictine of Maredsous, on the "Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord in the Ancient Liturgy of the Church," in which he traces the history of this feast, drawing largely on the works of the Fathers, and shows that the Eastern Church connected together the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany, and that it was Pope Liberius, who in 354 (or 355) first ordered the feast of the nativity to be kept on December 25. "The same Pontiff, to whom St. Ambrose gives the noble title 'vir sanctior et beatæ memoriæ,' erected the Basilica Liberiana as a place for the special veneration of Our Lady and the preservation of the holy crib of our Lord—which explains to us the ancient custom of the Pope celebrating Mass in St. Maria Maggiore on Christmas night." Dr. Hardy, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Freiburg (Baden), attended the Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, and now contributes a suggestive paper on the learned deliberations of that body, taking the opportunity of urging on Catholics the necessity incumbent on them of promoting these studies, which in the hands of infidel scholars are being only too readily perverted into weapons of attack on Christianity, and he justly praises the zeal of the German Jesuits who, through the influence of Father Strassmaier, are doing their utmost in furthering Oriental studies. In the same number of the *Katholik* I endeavoured to sketch the history of the Irish University Question. There are also articles on the unity necessary in the Liturgy, and a discussion on the origin of the human soul—which has originated in a recent theory that apparently combines the systems of "Creatianismus" and "Generatianismus."

In the February number Professor Stöckl of Eichstätt contributes a paper on the fatal influence exercised by materialist philosophy on manners and law. Another article makes a very severe, but quite deserved, criticism on the unjustifiable pamphlet launched by the "Evangelische Bund" against the faith of German Catholics, and opposed by the splendid pastoral of the German Bishops in August 1839. I may also point out notices in this number on Walther's work, "German Bible Translations during the Middle Ages," and on the late Canon Sylvain's work, "Grégoire XVI. et son Pontificat."

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3. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

In the January number we have, first, "Pictures from the Alps," by the late lamented Professor Hettinger of Würzburg University. Next, "Salimbene und seine Chronik," or "Salimbene de Adamo's Chronicle," which is the subject of a learned book by Father Michael, S.J., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck. He treats of the personal history of the Franciscan of Parma; the contents of his chronicle, which covers a period of 120 years (1167-1287), and finally his veracity. Then there is a lengthy study of the fourteenth volume of Onno Klopp's great work, "The Downfall of the Stuarts and the Succession of the House of Hanover." This concluding volume is devoted to the history of the years 1710-1714. We have next, from one of the most reliable authorities, two excellent articles on the late Professor Döllinger. These are followed by a thoughtful essay on Dom Mabillon and the Congregation at St. Maur; and by an article of my own on F. Bridgett's "True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth," a work which, from its fairness, lucidity, and critical ability has excited considerable interest in Catholic Germany.

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4. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

From the pen of Father Lehmkuhl we have a clever article on the "Strike, its Evils and Justification." Father Duhr continues his studies on the divorce of Napoleon I. He arrives at the conclusion that the civil marriage of the Emperor with Josephine Beauharnais must be considered valid, owing to the then prevailing impossibility of fulfilling the precepts of the Church. That the ceremony performed before Cardinal Fesch by Napoleon the night preceding the coronation was valueless, since Napoleon on that occasion gave only a feigned consent, and, last, that the sentence of the ecclesiastical tribunal of Paris annulling the Emperor's marriage goes against the most obvious rules of canon law, and therefore cannot claim any force. Father Granderash, in an article based on unpublished Roman documents, relating to the discussions of the Fathers and theologians of the Vatican Council, inquires into the meaning of that Council's Decree on Papal Infallibility. He clearly shows that the Fathers only declared the Pope's infallibility to extend just as far as the Church's infallibility, and that they abstained from entering on the question as to what topics are comprehended by it. The final volume of the "Collectio Conciliorum recentiorum Lacensis" is shortly to be published, and we look for it with eagerness, as it will contain the whole of the proceedings of the Vatican Council. From F. Granderash's paper, the important fact is to be gathered that the proposals of Cardinal Cullen, with small changes were finally adopted by the Council on July 18, 1870. F. Otto Pfülf traces the history of the veneration of St. Joseph and its development in the course of centuries: and F. Duhr, using the

despatches of the Imperial Count Stahrenberg, gives us some interesting notices on the Court of Lisbon, and the first administration of Pombal.

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5. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Father Paul V. Hoensbruch, S.J., in an article on the pseudo-Cyprianic tract "De Aleatoribus," considered as a witness to the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, arrives at a conclusion as to its authorship, different from that of other Catholic theologians in Germany. The writer of the tract he shows was Pope Victor I., and that it is one of the "alia quædam opuscula," which St. Jerome says Pope Victor wrote. He points out the strong testimony the tract is to the Papal claim of primacy, and in general, goes on the lines of Father Ryder's article in the DUBLIN REVIEW of July last, adopting and amplifying Harnack's opinions. We may also mention in this number of the *Zeitschrift* an article by Father Fans on "The Nature of Sin," and another by Father Arndt on the "Ancient Dioceses of Poland."

A. BELLESHEIM.

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ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 15 Febraio, 1890.

**Spiritism in a New Disguise.**—The devil, we know, is a consummate ape, as well as the father of lies, and may be said, after his fashion, to bring out of his treasury of falsehood things new and old; old substantially, but new in their aspect and dress, to suit times and circumstances; witness the form of spiritism which his agents are now striving to bring into vogue. They are endeavouring, in short, to add to their evocations of the dead a smattering of Christian mysticism, and to accredit them thus as exercises of piety consonant to the sentiments of the Church. The Spiritist Reviews have, for some time past, been giving indications of this tendency, but no one has, perhaps, so strongly and openly set himself to the task of Christianising spiritism as Teofilo Coreni, in a book lately published by him at Turin, entitled "Spiritist Philosophy": "Spiritism in the Christian Sense." This work, the writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* considers as calculated to be perilous to readers not well grounded in Christian doctrine, or not firm in their faith; for the system it professes, while shrouded in the disguise of piety, is, in reality, profoundly evil and anti-Christian. We have here Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. Spiritism lays claim to being the work of God, and the coming age is to see Christian spiritism diffused over the face of the civilised world. When the Catholic Church shall no longer repel and anathematise, but welcome and associate itself with it, we are to attain the utmost possible

*maximum* of Truth, by the happy union of true heavenly science with true terrestrial science. Then shall earth hold communion with heaven, and heaven will sensibly descend with its spirits on earth. It will be a sort of spiritist millenium.

But does Coreni mean that the spiritist is to be baptised and made a Christian? Quite the reverse. Every Christian, and especially every priest is, in fact, invited to deny the faith and embrace the heretical dogma of spiritism; the works recommended are sufficient evidence of this evil purpose, and, in particular, that of Allan Kardec, a pseudonym, be it observed, whose symbol of spiritist doctrine, consisting of 34 articles, Coreni himself adopts. The writer in the *Civiltà* gives a general summary of this creed, which is utterly contradictory of Catholic faith. Suffice it to say that all created spirits are equal, simple and ignorant, knowing neither good nor evil, but God has imposed upon them the task of perfecting themselves in a series of metempsychoses, which having accomplished, they become pure angels, and are admitted to eternal blessedness. But, as there is no such thing as hell for the reprobate, all attain this end sooner or later. Between their different incarnations, they are allowed to appear to men. How is it, then, that Coreni, in so many passages of his work, seems to accept the Church's doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and here and there recognises the Divinity of the Redeemer, Holy Mass, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, Confession, the Papacy, the Sacerdotal Order, Christian Morality, and even admits Satan's existence. Here is the trap laid for the ignorant and unwary; instead of fiercely rejecting Catholic truths like other spiritists, Coreni would be content that the new religion should be mixed up with them, and that the clergy, while accepting the propositions of spiritism, opposed as they are to the faith and even to natural religion, should go on using the language of the Church and its existing external practices. If Coreni, then, permits the use of the Sacraments and Catholic observances to his adepts, it is only as a matter of surplus, in order not to scare good men.

Another dangerous snare prepared for the simple is his frequent assertion that the Church has always maintained relations with the world of spirits, and hence he concludes that to every faithful Christian it is lawful to evoke the spirits and consult them. Most fallacious conclusion; for the Church, although it invokes angels and saints, and prays for the departed, condemns the evocation of the dead, which constitutes the essential practice of spiritism and anathematises as sorcery and witchcraft all commerce with evil spirits.

And, in point of fact, the spiritists themselves confess that they are not always certain whom or what they have got hold of. Allan Kardec, the hierophant of spiritism, expressly says that hypocritical and lying spirits with a mask of piety may sometimes impose on them, while, on the other hand, quite a different sort will make their appearance, not at all hypocritical, but grossly impudent. These will utter turpitudes abhorrent to all modest ears; nay, as other

spiritists have related, even recommend them to their hearers, and behave themselves in an indecent manner. Coreni takes care not to allude to such unpleasant incidents, but his prophet and authority, Kardec, and other luminaries of the sect not only do so, but even advise their followers to use caution in this matter, lest they should fall under the power of some bad spirit, though what caution can avail them it is hard to imagine. Allan Kardec devotes a whole chapter to "Simple Obsession, Fascination, and Subjugation," where he exposes the terrible results to the spiritist of such a misfortune. He becomes mad, ridiculous, is forced to write, say, and do what he would least desire, and is persecuted night and day by the spirit who dominates him. The writer in the *Civiltà* had personal confirmation of this fact in what a young convert to Catholicism related as having happened to himself while yet a Protestant. Why does Signor Coreni say nothing of all these devilries? Why does he not tell his readers that the identity of the spirits answering to a call is "one of the most controverted points, and one of the greatest difficulties of practical spiritism?" So says Allan Kardec. By the confession, then, of the most eminent of the brotherhood, sometimes you may suppose you are conversing with a beloved relative or friend, and be, in fact, treating with an infernal spirit. For the *sometimes* substitute *always*, and you will have the precise truth. Coreni's book presents no danger for those who are well versed in Christian doctrine and philosophy, for it is a farago of vulgar errors, but to some who are sparsely provided in this respect, it may prove a trap, especially from the tint of mysticism which pervades it. Good Christians, moderately instructed in their Catechism will, however, be sufficiently guarded against the fallacies set before them. It needs no learning not to be led astray, for the right-minded will be convinced that spirits who lie, who utter blasphemous heresies, and even impurities, can neither be angels of God nor souls in purgatory; and if Coreni keeps these abominations in the background, his colleagues do not, and, indeed, he says quite enough himself to make any plain, honest Catholic recoil from the new Gospel offered to him.

**The Influenza.**—Under the head of "Natural Sciences" the *Civiltà Cattolica* has a notice of the influenza, and its opinion is that, notwithstanding all the study and talk of the medical faculty concerning this "mild pestilence," as it has been called, science has nothing to say with any certainty concerning either the nature of the disease, its mode of propagation, or the antidotes and remedies proper to adopt against its influence. Big phrases, it is true, are employed to cloak ignorance, and save the self-importance of these learned men, such as "that science has not yet clearly demonstrated the nature" of such a phenomenon, or "has not pronounced its last word on the subject," where a little modesty and plain speaking would have suggested the simple statement that "this is one of the many points concerning which the greatest masters may, indeed, form conjectures, but know nothing for certain." No; nothing

whatsoever. This age, with all its boasted knowledge, knows absolutely no more of this so-called influenza than was known of the cholera in recent times, or the plague in times more remote. These scourges came, did their work, and disappeared when it pleased God. One thing is certain—we have reason to thank God that this present scourge is comparatively mild. In Rome, for instance, where the cases have even been more numerous than is stated in the journals, one of the most eminent physicians asserted (this was early in February) that, having attended 1200 cases, in one alone did the epidemic prove fatal, and this was owing to the individual's own imprudence, in making a journey in bad weather when scarcely rid of the fever. As to the nature of the malady, which attacks various regions of the body, the general opinion is that it mainly affects the respiratory organs, but it needs no man of science to tell us this, since it is matter of daily experience. What the unscientific public would like to know is something of the origin of the malady, its nature, and the proper safeguards and remedies to be adopted; and here there is complete disappointment, plenty of discussion, but no results, for doctors differ. They cannot even arrive at agreement as to whether the disease is infectious, though there is certainly a preponderance of positive evidence in favour of its infectious character, and it must be remembered that in such cases negative evidence is obviously of little value. Neither can the hypothesis of contagiousness be ever absolutely removed unless common causes, such as atmospheric influences and the like, may sufficiently account for the diffusion of the malady. But this is not the case, for the epidemic has spread everywhere, defying all calculations which would make it dependent for its origin and propagation on mere climate and temperature, however much it may have been modified by them. Meanwhile our scientists have discovered the *bacillus* of the complaint. Modern science is very proud of its discovery of these microscopic microbes, credited with being the germ of the several diseases they accompany, and the vehicle of their communication, too easily, perhaps, as some doctors, little attended to, have suggested, since it is not clear that the disease may not furnish the *habitat* for a special microbe, instead of being itself caused by its presence. Be this as it may, the microbe of the influenza was detected at Vienna by Dr. Johl, and it is a veritable curiosity of its kind, quite unique, being said to possess more than one head, even two or three, a perfect little Cerberus. It is elliptical in form, yellow in colour, with two or three blue specks. It resembles the bacillus of *pneumonia*, and differs much from that of the cholera. All this may be extremely interesting to the scientific world, but, after all, is not very practical.

Another and a different mode of infection has been suggested by the above-mentioned doctors, which seems to have considerable probability in its favour. It is that of organic poison. It has been frequently proved that an atmosphere charged with the products of human expiration and perspiration is very deleterious to those who breathe it, whether man or beast. Now, supposing that a person

had sickened from some poisonous element which he has absorbed, he might easily convey his malady to others in his vicinity by the exhalations from his breath, and from the pores of his skin, and, where many are congregated together, such infection would be rapidly intercommunicated. The readiness with which many catch a common cold from others, and the great sensitiveness of some individuals in this respect, so far as the reviewer affirms from personal knowledge, as to be quickly aware of the presence in the room of any one suffering in this manner, offers an instance in point. It would certainly appear as if rapid infection could spread in this manner much more easily than by means of these living germs. But the microbes are the fashion with our scientists ; they are a pet discovery ; so other theories meet with little acceptance.

**The Land Question in Ireland.**—In this same number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* appears an excellent article on this question, a subject very imperfectly understood by many Italians ; so much so, the reviewer says, that they often confound the agrarian with the political question, and look upon the poor Irish, struggling for their existence, with a suspicious eye, and are disposed to regard them as so many Socialists or Communists coveting the goods of others. They know that the English Government has passed some laws to alleviate the grievances of the tenant peasantry, and they suppose these have reason to rest satisfied with what has been done. To such persons the perusal of Archbishop Walsh's article, inserted, late in November 1888, in the *Contemporary Review*, pointing out the deficiencies in the remedies adopted, which was republished separately, and afterwards translated into French for distribution abroad, would be very serviceable. It has not only the authority of its author's name, but the sanction of the whole Irish Episcopate, accompanied by a fly-leaf explaining the reasons. A copy had been sent to the *Civiltà* for publication, and the reviewers felt they could not do better than give a summary of the contents of this document. These are clearly and concisely given, and they express the hope that readers will be convinced that, in spite of the good intentions of the British Government, the Land Laws of Ireland do not yet answer the needs of that people, whom the burdens of past times and a series of recent calamitous years have reduced to misery. Whoever has followed the course of events in Ireland will not fail to applaud the efforts of the Episcopate, as they themselves (the writers of the *Civiltà*) do, hoping to see them, thanks to the wisdom and patriotism of Parliament, crowned with a happy success.

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## Notices of Books.

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*A Manual of Catholic Theology.* Based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik." By JOSEPH WILHELM, D.D., Ph.D., and THOMAS B. SCANNELL, B.D. With a Preface by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Vol. I. The Sources of Theological Knowledge. God. Creation and the Supernatural Order. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1890.

THIS important book demands notice and description. Few of our readers, probably, are well acquainted with the "Dogmatik" of Dr. Joseph Scheeben, of the Archiepiscopal Seminary of Cologne, the first volume of which appeared in 1873, and the concluding one in 1882. Dr. Scheeben describes his great work as a "Compendium." In reality it consists of three volumes of nearly a thousand pages each, closely printed. It covers the whole of what is generally called "Dogmatic Theology."\* It is intended to be a sort of exposition of the Dogmatic Constitution of the Vatican Council. Yet, long as it is, the author considers it to be a Compendium. "My design," he says, in the Preface to the first volume, "is to present a complete, clear and solid exposition of the whole matter of Dogmatic Theology, in concise and rigorously scientific form. . . . My book is a *Compendium*; I shall avoid long developments and minute research, and give a concise orderly exposition. Yet it is not a *Compendium* in the sense that it gives merely indispensable information in a merely tabular form. It will, on the contrary, endeavour as far as possible to set down the whole scientific matter of Catholic Dogma with those developments which it has received from Theology; dwelling more fully on those questions which are especially important for Christian life or for our own times" (Erster Band, Vorrede vi.). It is evident that if Dr. Scheeben's work is a Compendium, the present translation, or transcription, must be a Compendium in a much stricter sense. One of the German professor's pages would fill about two of the English edition. So that it would take nearly four volumes of the size of the one now issued (500 pp.) to reproduce Dr. Scheeben's first volume, and twelve to represent the three. The present volume covers about a volume and a half, and may therefore be said to present one-sixth of the German text. Whether it was worth while to reproduce such a writer as Scheeben on a scale of one in six, or even one in four, is a question

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\* There is an excellent French translation, by the Abbé P. Belet, in six volumes, published by Palmé, of Paris (1880).

which will be variously decided. The author's method is, as he intended it to be, concise, exact, and pregnant, without an unnecessary word. Half of the work consists of "developments" in a smaller text—that is to say, citations of Scripture, and word for word passages of the Fathers, with historical notices, corollaries, explanations, &c. As a matter of fact, the English translators—we use the word in a loose sense—have not acted on any uniform plan of omitting all the small print and boiling down the substantial text. They have considerably shortened the latter, but they have now and then inserted an idea or two out of the former, and printed all in the same type. The difficulty in condensing Scheeben like this, arises from the fact that if you allow Scheeben's exposition to be good and useful, you can hardly express it more shortly than Scheeben has done himself. You may omit some of the heads which he has treated; but you cannot, without spoiling the focus and blurring the outlines, cut out many of the author's most carefully chosen details. For example, we read in the English text:

The works of the last-named (St. Augustine) form a sort of encyclopædia of theological literature. The early schoolmen, such as Hugo of St. Victor, did little more than develop and systematise the material supplied by him. After a time the influence of the Greek Fathers began to be felt, especially in the doctrine of Grace, and hence, long afterwards, the Jansenists accused both the schoolmen and the Greek Fathers of having fallen into Pelagianism (Introduction, p. xx.).

This extract is made up of matter drawn from more pages than one, up and down the author, and it is a little difficult to trace. But in the original St. Augustine, instead of coming at the end of a list of Latin Fathers, comes before both Latins and Greeks, as the "most original and universal genius in speculative theology;" and he is not called an "encyclopædia," but "in him the whole Patristic development culminates." Then there is nothing whatever about the early schoolmen or Hugo of St. Victor; though, further on, the author states that Hugo "leans on" St. Augustine. What Scheeben here goes on to say is, that "the *later*" (not early) "scholastic development attached itself to St. Augustine, although in technique and method it rather went back to the Greek Fathers." There is nothing about "the doctrine of grace" or Pelagianism (Band i. 422).

The translators have a right to reply that they do not undertake to present Dr. Scheeben word for word, but only to abbreviate him; that they have changed his order and rearranged his matter, and taken other liberties with him, simply to make up a readable manual for English-speaking students. Such a plea is, it need not be said, perfectly good and justifiable. But the German professor is extremely difficult to rearrange. If he prides himself on anything it is on his "arrangement"; and those who have read him feel much the same. To take his words out of their context is something like pulling down a house and turning rafters into flooring, and doors into tables. The artistic fit is destroyed.



But it is possible to insist too strongly on this. What we *have* in this volume we may well be thankful for.

After a definition of Theology and a useful sketch of its history, divided into the Patristic, Scholastic, and Modern periods, the work begins with the "Sources of Theological Knowledge." In the course of 150 pp. are discussed "Revelation," "The Transmission of Revelation," "The Apostolic Deposit," "Tradition," "The Rule of Faith," and, lastly, "Faith" itself. The treatment of these heads, and indeed of all the subjects contained in the book, differs somewhat from that of the ordinary theological text-book. It is the way with the latter to lay down a formal proposition, and then to prove it, from Scripture, authority, reason, &c. But Dr. Scheeben's method is that of continuous development, carried on paragraph by paragraph. For example, take Section 4, "Mysteries" (p. 8). The first paragraph states that the subject-matter of Revelation is truth, but obscure and veiled truth—mystery. The second and third define "Mystery" more exactly. The fourth cites the Vatican Council as laying down the fact that there are "Mysteries" in the proper sense. The fifth gives the Scripture passages. The sixth shows that Christianity is essentially "mysterious"; mystery comes from the Fatherly love of God; its motive is the immense love of God the Son; its end is the Vision of God. The seventh paragraph states that Christian mysteries form a body, or mystical cosmos. As this paragraph is fairly characteristic of the author we will quote it:

The mysteries which are the subject-matter of Revelation are not merely a few isolated truths, but form a supernatural world, whose parts are as organically connected as those of the natural world—a mystical cosmos, the outcome of the " manifold wisdom of God " (Eph. iii. 10). In their origin they represent under various forms the communication of the Divine nature by the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Grace; in their final object they represent an order in which the Trinity appears as the ideal and end of a communion between God and His creatures, rendered possible through the God-Man, and accomplished by means of grace and glory (p. 11).

Nothing could be clearer and better than the first sentence of this extract. But when the writer says, "In their origin they represent under various forms the communications of the Divine nature," there is a feeling of grittiness, and we are somewhat repelled. The words in their obvious sense mean that the Christian mysteries "originally" represented, &c., but "now" they no longer do so (or some such modification). As this is not what is meant, the form of the sentence ought to have been, we submit, something like this: "The Christian mysteries represent the Divine communications, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace." The expression "in their origin" is only a superfluous and mystifying Germanism. To say that the Christian mysteries represent the communication of the Divinity, and to say that they "originate" in such a representation, are one and the same thing, and the latter form of expression adds nothing important, though it puzzles the reader by appearing to do so. Then

“under various forms” is superfluous; the indication of “variety” is sufficiently given in the sentence as we have written it. The writer goes on: “In their final object they represent,” &c. It is crude, repellent, and un-English to say that the Christian mysteries “represent” anything whatever “in their final object.” It means, as is evident, that they all have one final purpose—namely, to represent, &c. Still more Teutonic is it to say that “in their final object” they represent “an order,” and “an order in which the Trinity appears as the ideal and the end of a communion between God and His creatures,” &c. Let us rewrite the paragraph, from the second sentence:

The Christian mysteries represent the communication of the Divine nature; the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace. Their object and purpose is communion between God and His creatures; that communion which directly aims at the Trinity itself, which is rendered possible through the God-Man, and accomplished by means of grace and glory.

There is an excellent chapter on the Transmission of Revelation, in which the Catholic theory, that there is and must be a means of transmitting revelation distinct from revelation itself and its written document, is stated with conciseness indeed (for the full treatment of the subject belongs to another part of the work), but with that scientific clearness in which the Germans excel. On the other hand, the doctrine of development might have been stated more clearly and completely. “The evolution of further and deeper views, the acquisition of a wider comprehension, and the deduction of fresh consequences from doctrines contained implicitly in the teaching of earlier times” (p. 107), is a description which sins at once by vagueness, tautology, and the vice of cross-division. The last sentence in the section—see Cardinal Newman’s great work, “The Development of Christian Doctrine”—is perhaps the most useful sentence therein.

The great treatise on God occupies about 100 pages. With the exception that no proof of God’s existence is developed, we have here all the usual matter contained in the “*Tractatus de Deo*.” We will not say there is nothing debatable in a series of chapters which treat such subjects as the Divine Essence, and the Foreknowledge and Liberty of the Deity. But the reader will find patient explanation and much profound reasoning, with abundant citation of Holy Scripture. The chapter on the Divine Names is especially good. The Divine Attributes are considered in great detail.

The Trinity takes up another hundred pages. We do not know of any theological account of this sublimest of mysteries which is at once so complete and so intelligible as is here given. The Scriptural and Patristic treatment of the Dogma is especially full and useful. Very interesting also, and of great utility to the preacher, is the Section in which it is shown how the Dogma of the Trinity adds clearness and precision to our knowledge of a living and personal God, and throws light on God’s supernatural works.

The rest of the volume is filled up by chapters on Creation, the Angels, the Material Universe, Man, and the Supernatural Order

Scheeben's treatment of Grace, as represented by his English editors, is original and suggestive. The divergence in language between the Eastern Fathers and St. Augustine on the subject of man's supernatural elevation is well explained. The author inclines to the terms and expressions of the Easterns. He takes great pains to prove and illustrate by Scripture the "adoption of sons"; he shows how this Scripture principle, logically worked out by the help of Scripture itself, leads to the true theory of vocation, merit, and grace. It might have been easier for the student if the usual scholastic terms, such as sanctifying grace, actual grace, merit, &c., had been more freely used. It is a little difficult to see in these pages the connection between the adopted sonship and the state of grace, between grace and charity, and between grace and the "participation of the Holy Ghost." But the theory that the supernatural is only relative—that God helps and elevates man, indeed, but not by making him a partaker of the Divine Nature—this error, which has been rife, even among Catholics, in our own times, and is not absolutely unknown in our own country, is splendidly confuted. The whole treatise on Grace demands study. It is calculated to disturb and even confuse the conceptions of those who have only read up Grace from the the pupil-teacher's point of view; it gives the outlines, and to some extent the details, of a highly finished philosophic theory.

The book, which is admirably printed in a clear, bold type, has few notes and no index. There is prefixed a table of contents. It will soon be in the hands of the theological teachers and students of the English-speaking world. They will find it a tolerable reproduction of Dr. Scheeben, so far as it pretends to be one, and, on its own merits, a very complete and scientific, even if somewhat tough, exposition of dogma. One of its results will be to let our students feel the peculiar tendency and character of German Catholic Theology. We take this to be a certain "rationalising" spirit (in a good sense) which objects to parrot-like repetitions of venerable catch-words, whilst studying dogma at first hand in Scripture, the Fathers and the Councils, always in a spirit of the deepest reverence. Whether the laity will take up the book, is a question not easily answered. There is no reason why they should not. There is nothing in its discussions which might not well be learnt by laymen. And not seldom they will come upon something both dogmatic and practical; as for example, the following sentence in the Section on the Guardian Angel:—"The communication of the dead with the living, *e.g.*, apparitions and death-warnings, are probably the work of Guardian Angels" (p. 504).

It must not be omitted that the Preface of four pages prefixed by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, is marked by his usual grace and depth of thought.

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*Blunders and Forgeries.* Historical Essays. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1890.

THE seven essays of which this entertaining volume is made up are reprints, with additions and amendments, from the DUBLIN REVIEW, the *Tablet*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and the *Irish Monthly*. The first five are called "Blunders," the other two "Forgeries." Most of the people whom Father Bridgett takes to task are men who are really eminent in some way or other, and who, notwithstanding, by that common fate which seems to blind Protestants whenever they come across Catholicism, have blundered as badly as the editor of the *Record* himself. Dr. Shirley should have known better than to credit a priest of the time of Henry III. with "two wives," merely because the Bishop of Chichester's official reports "habet duas uxores, ut dicitur." The "wives," as Father Bridgett conclusively establishes, were two churches or cures; the good man was a pluralist. Dr. Lyon Playfair said at Glasgow in 1874 that "for a thousand years there was not a man or woman in Europe that ever took a bath." This is the text of the author's interesting essay on "The Sanctity of Dirt." "A Dozen Dogberrysisms" is the title of a paper devoted to exposing the pompous fatuousness of Mr. Poole on the Coventry Miracle Plays, and the solemn puzzle-headedness of scholars like Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Kemble on Saints and Visions, and of Mr. Brewer on the sanctity of Idiots (!) "A Saint Transformed" is a useful criticism on Canon Perry's Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. "Infamous Publications" relates to the strictures passed in 1872 by Mr. Gerald Fitzgibbon, an Irish Master in Chancery, on Father Furniss and Father Pinamonti. The two "Forgeries" are, first, "the Rood of Boxley;" and, secondly, a long and painstaking exposure of the lies and inventions of Robert Ware, an Irish Protestant of the time of Elizabeth, who is responsible for some of the toughest and longest-lived mendacities which have been cultivated even by the Protestant historians of the Reformation. This last treatise has not the unity and dramatic interest of some of the other contents of the book, but it should be read and pondered by every thinking Catholic—not to say every respectable Protestant—as a detailed explanation of the way in which history has been written. A good index adds to the value of the volume.

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*Convent Life: or, Duties of Sisters dedicated in Religion to the Service of God.* Intended chiefly for Superiors and Confessors. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. Second Edition. Dublin. 1890.

THIS is intended to be a somewhat popular exposition of the principles and laws which regulate the Religious State as it affects women. The first part treats of the obligations of Religious by reason of their state; the second, of the vows, and their

obligations; the third, of the principal duties of the religious state; and the fourth, of the election of Superiors, and of the duties of Superiors and other officials in the convent. The work is comprised within 320 pages, and is therefore of moderate size. It will be found to be more useful to Superiors than to Sisters in general. With these latter it might easily become the cause of much trouble and anxiety. Directors and others engaged in the government of communities of Sisters, or in instructing them, will find much that is useful and suggestive in "Convent Life." There are references; but the work would be improved by a larger number of them. It contains a good deal of moral theology; and therefore, needless to say, a fair amount of debatable matter. The term "nuns" is applied in a very wide sense, and is made by the author to include even Sisters of Charity, who are not even Religious in the strict sense of the word. The extracts from Father Dominic's writings, which are frequently quoted, are very interesting, and sometimes curious and amusing.

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*Old Catholic Maryland.* By the Rev. W. P. TREACY. New Jersey.

THIS very interesting sketch of the early Jesuit Missionaries in Maryland is especially *à propos* at the present time when the hierarchy in the United States has just celebrated its centenary. All the romance of adventure attaches to the wanderings of these Pilgrim Fathers of Catholicism, who are at least as worthy to be remembered as their Puritan fellow-countrymen of the *Mayflower*. Nor was persecution wanting to set its seal on their labours, and we read how the Protestant settlers of Virginia harassed their Catholic neighbours, going so far as to send to England, in irons, two priests, Fathers Copley and White, seized within the borders of the adjoining colony. Very interesting are the relations between the first Catholic missionaries and the Indians, many of whom were converted thus early in the history of the settlement.

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*Reminiscences of the late Hon. and Right Rev. Alexander Macdonell.*  
By W. J. MACDONELL. Toronto: Williamson & Co. 1888.

THE early history of the Canadian Church enters into this brief sketch, as its subject was the first bishop of Upper Canada. Born in 1762, on the borders of Loch Ness, Inverness-shire, his first ministrations, after his ordination, were among the Catholic Highlanders settled in Glasgow, after the introduction of sheep-farming in the north had dispossessed the small farmers. Failure of industrial pursuits then driving his flock to enlist, he conceived the idea of forming them into a Catholic corps, the first since the Reformation, and thus was raised the Glengarry Regiment, to which

he was gazetted chaplain. They served in Ireland, in suppressing the rebellion of 1798; but being disbanded and reduced to great straits on the peace of 1802, Father Macdonell obtained for them grants of land in Upper Canada, accompanied them thither, and thus became the Patriarch, and afterwards the Bishop, of the settlement.

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*Commentarius in Ezechielem Prophetam.* Auctore JOSEPHO KNABENBAUER, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux. London: Burns & Oates.

WE hail with pleasure another substantial volume of the "Cursus S. Scripture," which is being published by the German Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Father Knabenbauer is well known in connection with this series, as he has already brought out the volumes on the minor Prophets, on Isaias and Jeremias. Nor is there wanting in the present commentary any of that distinguished scholarship and extensive reading which was displayed in the previous volumes. The Commentary on Ezechiel is replete with learning. The earlier and later writers on Ezechiel are continually quoted with a view both to adding weight to opinions given and to elucidating difficulties in the text. The Hebrew and Greek text are examined and explained where this is necessary, and great assistance is given to the student by a series of plans and drawings, which are added in an appendix to throw light upon the very complex and difficult subject of the new temple.

In the notice to readers, Father Knabenbauer remarks: "Cum quæstio pentateuchica hodie multum agitetur, etiam commentario aliqua erant inserenda quibus quæ ratio vere intercedat inter Pentateuchum et Ezechielem disputatur." This is a wise decision, and our only regret is that the learned commentator did not enter more fully than he has done into this important aspect of the question. Whatever view one holds as to the value of modern criticism in regard to the Old Testament, there can be no doubt that its teaching is to be met with everywhere, both in learned treatises and in popular reviews. It seems imperatively called for, therefore, that the attitude to be assumed by Catholics in regard to this question should be set forth, at least in advanced works on Holy Scripture.

Professor Kuenen, treating of the relation between the Prophet Ezechiel and the so-called Priestly Code in the Pentateuch, says, in his "Hexateuch":—

The points of contact between this Prophet and P' are so numerous and striking that K. H. Graf, and after him certain other scholars, have regarded Ezechiel himself as the author or redactor of the collection. But this is a mistake. The hypothesis gives no account of the difference that accompanies the resemblance, nor is the difficulty met by suggesting that some interval elapsed between Ezechiel's prophecies, especially xl.-xlviii., and the laws he drew up, either earlier or later. In as far as the agreement between Ezechiel and P' really requires an explanation, it may be found in

the supposition that P' was acquainted with the priest prophet, imitated him, and worked on in his spirit (p. 276).

The peculiarity of this view of the question is that it requires opposite propositions to be proved. In order to show that the author of the "priestly code" lived after Ezechiel and copied largely his language and his views, it has to be shown, as Kuenen undertakes to show, that "the similarity in style, vocabulary and phraseology is very remarkable." On the other hand, though "mutual independence is out of the question," it is proved that "this resemblance is accompanied by linguistic differences." This is all to show that though the author of the "priestly-code" and Ezechiel were not identical, still the former depended much upon the latter. It might also be suggested that, "in as far as the agreement between Ezekiel and P' really requires an explanation, it may be found in the supposition that "the priest prophet was acquainted with P' "imitated him and worked in his spirit." By merely reversing the position of "P'" and "priest prophet" in the extract from Kuenen, we arrive at a statement of the Catholic view. The Prophet, writing with a view to impressing on the Jews the Mosaic Law, has made a deep study of that law, is thoroughly imbued with the Mosaic spirit, and not unnaturally expresses himself to some extent in the Mosaic phraseology, though there are many and important differences in his style from that of the Pentateuch.

Father Knabenbauer's Commentary will be found to be of great value to the student, and we wish it a large sale and wide popularity. In sending this copy to us for review the French publisher expresses a wish that we would mention that it is (like other volumes of the Cursus) "en vente chez MM. Burns and Oates," which we are glad to do; knowing where one may actually find a French work is sometimes another inducement to get it.

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*Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archivs und vieler anderer Archive bearbeitet von Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Freiburg: Herder. 1889. [History of the Popes from the end of the Middle Ages].

THE first part of this splendid work was duly noticed in this REVIEW (July 1886), and has been honoured by a special letter of Leo XIII. A French translation of it has already made its appearance, and English and Italian versions are announced. What strikes one in this second volume is the amount of labour spent by Professor Pastor in ransacking the Roman and other Italian archives, as, for instance, those of Bologna, Siena, Florence, Venice, Milan, and still more particularly those of Mantua. To the Gonzaga archives, in the latter town, we are indebted for the most important despatches relating to the reign of Paul II. Although a zealous Catholic, our author never assumes the office of defender of the Popes in any of their acts; on the contrary, it is his deliberate

opinion that the historian ought never to allow himself to be led aside for apologetical purposes; what he should aim at is simply the investigation of the truth.

The present volume deals with the pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. At its commencement it teems with interesting details of the election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini; the characteristics, for example, of the cardinal electors, and the appeal delivered to them by Domenico de Domenichi to give the Church a supreme head, who would be fully conscious of his high position. Special prominence is given to the unwearied efforts of the Pope to check the Turks; the traditional policy of the Holy See, and in favourable contrast with that of the secular princes of the period. Next, we get an accurate picture of the position occupied by France towards the Holy See. To Pius II. Christendom was indebted for the abrogation of the Pragmatical Sanction. Four volumes of unpublished acts and letters relating to the embassies of Cardinal Bessarion were discovered by Professor Pastor in the Vatican archives, and have been duly employed in describing the labours of this learned Greek. Accurate details now first obtained from the "conto" of Pius II.'s private purse do the Pope credit for his frugality. To him succeeded Paul II.; and few Popes have been so maligned as Paul II., because of the measures he adopted for repressing currents of thought totally at variance with Christianity. Professor Pastor deserves to be congratulated on the immense work he has accomplished towards vindicating the memory of this Pope, the strenuous defender of the Faith against Platina and Pomponio Leto. Indeed, this part of his volume is a storehouse of unpublished despatches, letters and documents, valuable both for Church and secular history. The latter portion of the volume is devoted to Sixtus IV.: after Pastor's careful chapters on the conspiracy of the Pazzi's in Florence, no historian will be able to charge Sixtus IV. with having consented to slaughter and bloodshed. The volume also contains thoughtful chapters on the Spanish Inquisition, and the revival of painting and architecture; and, finally, I may note that no less than 148 unpublished manuscripts form the concluding portion of this volume. To praise further so learned and able a work would be superfluous.

A. BELLESHEIM.

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*Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert.*—  
Zweiter Band. Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland, vom Abschluss der Concordate bis 1848. Von Dr. HEINRICH BRÜCK. Mainz: Kireckheim. 1889. (*History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*. Vol. II. *The Church in Germany to 1848*).

THE first volume of this important work was noticed in this REVIEW, in July 1888. Already we have the second, covering the period from the opening by the German Governments, after the fall of Napoleon I., of Negotiations with the Holy See, down to the



celebrated Meeting of German Bishops in Würzburg in 1848. We must congratulate the author on his new volume; it is a work of great critical sagacity, erudition, and outspoken love for the Church and her liberty. It is impossible here to do more than sketch the merest outline of its contents. A glance at the vast array of modern German historical literature consulted by Professor Brück gives an idea of the mass of material bearing on his subject. We would call the student's attention more particularly to the papers of Prince Metternich, the biographies of Cardinals Geissel and Rauscher, the former Prelate's correspondence with the Nuncio in Munich, when Gregory transferred him from Speier to Cologne, the biography and letters of Ritter de Bunsen, the letters of Joseph von Goerres, and Bishop Laurent, and, last, the autobiography of the Prince Bishop of Breslau, Count Sedlnitzki, who apostatised from the Catholic faith. From this wealth of material our author draws a clear picture of the German Church from 1815 to 1848. The negotiations between the Governments of Prussia, Bavaria, and the United Courts of Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse, and Mecklenburg, on one side, and the Holy See, on the other, enable us to appreciate the unflinching courage and patience of Pius VII. and Cardinal Consalvi, in vindicating the rights of the Church and show the tendency of modern statesmen to shackle the liberty of Bishops in governing their dioceses. English Catholics will be interested in the negotiations between Hanover and Rome. The same George IV., who, up to 1829, utterly denied emancipation to his Catholic subjects, in his capacity as King of Hanover opened negotiations with the Holy See. Such important questions as mixed marriages, the heresies of Hermes and Guenther, the appointment of Professors of Theology, the Liberty of Chapters in electing Bishops, will be found here treated solidly and fully. And the Chapters which treat of Theological Learning are very important, as showing how the Decline of Theology was fatally influenced by modern anti-Christian philosophy, or kept down by the State. Professor Brück, whilst judging these things by the standard of Catholic doctrine, can excuse, however, as far as may be the authors themselves; they acted under the influence of their education, and were drifted by the general currents of thought.

BELLESHEIM.

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*The Light of Reason.* By SEBASTIAN S. WYNELL-MAYHOW. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

**T**HIS is a book which ought to do good. It is divided into two parts, under the following headings: 1. "The Existence of God;" 2. "Revelation." In the first part, the author gives four proofs of the existence of God, which he calls, respectively, the metaphysical, the ethical, the moral, and the physical. He does not claim any originality in respect of these proofs, but he has used what the greatest Christian thinkers have supplied ready to his hand. He has done more wisely than try to invent, he has selected what he

considered the best proofs of his theses, and placed them before us in a clear, cogent form. He tells us that he has himself felt the doubts and difficulties which are exercising many minds at the present day with regard to religion, and he has here put forward the arguments which had most effect in settling those difficulties in his own case. He has aimed at being, and has succeeded in being concise and clear. After enunciating each argument at length, giving objections in the same way, he repeats both arguments and objections in their bare syllogistic form. The idea is a good one, and helps the reader to see and retain the pith of the reasoning. Mr. Wynell-Mayhow might have gathered many other proofs of God's existence, as he is no doubt well aware, from the first part of St. Thomas's "Summa," and the "Summa Contra Gentes" (Lib. I., Cap. xiii.), but he feared that Agnostics would either be unable to appreciate them, or too slothful to attempt the task, so he wisely selected a few of the strongest proofs of this great truth, and such as are not difficult to understand. They are enough to convince an honest mind. We may be allowed to remark on the author's "note," at p. 19, that from the very laudatory way in which he speaks of F. Rosmini's Philosophy, one would fancy he is not aware of the forty, recently condemned Propositions. Then, again, at p. 25, there is a misleading note on *potentia*. The "*potentia*," referred to in the text, is clearly *potentia passiva*, and, in the note, he says that that which "is referred to in the text is defined the capability of anything existing, of either receiving or producing anything." It is evident that this definition goes too far; it defines also *potentia activa*, of which there is no question in the text.

The second part of his volume, "Revelation," is, Mr. Wynell-Mayhow rightly contends, the outcome of the first. "If God exists, He has revealed Himself, and, secondly, if He has revealed Himself at all, He can only have done so by means of an ecclesiastical polity, to which He himself must have guaranteed freedom from all error in faith and morals." Hence the author deduces the existence of the Catholic Church and the infallibility of the Pope. We must congratulate Mr. Wynell-Mayhow upon having put his reasoning here again in a telling way.

We have "Appendices" added on after the second part, on several important subjects, and we are obliged to say that this is the least satisfactory part of the book. We wonder, for instance, where our author has picked up his philosophy on "Physical Evil." He is clearly astray when he maintains that "liability to trouble and pain and suffering are the *necessary concomitants* of a physical material nature possessed of free will." If this were so, it would be true of Adam before the fall, and of the Blessed after the resurrection, which, of course, cannot be maintained. Mr. Mayhow amazes us when he maintains that "the idea of a limited being, not liable to physical evil, is an idea which is impossible and unthinkable."

Again, Mr. Mayhow thinks that, knowing the Trinity already, we can demonstrate its existence. On this point we would recommend

our author to read the first article of the 32nd question of St. Thomas's *Summa* (part 1), where, in his answer to the 2nd objection, he says that the Trinity cannot be proved; but, when once known, reasons for its existence can be given.

Apart from such faults, we welcome Mr. Wynell-Mayhow's work. It has decided merits, and we hope it will do good.

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*William George Ward and the Oxford Movement.* By WILFRID WARD.  
Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

IT is with pleasure we note that within less than a year from the date of its publication, a second edition of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's interesting history of the first, and, in one sense, the most eventful period of his father's life, has been required. This now lies before us; and although, as a whole, the work of which we wrote fully in October 1889 remains unaltered, some additions have been made, and one addition specially, of ten pages in the concluding chapter, which may well be brought before the notice of our readers.

As was observed in our former article, not the least important part of Dr. Ward's biography is the chapter in which Mr. Wilfrid Ward estimates the effect of the Oxford Movement on modern religious thought; and it is this chapter which he has enlarged and amplified, by giving a more exact definition of the philosophy which was the intellectual means by which both Cardinal Newman and Dr. Ward were led into the Church. The whole chapter is valuable, not only as an able exposition of this philosophy, but also as showing how the leaders of the Oxford Movement anticipated, as well as answered beforehand, many of the difficulties propounded by the modern school of neology and unbelief. That their conclusions will satisfy those whose animus is anti-religious we cannot hope; for, after a careful study of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's effort at exhibiting the reasonableness of our Faith, we cannot, of course, point to any conclusion which can be said to assert the truth of the Christian revelation with absolute mathematical certainty. For "men of good will," however, enough can be proved, and so much was made evident in the first edition of Dr. Ward's life. In the second edition, Mr. Wilfrid Ward goes further and deeper, and shows us how the Oxford teachers, whilst admitting that there exist different and discordant voices, each calling us in a different direction, maintained that the Church offers "a retreat whence they would not be heard," or gives "such insight into the truth, that though heard and understood, they should not make the Christian unquiet."

The final development of the philosophy of the Oxford School, then, is the demonstration of "the office of the Church, in giving light to see the truth and guidance in moral action." On this last point, Newman, and perhaps still more Ward, insisted strenuously. Any argument or philosophy which was content to rest as an intellectual system, without reacting both on the will and on the action of man,

they held to be insufficient. Persuasive as may be the Church's doctrine, soul-subduing as is her ritual, and striking as has been the governing power by which for centuries she has controlled the waywardness of nations—none of these achievements affected Dr. Ward, as did the simple history of the many humble and half-hidden lives of the Church's saints. He truly held that such lives could never have been lived if divorced from the faith and doctrine on which they were founded; and in their pure beauty he saw conclusive arguments for the truth of the Faith, to which his intellect had already assented.

Of course, if such a view of the Church's office be the true one, it implies that the Church which claims our obedience must possess a living and a teaching voice; and one religious body alone in Christendom answers to this demand. No doubt Newman, and possibly Ward, recognised the strength of the foundation on which the Church rests, before they admitted that one and one only edifice had been successfully built thereupon. On the struggle and mental strife which preceded the full acceptance of the truth, and on the result which followed, we need not further dwell. In conclusion, we will express a hope that, to many equally sincere searchers after truth, their path may be made plainer by the study of what is probably the most useful chapter in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book, and the one which is the most likely to influence Anglicans in their submission to the Church.

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1. *Leabhar Sgeulaigheachta*, cruinnighthe agus curtha le chéile le DUBHGLAS DE H-IDE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1889.
  2. *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*. The Fate of the Children of Tuireann. Edited for the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. With Notes, Translation, and a Complete Vocabulary. By RICHARD J. O'DUFFY, Hon. Sec. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1888.

1. **T**HIS is one of the best popular publications in the Irish language and character that has ever come under our notice. In form and size it is a handy book, and the paper and Irish type are first-rate. The work, as its title indicates, is a collection of folk-tales taken down from the lips of the Irish peasantry, and presented to the public in their primitive form. In this respect the author has judiciously performed the rather difficult task of preserving the peculiar speech of the narrators while making the stories intelligible to the Irish student in every part of Ireland. The chapter entitled "Songs and Rhymes" is as interesting as any in the book. Some of the verses remind us forcibly of the Welsh "penillion," both in their terse wit and in their form, as for instance, the following:—

"Horrible to me is the harp that hath no strings,  
Horrible to me is the song without sweetness,  
Horrible to me is the jewsharp without a tongue,  
And horrible to me the tailor without scissors."

Much worldly wisdom is contained in these lines :—

“ He who is down is trampled on ;  
He who is up, his health is drunk.”

We think the author has been wise to add an appendix of English notes. These are explanatory of various literary and philological points in the text, and add greatly to the general interest of the book.

2. Here we have another of the excellent text-books issued by this society. It is a version in modern Irish of a very ancient Gaelic folk-tale. Even though unacquainted with Irish, a student of Celtic folk-lore should possess this book and read the English translation. This classic has been edited to supply the requirements of the Celtic examiners in the Royal University of Ireland. We have nothing but praise to accord to the work.

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*The Masque of Mary.* By EDWARD CASWALL. London :  
Burns & Oates.

A VOLUME of poems by the author of “*Lyra Catholica*” comes well recommended to our readers, nor will they be disappointed in the present collection. The pieces are mainly Scriptural, and contain many beautiful and devotional ideas expressed in poetic language, and with full command of metre and versification. “*The Easter Ship*” describing the vision of the Hermit of Finisterre foreshadowing the return of England to the Catholic Faith, is an interesting religious ballad, and “*A Masque of Angels*” is a graceful fancy of the childhood of Our Lady representing a series of Scriptural incidents as enacted before her in the Temple by her angelic attendants.

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*May Carols.* By AUBREY DE VERE. London : Burns & Oates.

WE hail with pleasure a popular edition of Mr. de Vere’s beautiful series of poems, in which, as befits the exalted nature of his subject, the Catholic poet, *par excellance*, has touched the zenith of achievement. The versification recalls the grave melody of *In Memoriam*, although the rhyme of the Quatrains does not follow the same rule, being simply alternated. Their harmonious cadence may be judged from the subjoined stanza :

Upon Thy face, O God, Thy world  
Looks ever up in love and awe ;  
Thy stars, in circles onward hurled,  
Sustain the steadying yoke of law.

In alternating antiphons  
Stream sings to stream, and sea to sea ;  
And moons that set, and sinking suns  
Obeisance make, O God, to thee.

The swallow, winter's rage o'erblown,  
 Again, on warm spring breezes borne,  
 Revisiteth her haunts well-known ;  
 The lark is faithful to the morn.

The whirlwind, missioned with its wings  
 To drown the fleet or fell the tower,  
 Obeys thee as the bird that sings  
 Her love-chant in a fleeting shower.

Amid an ordered universe  
 Man's spirit only dares rebel ;  
 With light, O God, its darkness pierce !  
 With love its raging chaos quell !

*The Harp of Jesus.* By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.  
 Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THIS tiny volume, styled on the title-page, "A Prayer Book in Verse," ought to have a place among the devotional books of every Catholic. Prayers and aspirations, beautiful in their simplicity, are given metrical form in melodious verse, facilitating their committal to memory. It is, for this reason, specially adapted to children, but not the less will the older generation find in it ideas to elevate and instruct.

*Carmina Silvula.* By JAMES A. STORY, B.A. London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Co. 1890.

A GRACEFUL fancy, combined with the perhaps rarer gift of grace of expression, renders Mr. Story's pretty volume of verse, original and translated, as attractive within, as its vellum-binding with gilt lettering, makes it without. We give the subjoined little snatch of song, entitled "Earthly Joys," as a specimen, not because the best that might be chosen, but because its brevity enables us to print it all:

The lovely colours of the spring,  
 Soon, soon decay ;  
 The birds that then so sweetly sing,  
 Soon fly away.

The rose that now so fairly blooms,  
 Blooms but to-day ;  
 The flowers that have sweetest perfumes,  
 Make shortest stay.

Earth's greatest joys soonest depart ;  
 Love naught too well :  
 Lest when 'tis gone a bleeding heart  
 Thine anguish tell.

*The Poet's Purgatory.* By H. I. D. RYDER. Dublin:  
M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

FATHER RYDER'S elegant and scholarly muse has found congenial subjects in those treated in this volume of poems, original and translated. Many are in sonnet form, and the novena of sonnets to St. Philip Neri is an especially interesting example of the author's skill in the use of this supreme test of metrical facility. Among the translations, the most noteworthy is "The Nightingale," also a difficult piece of versification, as each quatrain has but a single rhyme. This early Latin poem, frequently ascribed to St. Bonaventure, is assigned by Father Ryder to John of Hovenden, chaplain to Edward I.'s queen, Eleanor, who died in 1275. A note contains the translator's authorities for this substitution.

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*Mary of Nazareth.* By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW, Bart.  
Parts I. and II. London: Burns & Oates.

WE gladly welcome the final volumes of Sir John Barrow's beautiful poem on Our Lady, which have the same lofty grace of language and idea as had the first volume. In the second volume he brings down his poetic narrative of the life of Our Lady from the Nativity to the death of St. Joseph. He tells the story of the sacred Infancy and Life in Nazareth in solemn and melodious verse. The following stanza, recounting the visit of the Magi, may serve as a specimen:—

Adoring Him, the while glad tears they wept,  
They then to Mary and to Joseph told,  
How, whilst they watched together, as of old,  
The Star-life of the heavens, when others slept,  
A strange Star had dropped downwards through the sky,  
Like some lost jewel from the Throne on high,  
And passing through the multitude of gems,  
Which hung above the clouds like diadems,  
Had neared to where they watched, had paused awhile,  
Had westward moved, had smiled a bright Star-smile  
Upon them, last of all, from overhead,  
As if to bid them follow where it led.

The author has had a still more difficult task in his third part where he has had to deal with the dread mysteries of the Passion as well as those of the Resurrection and Ascension. The subjoined stanza will give an idea of the treatment of these high themes:

'Tis midnight—as 'twas midnight at His birth—  
Earth sleeps upon one hemisphere of earth  
'Tis midnight—yet is there strange light on high  
As if the sun had thought his rising nigh;

Yet neither doth the moon grow pale for him,  
 Nor do the stars, at sight of him, grow dim ;  
 But moon above grows full of brighter white,  
 And stars above grow full of whiter light,  
 Whilst Mary seeks that garden, angel-led,  
 And, angel-guarded, stands beneath the shade  
 Of vine-wed Olive, near where He is laid,  
 Attended by the spirits of the dead.

*Political Science Quarterly.* New York. December 1889, and  
 March 1890.

THIS high-class periodical, as it reaches its fifth year, shows no sign of failing powers, and is a standing reproach to us on this side of the Atlantic that we have no similar organ of political and economic science. In the December number the article on Marriage and Divorce gives a summary of Commissioner Wright's Report, published at Washington, and dealing with twenty years' figures in the United States and part of Europe. Allowing for the different rate of increase of population, the growth of divorce is about the same in the Old World and the New, being about two and a half times greater than the growth of population. Extreme frequency of divorce in three or four States of America (each of the forty and more States of the Union have their own marriage laws) has been somewhat checked recently by some amendment in the scandalous laxity of their particular law ; but this is only a slight reaction, and Mr. Dike, the writer of the article, proves how idle is the hope that any great change would be produced by the establishment of a general and uniform law of marriage and divorce throughout the United States. A disagreeable feature is that the presence of children appears from the statistics to be getting less and less an obstacle to divorce. Mr. Dike sums up that the movement of divorce is an international one, that it is of great magnitude, and that its advance is constant and rapid. Of any remedy he says nothing, and seems to think we must acquiesce in the advance of an inevitable phenomenon. He gives in a note the following official figures of a non-Christian community—namely, Japan :

Year.	Marriages.	Divorces.	Ratio of Divorces to Marriages.
1884 . .	287,842 .	109,905 .	1 to 2·62
1885 . .	259,497 .	113,565 .	1 to 2·28
1886 . .	315,311 .	117,964 .	1 to 2·67

This in a population of thirty-eight and a half millions. A simple writing, transferring the woman back from her husband's to her father's family, is sufficient for Japanese divorce.

Now it may be argued that if in a country advancing so quickly in wealth, population and power as Japan, divorce is so frequent and so innocuous, we need not be scared by its growth in Europe and America. But there is a flaw in this argument. The peoples of Europe and



America have had the light of Christianity and practised Christian family life, and cannot escape from their tremendous responsibility. The prevalence of divorce means for them the abandonment of the Christian family; they must be called *after-Christians*, whereas the Japanese (or Chinese or Hindus) are *fore-Christians*, not having ever as yet been Christian peoples. Hence it is idle to look to them for an example. We must look rather at the family life among the Mahometans of Syria or Morocco to see the depths into which those may fall who follow a new gospel professing to be better than Christianity. The new Australian laws of divorce, to which the home Government have given an unwilling consent, show how rapidly there also they are running in the ways of after-Christian civilisation. Fortunately, one-third of the inhabitants of Australia hold the Catholic faith; and we are certain that what has been observed in America is equally true in Australia—namely, “the fidelity of the Roman Catholic Church and the good results of its influence,” to which Commissioner Wright’s report bears testimony. Truly, if the two English-speaking continents are to escape national decay, and decay in the near future, their hope lies in the spread of the Catholic faith and the consequent spread of Christian family life. This may seem to some an exaggeration, to others a paradox; but if they look below the surface and appearance of well-being they will see that both these great communities have been smitten with a terrible disease in a vital part, for the disease of irreligion has taken hold of their family life. And I see no grounds for assuming, where so active and evil a cause is at work, that there will be a miraculous suspension of its effects.

In the March number two articles, one on the American “General Property Tax,” and the other on “The Mortgage Evil,” are both well worth reading, and full of instruction for ourselves. For there are still many simple people in England who think the owners of land are grasping monopolists, and the rest of the inhabitants amiable and innocent. This delusion, which accidental circumstances fostered half a century ago, when the corn laws were being attacked, was not shared by Adam Smith, and before his time we have the pertinent remark of Walpole that “landed gentlemen are like the flocks upon their plains, who suffer themselves to be shorn without resistance; whereas the trading part of the nation resemble the boar, who will not suffer a bristle to be plucked from his back without making the whole parish to echo with his complaints.” In truth, all history shows that small owners of land, the best part of a nation, are in constant need of some sort of protection, like sheep from a variety of ravening beasts; and that even owners of large or considerable estates, when once a vigorous central government has been established and an active commercial class arisen, are liable to be preyed upon by the traders. Professor Seligman, in his learned article, shows how again and again a tax meant to be on property in general has been shifted (as in the United States) to

the rural population, and made a special burden on land. And Mr. Dunn, taking three of the most vigorous States of the West—Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois (with an aggregate population of about seven millions)—reckons the annual payments as interest on mortgage at nearly thirty million dollars, and the drain from other causes, such as payments to absentees and to creditors other than mortgagees, nearly as much again, so that wealth equivalent in English currency to over ten million pounds is annually transferred from the rural inhabitants of those three Western States to the urban and commercial inhabitants of the East. The mountainous load of debt has been, perhaps, not so completely incurred in “profitless extravagance or unfortunate speculation” as Mr. Dunn supposes: still much of it has been mere waste as far as any good came to the land. Just the same can be said of most of the debt with which the land in Ireland and Great Britain, in Germany and Austria, in France and Italy, is charged; and a new Solon is sorely needed to lift the burden from rural shoulders, and place it on the broad and wealthy back of commerce.

C. S. DEVAS.

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*Elements of Logic as a Science of Propositions.* By E. E. CONSTANCE JONES, Lecturer in Moral Sciences, Girton College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

MISS JONES originally intended to publish the matter of this volume under the title of “Notes on Logic,” and we consider that she has been ill-advised to change her intention. The book can in no sense be called “The Elements of Logic.” Many of the problems, over which the authoress expends no inconsiderable labour, would vanish if she would correct her notion of logic. Logic is not the science of propositions. To make it such is simply to degrade it to the level of a higher grammar. Propositions are the signs of judgments, and logic treats of judgment as well as of other acts of the mind. Nor is logic thus confounded with psychology, as Miss Jones seems to think; just as kinetics is not confounded with any science which treats of the origin and nature of force. Logic is the science of the laws of thought, or of the order of the acts of the mind one to the other.

As a sample of the useless problems with which Miss Jones concerns herself, see the note on the “predicables,” p. 78. Here the authoress has confused herself and will not enlighten her readers. She confesses herself unable to say what predicable is predicated in the propositions, “This animal is a man” and “These animals are men.” Why not species? Must species always explicitly state genus and difference? Again, higher up on the same page, she accuses the scholastics of omitting the consideration of the proposition, “Man is a rational animal.” The reason why the scholastics have not noticed this so-called proposition is, as is frequently pointed out, that a definition is not a proposition, properly so called. A pro-

position requires two terms, either explicitly or implicitly, and in the case given there is only one term. We should be pleased if we could find anything in this volume on which to bestow some little praise, but we find the task beyond our powers. We are glad, however, to notice that this book is not meant for beginners, and sincerely hope, for their sakes, that no enthusiastic disciple of the lecturer at Girton may apply it to a use for which it was not meant, and certainly is not suited.

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*The Story of the Nations: The Barbary Corsairs.* By STANLEY LANE-POOLE. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

THE passenger who steams luxuriously through the Mediterranean on board one of the magnificent vessels of the Pacific and Oriental Company has no fear that his voyage will be interrupted except by accident or storm. But even as late as sixty years ago, a traveller who set sail from Cartagena for Naples ran the risk of spending the rest of his days in some bagnio at Algiers, while his wife and daughters would meet with a yet more awful fate. For more than three centuries the Corsairs were masters of the Mediterranean. The great European Powers were not ashamed to pay blackmail to the pirates, and to enter into treaties with their kings. The story of their rise, their successful raids, their defeats, and their final suppression, is full of thrilling adventures. With such a subject Mr. Lane-Poole could not fail to produce a most interesting book. He has done his work well. Admiral de la Gravière's volumes, so often praised in this REVIEW, have been largely drawn upon both for matter and for illustrations. The Catholic reader will note the account of the labours of the Trinitarian Order for the Redemption of Captives.

T. B. S.

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*The Life and Letters of Charlotte Elizabeth, Princess Palatine and Mother of Philippe d'Orleans, Regent of France.* London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

THE young Duc d'Orleans, who is just now reminding Europe that the cause of the Orleanists is still alive, is the descendant of the remarkable woman whose life and letters have lately been published in English. She was the daughter of a grandson of our James I., and was consequently one of the many Catholic claimants set aside by the Act of Settlement passed in favour of George I., who was only the son of James I.'s granddaughter. She was married to Philippe d'Orleans, Louis XIV.'s only brother. During her long absence from her native country she corresponded regularly with her German relatives, giving them much interesting information about the Court of France, and, to a less extent, about the Courts of England and Spain. The various religious questions of the day—

Huguenot, Jansenistic, and philosophical—had great interest for her. The present volume contains a number of these letters translated into fairly good English, and strung together by useful biographical notes. It deserves to be read by all who would know something of the inner life of the Grand Monarque.

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*The Treasury of Sacred Song: Selected from the English Lyrical Poetry of Four Centuries; with Notes, Explanatory and Biographical.* By FRANCIS T. PALGRAVE. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1889.

A SELECTION of Sacred Song, published by the Clarendon Press, selected from English poetry of the last four hundred years, and edited by a Professor of Poetry, could hardly fail to be well printed, ably edited, and to contain many verses of merit. Mr. Palgrave has made a treasury of many beautiful poems, by a great number of authors, in different tones of thought and with much variety of style. He has, moreover, introduced his readers to, or has reminded them of, a large "mass of unfamiliar verse" in two different and even opposite directions. After this general witness to the laborious and successful work of the editor, we feel free, and even bound, to make a specific qualification, and to record an adverse criticism. Mr. Palgrave's sacred garland of song is not so complete, nor so comprehensive, as it might have been, and as it ought to have been. The selection is much too exclusive, and is not sufficiently wide. Space has been too lavishly devoted to certain authors, not to say has been, in some cases, absolutely wasted. He has overweighted many of his pages with verse that must be not only familiar to the majority of his readers, but which has been circulated during the last two or three generations almost by the million.

In the limited space here available, we will briefly justify this estimate by reference to three only out of more authors, as varied in character, position and style, as any other three who are quoted in the volume—Mr. Keble, Henry Vaughan, and Cardinal Newman. The "Treasury" contains 328 pages, or something under 16,000 lines of verse, divided amongst rather more than 100 authors; which gives an average of about three pages to each. Each author certainly should not be represented by an equal number of poems or pages; and, in fact, about fifty poets are represented by a single piece of verse only; and nearly twenty more can claim but a couple of poems each. When, then, we survey the broad expanse of type allotted to Mr. Keble, and remember that the "Christian Year" (amongst other of his poetry) has been issued for nearly three parts of a century, and lately been widely circulated by many different publishers, we feel that an aggregate of forty-three hymns, making 2000 lines, and occupying forty-five pages, is a serious waste of room. To Henry Vaughan, to whom, however, a larger proportion of space,

on many grounds, is more defensible, the editor has devoted thirty-eight hymns, thirty-two pages, or over 1500 lines. To yet another highly-favoured contributor, Cardinal Newman, the editor has been, with better reason and effect, though less lavishly, generous of space. If the necessary deductions be made for contributors of one poem only, it will be found that these three authors together occupy upwards of one-third part of the rest of the volume; a grave error of judgment, when the scope and intention of the book is considered.

Naturally, we estimate the "Treasury" from a Catholic standpoint. And, from this aspect, whilst regretting the numerous omissions of Catholic names, we own ourselves indebted to Mr. Palgrave for making even more widely known and valued than they are, amongst our countrymen, the verse of Cardinal Newman, the selections from whose poems reach 32 in number, and fill nearly 20 pages. Mr. Palgrave has borrowed with good results from upwards of a dozen other poets who were, or once had been, or ought to have been, Catholics. Amongst them may be mentioned John Austin, who contributes five poems; Crashaw, who appears thrice; Father Faber, who is quoted six times; William Habington (xvii century), who is responsible for five poems, and Southwell for two; and Dryden, the last Catholic Laureate, and W. Dunbar, the little-known Scotch poet (xv-xvj centuries), in the past, and Coventry Patmore and Adelaide Procter, in the present, who are represented by one poem only a piece. Drummond, of Hawthornden, also, who is credited—however doubtfully, and if truly, under circumstances unknown to us—with the translation of the Office Hymns in the Catholic Primer of his day; and Ben Jonson, his friend and intimate, who was once and for many years a Catholic, have severally contributed six and two poems, to which their names are affixed. Possibly several other authors, certainly two more, are Catholic, amongst those whose contributions are anonymous—Fathers Augustin Baker and Nicholas Postgate.

Mr. Palgrave takes a high tone in his principle of selection for the "Treasury." His first aim has been, he tells us, "to offer poetry for poetry's sake." He has likewise drawn his lines of selection so as to exclude translations, which, he holds, hardly ever reach excellence as poetry. Paraphrases, however, are jealously admitted on sufferance, though the great and almost the sole capable and Protestant renderer of hymns from the Greek, Dr. Neale—whose renderings are often most poetically paraphrastic—is conspicuous by his absence. In spite of both limitations, however, we might have reasonably expected to find the names of at least a score of Catholic poets, which are nevertheless not included in Mr. Palgrave's list. One palmary instance alone, which is simply unaccountable and inexcusable, need be stated. It would be incredible to one who had not examined the book to be told that Aubrey de Vere—whom, now that Browning has passed away, we may sanguinely hope some day to see as a far-off descendant of "glorious John," in his Laureate honours—remains unquoted, even once; but such is the fact.

Finally, two or three points demand brief notice. The "Treasury" possesses no table of contents at the beginning, a serious want for the intelligent reading of it. Authors' names are placed only once at the foot of their several contributions—viz., at the end of the first piece. It is true, their names appear as page headings; but, where pages and authors' names overlap each other, this is an awkward arrangement. Many pieces have no title attached. In the index of writers, the pages of their contributions have not been given; and in the notes, the sources of the poems are generally omitted. Again, Mr. Palgrave unwisely claims for English lyric religious poetry that it possesses, "in great measure, the ground-work of a common faith." The only ground-work which an average Catholic reader can discover to be common amongst the miscellaneous contributors to this large collection of verse, is the adoption of the English alphabet. From a religious aspect, nearly every form of profession or negation of belief is duly represented in its pages. Lastly, there is hardly a dogma, a mystery, or a fact in Christianity into which our Blessed Lady does not directly enter, or with which she is not indirectly connected. In a volume, then, of the scope of the present one, we might expect to find a due proportion of lyric poetry devoted to her honour. So far as we have observed, there are but three. Two of these, by Mr. Keble, are simply un-Catholic and apologetic in yielding to her the homage of nineteen centuries and the devotion of a world-wide Christianity. The third, the one which relieves the book from the solecism of entirely ignoring Mary, in a Catholic temper and spirit, is a lyric written by Henry Vaughan. It runs as follows—the heading being of our own making, as more in harmony with its contents than the title printed by Mr. Palgrave—and is probably new to some of our readers:—

#### THE TRUE LOVE'S-KNOT.

Bright Queen of Heaven, God's Virgin Spouse,  
 The glad world's blessèd Maid,  
 Whose beauty tied Life to thy house,  
 And brought us saving aid:  
 Thou art the true Love's-Knot; by thee  
 God is made our ally;  
 And man's inferior essence he  
 With his did dignify.  
 For, coalescent by that band  
 We are his body grown,  
 Nourished with favours from his hand,  
 Whom for our Head we own.  
 And such a Knot, what arm dares loose,  
 What life, what death can sever?  
 Which us in him, and him in us,  
 United keeps for ever.

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*National Education.* By HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

*The Irish University Question.* Addresses by the Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

CARDINAL MANNING has here gathered together eight essays and papers published by him on the question of elementary education during the past five years. First, we have "Fifty Reasons why the Voluntary Schools of England ought to share the School Rates;" next come two papers contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* on the Education Act of 1870. The fourth is entitled, "Is the Christianity of England worth preserving?" and appeared in the same periodical. In this article the Cardinal cites at considerable length the remarks of Mr. Richard Grant White in the *North American Review* (1880), and M. Jules Simon's work, "Dieu, Patrie et Liberté," to illustrate his position—that if we betray or surrender our Christian schools, we undermine the Christianity and the national character of our people. In the sixth of these useful essays, Cardinal Manning again turns to America, quoting not only Mr. White, but Mr. Montgomery ("The School Question"), in order to show the results in the States of New York and California of the American public school system. The seventh paper is a commentary on one of the most important points raised by the Report of the late Education Commission—the right of the voluntary schools to a share in the school rate. In this powerfully argued article his Eminence, whilst refuting the reasoning of the secularists, lays down in clear and convincing language his own view—that a new and larger scheme of national education is required, which shall supply the deficiencies of the Act of 1870, and restore to our voluntary schools that liberty of which not that Act itself, but its administration, has deprived them. The volume ends with a reprint of the "Reservation" which he caused to be appended to the Report of the Royal Commission.

Archbishop Walsh's Address to the Catholic University (of Ireland) School of Medicine is a powerful and comprehensive plea for that "levelling up" in higher education which alone would be both practicable and just to Irish Catholics. His exposure of the "intolerance" of Trinity College, even since 1873, and his repudiation of the principle of "mixed education," are masterly. The address is full of facts and illustrations. The other speech, delivered at Blackrock College on the 5th of December last, travels over the same ground; but in it he devotes some attention to Mr. Balfour's promise—to satisfy the "legitimate aspirations" of Irish Catholics in this matter—and to the same gentleman's "three conditions," as stated at Partick on December 1.

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*The Kalendar and Rite used by the Catholics since the time of Elizabeth.*  
By the Rev. JOHN MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A. Westminster :  
Nichols & Son. 1890.

THIS reprint from the *Archæologia*, vol. 52, discusses at length and with much learning the change of style, the alteration of the commencement of the years, and the Church Kalendar, as far as these things affected our English Catholic forefathers from the days of Elizabeth and James. It seems that Easter and the moveable feasts were kept by the Catholics of England, at least as early as 1594, on the same days on which they were kept by continental Catholics according to the new, or Gregorian, reckoning. Father Morris gives his reasons for thinking this, and he gathers up what evidence there is about the cessation or modification of the old feasts and fasts in the face of the consolidation of the change of religion in the country. He continues the history of festivals down to the present time, describing the additions to the Kalendar made at the request of the English prelates by successive Popes. A very large amount of antiquarian information, of special interest to Catholics, is collected in this essay, which is written in Father Morris's well-known clear and pregnant style.

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*Life of Dom Bosco, Founder of the Salesian Society.* Translated from the French of J. M. VILLEFRANCHE by Lady MARTIN.  
London : Burns & Oates.

IT is, perhaps, a pity that Lady Martin did not choose to translate rather the "Life of Don Bosco," by Dr. Ch. D'Espiney, which has run to its tenth edition, was written by an intimate friend of Don Bosco, and moreover has been (and is the only *Life*) formally approved by the Superior-General of the Salesian Fathers, Don Bosco's spiritual children. However, that is only a question of preference and it is a pleasure to say that in Lady Martin's translation of Villefranche the English reader has a full and interesting account of a most remarkable man—a man of our own time, and yet of high spirituality, and signally favoured by Heaven. The French *Life* is in a style very difficult indeed to render into such English as is, at the same time, representative of the French and sufficiently idiomatic. As far as we have been able to compare the English with the French, Lady Martin has succeeded to a great extent in overcoming the difficulties of translation, and she is to be congratulated on the result. The volume, which is well printed and got up, it may be pointed out, offers highly interesting matter to others than Catholics in search of edification from the story of a supernatural and stirring life ; it appeals also to social reformers and educationists—Don Bosco's principles of action and success with his boys might teach and would certainly astonish others besides the English statesman who visited him at Turin (p. 172). It would have been better not to follow M. Villefranche in styling the subject of the biography



*Dom Bosco.* It is Don Bosco; and the Salesian Fathers never call their founder Dom Bosco, always Don—as their present General is Don Rua.

1. *Ven. P. Ludovice De Ponte, S.J. Meditationes de præcipuis fidei nostræ myrteris, de novo editæ, curâ AUGUSTINI LEHMKUHL, S.J. Pars I., II., III.* Friburgi: Herder. 1889–90.
2. *Manna Quotidianum Sacerdotum.* Edidit JACOBUS SCHMITT. Editio 3, Tom. I. Friburgi: Herder. 1890.

WE welcome this well-edited edition of a standard spiritual work that in the days of our forefathers had a prominent place in an ascetic library. Louis de Ponte, or de la Puente, who was born at Valladolid in 1554, entered the Society of Jesus December 2, 1574, and became a disciple of the famed Balthassar Alvarez, who, as Master of Novices, trained so many young men in the spiritual life. De Ponte's "Meditations" have been held in high esteem from their very first appearance, in Spanish. They were translated into Latin by command of the celebrated Father Aquaviva, General of the Society; and the style of the Latin version merits the praise of being called classical. As to the solidity of doctrine which distinguishes De Ponte, his clearness of exposition and true piety, we need say nothing, it would be superfluous now to re-appreciate the familiar "De Ponte." We need only here note the propriety of this new edition being confined to the care of Father Lehmkuhl, the eminent theologian, who has performed his task admirably. The publishers have also done their part: paper and type are excellent.

2. The second book is a new edition of another work which we are pleased to see in demand, a work which has long been esteemed, especially by missionary priests, who cannot have a library of authors at hand. The "Daily Manna" is here gathered for them from the best ascetical writers, the choice of subjects being made with reference to the duties and obligations of a pastor of souls. Canon Schmitt has carefully corrected and edited, and to this third edition has added some 52 pages of indulgenced prayers suitable for priests. The three other volumes will appear in the course of the summer.

A. BELLESHEIM.

*How to Help the Sick and Dying.* London: The Catholic Truth Society.

THIS twopenny manual ought to be very useful to nurses and to others who, whether from necessity or devotion, tend the sick and would like to do so with advantage to the soul of their patient. It is composed of rules and suggestions for conduct in the sick-room and of a selection of brief pointed prayers to be said with or for the sufferer. The second half of the volume contains some useful reminders as to what should be done by a Catholic to help the dying; to prepare for the administration of the Sacraments, &c.; it also gives prayers before and after the last Sacraments and prayers for the dying. The prayers are printed in large-sized type. The

Catholic Truth Society have not issued anything, perhaps, of a more thoroughly useful kind than this modest little book, which ought to become very popular.

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*Illustrated Bible History of the Old and New Testaments.* For the Use of Catholic Schools. By Dr. J. SCHUSTER. New Edition. Freiburg in Breisgau, St. Louis, Mo., and New York. B. Herder : 1890.

THE first thing to be noted about this well-printed, profusely illustrated octavo volume of over 400 pages, is its cheapness—for it costs, bound, only 1s. 3d.—a point which, when its general excellence is remembered, will highly recommend it for school use. Dr. Schuster's work is held in very wide esteem, and has been translated into, we believe, over a dozen languages. The English version has been approved of by the archbishops and bishops of the United States, and appears to well deserve the encomiums they have pronounced upon it. The narrative is sometimes in the words of the Bible; always in the simplest possible words, and where a longer or unusual term has to be used its meaning is given in a note. Notes also give the pronunciation of proper names—a useful feature. The chapters are short, each containing enough for one lesson, and they are followed by examination questions, which form another useful feature. The choice of incident and character of treatment have been regulated, we need hardly remark, with reference to the intelligence and tastes of children, and, so far as we can see, successfully. Finally, the numerous woodcuts are of the kind with which we are familiar in Father Formby's Scripture histories, and they help to make the book more attractive, whilst two good maps, showing, one, the route of the Israelites through the desert, and the other Palestine in our Lord's time, are added at the end of the volume, and will be found useful. Nothing further need be said to indicate the merits and aim of this Bible History, which has, perhaps, only the one drawback of American spelling. The same enterprising firm issue, we see, an "Abridged Bible History" by the same author, with a choice of pictures, and the sections shortened and written in the simplest short words, admirable for the nursery or infant school.

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*The Trials of a Country Parson.* By AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.  
London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

SEVEN ESSAYS, of which the first six have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, and the seventh in the *North American Review*, are republished in a handsome volume, by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, so well known for his literary and antiquarian labours. The two papers which give the title to the book treat of the various troubles which beset the Parson in general, and the East Anglian

Parson in particular. We are informed that the country Parson's income is always overstated—that his difficulties about the tithe are incessant, and his persecution by demons in the shape of rate and tax collectors is perpetual. Then the country Parson has to help everybody. Dr. Jessopp is very vehement against the "chatter and babble" of the "miserable prigs" who exclaim that the country parson's almsgiving demoralizes and pauperizes the poor. He admits, however, that he draws a line at tramps. He tells some good stories—showing how he has been imposed upon, how his rich and vulgar neighbours have patronized him, how thick-witted and unsentimental is the East Anglian labourer. The great trial of the country Parson is his isolation, and what makes his position really cheerless is its absolute finality. The other papers treat of the Anglican Church, the *status* of the incumbents, the possibility of making them removable, the tithe-question, the fabric of the churches, &c. They are more interesting to Anglicans than to ourselves, but they are all written in Dr. Jessopp's lively, humorous, and quaint style—a style which conveys a good deal of common-sense and wisdom, but is perhaps becoming just a little too much spun out. We make room for an interesting extract on the Catholic Churches of England before the Reformation:

If we could go back, in imagination, to the condition of these churches as they were left when the Reformation began, it may safely be affirmed that there was not at any time, there never had been, and there is never likely to be again, anything in the world to compare with our English churches. There never has been an area of anything like equal extent so immeasurably rich in works of art such as were then to be found within the four seas. The prodigious and incalculable wealth stored up in the churches of this country in the shape of sculpture, glass, needlework, sepulchral monuments in marble, alabaster, and metal—the jewelled shrines, the precious MSS. and their bindings, the frescoes and carved work, the vestments and exquisite vessels in silver and gold, and all the quaint and dainty and splendid productions of an exuberant artistic appetite and an artistic passion for display, which were to be found not only in the great religious houses, but dispersed more or less in every parish church in England, constituted such an enormous aggregate of precious forms of beauty as fairly baffles the imagination when we attempt to describe it. . . . The locusts devoured all (p. 150).

1. *The Pilgrim's Handbook to Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood.* By WILFRID C. ROBINSON, from the French, by Brother LIÉVIN DE HAMME, O.S.F., Resident at Jerusalem. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. Bruges: De Planke Brothers.
2. *A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land.* By the Rev. H. FAIRBANKS. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.

**M**R. WILFRID C. ROBINSON'S "Pilgrim's Handbook" is a translation of those portions of Frère Liévin's esteemed "Guide-Indicateur de la Terre Sainte," which refer to the Holy City and its immediate neighbourhood. There is nothing like it in the

English language, we believe. For the legion of English works relating to the Holy Land are written by non-Catholics, and fail to note those points which are of special interest to the Catholic pilgrim, if, indeed, they do not note them to ridicule or smile at them, with the English tourist's very superior smile. This Handbook gives exactly that information which a Catholic will find most useful and interesting. It even notes the hours at which Masses, according to the Latin rite, may be offered in the churches of Jerusalem; and other similar minute particulars. And, in addition, it furnishes the usual guide-book details as to the history, customs, &c., of the country; details, however, which are Frère Liévin's own, and the result of his practical experience, during nearly forty years, with life and travel in Palestine. "The Pilgrim's Handbook" will, therefore, doubtless take its place permanently as *the* guide-book for English-speaking Catholic visitors. On its material side it has every recommendation; it is printed in clear type, on thin but opaque paper, is supplied with a map and plan of the Holy City, is of convenient size, is bound in a limp cover, and, finally, weighs barely eight ounces. We cannot help wishing, however, that Mr. Robinson had not restricted himself to the vicinity of the Holy City, but had given briefly, at least, some of the chief Christian sites, ancient and modern, further north, more emphatically Nazareth. And this might, perhaps, have been done by the omission of some of the introductory general sketch of the Holy Land, its geology, botany, &c., as it contains chiefly the kind of information which is so readily obtainable in greater detail in numerous English books. With this exception, however, and judging of the Handbook from a rather rapid survey—all that is possible at the late moment when it reaches us—we can write nothing but in commendation of it. Frère Liévin belongs to that Franciscan Order which has for some centuries had the custody of the Holy Places. The Friars were first brought to Jerusalem, as will be remembered, by St. Francis himself, and more than once in subsequent times have these faithful custodians had to suffer imprisonment and even death. Their greatest suffering has been, at various times, to see some of the shrines so sacred to the Christian heart given over to desecration, or to the custody of unworthy hands. In 1672 a treaty was concluded between Louis XIV. and the Sublime Porte, one article of which ran: "The Franciscans shall henceforth be left in undisturbed possession of their sanctuaries both within and without Jerusalem," in spite of which express promise, however, Turkey, no later than three years after, handed some of the Franciscan sanctuaries to the schismatic Greeks. The Friars remain at the present time deprived of some of their sanctuaries. They have been exiled from the Church of the Assumption, and can no longer say Mass on the spot of our Lord's Nativity, and have lately lost some ancient privileges of offering an occasional Mass at other shrines. Most of the "holy places," however, still remain under their care; confided to it by the Holy See. The visitor to Palestine soon discovers how ungrudging and valuable is their

hospitality; but, beside this, they render every possible assistance, spiritual and temporal, to the pilgrim. They also serve the Catholic parishes, support parochial schools, and to the crowd of needy sick act as doctors and hospital nurses. They have care, too, of the widow and orphan; and they also feed, clothe, and help the poor—who, at Jerusalem, certainly are “always with us.”

The Franciscans who thus live and work in Palestine are entitled “The Fathers of the Holy Land,” and are presided over by the Father Guardian of the Holy Land; and it is interesting to learn that, besides their head establishment in the Holy City, they have their own novitiate at Nazareth, and their houses of philosophical and theological studies at places within Palestine itself—philosophy, for instance, their young men learn at Bethlehem. How full of suggestion and the highest philosophy the very place must be to them! Belonging as he does to this favoured Order, and writing after so many years of residence and active work in Palestine, it will be easily understood with what interest and affection Frère Liévin writes. With him the authenticity of the sacred “places” is sufficiently vindicated in their history: he gives a legend, or tradition, when there is one, without either sceptical smile or critical hesitation. He gives full information of the establishments and good works being done at the present day by the various religious orders and organisations, and in a most interesting manner he intersperses among his descriptions of localities and events short readings from the Gospel text relating to them. Finally, the name of any “holy place” where a plenary indulgence may be gained by visiting it, is marked with a ✠; whilst a † marks the places where the indulgence which may be gained is partial. The “conditions” for gaining these spiritual benefits are stated in a useful appendix, where also priests will find a list of the sanctuaries and of the various Votive Masses which are permitted at each.

Mr. Robinson’s portion of the work appears to be fairly well done. The index is scarcely ample enough, and as to one heading which we happened to consult, “Jerusalem, population, 79,” the page is certainly incorrect. However, trifling errors of this sort are unavoidable in a first undertaking like this, and do not detract from the debt of gratitude English Catholics owe to him for his translation. He has, himself, been a pilgrim, and in his Preface gives a few practical hints to intending pilgrims: he indicates the clothing that will suit best the climate, and the additional impedimenta that will repay for being taken. It is interesting to learn that firearms are “not absolutely necessary” on the frequented roads; but that even there the sight of a revolver or rifle “no doubt commands respect from the natives;” that “a few remedies for fever and diarrhœa, candles, matches, needles, thread, and soap, will all be found of real use;” and that, for the rest, “a host of things recommended in common guide-books had best be left at home.”

We have added the title of Father Fairbank’s lively book of travels, because the Holy Land portion of it is perhaps the most

interesting, while it supplies some picturesque descriptions of places and scenes in Palestine that are of special Catholic interest, and are not generally to be found in works of travel—at least, not from a Catholic point of view, and given with a Catholic's sympathies and enthusiasms.

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*The History of Sligo: Town and County.* By T. O'RORKE, D.D., M.R.I.A. In Two Volumes. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. 1889.

THE accomplished author of these volumes has supplied a desideratum long felt, of a trustworthy and complete history of the county of Sligo. In two large octavo volumes he says all that is of interest regarding its history, both secular and religious. He has eminently some of the first qualifications of a good historian: an enthusiastic admiration of his native county, patience in research, a critical judgment, and a straightforward amiable manner of writing which makes the perusal of his pages a pleasant task. We have seen his work somewhat censured on the ground of its size, and because it embraced numerous details which (the critic judged) are of little interest to the reading and even to the historical world in general. But it seems to us that the history of a county is primarily at least for the county and those personally concerned in it, and we venture to say that no one of these (even if an outsider did) could find fault with any of the minute personal and local details so pleasantly related by Archdeacon O'Rorke. The history of a county is not the history of Ireland—it is a memoir *pour servir*; and it remains for the historian in the larger sense to select what he requires or to appraise at their juster comparative proportions the events which are, rightly or wrongly, of deepest concern to those who live on the spot, and the lives of the local heroes, who may, when seen from his elevation, be little discernible from the crowd around. We gladly recommend these volumes therefore; and believe that this history of Sligo will henceforward be the standard work on the county, whether as to its antiquarian or its more modern history. It is indeed wonderful how numerous points of archaeological interest are here restated, and their real significance discovered, because of the combination in the author of the student of books and the student of nature. It is not always enough to live in your own county and amid the scenes of the history you would relate; indeed, very often the local historian is too intent on the learned authors who have gone before him, and fails to settle a point from not looking up from his book and scrutinising the unchanging data lying on Nature's page around him. The author of these volumes, whilst he has apparently consulted nearly every author—ancient or modern—who treats of the county, has consulted the hills and rivers of the county too, and, with a quick eye and shrewd judgment, he has found himself able to identify many sites, to rectify numerous mistaken popular traditions, and even not

a few judgments of such archæologists as the famous John O'Donovan. Indeed, he professes to have taken nothing at second-hand that could be verified at the sources by himself, and, having learned to mistrust O'Donovan (and there are some twenty-eight entries in the Index of O'Donovan's "slips" as to Sligo history and archæology), he waves away numerous popular traditions and a host of minor writers. He adds, however:—

In saying so much of O'Donovan, there is no wish to question his right to rank, as he commonly does, as our leading modern authority on the topography of Ireland; and if I make bold to differ from him rather often, I do so without questioning the exceptional weight of his opinions in relation to those parts of Ireland which he had opportunities of studying, an advantage which he never enjoyed in regard to Sligo (Pref. v.).

Archdeacon O'Rorke distinguishes very rightly between the antiquities of a county and the legends which hover around them. With the legends, and the too readily applied explanation of "pre-historic," he has little patience; the antiquities themselves he has studied patiently and carefully, and claims that he has done so with substantial results. He gives a new account of the rise of the town of Sligo, which he contends is modern when compared with many other towns in Ireland. There [is, he says, no evidence to show that Sligo existed, under its present or another name, earlier than the thirteenth century; and "the Battle of Sligo," mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters" and other annals under the sixth century, he shows to have meant the battle of the river of Sligo. And here we have a valuable instance of how the author has looked to some purpose from his books to the locality itself. He takes the account in the annals of the battle, and locates it—unmistakably we should say. Then, as to the site of Sligo, we may quote what he says, referring to his pages for proofs of various statements.

For first, the situation of the place, lying at the bottom of the deep basin formed by the overhanging hills of Rathvritoge and Cairns, and the high ridge of land to the south-west, would prevent people from congregating or settling there in times of such lawlessness and rapaciousness that men needed to be always on the watch against enemies and freebooters. In such a state of things, the chief recommendation of places of habitation or resort was that they should afford an extensive prospect, so as to enable one to descry at a distance the approach of the marauders; and it was under the influence of this consideration that the earlier inhabitants of Ireland constructed raths—the residences of remote times—in high situations, held assemblies on the tops of hills, ran roads across mountains—eschewing everywhere the valleys—and raised the round tower to such a height as to command a view of all the circumjacent country. So potent was this principle of action, that it operated beyond the grave; for the dying man took care that his body after death should repose on some one of those hills which he frequented during life, as if he felt that what survived of him could not be otherwise sufficiently secure from outrage (vol. i. p. 39).

The author also brings forward a new opinion as to the Carrowmore circles and cromlechs, and transfers them boldly from A.M. 3330

to A.D. 537—at which boldness, he remarks, “there is no occasion to be frightened.” Indeed, he adds, “exaggeration has been the besetting sin of our historians, and this not only to the detriment of Irish history, but to the injury of the people’s minds, by filling them with a credulity in regard to historical matters which has been, and still is in some cases, ready to swallow all kinds of impossibilities.”

Similarly, as to a pre-Christian civilisation in Ireland, the author does not admit it; he even shows that progress in the direction of civilization was very slow after the time of St. Patrick. His historical documents (many of them from unpublished manuscripts) bear out this theory; although there are many good writers who maintain an opposite opinion.

In vol. ii., p. 6, *et seq.* he denies the existence of Druidism in Ireland as a set form of religion. He proves that no such thing existed after the time of St. Patrick, contrary to O’Donovan. This opinion, if true, would do away with the human sacrifices and other abominations which were supposed to be the accompaniments of this weird kind of worship. *Faoi draocht*, or under enchantment, is the Irish mode of expressing Druidic worship, and is considered to have reference to the devil, as a species of *black magie*. The traditional expression means something satanic, which St. Patrick banished from the country. As the Druids sacrificed in the depths of the forest rather than on rocks in the plains, his theory is tenable as to the Christian origin of megalithic monuments. He says that there were Druids in Christian times, who were merely select men, wiser and more learned than their contemporaries.

His picture of the early Irish Church is one of singular primitiveness. Saints Patrick, Bronus, Columba, and Fechin came across the county of Sligo. They founded monasteries, which were endowed with lands, built lath-and-plaster churches, established monastic schools, and gathered people about them who founded there *ballys*, so common as prefixed to the Irish names of places. The monastic system preceded the parochial, and our author (vol. ii. p. 432) shows that such a system was productive of harm, as it was in Scotland, although productive of good in certain cases.

The book gives all the local information which can be gleaned from the records of the past—the secular, religious, civil, warlike, and ecclesiastical events are told with great candour and faithfulness. It may be looked upon as a fault that he speaks so much of persons who are still alive. Contemporary writers have always done so, and there is not a harsh word or an unkind insinuation in all the circumstances mentioned regarding them. He only relates what is to their credit.

As to the secular history of the county, we find very sad and heartrending scenes, the outcome of the predatory habits of the ancient chieftains. A quotation from the annals of Lough Ce. (vol. ii. p. 191) describes the state of things in the Middle Ages: “Brian McDermott, in the month of March, went against the McDonough of



Cowan, to *Bun-an-fedain*, and the place was burnt to the door by him; and he brought two hundred cows out of it, and committed homicides there." And in another place (vol. i. p. 89) the Archdeacon observes :

Nowhere can one learn better the truth of the maxim that union is strength than in the annals of Ireland; for the reader of these annals sees in every page that the rise or fall of native chieftains depends almost exclusively on the union or division of members of their families.

The author's account of the Norman period shows how these invaders, although they committed depredations, built religious houses, induced a finer style of architecture, helped learning and piety, mostly as atonements for the sins they had committed. In the first volume the writer gives us a graphic description of the sort of men who were chosen by the English to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation in Ireland. "By the admission of all, Protestants as well as Catholics, friends and foes alike, there lived not in those times a more unprincipled man than Milerus, or Miler McGrath, Elizabeth and James's Archbishop of Cashel; and it was he who had now the ecclesiastical administration of most of the county, having received on the 17th September 1606, a grant *in commendam* of Achonry and Killala, with sundry rectories and prebends in these dioceses, as well as in the diocese of Elphin" (vol. i. 306). We find, at the same time, several parsons with rich benefices, who could not write English, Irish, or Latin!

The Cromwellian period was the most disastrous of all. The people, being Papists, were looked upon as Canaanites, to be extirpated on the score of idolatry, and to have their lands partitioned out amongst the soldiers of the Parliament. The whole of the county of Sligo was thus given away, and the ancient lords of the soil flung into the ranks of the peasantry, or goaded into becoming tories or rapparees. Of the sixty *titulados*, to whom the county was then given, only five or six remain to the present day in their lineal descendants. The harrowing account of the Williamite period, and the period of persecution generally, is brought before us very graphically by the special instances which are recorded.

The greater portion of the first volume is concerned with the town of Sligo, but afterwards every parish in the county receives attention in turn, is traced to its foundation, and its subsequent fortunes are related at length. The local saints have short biographies. The ruins which dot the county get historical notices, sufficiently detailed to make the dwellers in their vicinity, or the curious traveller, acquainted with the days of their glory, and the causes of their decay. The volumes are well printed and creditably brought out, and the woodcuts of the antiquities, as well as of the modern structures of the county, are fairly executed, but the Index is very defective. The volumes are in every way worthy of the learned and gifted author; and not only every native of the county of Sligo, but every Irishman, should be thankful to him.

## Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

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1. *The Life of St. Alonso Rodriguez.* By FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. (Quarterly Series). London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
2. *Life of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque of the Sacred Heart.* By the Rev. ALBERT BARRY, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gill & Son.
3. *Thoughts and Counsels for the consideration of Catholic Young Men.* By the Rev. P. A. VAN DOSS, S.J. Adapted by the Rev. AUGUSTINE WIRTH, O.S.B. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1889.
4. *Two Spiritual Retreats for Sisters.* By the Rev. W. ZOLLNER. Adapted by the Rev. AUGUSTINE WIRTH, O.S.B. Second Revised Edition. New York and Cincinnati: F. Pustet & Co. 1889.
5. *The Harp of Jesus.* A Prayer Book in Verse. By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1890.
6. *Flowers from the Catholic Kindergarten.* By Father FRANZ HATTLER, S.J. Translated by J. T. LIVESEY. London: Burns & Oates.
7. *A Shrine and a Story.* By the Author of "Tyborne." London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E.
8. *The Holy Angels* (October). *The Great Truths* (Advent). *Resurrexit* (Easter to Ascension). By Richard F. CLARKE, S.J. Catholic Truth Society.
9. *Divine Favours granted to St. Joseph.* By Père BINET, S.J. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
10. *Search the Scriptures.* London: Burns & Oates.
11. *The Golden Prayer.* By the Abbé DUQUESNE. Translated by ANNE STUART BAILEY. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
12. *The Life of St. Germaine Cousin.* By the Rev. D. CHISHOLM. Aberdeen: A. King & Co.
13. *St. Thomas Aquinas.* By FRANCIS P. C. HAYS. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
14. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Catherine of Siena.* Dublin: Gill & Son. 1890.
15. *The Miraculous Power of the Memorare.* From the French, by Miss ELLA McMAHON. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

16. *A Rule of Christian Life.* By the Rev. Father RONDINA, S.J. Translated by RICHARD J. WEBB, M.A. London: R. Washbourne. 1889.
17. *Calendar of the Society of Jesus.* New York: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
18. *The Art of Profiting by our Faults.* By the Rev. JOSEPH TISSOT. Translated by Miss ELLA MCMAHON. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
19. *All Souls' Forget-me-not.* By LOUIS GEMMINGER. Translated from the German, and Edited by Canon MOSER. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
20. *Lessons from Our Lady's Life.* By the Author of "The Little Rosary of the Sacred Heart." London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
21. *Golden Words, or Maxims of the Cross.* From the Latin of "Thomas à Kempis." By F. H. HAMILTON, M.A. Fourth Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
22. *Little Breviary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Compiled from the BLESSED MARGARET MARY. Translated by M. HOPPER. London: Burns & Oates.
23. *The Handbook of Humility.* From the Italian of Father FRANCHI, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
24. *Short Instructions for Low Masses.* By the Rev. JAMES DONOHOE. New York, &c.: F. Pustet. 1889.
25. *The First Communicant's Manual.* By the Rev. D. GALLERY, S.J. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1889.

1. **F**ATHER GOLDIE, who has already published in the "Quarterly Series" "The Life of St. John Berchmans," now gives us that of another Saint of the Society of Jesus, canonised on the memorable 15th of January, 1888. St. Alonso Rodriguez was a lay brother, who passed the greater part of his life in the Jesuit College at Palma, in the island of Majorca. He is not to be confounded with his namesake, Alonso, or Alfonso, Rodriguez, the author of the well-known treatise on "Perfection." There is not much incident in his life, which is full of heroic virtue, stupendous prayer, and striking miracles. Happily, a very full account of his interior has been preserved for us in the writings which, in obedience to his superiors, he put together in his old age. No life of St. Alonso in English existed before Father Goldie undertook the present excellent biography. He has found ample materials, but he has evidently had to work very hard, as no former biographer seems to have taken the trouble to obtain correct dates or to put things in order. He has also given interesting local colour to the history by his sketches of the island of Majorca, and of the town of Palma, as well as of Segovia and Valencia, which are connected with the Saint's early life. An enormous number of names is introduced in the text and in the notes; they are chiefly those of Fathers of the Society, but Father Goldie never loses an opportunity of illustrating his history

by contemporary events. The result is a biographical study of great interest, founded on a wide comparison of original sources; and written in an orderly and lucid style, not without such devotion and piety as the life of a Saint demands.

2. Father Barry, a member of the Redemptorist Order, sends us a "Life of Blessed Margaret Mary," of about 200 pp. It is founded almost wholly on the "Memoir" written by the Saint herself, which it quotes freely. A few citations are made here and there from St. Francis of Sales, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross, &c., in order to illustrate and justify the narrative. It would have been as well to have given references to these passages; and, indeed, the work would have been more business-like if some at least of the "sources" of Blessed Margaret Mary's biography had been explicitly named. We do not see what authority the writer has for stating that the holy religions had only *three* visions of the Sacred Heart. There seem to have been four—one in 1673, two in 1674, and one in 1675. It would have been useful to have given the "promises" made to her by our Lord in a collected form. We do not see that Father Barry says anything about what is known as the "twelfth promise"—that those who communicated in honour of the Sacred Heart on nine consecutive first Fridays of the month should have the grace of repentance at the hour of death and the sacraments. This promise is undoubtedly found in her writings, and is distinctly mentioned by her first biographer, Mgr. Languet himself. Of course the "promise" is not absolute; Bishop Languet says that, in suggesting it, our Lord "gave her reason to expect" these graces (*en lui faisant espérer*). The book is brought down to date, as it mentions and translates (not quite as accurately as it might have done) the decree of the twenty-eighth of June of last year, by which the Feast of the Sacred Heart is raised to the rank of a first-class double. But why is nothing said of the great privilege, accorded in the same decree, of the Votive Mass on every first Friday in churches where special devotions are practised?

3. Addressed directly to young men, these "Thoughts and Counsels" are written in a free, warm, and eloquent style. They are divided into one hundred and seventy-two heads, each averaging between three and four pages, and they range from the Four Last things, Sin and the Sacraments, to Prayer, Daily Life, and the Continual Presence of God. Every section or heading is full of really solid thought, impressively stated, and backed by Holy Scripture. The book will be useful for priests as well as for the young men to whom it is addressed.

4. Father Wirth, O.S.B., to whom we owe the translation of the work last named, here presents religious with Father Zollner's two "Retreats." They will find them full and clear, all the usual matter being carefully brought in, with good illustrations and pious examples. In the first of the two Retreats (which consist of three days each) the meditations are on the prerogatives of the religious state and the vows. In the second the subject is the perfection of religious.

5. A pleasing book of religious verse, embracing a large number of transcriptions of ordinary prayers, by a well-known writer.

6. Mr. Livesey appropriately dedicates to the Rev. Dr. Graham, of Hammersmith Catholic Training College, a translation of an edifying collection of stories from the Lives of the Saints having special reference to children. Many parents will be pleased to have this book, which is prettily got up.

7. It may be stupidity, but we have read this *brochure* without finding either the name or the local (London) habitation of the Institute which Lady Georgiana Fullerton founded. On referring to the "contents" we find it mentioned that she founded the "Institute of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God;" but the style of the writer is so "allusive" (to use a newspaper coinage) that she never stoops to name it (that we can see) in the narrative. It would have been interesting to have had a list of the foundations. The well-known establishment in the Via San Sebastiano in Rome is, however, particularly mentioned; and a short sketch is given of the life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton. It is not very clear why the pamphlet is called "A Shrine and a Story."

8. Three of the Rev. Father R. J. Clarke's admirable little meditation-books issued by the Catholic Truth Society at a penny each (bound in cloth, 4*d.* each).

9. Père Binet (the author of "Purgatory Surveyed," translated by the Rev. Father Anderdon, S.J.) wrote in 1639 a little book on St. Joseph. Père Jennessaux resuscitated the book some twenty-five years ago, correcting, changing, and adding; M. C. G. has translated this edition, and Father Hummelauer, of Ditton Hall, has prefixed a few lines of preface.

10. This is a small controversial manual, in which the chief "notes" of the Catholic Church are proposed in "meditations;" each meditation consisting of passages of Scripture with reasonings, followed by a devout application.

11. Short meditations on the Lord's Prayer; followed by meditations on prayer for every day of the month. The publishers issue the little book in a dainty cover; but there is also a much cheaper get-up.

12. A short and devout account of the holy Shepherdess of Pibrac, canonized by Pope Pius IX. in 1867.

13. A brief sketch of the life of St. Thomas of Aquin, with an appendix giving the rules of the "Angelic Warfare."

14. Short extracts from the words of St. Catherine of Siena, distributed over every day of the year.

15. The first story in this little volume is that of "St. Francis of Sales, in the Church of St. Etienne-des-Grès." It would seem as if the popular devotion to this prayer of St. Bernard dates from the time of St. Francis. Many edifying stories are here collected.

16. Father Rondina, S.J., has written a short account of the edifying life of a young Italian lady, followed by her rule of life. It has been translated by Mr. R. J. Webb, and will be found useful for Children of Mary.

17. Short sketches of the Saints of the Society of Jesus are given in this *brochure*, which forms a standing guide to the services in churches of the Society.

18. This is a solid and useful manual, in which the writer, with great care and fullness, lays down the doctrine of St. Francis of Sales on the ascetic theology of human falls and imperfections. The translation of many passages of the Holy Doctor would have been more satisfactory had it been closer to the original.

19. We owe this useful book of prayers and spiritual reading to the zeal of Canon Moser of Peterborough, who has had it translated from the German. It contains four methods of hearing Mass, Prayers for Confession and Communion, the Rosary—(we are not sure that it is right to omit the Gloria Patri at the end of the Decades, and to substitute "Eternal Rest," &c.)—many Litanies, Meditations on Purgatory, the Office of the Dead, &c.

20. Thirty-one pious considerations on the Blessed Virgin.

21. A new edition of a convenient and pretty reprint of certain chapters of the "Imitation."

22. A devout client of the Sacred Heart has here arranged the sayings of Blessed Margaret Mary and our Lord's words to her, in the form of Offices. There is an appendix containing Prayers and a Litany. The translation is well done.

23. This is a devotional and ascetical, rather than philosophical, handbook on self-contempt. The subject is elaborately worked out.

24. More than fifty ten minutes' instructions are presented in this little book. They are all on practical pastoral matters. The author is a hard-worked priest of the United States, and his words are very solid and useful.

25. Written for a class of first Communicants at Clongowes Wood College, these instructions and prayers are useful for children even on other occasions than that of the first Communion. In the preparation for Confession we should have liked to see the sufferings and passion of our Saviour made more use of as a motive for contrition. In explaining the sacrament of confirmation the writer only describes half of the ceremony.

Among new editions we have "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi," by Miss Lockhart; "The Works of St. Francis of Assisi," translated by a Religious of the Order (both published by Mr. R. Washbourne); "The Kingdom of God," by the Rev. C. McDermott Roe (Burns & Oates); "Our Lady's Month," compiled by J. S. Fletcher (Washbourne); "The Holy Scapular," by the Very Rev. R. J. O'Hanlon (Duffy).

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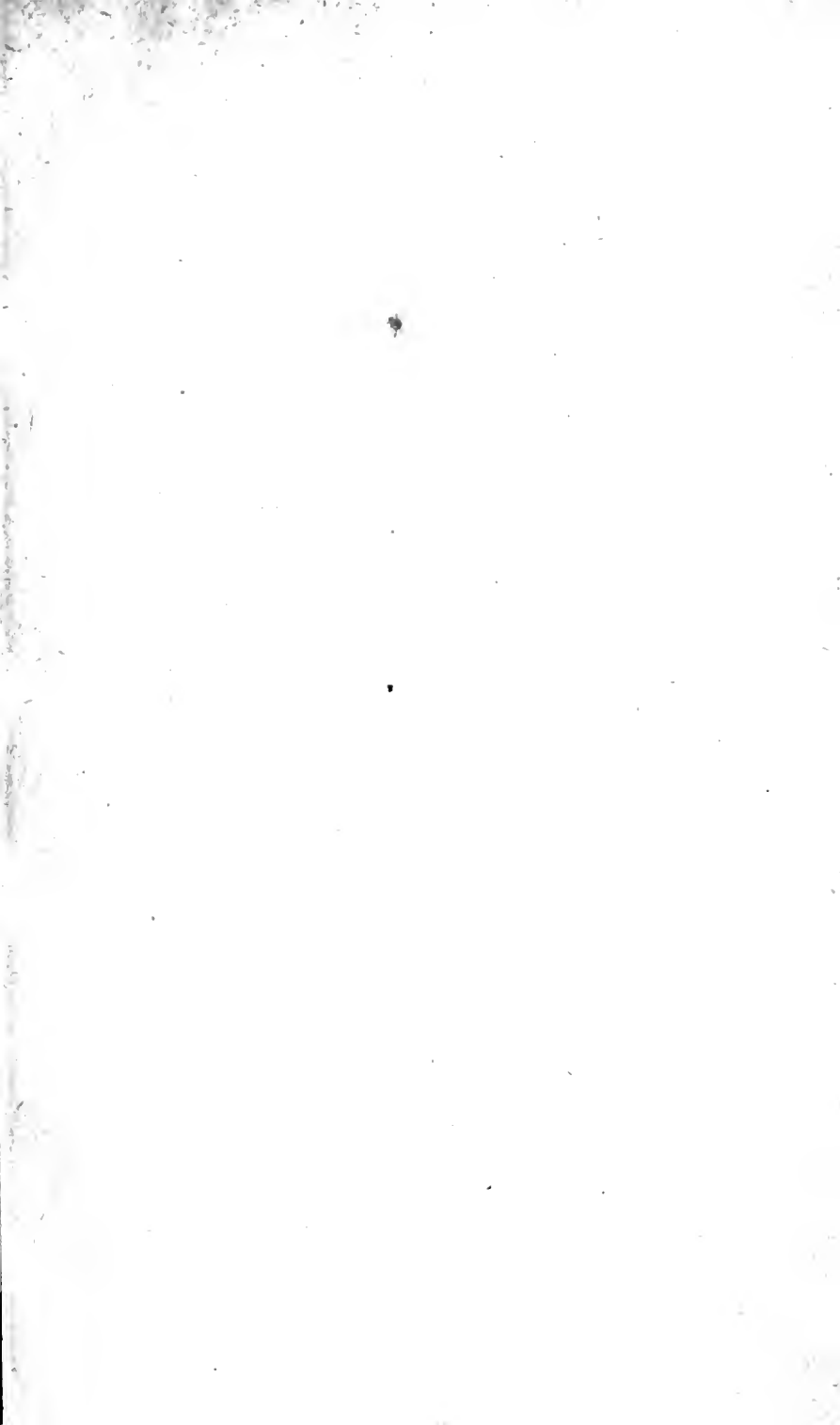


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