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ART. I.—CHARLES KINGSLEY.

1. *The Works of Charles Kingsley*. London : Macmillan & Co.
2. *Letters and Memories of the Life of Charles Kingsley*. Edited by his Wife. Two vols. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

IN dealing with a subject such as the present, the difficulty is less what to say, than what to leave unsaid. That we should set ourselves some limit therefore is necessary ; and for this reason, the aim which we shall endeavour principally to keep in view, will be an examination of that special philosophy of life which has associated itself with the name of Charles Kingsley ;—of its source in himself, of its influence on others, and more particularly, of the attitude towards the Catholic Church, which it was the cause of his assuming. Had we known Kingsley only through his books, our view of him would have been at best partial and fragmentary ; but the “*Memories*” published after his death, supply a key to much that would else have remained obscure, and place very vividly before us a nature compounded of materials the most incongruous, and subjected, for this reason, to conditions of peculiar strain. From the Catholic standpoint, whence alone its lights and shadows appear in full relief, there could hardly be found a study of more curious interest than that which Kingsley’s published works and correspondence together furnish. Were we required to point to a character which (in the sense of having been moulded by this) might be called the creation of Protestant theology, it would be Kingsley’s that we should be inclined to name ; for it was from the Puritan and Evangelical associations, amongst which his early life had been passed, that his mind received its primary bent ; whilst the ideal Christianity

which he eventually elaborated for himself, widely as it differed from that of the school in which he had been educated, was wrought into shape almost exclusively, by the action of Protestant prepossessions.

Equally with Kingsley, many of the foremost members of the Tractarian party who afterwards entered the Catholic Church, had received their first religious notions under an Evangelical dress; but whilst with these, Evangelicalism had acted as a vehicle for those ideas respecting supernatural grace and the personal relationship subsisting between Christ and the individual soul, which have their fullest interpretation in the Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments; to him, on the contrary, its appeal seems to have been purely negative; to have symbolised the exaltation of the natural over the supernatural, of reason over faith, and of lay common sense over priestly tyranny and superstition.

As a boy, the craving after religious support, which he afterwards so strongly exhibited, seems to have been little felt, and the ardent love of nature which even then characterised him, appears to have furnished not only an efficient moral preservative, but such spiritual and intellectual food as he required. It was during two critical years spent in London, previous to his matriculation at Cambridge, and in the stifling atmosphere of a narrow religious clique, that a natural process of mental and spiritual fermentation set in. Accustomed as he had always been to view Calvinism as representing Christianity in its purest form, the nature of its theological foundations and practical conclusions at length forced themselves on his recognition. His favourite pursuits rendered him quickly conversant with the supposed opposition between science and revelation, which was then beginning to terrify the orthodox; and his exclusive admiration for Protestantism, as the champion of liberty and reason, in itself inclined him to view the attitude of the religious party as retrograde and obscurantist. The tendency he afterwards manifested in the direction of that mysticism which is the one true child of Protestant spirituality, was still dormant—against the Calvinistic dogmas which are the one logical outcome of Protestant theology his whole moral being revolted,—and the doubts which filled his mind on entering college life quickly issued in his loss of faith in such Christianity as he had hitherto known.

So far his experience was a very common one, and, humanly speaking, in his case might have been called inevitable; but his mind was not of that sort to which it brought little else at first than a sense of relief and freedom. Though never quite happy, except when, to his own fancy, playing the part of a pioneer, he was yet conspicuously lacking in the qualities which such a part

requires ; for, with all his appearance of headlong self-confidence, he was deficient in real self-reliance, in foresight, in patience, and, above all, in the power of standing up against a sense of mental or moral isolation.

Hitherto, though influencing but little his feelings or imagination, revealed religion had at least seemed to furnish life here below with a definite background, and to provide a standard, if only for self-justification, in matters of belief and conduct. With a temperament like his—intense, restless, and almost abnormally susceptible to impressions, both of the senses and imagination—some such standard could not fail to be necessary for the preservation of a healthy balance, and that the result of its loss was much what might have been looked for, we are apparently intended by the Memoirs to infer. No sign at all is here given however, of contented acquiescence on Kingsley's part in a condition of moral lapse ; and he may be said indeed to have possessed special recuperative powers which would have made such acquiescence unlikely. His nature thus was emphatically sensuous rather than sensual. He was gifted with an intense delight in beauty in its higher forms, which would in itself militate against a taste for grosser pleasures ; whilst a youthful tendency towards hero-worship, and an enthusiasm for the greater qualities in others, was calculated to strengthen his own moral fibre, and to enable his nature to disengage itself with comparative ease from the dominion of its coarser elements.

An outside influence, that of a well-placed and reciprocal attachment (an influence to which he himself almost wholly ascribes his own moral and spiritual regeneration), was instrumental moreover, in enabling him to replace the form of Christianity he had discarded, with another which for a time seemed to fulfil all his warmest aspirations ; and in studying the features which this developed in his hands, we may perceive the action both of his deeply seated Protestant prepossessions, and of his complex and many-sided personality.

In this recension, as we may call it, of Evangelical Christianity, or, as Kingsley himself described it, "Evangelicalism purged from its ascetic and mystical elements," we see clearly displayed the tendency, which never left him, to view fact through the medium of feeling, and to generalise, for this reason, his personal experience into a universal necessity. In spite of his impatience of dogmatic restraints, his mind, it may be said, was an essentially dogmatic one. It was impossible to him to maintain calmly an attitude of conscious uncertainty. Something wearing at least the semblance of an objective creed, which he might feel at liberty to *exploiter*, for his own benefit and that of others, was of the first consequence to his mental and spiritual comfort.

He himself had in his own opinion, arrived for the first time at a sense of his true relationship both towards God and towards his fellow-men, through the instrumentality of a human love. His impulse therefore under this restored sense of harmony with the universe, was to embalm his new experience in some theory, which should represent it both as the outcome and the verification of a universal law; and it was through the habitual influence which the "ethos" of Protestant theology exercised over him on the one hand, and through his own energetic revolt, both against its premises and its conclusions, on the other, that the character of the new Christian ideal which he was thus led to create was mainly determined.

In whatever of its assumed effects the Protestant doctrine of "Justification by Faith only" has turned out a failure, there is one thing at least which, wherever it has really struck root in the popular mind, it has accomplished with singular success—the destruction, namely, the absolute and complete eradication—of the Catholic idea of *sanctity*. It had been necessary, in order to render the Protestant notion of "imputed righteousness" even thinkable, that human nature should be represented, as in itself hopelessly evil, and incapable of such an objective rehabilitation, as according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church it is the office of supernatural grace to effect. And it has consequently come to pass that where the Protestant doctrine has prevailed, the Catholic conception of man, as a being capable of becoming in himself holy and pleasing in God's sight, has grown to be looked upon as the expression, or at least the necessary parent, of self-righteousness, Pharisaism, and overweening spiritual pride. With this "effluvium," as it might be called, of the Protestant spirit, Kingsley, like most of those whose ideas of Christianity have been drawn exclusively from a Protestant source, was, though half consciously, impregnated. But the concrete proposition in which it had its rise, and which may be summed up in the dictum that amongst all God's works "only man is vile," he regarded with the most indignant abhorrence, as the worst of all the fruits of the evil spirit of Manicheism. It was by cutting the knot therefore, which his habitual deference for his early faith forbade him to untie, that whilst avoiding Scylla he steered clear of Charybdis; and not only found for himself a congenial haven of spiritual refuge, but also a ready-made place for a special view regarding the conjugal relationship in which his own experience had issued.

The ideal Christianity at which Kingsley thus arrived may be justly called the offspring of his individual bias; but it was in the teaching of Frederick Denison Maurice, that whilst yet in process of formation, he discovered for it a theological framework



well adapted to its support. Maurice's theology was the offspring of a double revolt, on the one hand from the Deism which sees in God an indifferent Spectator of the universe He has set in motion once for all; and, on the other, from that Calvinism, of the object of whose worship it has been somewhat pointedly remarked, "that it is difficult to determine whether he is most a madman, a tyrant, or a fool."

Like Kingsley, Maurice was debarred by habitual Protestantism from entering into the Catholic idea of *supernatural* sanctity as an *objective gift*, truly bestowed upon human nature by God, and truly possessed by man; and, like Kingsley, he had felt himself forced upon the task of excogitating some new belief which should both justify, and harmonise with, his own moral and religious perceptions. Unlike Kingsley, however, his mind was that not of an idealist, but of a theologian; and thus it happened, that whilst both worked towards a common goal, Kingsley did so from above downwards, and Maurice from beneath upwards; the result being that they reached on different sides the one *rationale* of the spiritual life which de-Calvinised Protestantism can really be made to tolerate. Adhering strictly to the Protestant definition of Man's Fall and its immediate consequences, Maurice escaped the embarrassments which this involves, by going on to maintain that human nature had no sooner fallen in Adam, than it was reconstituted, once and for all, in Christ; that, in virtue of the Incarnation, prospective as well as accomplished, an essential and organic union was established between Christ and every single member of the human race; that it is his *human* birth therefore which constitutes a man's title to Heaven, and that sin on his part consists, not in his obliterating (for that would not be within his power), but in his ignoring, this divine and eternal union,—in his treating himself as something different from what he actually is, by refusing to employ the power of the new Adam which is ever at his command, and by allowing the corruption of the old Adam to work in its place. The pantheistic affinities of such a theory as this (a theory which assumes the end in view to be the replacement of man's action by that of God) are very evident; but to Kingsley, who troubled himself little as to the source or direction of any belief which his inclination impelled him to adopt, its value lay in the theological *imprimatur* which it appeared to confer upon that notion of man, as in possession of a *purely human excellence*, towards which he himself was drawn. The Calvinistic idea of human nature, human affections, human enjoyments, as belonging to the kingdom of evil, he had always for his own part rejected with vehemence; and now with Maurice's abstract propositions in the background, he felt himself free to anathematise it still more

boldly, and to rejoice with renewed confidence in his escape from the dark shadow, which under the name of Christianity had long vaguely haunted him.

With regard to the alternative view, which he reached rather by the way of sentiment than of reason, this was an extremely simple one. According to it, human nature, instead of being intrinsically evil, was, like the rest of God's works, intrinsically good—capable of attaining its fullest perfection by a natural process of healthy growth, and only hindered from doing so by disregard of what might be called its own necessary laws of spiritual "hygiene."

The theological explanation given by Maurice regarding the reversal of the effects of Adam's Fall, by the "reconstitution" of human nature in Christ, Kingsley gladly adopted; but about what in Maurice's mind formed an integral part of this explanation (viz., the contingent substitution of the Divine action for the human) he did not greatly trouble himself, supplying merely its place in practice, with an idea of human action as in itself capable of fulfilling the Divine requirements.

Man thus viewed he held to be, simply in virtue of his humanity, a "child" not "of wrath," but of God, and his highest excellence to be one which was attainable by the utmost development of all his human faculties, bodily and spiritual alike. That such a theory must be limited in its application, and without careful handling doubtful in its results, at once suggests itself, but that it has its attractions cannot be denied. Through its instrumentality the known is substituted for the unknown—reason for faith—natural acts are no longer seen charged with supernatural consequences; a change in kind is effected in the relationship of the visible world to the invisible, and the spiritual life of man, if robbed potentially of its intenser lights, is robbed also of its darker shadows. To Kingsley, at any rate, it seemed to afford an escape as from a charnel-house into the clear light of day; to comprise within itself all the elements of a Gospel which should "justify the ways of God to men;" and it was to filling in for himself and others a picture of Christianity with which it might fully harmonise, that his subsequent labours were for the most part virtually directed.

Although in certain of his views Kingsley exhibited a more than superficial approximation to Catholic doctrine, the true difference, it may be said, which divided him from this was one not of degree but of kind; for although the Catholic Church, with him, admits man's capacity for natural virtue, yet in maintaining as she does the highest human excellence to be a *supernatural* one, she introduces an alien and disturbing element, for which his system contains no place.

Of the reality of the difference thus occasioned, Kingsley was very well aware; but being as ignorant of its nature as are the majority of his fellow-Protestants, he was forced to account for it as best he could. And accordingly, by grafting some rudimentary notions of Catholic precept and practice, on those Protestant doctrines of which he had chiefly fallen foul, he produced that "Guy Fawkes" representation of Popery which served thenceforth as a target for the arrows of his fiercest scorn. Passages without number might be cited on this head, showing the extremely grotesque character of his habitual conceptions:

We must face, we must honestly conceive for ourselves (he says, in the review of Froude's "History of England"—a passage in which was the immediate occasion of his controversy with Cardinal Newman), the deep demoralisation which had been brought on in Europe by the dogma that the Pope of Rome had the power of creating right and wrong . . . that if it suited the interest of the old man of Rome *not* to say the word, the doer of a certain deed would be burned alive in hell for ever. If it suited him, on the other hand, to say it, the doer of the same deed would go, *sacramentis munitus*, to endless bliss.\*

According to the mystic or popish doctrine the works of the flesh are these—marriage, paternity, brotherhood, friendship, eating, drinking, hearing, seeing, smelling—Terstegen and the Quietists include motion and speech, the Papists, sleep. ("Memories," 1st ed., vol. i. p. 98.†) You think, he says in a letter to an intending "pervert," you may be holier, if you go to Rome—no doubt you may be more devout, more saintly . . . your day will be mapped out for you in appropriate acts of devotion, you will live charmingly by rule and measure. . . . But now you are a man, standing face to face with God, then (believe one who knows) you will be a machine, face to face with a priest, a system, and a host of inferior deities.

Here again we have his notion of the state of mind in which such a "pervert" will probably find himself. The High Church clergyman in "Yeast" has come to look up his late pupil, Luke Smith, who has just outstripped his preceptor in the race to Rome. To his disgust, he finds him

*tête-à-tête* over a comfortable fish dinner, opposite a burly, vulgar, cunning-eyed man, with a narrow rim of muslin turned down over his stiff cravat, of whose profession there could be no doubt.

"My dearest sir," said the new convert, springing up with an air of extreme *empressement*, "what an unexpected pleasure! Allow me to introduce you to my excellent friend, Padre Bugiardo!" The padre rose, bowed obsequiously, was overwhelmed with delight at being

\* "Macmillan's Magazine," Jan. 1864.

† All references as here given, are to the first and larger edition of the "Letters and Memories."

at last introduced to one of whom he had heard so much, sat down again, and poured himself out a bumper of sherry; while the vicar commenced making the best of a bad matter, by joining in the now necessary business of eating. He had not a word to say for himself. Poor Luke was particularly jovial and flippant, and startlingly unlike his former self. The padre went on staring out of the window, and talking in a loud, forced tone, about the astonishing miracles of the *Ecstatica* and *Addolorata*; and the poor vicar . . . . sat silent and crestfallen the whole evening.

The priest had no intention of stirring. The late father-confessor tried to outstay his new rival, but in vain; the padre deliberately announced his intention of taking a bed, and the vicar, with a heavy heart, rose to his inn. As he went out at the door, he caught an opportunity of saying one word to the convert, "My poor Luke, are you happy? Tell me honestly, in God's sight tell me!"

"Happier than ever I was in my life! No more self-torture, physical or mental, now! These good priests thoroughly understand poor human nature, I can assure you." The vicar sighed, for the speech was evidently meant as a gentle rebuke to himself. But the young man ran on, half laughing, "You know how you and the rest used to tell us what a sad thing it was that we were all cursed with consciences; what a fearful miserable burden moral responsibility was, but that we must submit to it as an inevitable evil. Now that burden is gone, thank God! The padre settles all about what is right and wrong, and we slip on as easy, as—" "A hog or a butterfly," said the vicar bitterly. "Exactly," answered Luke, "and on your own showing are clear gainers of a happy life here, not to mention heaven hereafter. God bless you! We shall soon see you one of us." . . . . The vicar stepped out into the night . . . . he staggered and strode along the plashy pavement, muttering to himself at intervals: "Rest for the soul? Peace of mind? I have been promising them all my life to others—have I found them myself? and here is this poor boy saying that he has gained them—in the very barbarian superstition which I have been anathematising to him! What is true at this rate? What is false? Is anything right or wrong, except in as far as men feel it to be right or wrong? else whence does this poor fellow's peace come, or the peace of many a convert more? They have all, one by one, told me the same story. And is not a religion to be known by its fruits? Are they not right in going where they can get peace of mind?"

Certainly, vicar. If peace of mind be the *summum bonum*, and religion is merely the science of self-satisfaction, they are right; and your wisest plan will be to follow them at once; or, failing that, to apply to the next best substitute that can be discovered—alcohol or opium.

In "Westwood Ho!" again, we learn his notion of "Popish recusancy" and its adjuncts, under the tolerant rule of "Good Queen Bess."



So a Papist he (Leigh of Burrough) remained, living out of the way of the world, in a great rambling dark house, still called "Chapel," on the Atlantic cliffs, in Moorwinstow parish, not far from Sir Richard Grenville's house of Stow. The penal laws never troubled him: for, in the first place, they never troubled any one who did not make conspiracy and rebellion an integral doctrine of his religious creed; and next, they seldom troubled even them, unless fired with the glory of martyrdom, they bullied the long-suffering of Elizabeth and her Council into giving them their deserts, and like poor Father Southwell, in after years, insisted on being hanged, whether Burleigh liked it or not. Moreover, such a no-man's-land and end-of-all-the-earth was that old house of Moorwinstow, that a dozen conspiracies might have been hatched there without any one hearing of it; and Jesuits and seminary priests skulked in and out all the year round, unquestioned though unblest; and found a sort of piquant pleasure, like naughty boys in a store-closet, in living in mysterious little dens in a lonely turret, and going up through a trap-door to celebrate mass in a secret chamber in the roof, where they were allowed by the powers that were to play as much as they chose at persecuted saints, and preach about hiding in dens and caves of the earth. . . . But the said birds of ill omen (Jesuits and seminary priests) had a very considerable lien on the conscience of poor Mr. Thomas Leigh, the father of Eustace, in the form of certain lands once belonging to the Abbey of Hartland. He more than half believed that he should be lost for holding those lands; but he did not believe it wholly, and therefore he did not give them up; which was the case, as poor Mary Tudor found to her sorrow, with most of her "Catholic" subjects, whose consciences, while they compelled them to return to the only safe fold of Mother Church (*extrà quam nulla salus*), by no means compelled them to disgorge the wealth, of which they had plundered the only hope of their salvation. Most of them, however, like poor Tom Leigh, felt the Abbey rents burn in their purses; and, as John Bull generally does in a difficulty, compromised the matter by a second folly (as if two wrong things made one right one), and petted foreign priests, and listened, or pretended to listen, to their plottings and their practisings; and gave up a son here and a son there, as a sort of sin-offering and scapegoat, to be carried off to Douay, or Rheims, or Rome, and trained as a seminary priest; in plain English, to be taught the science of villainy as the motive of superstition. One of such hapless scapegoats, and children who had been cast into the fire to Moloch, was Eustace Leigh, whom his father had sent, giving the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul, to be made a liar of at Rheims.

Amongst the rich abundance of such passages, the only difficulty indeed is in selection.

Kingsley's overt hostility to the Catholic Church was, it may be plainly seen, founded on his persuasion that not only was she

possessed by that Manichæan spirit which regards all material existences as evil, and from which even Protestantism has not yet been entirely exorcised; that not only had she thus been the fountain-head of the Protestant libel on God's noblest creature, man, but that to this enormity she had added another yet greater; since, not even content, like Protestantism, with pointing to Christ's righteousness as the mantle which might veil decently human filth and deformity, she tyrannously insists that man, all foul and helpless as he is, must yet, under pain of eternal damnation, make bricks without straw; and rear for himself, through the slaughter and denial of his best and holiest affections, a barrier of self-righteousness which should shield him from the anger of God.

That the Catholic Church thus branded men's purest impulses as evil, and demanded their sacrifice to the Moloch of an impossible ideal, was the gist of Kingsley's accusation against her, and it was to a great extent, as being her chartered opponent, that Protestantism enlisted so much of his support and sympathy. The initial movement of Protestantism, he held, had at any rate been in the right direction, and if its steps had since been halting or retrograde, still there was nothing to prevent its being led on to further victory. And thus it is, that whilst differing most widely from its more recognised opinions, we find him ever ready to utilise its catchwords, and sail under its flag; and that even when he himself may be in the very act of treading nearly, though unconsciously, in the footprints of the Catholic Church, his quarrel with this last is always *à l'outrance*, and he can pick up no stick, however dirty, which does not at once suggest itself as being quite good enough to beat a Papist.

The special views which Charles Kingsley thus took of Catholic theology, formed, as it might be said, such an organic part in his own conception of Christianity, that in the maintenance of the one, lay to a very great extent his confidence in the truth of the other. The personal animus which is so remarkable in his controversial tone is thus largely accounted for, and this is an animus which becomes specially conspicuous whenever he finds himself *vis-à-vis* with the Catholic view of what he himself calls "the great question on which all else hinges"—the question, namely, of celibacy *versus* marriage.

Amongst the postulates of his theory as to the purely natural character of human excellence (a theory which of itself makes the idea of "mortification" in any shape anomalous), was one on which his own personal experience had caused him to lay special stress. According to this, man is united, not through his Creator to his fellow-creatures, but through his fellow-creatures to his Creator. That he repels therefore, rather than invites, "a nearer

walk with God," by turning away, for whatever reason, from the closer human relationships, follows upon this assumption as a necessary inference ; and to Kingsley accordingly, the Catholic doctrine that a life of celibacy, chosen voluntarily from supernatural motives, confers a higher spiritual *status* than marriage, bears the appearance not only of a disparagement to the truth of his own theory, but of a reiterated personal insult. The idea of the state he has himself chosen, being considered as not the highest possible one, is peculiarly galling to him ; but it fills him less with a desire to climb higher, than to tear down, whatever it may be, which is thus exalted as above his own level. If, he says,\* his view of marriage is false, it would be a sin to marry, because it is a sin to choose the lower state, without having striven to the very uttermost for the higher. Were he a Romanist, he continues, he should consider marriage a bitter degradation to himself and his wife. The highest state, he goes on to define,† as that in which men can know most of God and work most for God, and this state, he asserts (arguing, as is very commonly his custom, in a circle) to be the married one, *because it is through family ties that God reveals Himself to men*. It is upon the contrary doctrine, as the fullest expression of that Manicheism with which he held the Catholic Church to be surcharged, that he delights in heaping opprobrium ; and that he feels himself on his own defence, in so doing, is clear from many passages in his correspondence. The attitude of eager self-justification, into which he thus instinctively throws himself, is illustrative, in fact, of one of the most striking of the many contradictions of which his character was full—that, namely, of the deep vein of self-distrust which underlay an appearance of headlong self-confidence.

Owing to the presence of this quality, he was always rendered more or less uneasy by a sense of sustained dissent in any quarter, and the Catholic Church, in particular, had to all appearance the power of raising within him a special and singular misgiving ; a misgiving, not as to whether his own idea of her character was a correct one, but as to whether, being what she was, the enemy of reason, the nurse of superstition, and the patron of lying, God might not after all be found on her side ; as to whether men might not really be called upon to mould themselves (to use his own phrase) "in the image of an imaginary Virgin Mary,"‡ and whether Heaven might not turn out to be chiefly peopled with such bugbears of the Protestant imagination, as "dark Inquisitors," "subtle Jesuits," "unsexed monks," and "hysterical nuns." The presence of this doubt is plainly

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\* "Letters and Memories," vol. i. p. 187. † Ibid. p. 190. ‡ Ibid. p. 202.

enough indicated, in one of the extracts from his letters, which we have given lower down, where, after speaking of the "two great views of man," the one held by "enlightened thinkers," the other by Gnostics, Manichæans, and the Romish Church; he goes on to say, first, with a deprecating shrug, that this "latter anthropology" *may* be a true one, and next to exhibit the deplorable consequences which must, in this case, be its result: how "the Fatherhood of God" being forgotten, the prayer which declares it will, as in the Romish Church, be turned into a parrot like charm; how as men's feelings towards their own children become less sacred, they will be less inclined to credit such feelings in God towards themselves; and how, as their relations towards their own children become less absolute, they will begin to imagine it possible that they should themselves lose the blessing of the name of children of God. How they will resort to prayers and terrors to recover this relationship; how the humanity of Christ being forgotten, they will remember only His Godhead, how they will interpose "creature mediators" between themselves and Him, and how they will turn towards the mercy of the Mother, as a refuge from the justice of the Son.\* Now and then, indeed, the clouds for a moment pass, and a curious fleeting glimpse seems to break upon him, of the true basis upon which the claims of the Catholic Church are founded; to be followed only, however, by a yet stronger recoil, from the lurid light as of a possible reality thus cast on his own distorted imaginings.

The only answer I can give [he exclaims on such an occasion, in the person of one of his heroes' Lancelot Smith] is John Bull's old dumb instinctive 'Everlasting No,' which he will stand by if need be, with sharp shot and cold steel. . . . Not that; anything but that! No kingdom of Heaven at all for us, if the kingdom of Heaven is like that! No heroes at all for us, if their heroism is to consist in their not being men. . . . Here on blank materialism will I stand, and testify against all religions and all gods whatsoever, if they must needs be like that Roman religion and that Roman God — ("Yeast," ch. vi.).

A latent terror such as this would go far to explain his extreme unscrupulousness, both in the selection and use of controversial weapons; and would even to some extent account for that most damaging episode in his literary career—his controversy with Cardinal Newman. Here, as in everything else that concerns him, allowance no doubt must be made for the effects of an imagination which for the time transformed its own creatures

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\* "Letters and Memories," vol. i. p. 258.



into realities; but to these two causes, taken together, it is not unfair to say, that the majority of his more flagrant delinquencies may very well be attributed.

Of Kingsley more than of any other contemporary writer, it may be said that his works, in one way or another, are always the reflection of himself. He writes invariably from within, outwards. In what Goethe defines as true dramatic power—the power which is possessed by some men of putting themselves in the place of characters with whom they have nothing in common—“Wilhelm Meister” himself was not more deficient. Such of his creations, as are anything but painted, though often vividly painted, shadows, owe their life to the fact that they enshrine some portion of their creator’s varied personality. It is for this reason that in his writings the author is always so emphatically *en evidence*. Contrast, for instance, the sensation we experience in reading “Hypatia,” “Hereward,” or “Westward Ho!” with that called forth by “The Heart of Midlothian,” “Ivanhoe,” or “Quentin Durward.” Facts or details in either case may be true or false—this matters very little—but, on the one hand, we are introduced by an assiduous interpreter to a resuscitation of the obsolete, which we never for a moment cease to feel such; whilst, on the other, time and space are obliterated, and we find ourselves standing alone and undisturbed in the presence of a living past. The “Wizard of the North” never makes himself visible amongst the scenes and persons he has conjured up; but the presence of Charles Kingsley, whether under the guise of philosopher, Viking, muscular Christian, gentleman adventurer, or at least as himself acting the part of chorus, can never for a moment be forgotten.

His emotional history being, as Mr. Leslie Stephen observes, the true key to his mental development (and, as we should be inclined to add, to his moral development also), it is his emotional experiences which his writings before all else reflect. Most prominently, as might have been expected, we find put forward that special view of the conjugal relationship in which his whole theory of Christianity lay concentrated; and according to which the actuality of this relationship, at least in desire or in regret, was a *sine qua non* to the development of full human excellence, bodily and spiritual alike.

Skilled as he was in shutting his eyes to anything he did not wish to see, even Kingsley, however, could not be entirely blind to the abuse which this theory invited; and it is for this reason we may suppose, that he endeavours to advance as though on an equal basis of fact, not merely the proposition that man is naturally a sexual being, but that he is as naturally a monogamous being also; and that, this being the case, fidelity within

the marriage state comes under the category of those strictly human virtues against which, if a man sin, it is below the human level that he degrades himself. His view of marriage, in fact, is founded on his view of man, whom he regards apparently as homogeneous in nature, and tending naturally towards a homogeneous natural perfection. Man, he holds, being a sexual animal derogates from the full perfection of his being, if he renounces the use of sexual faculties; whilst he derogates from it no less should he employ these faculties indiscriminately—the reason being that in his most perfect development he is not merely a sexual being, but a monogamous being as well, requiring a helpmeet, but one helpmeet only—the two sexes together constituting a higher organism than either could have done separately.\*

The following passages illustrate what we have said with regard both to his own views on marriage, and to those which he erroneously attributes to the Catholic Church :

There are [he says] two great views of man : one as a spirit embodied in flesh and blood, with certain relations as those of father, child, husband, wife, brother, as necessary (*sic*) properties of his existence. . . . Those who are spiritually enlightened have learned to believe that these relations to man are the symbols of relations to God . . . that these human relations are given us to teach us their divine antitypes, and, therefore, it is only in proportion as we appreciate and understand the type that we understand the antitype. This I hold to be the end of the Bible, both of the Old Testament and of the New. And if any passages in the New Testament seem to militate against it, that is only from our reading popular Manicheism and Gnosticism into them, and from our not seeing that the Old Testament doctrine of the everlasting humanity, and therefore sanctity of these relations, is to be taken for granted in the New Testament as an acknowledged foundation for all further teaching. The second class, (in which he considers the Catholic Church to be included) hold an entirely different anthropology. In their eyes, man is not a spirit necessarily embodied in and expressed by an animal, but a spirit accidentally connected with and burdened by an animal. The animal part of them is supposed only to be human, the spiritual, angelic or diabolic as the case may be. The relations of life are supposed to be properties only of the animal part, or rather, adjuncts of this. The ideal of man is, therefore, to deny not himself, but the animal part which is not himself, and to strive after a non-human or angelic state, and the angelic state is supposed, of course, to be single and self-sustained without any relations except to God alone. Now this may be true anthropology, but I object to it *in limine* that it denies its own ground. If, as all will allow—he proceeds, [thus begging with apparent unconsciousness the very point

\* "Letters and Memories," vol. i. p. 187.

in question] we can only know our relations to God through our relations to each other—the more we abjure and despise the latter the less we can know of the former. . . . It has been said that to be alone, only means to have nothing between us and Heaven. It may mean that, but it will also mean to ignore God as our Father, men as our brothers, Christ as the Bridegroom of the Church. (“Letters and Memories,” vol. i. p. 255).

That what he thus pictured as the Catholic view had, at one time, produced in him something like a personal scruple, seems, however, to be clearly indicated, since a little further on (p. 258) he declares the question of “celibacy *versus* matrimony” to have been one which, during several years of his life, he had felt that he “must either conquer utterly, or else turn Papist and monk.”

There is a curious phenomenon, we are told, which is sometimes, to all appearance, revealed by hypnotism—that, namely, of several personalities existing within the same individual. It is of some such composite organism that Kingsley’s character, viewed as a whole, is strongly suggestive, and it is, as has been already said, to the power which he possessed of “projecting” or “materialising” himself under one or another of his many aspects that what is most lifelike in his fictitious personages may be traced. In the two cousins in “Westward Ho!” Amyas and Eustace Leigh, for example, we may see two antipathetic ideals, both made luminous to himself by intimate personal experience—the one “not even knowing whether he is good or not, but just doing the right thing without thinking about it”; the other “feeling and fingering his spiritual muscles over all day to see whether they are growing.” Amyas, whose likeness it might be said existed in Kingsley himself rather in desire than actuality, is glorified as a product of England’s manly revolt from superstition and priestcraft to serve the living God; whilst Eustace, from all approximation to whose character his creator would have most rejoiced to feel rid, is gibbeted *in terrorem* as the offspring of that “lie of lies,”\* that “black pit of conscious or unconscious atheism,† Jesuitry.”

In the same manner we meet certain of his qualities, in the morbid feminine dreamer, Elsley Vavasour, as well as others which he would have been better pleased to own, in the bullet-headed materialist, Tom Thurnall, or in the gallant, sad-hearted mystic, Campbell. It is Kingsley who in the person of the Jew philosopher, attacks the riddle of the Universe, and finds its true solution in a virtuous love; it is he, or part of him, who scours the desert sands on the white Nysæan of the sporting Broad Church prelate Synesius; and he again, who waits at the cover-side in Lancelot

\* “Letters and Memories,” vol. i. p. 256.

† *Ibid.* p. 250.

Smith's tops, with S. Francis of Sales' "Devout Life" in his pocket. A more self-conscious nature than his it would be impossible to imagine, whether as revealed in his books or in his correspondence. He cannot, it seems, get away from the haunting image of himself. Whatever he does, there is, we feel certain, a picture of himself at the back of his own mind, doing it. In certain of his more favourite impersonations he is indeed visibly, to some extent at least, acting a part. In particular, where he affects the "Muscular Christian," or the sportsman pure and simple, this is very noticeable; and for the obvious reason that in so doing, he is endeavouring, for the time being, to make a portion, and a very small portion, of himself do duty for the whole.

To the versatility, and at the same time incompleteness, of his perceptive faculty may be set down his conspicuous want of humour, as well as of critical and logical power; whilst his inability to view any position as a whole, or to imagine that anything but folly or dishonesty could lead to conclusions other than his own, may be explained by all the above causes put together.

Speaking of himself he says, "that he sees many sides, and therefore pleases no one;" but the more correct statement, it seems to us, would have been that whilst he sees a little bit of almost everything (and this in unnatural prominence, because dissociated from its surroundings), he cannot see the whole of anything; and that therefore to many people he is at once suggestive and unsatisfying.

To a latent consciousness in himself of this deficiency in mental grasp, may be attributed the self-distrust of which we have already spoken, with the literary irascibility resulting from it. Thus, do what he will, he can never quite satisfy himself that the ghosts of Popery and Manicheism have been safely and finally laid; and they continually call forth his renewed exorcisms, by mopping and mowing at him out of all sorts of unlikely places.

Even face to face with the nature he so truly and ardently worshipped, he cannot often shake himself entirely free, from a poor spirit of sectarian carping. It is hard to him, one might almost say, even to admire a sea anemone without being glad it is not the Pope; he cannot go through a fir-wood without being struck by its superiority to a Gothic Cathedral, or look at a foxhound without congratulating himself that his is not the sickly Manichæan taste which would prefer a pre-Raphaelite Madonna.\*

It is in consequence of his special weaknesses, that we see

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\* See "My Winter Garden." Prose Idylls.



Kingsley at his best, in proportion as he does not feel himself called upon to be didactic; as he is dealing with simple aspects, rather than complete conceptions, with passive phases of sentiment or emotion, rather than with these translated into action; his work, that is to say, in such cases, being, if not the most powerful, at least the most harmonious and the most perfect in its kind. His account thus of Elsley Vavasour's flight to London, of Alton Locke's journey through the slums, or of his subsequent walk to Cambridge, could hardly be finer or more graphic; and indeed, wherever simple and direct description is concerned, praise becomes impertinence.

His nature painting, except where here and there marred by scraps of irrepressible theologising, is exquisite. Take, for instance the following little picture, or rather, series of pictures, from "Water-babies":—

So he (Tom) and his master set out; Grimes rode the donkey in front, and Tom and the brushes walked behind; out of the court, and up the street, past the closed window-shutters, and the winking weary policeman, and the roofs all shining grey, in the grey dawn.

They passed through the pitmen's village all shut up and silent now; and through the turnpike; and then they were out in the real country, and plodding along the black dusty road, between black slag walls, with no sound but the groaning and thumping of the pit-engine in the next field.

But soon the road grew white and the walls likewise, and at the wall's foot grew long grass and gay flowers, all drenched with dew, and instead of the groaning of the pit-engine they heard the skylark singing his matins high up in the air, and the pit-bird warbling in the sedges, as he had warbled all night long.

All else was silent, for old Mrs. Earth was still fast asleep . . . the great elm-trees in the gold green meadows were fast asleep above, and the cows fast asleep beneath them—nay, the few clouds which were about were fast asleep likewise, and so tired that they had laid down on the earth to rest in long white flakes and bars, among the stems of the elm-trees, and along the tops of the alders by the stream, waiting for the sun to rise and bid them go about their day's business in the clear blue sky overhead.

How completely we have here the feeling of the transition from town to country; how wonderfully the very scent of the summer's dawn—sound, air, colour, sky, even the expectation of the coming heat—are made present and palpable to every sense! Many such passages might be given, but we have only space for one other, which we think equals, if it does not surpass, the foregoing, in fulness of pictorial suggestion. It is from "At Last," and describes the start when "homeward bound":—

And now we are outside—the roar of the surf, the tumble of the  
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sea, the rush of the trade wind, told us that at once. . . . The young moon lay on her back in the far west, thin and pale, over Cumana and the Cordillera, with Venus, ragged and red with earth mist just beneath; and low ahead, with the pointers horizontal, glimmered the cold pole star for which we were steering, out of the summer, and into the winter once more.

An inquiry into the nature and extent of Kingsley's influence on others, is of special interest, for the reason that this is connected closely with the presence of particular qualities in himself. His character, in certain of its features, may be called an archetypal one, and, with no offensive meaning, *archetypal of the average*. Consciously and intensely, he was acted upon by external and internal causes, as countless numbers are acted upon, feebly and dimly. Along certain lines his mental and moral experience is that of thousands; only that in him it becomes "writ large" in virtue of his special power of self-projection. In fighting his own battles therefore, he is fighting the battles of many, and those who find in him the louder echo of their own more feeble longings, imaginings, or fears, are inclined naturally to snatch at such solace as he seems able to offer them.

His influence, however, so far as it is a direct, is also a transient one. His own mental condition was always one of youth, or, as it might perhaps be better described, of chronic immaturity. What may be called "Kingsleyism," therefore, is a phase through which many have passed, but in which very few have lingered. Of the numbers born during the last half century whose minds his special ideal has to some extent swayed, how few could be found who have not, in one direction or another, transgressed the limits he would have desired to set them!

He had been, in an especial manner, the prophet of youth and hope.

His own mind had passed through its first fermentation, at a time when optimism was in the very air, and when such giants and enchanters as called the youthful warrior to battle, appeared of that vulnerable sort whose presence does but beckon to reward and victory.

It was under such favouring skies that his fullest growth was reached—over a generation which supposed itself travelling along the straightest road towards a moral and social millennium that his influence gained its height; and, with the fading of such Alnaschar visions, that it began to wane.

Though himself still supported by belief in his mission, with others his estimation as a "prophet" visibly declined.

A sense of having become out of touch with the times is dis-

cernible in his later writings, and we can see traces here and there as of a process of self-adaptation being half consciously carried on within.

With regard to his earlier religious struggles, it may be said that, as in many like cases, they were the offspring of imagination rather than of reason. For a time, Christianity had appeared to him thinkable, in proportion as it could be supposed undogmatic, and effective, in proportion as its standard of human excellence could be pictured as purely natural. The rush of scientific scepticism, however, which set in during the last years of his life, had the effect of forcing him backwards from the ostensible direction in which he had first set out. Through its agency he was forced more or less to realise the unsparring character of the weapons with which Christianity has to deal: and as the fluid anthropomorphism, in which he had formerly rejoiced, showed itself more and more powerless to stem the torrent, he can be seen falling back with a sense of instinctive support on those strict definitions of Catholic dogma with regard to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which the Anglican formularies have until now preserved intact. There is much indeed during these last years which gives the impression as of a new seed-time, a fresh period of spiritual growth having begun in him; a growth which, if likely to have been a slower one, gives far more solid promise than the first. His later writings are marked in places by a calmness, a humility, and a forbearance which contrasts strongly with the aggressive bumptiousness of his earlier tone, and which, if it indicates a failure of his former confidence in himself, indicates at the same time an increase of his confidence in God.

Much has been said by his admirers of Kingsley's "thorough-going Protestantism," and it would be idle to dispute at any rate the apparent justice of such praise as is thus conveyed. That it requires some qualification, however, it appears to us impossible to study his writings carefully without being compelled to admit; for not only does the extravagant energy of his recoil from the very shadow of the Catholic Church, betray the strength of the fascination against which he thus fought; but, owing doubtless to the hold he had obtained in his struggle with Calvinism on the doctrine of the freedom of the human will, certain of his opinions, as we have already remarked, approached far more closely to the standard of Catholic than of Protestant orthodoxy. On one very important point this is notably the case; for guilt, to his apprehension, is most clearly defined as being the consequence, not (as it is reckoned in Reformed theology) the *cause* of sin, and it is on this account that we see him able to recognise

with, for a Protestant, quite unexampled precision, not only the residuary effects of guilt upon the soul,\* but the separation from God which these involve while they last, and consequently (at least in part) the function of Purgatorial suffering.

A "History of Charles Kingsley's Religious Opinions" would doubtless reveal but little in the formation of these, resembling orderly sequence; but that such legitimate development as they underwent involved in reality an approximation to the Catholic standpoint, and that in departing from the Protestant orthodoxy which actually gave them birth, they took what was virtually a Catholic direction, we think such a history, if it ever were written, would certainly tend to show.

M. M. MALLOCK.

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\* It would indeed be difficult (roughly speaking) to find a much better illustration of the Catholic doctrine on this point, than that which Kingsley gives in his "Water-babies;" where he represents Tom's skin as still remaining horny and prickly for a time, in consequence of his naughty behaviour, even after he has confessed this, and has been pronounced a good boy again.



## ART. II.—THE FINAL DESTINY OF THE EARTH.

1. *Der Kreislauf des Lebens.* Von JAC. MOLESCHOTT, in zwei Bänden. 1877.
2. *Les Confins de la Science et de la Philosophie.* Par J. CARBONNELLE. 1881.
3. *Acqua ed Aria.* Conferenze di ANTONIO STOPPANI. 1882.
4. *Treatise on Chemistry.* By Sir H. E. ROSCOE and C. SCHORLEMMER. 1878.

“Where is the dust that has not been alive?

The spade, the plough, disturb our ancestors;

From human mould we reap our daily bread.”

Young: “Night Thoughts.”—9.

“Diesem Austausch des Stoffs hat man den Namen Stoffwechsel gegeben. Man spricht das Wort mit Recht nicht ohne ein Gefühl der Verehrung. Denn wie der Handel die Seele ist des Verkehrs, so ist das ewige Kreisen des Stoffs die Seele der Welt.”—Moleschott.

THE origin of the earth and the true interpretation of the Biblical account of the six days of creation have occupied the attention of the learned and the leisured during so many years, that we feel no apology is needed, if we now invite the thoughtful reader to turn aside awhile from the consideration of the earth's beginnings to the consideration of its end and final destiny. The distant future of this planet is perhaps involved in as impenetrable a cloud of mystery as its past, but if the former question is no less speculative than the latter, neither is it, to say the very least, one whit less interesting.

The theory which we will now proceed to lay before our indulgent readers, is proposed with considerable diffidence, and merely as a possible hypothesis, because, so far as the writer can learn, it is an entirely new one, and for that very reason, it is hardly to be expected that it will meet with a very cordial reception, or be allowed to pass without some comment and opposition. Indeed the theory will probably strike many as strange and far-fetched, even if it be not pronounced from the first, fantastic, absurd, and untenable. Still, it is but a hypothesis, and we throw it out as at least a fitting subject for discussion and interesting debate.

The arguments adduced in support of the proposition, are all either drawn from the teaching of sound theologians, or else based upon accepted truths of science. If, therefore, the strange-

ness of the conclusion to which they conduct us be somewhat startling, we must bear in mind that it is not our imagination, but our reason that should guide and control us in formulating a judgment.

Instead of stating the theory offhand, it will be advisable to draw attention to certain scientific facts bearing upon the subject, and which must be clearly understood and fully accepted before an appreciative, or even a dispassionate view can be taken of the particular question under consideration.

**FIRST SCIENTIFIC FACT.** Although the earth which we inhabit charms our senses and captivates our minds by the almost exhaustless diversity of the forms and colours it sets with such lavish profusion before us; although myriads of objects, animate and inanimate, and of every tint and texture, size and proportion are scattered broadcast around us in all directions and in endless variety, it is nevertheless an incontrovertible fact (if in these days any scientific fact can be called incontrovertible), that all these countless objects of whatever shape or hue, are without exception reducible to a small number of elementary substances. In fact science informs us that every material object that exists on earth—everything that we can see, hear, taste, touch, or smell—is built up and fashioned out of one or more of a very limited number of simple substances differently combined, and variously selected and proportioned.

That so many millions of, apparently, totally dissimilar objects should really be formed from so small a number of elements, will, of course, strike the uninitiated as very wonderful and inexplicable. But then God *is* wonderful in His works. *Quis sufficit enarrare opera illius? Quis enim investigabit magnalia ejus?* His skill in building up the visible universe may be compared to the skill of a great musician or composer who will draw a thousand different symphonies from a single instrument, or to that of the painter or artist who, with the seven colours of the spectrum, will set before our admiring gaze an unlimited number of entrancing scenes and picturesque landscapes. If indeed from a single ray of light, the prism can furnish us with three simple and four complementary colours, and if from these seven, we may by combination produce every tint and hue that is known to the eye, surely it needs no great faith to believe that God may have formed all material things with which we are acquainted, from one or, at least, from a few fundamental essences. The small number of elementary substances was not, however, always known or even suspected. Only little by little as science advanced and experiments became more precise and more numerous was this truth borne in upon men's minds as an irresistible fact. Substances which but a few generations ago

were thought to be elementary, have been made at last to yield to the efforts of analysis, and though this has had the immediate effect of somewhat increasing the list of elements,\* the belief is gradually gaining ground, at all events in some quarters,† that there are in reality but exceedingly few *absolutely* ultimate substances. Indeed, there are not wanting those who believe that a day will come when we shall be able to reduce every known object to two or three—or even to one—universal substance ‡; a day in which we shall see even in the most complicated and intricate forms and appearances nothing more than the effects and results of various groupings, combinations, and affinities.

If, indeed, we accept Sir W. Thomson's explanation of matter—and Sir W. Thomson is an honourable man—we shall find no difficulty whatever in admitting such a view even at once, and without awaiting that future day to which so many are now looking forward. For he assumes the existence of "a perfectly continuous incompressible and frictionless fluid pervading space." And the atoms of matter he considers, "consist of portions of this fluid in a state of vortex motion. These vortex atoms constitute the matter which we experience. They are elastic, indivisible, and indestructible, and are believed to account for all the known properties of matter. . . . It is the vortex motion given to a portion of the fluid substance, which constitutes the atom and endows it with its natural properties," the "fluid substance," of course, being the same everywhere.

In fact, as Savage observes, when commenting on the advance made by science in recent times: "we are settling it rapidly that all this material universe is one substance," and again: "we expect to find not fifty or sixty chemical elements, but only one." . . . As an illustration of the general proposition, let us consider for a moment two of the most unlike, and in the judgment of unscientific minds, two of the most opposite objects upon which the eye can rest—viz., a piece of charcoal and a

\* Only twenty-three elements were known in the lifetime of Lavoisier, now we are acquainted with about three times that number.

† Quant aux atomes pondérables, la nouvelle théorie permet déjà de supposer qu'il n'y en a que peu d'espèces, peut-être même une seule espèce réellement élémentaire. C'est là déjà une grande simplification; mais le progrès le plus important, c'est l'affirmation claire, précise, et de jour en jour plus probable, que tous les phénomènes élémentaires dont les combinaisons forment le monde matériel, ne sont que des simple mouvements mécaniques. "Les Confins de la Science, etc.," par Carbonnelle, p. 101.

‡ That which is permanent or indestructible in matter is the ultimate HOMOGENEOUS atom: and this is probably all that is permanent, since chemists almost unanimously hold that so called elementary molecules are not really simple, but owe their sensible differences to the various groupings of an ultimate atom, which is alike for all. See Fisk's "Unseen World," p. 23.

diamond. How worthless is the one object, how priceless the other; how bright and glittering is the second, how dark and dull is the first; how transparent and clear is the diamond, how opaque and repulsive is the charcoal. What resemblance, indeed, will the uninitiated suppose to exist between the soft, sombre and unattractive piece of charcoal lying in a kitchen-grate, and the hard glistening diamond of fabulous price set in purest gold, and cushioned on the bosom of a princess? So far as outward appearance, colour, form, weight, beauty, and texture are concerned, we know not what are more strikingly opposite and unlike. Yet in sober truth both the one and the other are precisely the same thing, but in a different state or condition. The dull charcoal and the glittering gem are but two forms of carbon. Burn both in oxygen, and it will be found that both will give (a) the same weight, of (b) the same product—viz., carbonic acid, which is a convincing proof of their chemical identity, and a sound argument in favour of their being, at bottom, in very truth, the same thing. In fact the charcoal might, by a purely natural process, one day become the diamond, and the diamond, in an equally simple way, become the charcoal.\*

It is not necessary, however, to seek examples from chemistry, or to have recourse to any strictly technical knowledge. Even the most simple and unscientific person may form some rude notion at least, of the fundamental resemblance of apparently wholly different objects, by noting to what a large extent one may actually be converted into the substance of the other, and incorporated with it by the natural process of growth and development.

Thus, the moist soil is but the broken, pulverised and decomposed detritus of the rocks: this supplies in a large measure nourishment, and the means of growth to grass, herbs, shrubs, and trees: these in their turn provide bird and beast, and every creeping thing, with suitable and nutritious food: while birds and beasts, as well as all kinds of vegetable growths serve, in their turn to maintain the life, health, and vigour of man's body; being transformed, in a marvellous way into bone, muscle, blood, flesh, and fibre.† The body at death, decomposing after a time,

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\* This example of the same substance existing first as charcoal and then as a diamond, seems to me a very beautiful, and at the same time, a very suggestive illustration of the difference in the human body before and after its resurrection—it is buried, so to say, as charcoal, and rises as diamond—preserving all the while its identity.

† “L' uomo è veramente un piccolo mondo, un essere complesso che contiene la maggior parte degli elementi dei corpi, e metalloidi è metalli, in minime quantità; elementi che circolano in lui formando i suoi organi e mantenendoli in vigore: *elementi che vanno e vengono da lui ai corpi cir-*



restores again, by an almost equally admirable process, the various elements which it had borrowed for a brief season, and which are now re-absorbed by earth, air and water.\*

This continual flux and reflux, this never ending change and interchange of form and substance ever going on, will perhaps suggest to the ordinary mind, the general identity of the ultimate elements of all material substances more readily, than even the exact and elaborate experiments of the chemist or the natural philosopher. In any case, there is nothing to be gained by a more detailed exposition of this general fact; so we will at once pass to another admitted principle.

SECOND SCIENTIFIC FACT.—Another fact to which it will be well to draw attention in the present connection, is that the absolute amount of matter, or in other words, the sum total of all that exists in the material universe, is ever a constant quantity. (See Moleschott on “Unsterblichkeit des Stoffs.”) Its absolute bulk is unvarying and invariable. The forms or modes of existence may of course change, and shift a thousand times during one revolution of the earth, but not the substance, not that which underlies and sustains phenomena: that never can be interfered with. Take the simplest and readiest example. What to-day is hard still ice may roar along its rocky bed to-morrow as a foaming cataract; then falling between the fissures of a volcano may emerge again as invisible steam, and finally escape into thin air in the form of oxygen and hydrogen to be then again inhaled by man and beast, and growing plants—yet, during all these transformations, not one particle of the original substance has been really lost or destroyed.

Or consider a somewhat different illustration. An acorn set in the earth may draw around it a thousand different materials, and build them up as no human architect has ever yet built, atom by atom, and molecule by molecule into the stateliest and most majestic of forest-trees, yet not a particle or fibre, not a twig or a leaf has been created. There is absolutely nothing in that lofty organic structure, but what has been quarried out of Nature's depository. And as the oak which now *is*, and last century *was*

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*costanti con uno scambio meraviglioso, &c.* “Studi di Cosmogonia,” by F. Coco-Licciardello. 1888.

J. A. Picton writes:—“Professor Huxley told us that all organisms, from the lichen up to the man, are all composed mainly of one sort of matter, which in all cases, even those which are at the extremity of the scale, is almost identical in composition, &c.”

\* “Was der Mensch ausscheidet, ernährt die Pflanze. Die Pflanze verwandelt die Luft in feste Bestandtheile und ernährt das Thier. Raubthiere leben von Pflanzenfressern, um selbst eine Beute des Todes zu werden und neues keimendes Leben in der Pflanzenwelt zu verbreiten.”—Moleschott, vol. i., p. 31.

*not*, has added nothing whatsoever to the sum total of matter, but has merely transformed and re-arranged on other lines, and according to fresh plans and designs, that which already existed; so, on the other hand, when the slow but relentless hand of Time has laid the majestic monarch of the forest prone upon the earth, and when it there decays and falls to pieces,\* or is used bit by bit to feed the winter's fires, the ultimate particles still endure, and triumphantly resist all attempts at absolute destruction.

The same truth may be applied to the body of man. Though the human soul is a result of direct creation, nevertheless its earthly tabernacle is kneaded together from existing matter, and every cell and fibre of its expanding form is deftly woven from supplies already provided, long centuries ago, by a bountiful providence.†

The general law of Nature which the foregoing examples are intended merely to illustrate, is so universally admitted, and is sustained by such unequivocal proofs, that it would be unprofitable, and indeed a mere waste of time, to insist upon them any further. The terms in which the law is expressed by the famous Lavoisier are probably familiar to most of our readers:—"En fait de matière, rien ne se perd, rien ne se crée, tout se transforme."

THIRD SCIENTIFIC FACT. We may now pass on to consider another important preliminary—viz., the bulk of the earth, or what will serve our present purpose as well, its weight in tons. To determine the mass or the weight of our little dwelling-place would be an easy and simple task, if it were in all parts of uniform density. All we should have to do would be to measure its size accurately, and then, having ascertained the weight of one cubic foot, or yard, multiply the result by the number of cubic feet or yards contained. Since, however, its density varies so very considerably, scientists have hit upon another method, tried by Herschel, and then tested by others since his time and always with satisfactory results. The method referred to is both long and complicated, and supposes a profounder knowledge of mathematics than most people possess; for this reason, therefore, and also because it is the conclusion

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\* "Le carbone, par exemple, semble disparaître en brûlant; mais toute la masse du carbone brûlé se trouve dans le gaz produit par la combustion. Une plante n'augmente son poids qu'en empruntant au sol et à l'atmosphère des éléments qui représentent exactement toute la masse qu'elle gague." Les Confins de la Science, par le P. Carbonelle (vol. i. p. 302).

† "Planzen und Thiere verändern ihre Bestandtheile nur durch Stoffe, die sie der Aussenwelt entlehnen. Alle Thätigkeit im wachsenden Baum und im kämpfenden Löwen beruht auf Verbindungen und Zersetzungen des Stoff der ihnen von aussen geboten wird."—Moleschott, vol. i., p. 32.

† "Aus der Nahrung wird Blut, aus Blut werden Gewebe, Muskeln, Knochen, Knorpel, Hirn und Nerven, kurz alle festen Theile des Körpers."—Moleschott, p. 143.

and not the means by which the conclusion has been arrived at that really concerns our present inquiry, we may dismiss the abstruse calculations and elaborate experiments, and content ourselves with stating that in round numbers the weight of the earth is 6,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 tons.

We may now turn to consider the human race in its relation to the earth, and point out the interest that each individual possesses in its temporary abode.

Every soul of man borrows the substance of its body from the earth. The head and brain, the lissom fingers, the thrilling nerves, and the throbbing heart of king as of beggar, are one and all fashioned out of pre-existing matter. An army of a hundred thousand strong, marching in line of battle, is, after all, but moving earth, and painted clay; and the hundred thousand men stepping so gaily, to the sound of martial strains, are as truly manufactured out of the earth's substance, as the red-coats on their backs, and the glistening shakos on their heads. The only essential difference being that whereas their bodies were woven in the womb, their clothes were woven in the loom. But though the earth supplies the bodies of the soldiers as truly as their clothing and accoutrements, it is a mere loan—not a free gift. In order that the earth may not be unduly diminished in bulk, and in order that no disturbance or hitch may arise in the harmonious working of the solar system of which the earth forms a part; and in order that no portion of its complicated machinery may be thrown out of gear, the earth—if we may so express ourselves—will not suffer any soul to fly away with its clayey vesture, which like a good and generous mother it had provided. When the soul quits this world, it is forced to restore all the fleshy organs of which it has made use: arms, legs, trunk, and, in a word, its entire corporeal outfit. In brief, it must return to the earth's keeping all that it has borrowed from it, particle for particle, and molecule for molecule. Were this restitution not insisted upon, consider the absolute loss the earth would sustain in the course of ages, and the changes that would gradually be introduced in the configuration of the country, and in the nature and qualities of the soil. In one century, which represents, after all, but the merest moment in the life of the globe,\* the surface of the earth would

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\* Tyndall, in his Belfast Address, says:—"The public mind is now tolerant of the idea that not for sixty thousand years, nor for, &c., &c.—but for æons embracing UNTOLD MILLIONS of years, this earth has been the theatre of life and of death" (p. 35). And Charles Dollfus remarks that:—"Il semble que déjà l'humanité incline vers la vieillesse;" but he adds with considerable show of probability:—"Je crois au contraire qu'elle est à *peine sortie de ses langes*, et que la force qui la possède n'est qu'au début de la carrière qu'elle doit fournir sur notre globe. Cent existences d'hommes placées

lose millions of tons of valuable loam, as may easily be shown by a little calculation. Thus : every four-and-twenty hours about 100,000 persons pass out of this world ; in one year the number would reach 36,500,000 : in a century the sum would rise to 3,650,000,000. Now, if we suppose a full grown and well-developed human body to weigh ten stone (though twelve would probably be nearer the mark), and if further we suppose each of these three thousand, six hundred and fifty million souls, on their departure from this world, to carry off ten stone weight of the earth's substance, then the earth would lose of its substance and be continually diminishing in size, at the rate of 36,500,000,000 stones, or considerably more than 200,000,000 tons per century. Or rather at a higher and higher rate each succeeding century as the population of the earth increases and multiplies even supposing the death-rate to remain the same—though the death-rate generally rises with every perceptible increase of population.

Now the population of the earth is, as a matter of fact, continually increasing. During the past four thousand years—that is to say, since the Deluge—the human population has steadily increased from eight individuals to about 1,600,000,000. What, then, we may well ask, will be the population of the world in another four thousand years, starting with its present population, not of eight individuals, but of two hundred million times eight individuals ! As the population four thousand years ago is to the present population, so ought the present population to be to the population of the world four thousand years hence (*i.e.*, 8 : 1,600,000,000 :: 1,600,000,000 :  $x$ ). On this calculation the number of persons living on the earth in the year 6000 A.D. should be about 320,000,000,000,000,000, supposing no special causes to arise to arrest the rate of increase. Or we may illustrate the same truth by referring to an instance in the past—*e.g.*, to our own country. At the time of the Conquest, England did not contain a population of three millions ; when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the population was still under five : and even at the dawn of the present century it did not reach ten millions, yet now it is nearly three times that amount.

The disastrous consequence, however, spoken of above, is

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bout à bout, occupent un espace de cinq à six mille ans ; prenons 50 ans comme l'âge moyen de la vie humaine en des conditions ordinaires, une année représenterait la 50<sup>e</sup> partie d'une pareille existence. Que l'on estime à 5000 ans l'âge de l'humanité depuis qu'elle est entrée dans l'histoire, en tenant pour non avenu tout le temps qui a précédé les temps historiques : sur cette double base, 100 années de l'existence de l'humanité correspondraient à une année de celle de l'individu : un siècle formerait une année de l'existence de l'espèce. On voit que 'l'homme universel' est encore bien jeune (p. 188).



obviated by the fact that each soul uses its fleshy envelope only so long as it continues to sojourn in this valley of tears, and altogether discards it so soon as it wings its flight into invisible regions. This is, no doubt, a singular provision of an all-wise Providence, though, be it observed, only a provisional one, since Faith itself assures us that such an arrangement is but temporary. When the last member of the human family has paid the debt of Nature, and the entire race has been garnered in, then the Archangel will come with a trumpet and a loud voice and summon the dead to arise from their graves: "Arise and come to judgment, ye that dwell in the dust."

Now the question that at once suggests itself is this:—When every soul has claimed its body; when all the men, women, and children that have ever existed from the time of Adam to McAdam, and from McAdam to the final crack of doom, demand once again from the earth, the bodies and organs, the blood and bones, in which they once lived, loved, laughed and laboured, what will become of the earth? If this countless multitude which no man can reckon, exceeding in number the very stars above us, and the grains of sand upon the seashore, and composed of every race, and nation, and tribe, and family under heaven, that have ever lived, assert their right to reassume the bodies they once occupied, and demand from the earth a full and complete restitution of every particle of which their bodies were formed, what will be left of the earth? When every soul has clothed itself in its original corporeal form, taken again from the "slime," will there be anything at all left of the present little orb on which we dwell?

To us it seems extremely likely that there will not. It is, at all events, quite evident that a large portion of the globe must be used up in the reconstruction of bodies—and this being the case, it would seem more congruous and fitting that the *entire* earth should be so utilised than that one portion only should be devoted to such a purpose, while a broken and shrunken relic is left to wander through space as an impoverished and wasted planet, a mere fragment of its former self. In any case, it is an incontrovertible fact, that if we admit that the substance assumed by a single soul on the resumption of its body diminishes the bulk of the earth *in any degree whatever*, that we must admit also, what after all follows with the irresistible force of simple logic, that the absorption of the entire earth must depend solely on the number of bodies it will be called upon to supply from its own substance.

Let us go into the matter a little more carefully. We will begin by calling attention to three familiar propositions. The first is proved both by sacred Scripture and by scientific experi-

ment; the second is a simple article of Catholic Faith; and the third is a self-evident truism.

FIRST PROPOSITION. Every human body after death returns to the earth from which it was taken.\* In Holy Writ, it is stated that "the dust shall return into its earth from whence it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." (Eecl. xii. 7.) And again in the 20th verse of the third chapter, we are reminded that so far at least as their bodies are concerned, men and beasts are alike, for "of earth they were made, and into earth they return together,"† Science corroborates this statement and declares even from its own experimental knowledge that no particle of the body is irretrievably lost or annihilated, but that every minute fragment and invisible atom is preserved, whether it assume the appearance of dust, or whether it take the form of gas or water or aught else.‡

SECOND PROPOSITION. Every soul of man shall, by the decree of God, resume the body that it once animated in this life, and will again be clothed in its flesh. The Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of Job, expresses this doctrine in the following well-known and forcible passage: "In the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and I shall be clothed again in my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God, whom I myself shall see and my eyes shall behold and not another." (xix. 25-27.)

THIRD AND SELF-EVIDENT PROPOSITION:—The earth cannot at the same time both give and retain. It cannot possibly give of its substance to reconstruct the bodies of risen men, and yet remain

\* We are not, of course, including the sacred Body of our Divine Lord, nor that of His blessed Mother, nor that of Elias or others who may have been exempted from this law, as possibly St. Joseph.

† Die Hernahme des Leibes aus der Erde weist darauf hin, dass der Stoff des Leibes der nämliche sein soll, wie der Stoff, aus welchem die Leiber der übrigen irdischen Wesen geformt sind, dass daher der Mensch nach der Substanz seines Körpers von diesen sich nicht unterscheiden und so auch natürlicher Weise, wie sie, irdischer Nahrung bedürfen und wieder in Staub zerfallen solle, wie diess schon gleich Gen. iii. 19, und später namentlich Pred. iii. 19-21, und xii. 7, hervorgehoben wird. Ebendadurch soll der Mensch als *terrigena* (Weish. vii. 1, *γηγενής*) und de terra terrenus (1 Cor. xv. 47) auch um so stärker von den Engeln als himmlischen Wesen unterschieden werden, indem ihm nicht bloss ihrer rein geistigen Natur gegenüber ein wahrer Körper, sondern ein irdischer und darum gebrechlicher oder corruptibler Körper zugeschrieben wird, etc.—"Kathol. Dogmatik," von Dr. M. Scheeben, Zweiter Band, p. 142. § 379.

‡ De ce que tel animal pèse aujourd'hui cent kilogrammes, nul ne nonclut que, depuis sa naissance, l'univers a gagné la masse correspondante; on sait par des expériences précises que cette masse a été prise tout entière dans des corps qui la possédaient avant cet animal, et que, s'il n'avait jamais vécu, elle ferait également partie de la masse totale. Jamais l'expérience bien interprétée n'a donné un démenti à cette loi. "Les Confins de la Science," par le P. Carboneille.—p. 302, vol. i.

undiminished and unchanged in bulk. Consequently the demands made upon the earth by its innumerable creditors must necessarily diminish its substance in some appreciable degree. But this being once granted, the further question, viz., whether the demand will equal the supply, still remains to be considered. Indeed, whether the satisfying of all these claims will drain the earth of its entire substance or not, must depend simply and solely upon the number of its creditors, or, in other words, it must depend upon what the total aggregate of souls may be when the last day dawns—a question, the answer to which, in its turn, depends upon the future duration of the present order of things.

Put the case hypothetically. Thus: If the subtraction of one human body from the substance of the earth diminish its bulk in any degree whatsoever—say by  $\frac{1}{x}$ , then the subtraction of  $x$  bodies will reduce it to nothing, or, in other words, will absorb and use up the whole. But since  $x$  is necessarily, and from the very terms of the proposition, a finite number, it must at length be reached (if the race continues to propagate its species) within a certain definite and limited period, which, for the sake of clearness, we will call  $z$ .

Now  $z$  is a period, the length of which is absolutely unknown to man: for though it opens with the creation of Adam, yet the day and hour on which it closes, St. Matthew tells us: "No one knoweth, no, not the angels in heaven, but the Father alone" (xxiv. 36). Any difference of opinion, therefore, as to the precise fraction of the earth absorbed by a single body will interfere in no way with the truth of our hypothesis, and may easily be adjusted to accommodate the theory by prolonging or diminishing (as the case may be) the unknown interval which is yet to elapse between the present moment and the Judgment Day.

What, therefore, is to hinder us from entertaining the view, that it is God's design to convert the whole of the existing globe into the very substance of the risen bodies, whether they be the bodies of saints in glory or of the reprobates in hell? The task we have proposed to ourselves is not to prove that this really is His design, but to point out that it *may* be, and that strange and curious as it undoubtedly appears, there is nothing in the nature of things to conflict seriously with such a consummation. This will be more readily grasped, perhaps, if we express the theory algebraically, thus: Call the number of ultimate atoms in the entire substance of the earth—"A."

Call the aggregate number of atoms contained in the bodies of all men that have ever been created to the present instant—"B."

At the present hour "A" exceeds "B." But while "A" is

*ex hypothesi*, a fixed quantity, "B" is receiving additions every passing moment; in fact, at every single birth the value of "B" is approximating nearer and nearer to the value of "A;" and at the rate of something like  $100,000 \times 10$  stones = about 6250 tons per diem. If therefore sufficient time be allowed to elapse, a moment must at last arrive when "B" will *exactly* equal "A."

When "B" equals "A," let the last trumpet fling its glad summons far and wide, and make the welkin ring with its joyous notes; then the rising bodies flying at a tangent from the earth, will leave nothing behind them of a material world. The ball of earth, which a moment before was whole and entire, will then—like the ball formed by a swarm of bees, when the bees fly off—be broken up, and divided into as many parts as there are human beings; for every soul will depart, bearing away its glorified body as an independent and distinct entity. The earth will no longer exist, as we now know it; it will be, indeed, as St. Peter says, "a new earth," an earth no longer moving round the sun as a dark and sullen mass, but an earth consisting of the unnumbered hosts of glorified human forms revolving for all eternity around the divine Sun of eternal justice in heaven.

How long the human race would have to continue propagating its species in order to provide creditors enough to absorb the entire ball of earth, cannot be accurately or even approximately determined. We will remind our readers, however, that a very much larger number of bodies will be demanded from the earth than are reckoned by our statisticians, or than are entered on the registers of the country. In making even the roughest calculation we must not fail to bear in mind the following facts:—

1st. That every infant that dies will claim a perfect and fully developed body at the time of its resurrection, and will rise in a state of perfect manhood, or as St. Paul expresses it: "In virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi" (Eph. iv. 15). "Omnes homines," says St. Thomas, "resurgent ejus staturæ ejus aut erant aut futuri erant in juventute."

2ndly. That every soul created, even though it is never brought forth alive from its mother's womb; yea, even though it depart this life the moment after conception, will possess a like claim to the matured body of an adult.

3rdly. That thousands of infants perish annually, of whose

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\* We may form some idea of the multitudes which this one item will include by considering a single town:—*e.g.*, Paris. "En France même, la population de Paris sacrifie, *tous les ans*, avec une incurie qui n'est pas absolument inconsciente, un tribut de quinze mille enfants, sur vingt mille en nourrice dans les villages environnant!" See *Revue des Ques. Scientifiques*, p. 467, A. D. 1882.



existence no one but their parents know anything, and of which, consequently, there is no record kept. In China and among savage tribes, for instance, infant life is sacrificed in a way that is perfectly appalling, yet every such life must be added to the vast myriad of those to whom the earth will have to furnish a corporeal form.

Such is a brief statement of the theory. There is something fascinating in the idea of the whole of our present habitation; the seas, and mountains, and wooded plains, the sandy deserts and grassy meadows, the towns and villages, and massive monuments, and all else on earth, some day forming a part of ourselves! It certainly gives a wider meaning to the idea of the resurrection; since on this theory the very earth itself will rise to a newness of life in the bodies of the re-fashioned race of men.

The mind may perhaps recoil and stagger under the thought of the immensity of the period during which new generations must yet continue to be born before the number of souls can reach a total sufficient to drain the earth of its entire substance, when they are re-united with their bodies; but given a sufficient period, and the result must certainly follow, and judging from the teaching of geologists, there ought to be little difficulty in supposing such a period—at least, as possible.

We have, of course no certain data to enable us to come to any really satisfactory conclusion as to the future duration of the race. If, however, we judge from analogy, which is after all the only available means left to us, we must certainly own that, if the race of man be not still in its cradle, it is at all events not yet out of swaddling-clothes.

Is it not a generally received principle that less time should be spent in manufacturing an article than in utilising it when manufactured? A shoemaker will not spend a week in making a pair of boots which will wear out in one day. A tailor will not toil for the space of a month in preparing a hose or doublet which can only be worn for the space of a week. The body of a bird does not take weeks in forming in the shell, to endure but for half that term when it is at last complete. A sailor expects to use his boat for a longer period than that which was spent in putting it together; and any government would think that five years spent in building a man-of-war were five years ill-spent, if the ship would yield only five months' service. A king would never dream of devoting ten long years to the construction of a sumptuous palace, with the purpose of dwelling within it for the space of ten days; nor does a watchmaker pass weeks in fashioning a watch which is only to go for an hour. If any conclusion whatsoever is to be drawn from these, and ten thousand similar



instances that might be adduced, it is, that the period during which the earth was being prepared and fitted up and furnished for man's dwelling-place must be very much shorter than the period during which man is destined to occupy it. In fact, everything would seem to suggest that if God built up the material world as man's habitation, that it must be God's intention that man shall use it and sojourn upon it, to say the least, for a period of time considerably longer than that which it took in making. Thus, if the earth took  $x$  number of years to build, then we might reasonable expect the tenant to reside in it at least some  $25x$  or  $50x$  years. But what is the value of  $x$ ? Or, in other words, how long was the earth in forming? This question has not always received a uniform answer; but if we are to trust the greatest scientists and geologists, we shall be quite safe in putting it at many millions of years.

Sir Charles Lyell is accepted as a great authority on all questions connected with the formation of the rocks and the different strata, and he tells us that, though he is not prepared to say exactly how long the earth took to build from the first laying of its foundations, yet, that some two hundred and forty millions of years have elapsed since the formation of the indubitably fossiliferous rocks. Which is very much as if the builder of St. Paul's, London, should say, I cannot state precisely how long it took to erect the Church of St. Paul's; but it took two hundred and forty million years to put the ball on the dome, and to erect and gild the cross above it—the proportion between the fossiliferous rocks and the rest of the earth being roughly as between the ball on the dome and the rest of the church.

Mr. Charles Darwin puts it at even a still higher figure; for he claims more than three hundred million years for the formation of the tertiary rocks alone; which form quite an insignificant fraction of the whole of the earth's bulk. In fact, as the well-known American geologist, James Dana, remarks, "by the Tertiary period, the earth was already hastening on towards its last age" (p. 591).

What then shall we say of the unnumbered series of ages that lie at the back of this time! Thousands of millions of years have been claimed by geologists since the earliest forms of vegetative life appeared, and yet the dawn of life is comparatively but a recent event, so that, on that theory, even *thousands of millions of years* represent but a small fraction of the period preceding the first beginning of life, when as yet the earth was too intensely hot to sustain any living organism.

We know that the earth was once a globe of molten rock, like the sun in brightness and nature. Now without attempting to form any opinion as to the length of time necessary for it to cool down sufficiently to enable man to breathe its atmosphere; we

will merely remind our readers that Professor Helmholtz has calculated that (setting aside the ages it took to cool down to 2000° C.), supposing it to have reached that point, it would then take three hundred and fifty millions of years more to cool down (from 2000° C.) to 200° C.

It is true physicists are not by any means as liberal with their millions of centuries as geologists; if, however, we follow the latter, there will be no difficulty in our estimating the length of period during which our earthly abode was built up from its earliest foundations, at many thousand millions of years. This being allowed, we may then judge from analogy, that the period during which man is to make use of his wondrous abode, will be some thousands of thousands of millions of years.

In any case, the future duration of the race can hardly form a difficulty against the theory of the earth's final destiny, suggested in the foregoing pages. Indeed the most obvious difficulties, if difficulties they may be called, against this theory arise from certain passages in Holy Scripture. Thus, for instance, it is said in the third chapter of the Book of Joel, the prophet: "I will gather together all nations, and will bring them down in the valley of Josaphat, &c.," from which some have inferred that all men will be summoned there at the last day to receive sentence from the lips of the Supreme Judge; but as this is by no means certain, and, indeed, a mere conjecture, it can hardly be taken as a serious obstacle to the acceptance of the hypothesis.

So, again, St. Peter speaks of *new heavens* and a *new earth* (2 Peter, iii. 12-14). St. Gregory, however, explains this text by saying that "the earth will pass away so far as its present *form* is concerned, but will continue for ever, so far as its *substance* is concerned"—an explanation which leaves us free to accept or to reject the theory we are discussing. Indeed, the only points upon which commentators seem to be thoroughly agreed, may, we think, be reduced to two; the first is that the substance of the earth will not be annihilated; and the second is that its form will be changed and beautified.\* What precisely its future form will really be, however, is, as theologians admit, by no means so explicitly laid down.† So that we are not deterred from accepting

\* È opinione quasi comune dei Padri della Chiesa che la Terra ed il mondo periranno non sostanzialmente, ma quanto alle esteriori loro qualità, e saranno cangiate tutte queste cose in meglio, ma non distrutte,—così i SS. Giustino, Cirillo, Crisostomo, Basilio, Tommaso, etc. ("Studi Di Cosmogonia," per F. Coco-Licciardello.)

† Professor Jungmann, for example, speculating on this subject, remarks in conclusion; "Quamvis his de rebus non ea constituere possimus, quæ plane certa sint et explorata, congrue tamen nova illa terra supponitur futura similis astris, fulgore et splendore insignis." "De Novissimis," p. 287—a clear acknowledgment that, in his opinion, nothing certain can be stated as of faith.

the new theory by any such considerations as might arise were the teaching of theologians on this subject clear, decisive, and authoritative. This is no place to enter upon a discussion of the merits of Scriptural objections. Such a treatise, indeed, would involve an entire article to itself; so we must rest content with a mere expression of the opinion above enunciated, viz., that between our hypothesis and the inspired volume there is no essential antagonism.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

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ART. III.—THE CHANSONS DE GESTE.

AN acquaintance, more or less superficial, with a few at least of the masterpieces of French literature is now considered to be an almost indispensable part of a liberal education. There are few of us who have not in our youth toiled through some of the moral discourses of Mentor, or yawned over the tragedies of Corneille and Racine, which, great as are their merits, are about as interesting and comprehensible to the average boy and girl as a treatise on the Digamma or a work on Ethics.

In after life we read French novels in the original, or in translations, and some of more serious tastes peruse such works as De Tocqueville's "Ancien Régime," Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins," or even Montesquieu's "Esprit des Lois"; but few except scholars know anything of the literature of mediæval France, the productions of which, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, exercised so wide an influence. The age of Louis XIV openly despised the inheritance left to it by the past, and dated the beginning of French literature from Malherbe, whom Boileau, in verses too well known for quotation, calls the first real poet of France. Yet, four hundred years before the time of Malherbe, France had produced poems whose fame had spread far and wide over Europe, and which had been imitated in every tongue then spoken between Cape Finisterre and the Naze. In Germany, England, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Norway—nay, in far-off Iceland and in Ireland—were songs sung of the great Emperor Karl and his valiant nephew Roland, of Oliver the wise, of Amis and Amiles, faithful in friendship even after death, of Arthur and of the Knights of his Round Table. Never, perhaps, since then has the literature of one country had so great an influence on that of others.

It has been said with truth that each kind of poetry is the ex-

pression of a particular social state, and that it is usually in a time of struggle and unrest that the epic arises; so in Greece rose the Iliad, in Germany the Niebelungenlied, and in France the Chansons de Geste. In the ninth and tenth centuries the state of France was to all appearance miserable in the extreme. The great Charlemagne was dead, and had left no son worthy to represent him; the nobles rose in revolt, and wrested privilege after privilege from Louis le Débonnaire, Charles the Bold, Charles the Simple, and their successors; until each baron became a petty king in his own territory, and the central authority was reduced to a mere shadow. Intestine wars were perpetual; lands were devastated and towns burned; everywhere there was confusion and struggle. But out of evil came good; and during these centuries of agony France gained her nationality and her language. The German tongue ceased to be spoken within her boundaries: we hear its sound for the last time in the "Ludwigslied," in which some poet, probably a monk, celebrates the victory of Louis III. over the Normans at Sancourt, in 881; while the uncouth, semi-Latin, Strasbourgh oaths have shown us, some forty years before, something of the language which was to succeed it.

Teutonic ideas, however, by no means disappeared with the Teutonic tongue; they were destined to persist and to form a very important element in the character of the new people of France, who were to be, not Gauls, nor Romans, nor Germans, but Frenchmen; taking their name of Franks (or "freemen") from the fair-haired invaders who, for so many centuries, had waged war against the earlier conquerors of Gaul. What these Germans were in their old homes across the Rhine, Tacitus tells us: fierce and wild, loving war and slaughter, they yet were pure in their morals, and steadfast in friendship; they loved freedom, practised hospitality, and respected in woman "something divine." They delighted, too, in song; "ituri in prælia canunt," says Tacitus; and he goes on to relate how by the songs of the bards their warlike ardour was excited; whilst in another part of the "Germania" he mentions that they celebrated their gods in ancient songs, the only kind of annals known amongst them. The invaders of Gaul brought their songs with them to their new abodes, and Eginhard tells us, in his "Life of Charlemagne," that the great Emperor "ordered the barbarous and ancient songs, in which the deeds and wars of the old kings were celebrated, to be written down and remembered" (*Vita et Gesta, Caroli. Mag., cap. 29*).

All these songs were of course in German, which was the native tongue of Charlemagne. Eginhard, though he mentions that the Emperor knew Greek and Latin, does not say that he was acquainted with the corrupt Latin dialect of the common people, the "*lingua romana rustica*," as it was called. But in the century



that followed the death of Charlemagne the despised idiom grew and spread; the Church acknowledged it, and directed her ministers to use it in the instruction of the people, unable any longer to understand the literary Latin, and in it hymns in honour of saints began to be sung. Of these, one specimen is still extant: the "Cantilena" of Saint Eulalia, in twenty-eight lines, celebrating the martyrdom, under the Emperor Maximian, of a young Spanish maiden. The dialect in which it is written, though far removed from modern French, shows still a great advance from that of the Strasbourg oaths. That profane songs on the deeds of heroes were also composed and sung we have positive evidence, although none of them have come down to us in romance; indeed, it is a disputed question amongst scholars whether these "cantilenæ" were not still for the most part written in Teutonic dialect; but the contrary opinion is now generally held. By what process these songs formed themselves into "chansons de geste" we do not know; we have no opportunity, indeed, of judging, for Roland, our earliest extant chanson de geste, shows no element of what Goethe calls the "*werdende*"; it stands before us finished and completed to the utmost pitch of perfection to which this species of poem ever attained in France, and probably its merits caused all earlier chansons to be forgotten, like the works of Homer's predecessors. That either the Iliad or the "Chanson de Roland" were the first poems of their kind, all experience of the laws of literary development forbids us to believe.

A chanson de geste—a name which is taken from the low Latin *gesta*, annals—has been defined by Mr. Saintsbury as "a narrative poem, dealing with a subject connected (or supposed to be connected) with French history, written in verses of ten or twelve syllables, which verses are arranged in stanzas of arbitrary length (called *laissez*), each stanza possessing a distinguishing assonance or rhyme in the last syllable of each line ("Short History of French Literature," page 11). The earlier chansons were probably all originally written in assonances, though most of them have only come down to us in the rhymed form given to them by some recaster of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The reason of the change is easily seen. Assonance, which depends only on the last vowel sound of a word, appeals chiefly to the ear; when a knowledge of reading had become common, it was felt to be insufficient, and rhyme, as more satisfying to the eye, was substituted. To give an idea of the effect of assonance, I shall quote the opening *laisse* of Roland:—

Carles li Reis, nostre emperere magnes,  
 Set ans tuz plein ad estet en espaigne:  
 Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne.



N'i ad castel ki devant lui remaignet ;  
 Murs ne citet n'i est remés à fraindre  
 Fors Sarraguce, k'est en une muntaigne.  
 Li reis Marsilies la tient, ki Deu nen aimet,  
 Mahummet sert e Apollin reclaimet :  
 Ne s' poet garder que mals ne li ataignet.

Here the assonance is on the open sound of *a* ; in the next *laisse* it is on *u*, in the next on *ie*, and so on. Those who composed the chansons de geste were called trouvères (finders or inventors). Sometimes they recited their own compositions, but more often this was done by a lower class, the jongleurs, who bought the song, or hired the right of recitation for a certain time, from the trouvère. These jongleurs wandered from town to town, or from one feudal castle to another, carrying the little volumes which contained the chansons in satchels slung under their arms. At a time when books were scarce and costly, communication difficult, and leisure in time of peace abundant, the arrival of the wandering minstrel was a joyful event, and the household of the baron assembled to hear his recitations, or to witness the tumbling tricks, with which some jongleurs, and even their wives, did not disdain to divert their patrons.

The jongleur took his stand in the great banqueting hall, holding in his hand his *viele*, a sort of roughly made violin, played with a long curved bow, and began some tale of Charlemagne and Roland, or of William Fierabras, or Doon of Mayence, striking a few chords on his instrument at the end of each *laisse*. In the midst of his narrative he would sometimes pause and utter an appeal to the charity of his hearers, or else he would conclude the chanson by a demand for a reward. So, in "Huon of Bordeaux," the aggrieved minstrel complains, "I have recited and arranged my song, and you have given me scarcely any money" : "but know," he continues, "if God give me health, I will soon finish my chanson ; I excommunicate all those who will not go to their purses to give me something for my wife." And "Gui de Nanteuil" concludes with the words, "Know that at this point the chanson is finished : God protect all of you, who have heard it, if you do not forget me, who have sung it."

When the song pleased the baron, he bestowed on the jongleur presents of money, rich robes or horses, or perhaps retained him permanently in his service. Some of the jongleurs thus attached to the households of great feudal lords became extremely rich. In the chanson of "Daurel et Beton," we see that the trouvère and jongleur Daurel had a castle of his own. When a great ceremony, such as the wedding of a baron's daughter, or the knighting of his son, was to take place, the jongleurs were sure to

be summoned to it, to sing of "The Loves and Wars of Old." At Rainouart's wedding, in "Aliscans," "many an instrument was sounded, many a song sung . . . they gave the jongleurs as much as they wished."

Still the jongleurs were not, as a class, held in high esteem, especially in later times; they seem to have been regarded, much as actors were regarded in England at the time of Elizabeth—as a kind of licensed "rogues and vagabonds," whose performances were amusing, but whose society was not to be courted in a private capacity; and by the Church they were looked on with special disfavour. *Apropos* of this, MM. Guissard and Grandmaison, in their preface to *Huon of Bordeaux*, cite a passage from a work, "De Penitentiâ," evidently intended for the use of the clergy. The writer of it speaks with horror of "histriones non habentes certum domicilium," and even in the case of those who "cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum," should one of them present himself at the confessional, the priest should ask him "utrum scerit aliquod aliud opus unde posset vivere," if he replied that he did not "permisit igitur Dominus Papa quod ipse viveret de officio suo; dummodo abstineret a predictis lascivis turpitudinibus."

To us in the nineteenth century, spoiled as most of us are by over-indulgence in light and sensational literature, it seems hardly credible that these long and often monotonous tales could have been listened to with patience, much less with delight; but we have abundant evidence to prove that it was so. The heroes of the chansons were as real and vivid to the simple and (in a sense) imaginative men of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as was Achilles to Alexander. Every lad was eager to imitate the valiant deeds of the twelve peers, every maiden to be like "bel Aude," and we know not how many a brave knight has, when dying, found consolation in thinking that his end, in some degree, resembled that of Roland on the field of Roncesvalles. Over a hundred chansons de geste are now extant, averaging in length about five thousand lines each. Nearly fifty have been edited, some by Frenchmen, but not a few by Germans. With the exception of about twenty, all are anonymous, and only in the case of five or six do we know more than the mere name of the author. The spirit of individualism in literature and art was far less strong in mediæval times than at present; the chansons de geste are each of them the work of an epoch, and of a nation rather than of an individual. They are of different degrees of merit, according to the genius of the author, or according to the state of public taste at the exact period when he wrote, but, except this, there is nothing in any one of them (except, perhaps, in "Girart de Roussillon" and "Daurel et Beton,") to tell us what manner of

man he was who cast the tale into the shape in which it has come down to us. The great poets of modern times, as Byron, Shelley, and Goethe, have told us a great deal about themselves, their experiences, fancies, loves and hates, either directly or indirectly; but the *trouvères* are silent on these points, even as Shakespeare is silent.

In the thirteenth century the chansons were arranged, more or less arbitrarily, in three cycles or *gestes*: those of the King, of Garin de Monglane, and of Doon of Mayence. Roughly speaking, the subject of the first is the deeds of Charlemagne and of Roland his nephew; of the second, the wars of the French against the Saracens; of the third, the intestine feuds of the great barons and their revolts against the later Carolingians. Many chansons not properly belonging to any of these cycles were joined to them by interpolations, usually of genealogies, so as to attain uniformity, that idol of the thirteenth century, eager to classify all created things. Thus the chansons of "Elie de Saint Gilles" and of "Aiol" are joined together, and then, a passage being interpolated, which makes William Fierabras, the chief hero in the geste of Garin de Monglane, the uncle of Elie, the two are attached to that geste. So also the "Geste of the Lorrainians," consisting of four chansons, is joined to the same cycle.

The great Emperor Charlemagne is the central personage of the first, or royal cycle, and history presents few figures more truly epic. That the men of the twelfth or of the thirteenth century should have been able to appreciate him duly, or to understand wherein lay his true greatness, is not to be expected; it is not to the wise lawgiver, the zealous son of the Church, the enlightened patron of learning, devoting his scanty leisure to the acquisition of knowledge that so he may the better be able to benefit his people—it is not to this marvel that the chansons introduce us, but rather to the veteran soldier, coarse and brutal in his pleasures, pitiless towards his enemies, often unjust towards his friends, yet full of zeal for Christianity, and love for "sweet France"; above all, having a kingly dignity, which no adversity could cause him to forget.

"The Song of Roland," as I have before said, is at once the earliest and the finest of our extant chansons de geste. It belongs to the "Geste of the King," and in its present form dates from about 1080: the best authorities consider it to be the work, certainly of a Norman, and, perhaps, of an Anglo-Norman *trouvère*. It consists of three parts, and has considerably more unity than most of the later chansons. Its subject is the betrayal by Ganelon of the rear guard of Charlemagne's army, which, after having for seven years combatted the Saracens, was returning

from Spain in triumph. The Saracens fell in overwhelming numbers on the small body of French, commanded by Roland, the Emperor's nephew, and utterly annihilated it, for Roland's pride prevented him from sounding his horn (Oliphant) to summon Charlemagne to his aid. The last part of the poem, "the Reprisals," relates how the Emperor took revenge on the Saracens and punished the treachery of Ganelon by causing him to be torn to pieces by wild horses.

From the "Vita et Gesta Caroli Magni" of Eginhard, we learn most of the little we know of the historical battle of Roncesvalles, and his account of it occupies scarcely twenty lines. He tells us that the Gascons attacked the rear guard of the army as it was traversing the narrow valley of Roncesvalles, and dispersed it. Amongst the slain, he mentions a "Rutlandus Britanici littoris prefectus," evidently the original of Roland, and he adds that no reprisals could be attempted by the French, because the enemy, having accomplished their object, at once separated, and went their several ways home, laden with spoils.

A spirit of intense patriotism animates this poem: the heroes seem to have completely forgotten their Teutonic origin; they are Frenchmen to the core, in their almost exaggerated sensibility, in their rashness, their sense of honour, their love of "douce France." "God forbid," says Roland, when Oliver urges him to sound his horn, "that sweet France should through me fall into dishonour;" and, looking at his dead comrades, he laments them chiefly, because "to-day sweet France is deprived of so many men of price." "Land of France," he cries, gazing around him, "thou art a right fair county," and in his last moments his thoughts turn again to his dear Fatherland.

The young Roland is a type of the feudal baron of the earlier period of chivalry, before the customs of gallantry and the introduction of luxuries had come to soften, but at the same time render effeminate, both mind and body.

His appearance on the battle-field is thus described (I quote from Judge O'Hagan's verse translation):—

Roland rideth the passes through,  
 On Veillantif his charger true.  
 Girt is his harness, that shone full fair  
 And baron-like his lance he bare;  
 The steel erect in the sunlight gleamed  
 With the snow-white pennon that from it streamed;  
 The golden fringes beat on his hand.  
 Joyous of visage was he and bland,  
 Exceeding beautiful of frame,  
 And his vassals hailed him with glad acclaim.

Oliver, the faithful friend of Roland, is equally brave, but more



prudent and reasonable. "Roland was brave and Oliver was wise," says the author. Archbishop Turpin is, as M. Léon Gautier remarks, "the brilliant but deplorable type of the feudal bishop, who prefers the sword to the crozier and blood to chrism." "Strike boldly," he cries to Roland and Oliver, "a knight who sits on a good horse ought to have valour, strong and brave should he be in battle, else he is not worth four pence; he ought to become a monk." It is only here that Charlemagne is presented to us in a really worthy light. It is true that, as in all the other chansons in which he appears (except "*Berte aux Grans Pies*" and "*Mainet*"), he is represented in extreme old age, but he unites the vigour of youth with the wisdom and experience gained during his long span of life.\* His eye is piercing and terrible, its glance makes his barons tremble; the boldest of them dares not oppose his will; his love for his own people, and especially for his gallant nephew, is only equalled by his hatred of the infidels. He is the chosen champion of God and of His Church; angels visit him in dreams and direct his movements; at his prayer the sun stands still that he may have time to complete the destruction of the Saracen host; he is the mediæval ideal of a Christian sovereign.

Amongst the knights mentioned by name as taking part in the battle two genuine historical characters can be recognised, both of whom are of interest to us as the ancestors of English kings—Geoffery Gris-Gonelle—from whom descended Geoffery the Handsome of Anjou, the father of Henry II., and Richard Sans Peur, Duke of Normandy, great grandfather of the Conqueror; but neither is at all prominent. In this, the greatest of the poetical romances of old France, the part played by women is singularly small; the only one of any importance is Aude, the sister of Oliver and the betrothed of Roland, who, however, never once mentions her name. In the eleventh century men fought rather for their religion and their country than to gain the approval of a fair lady. Aude is, however, a noble character, although little more than a mere sketch; the account of her death, on hearing of the disaster at Roncesvalles, and of the fate of her lover, is one of the finest passages in the poem:

The Emperor returned from Spain and went to Aix the best town in France. He ascended to his palace and entered the hall: to him came the fair maiden Aude. "Where is the lord Roland, who swore that I should be his bride?" she asked the king. Full of grief and pain, weeping and tearing his white beard, Charles replied, "My sister, my dear friend, you ask for one who is dead; but in his place I will give you one who is more mighty, Louis, my son, who rules my marches, better man I know not."<sup>5</sup>

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\* The Saracens suppose his age to be absolutely preternatural—200 years.



Then, answered Aude: "Strange to me seems your speech. God and his angels and saints forbid that I should live now when Roland is dead." Her colour fled, she fell dead forthwith at the feet of Charles. May God have mercy on her soul. The French barons wept and lamented her.

Fair Aude's life is over. The king believed that she had but fainted, and weeping for pity he took her hands to raise her up, but her head fell on her shoulders. When Charles saw that she was dead, he bade four noble ladies come instantly. They bore her to a convent and watched by her body till the dawn. Then with honour they buried her close by an altar and great respect did the king pay her" (C. de Roland, l. 3705-3733).

Before taking leave of the "Chanson de Roland" I shall give two more extracts taken from the truly beautiful translation of it by Judge O'Hagan, in which, with the instinct of a scholar and poet, he has closely adhered to the spirit and even the very words of the original. The account of the dispute between Roland and Oliver regarding the blowing of the horn is finely rendered:

"In mighty strength are the heathen crew,"

Oliver said, "and our Franks are few

My comrade, Roland, sound on your horn,

Karl will hear and his hosts return."

"I were mad," said Roland, "to do such deed ;

Lost in France were my glory's meed ;

My Durindana shall smite full hard,

And her hilt be red to the golden guard,

The heathen felons shall find their fate

Their death, I swear, in the pass they wait."

"O Roland, sound on your ivory horn,

To the ear of Karl shall the blast be borne,

He shall bid his legions backward bend

And all his barons their aid shall lend."

"Nay, God forbid it for very shame,

That for me my kindred were stained with blame,

Or that gentle France to such vileness fell ;

This good sword that hath served me well,

My Durindana such strokes shall deal,

That with blood encrimsoned shall be the steel ;

By their evil star are the felons led,

They shall be numbered among the dead."

"Roland, Roland, yet sound *one* blast,

Karl shall hear ere the gorge be passed."

"I will not sound on my ivory horn,

It shall never be spoken of me in scorn,

That for heathen felons *one* blast I blew ;

I may not dishonour my lineage true,

But I will strike ere this fight be o'er  
A thousand strokes and seven hundred more  
And my Durindana shall drip with gore,  
Our Franks shall bear them like vassals brave,  
The Saracen flock but find a grave."

"I deem of neither reproach nor stain,  
I have seen the Saracen host of Spain  
Over plain and valley and mountain spread  
And the regions hidden beneath their tread ;  
Countless the swarm of the foes, and we  
A marvellous little company."  
Roland answered him, "All the more,  
My spirit within me burns therefore ;  
God and his angels of Heaven defend  
That France through me from her glory bend ;  
Death were better than fame laid low,  
Our emperor loveth a downright blow."

(C. de Roland, l. 1049-1092.)

One by one the Christians are slain ; at length Oliver and Turpin also succumb to their wounds, and the dying Roland is left alone on the battle-field, deserted even by the few surviving Saracens. His death is thus described :—

That death was on him he knew full well,  
Down from his head to his heart it fell.  
On the grass, beneath a pine-tree's shade,  
With face to earth, his form he laid ;  
Beneath him placed he his horn and sword  
And turned his face to the heathen horde.  
This hath he done the sooth to show,  
That Karl and his warriors all may know,  
That the gentle count a conqueror died.  
"Mea culpa" full oft he cried,  
And, for his sins, unto God above,  
In sign of penance, he raised his glove.

Roland feeleth his hour at hand,  
On a knoll he lies towards the Spanish land ;  
With one hand beats he upon his breast :  
"In thy sight, O God, be my sins confessed,  
From my hour of birth, both the great and small,  
Down to this day, I repent them all."  
As his glove he raised to God on high,  
Angels of Heaven descend him nigh.

On his memory rose full many a thought,  
Of the lands he won and the fields he fought,

Of his gentle France, of his kin and line,  
 And his nursing father, King Karl benign.  
 He may not the tear and sob control,  
 Nor yet forgets he his parting soul ;  
 To God's compassion he makes his cry ;  
 " O Father true, who canst not lie,  
 Who didst Lazarus raise into life agen  
 And Daniel shield in the lion's den ;  
 Shield my soul from its peril due,  
 For the sins I sinned my life-time through."  
 He did his right-hand glove uplift,  
 Saint Gabriel took from his hand the gift.  
 Then drooped his head upon his breast  
 And with claspéd hands he went to rest.  
 God from on high sent down to him  
 One of his angel cherubim ;  
 St. Michael of Peril of the Sea,  
 St. Gabriel in company.  
 From Heaven they came for that soul of price  
 And they bear it with them to Paradise.

(C. de Rolard, l. 2355-2395.)

The "Chanson de Roland" shows us the empire of the Carolingians at the time of its greatest prosperity, or, rather, professes to show it, for the picture is idealised and untrue in its details. The men of the eleventh century knew little, probably far less than we do to-day, of the real France of Charlemagne ; therefore they looked back upon his reign as an age of gold, and imagined a perfection in the state of society and in the government which never had any existence in fact ; but we are not here concerned, except incidentally, with historic truth.

In "Roland" we find the institutions essentially Germanic ; the king, respected for his personal qualities, physical and mental, is supreme in minor matters, but in great affairs his authority is more or less limited by that of a council of barons ; loyalty and devotion to him are duties ; his commands are obeyed implicitly, and usually without a murmur. It is probable that, in its general lines, this picture is fairly correct. Under the later Carolingians ; however, a new spirit grew up, a spirit of resistance to the royal authority, and a desire for independence in all but name. The kings fell from their high estate of honour and esteem ; weak and treacherous, they became objects of hatred or contemptuous pity to the great barons, who obeyed or disregarded, as they chose, the commands which they knew could not be enforced. We see the traces of this condition of things in many, indeed in most, of our chansons de geste, even those of an early period ; for the two currents of thought are to some extent con-

temporary, so much so that often in the same poem we find the author divided in his feelings between contempt and respect for the monarch whom he portrays.

In the "Cycle of Doon," "The Geste of the Traitors" as it is sometimes called, the king does not seem to be regarded as the ruler of France, but only as the highest noble in the realm; bound to reward his followers for their services by gifts of land, and often compelled by them to submit to all manner of degradation, or even to personal violence. The manners of the heroes are rough and barbarous, their language, even towards their sovereign, most violent; on the whole, this geste is the least attractive of the three.

Its subject is the adventures and misfortunes of the knight whose name has been given to the cycle, and of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. The most interesting of its chansons are "La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche," and "Renaud de Montauban," called also "Les Quatre Fils d'Aymon." The story of the first turns on a quarrel at chess between the son of the Danish knight Ogier and "Charlot," the son of Charlemagne; the young prince slays his opponent by striking him on the head with the chess-board, and the enraged father refuses to free France from the invading Saracens, except on condition that Charlot be delivered into his hands. The Emperor refuses, and a war follows, in the course of which Ogier is made prisoner, and confined for seven years in a castle at Rheims, where Turpin secretly supplies him with food. But the danger from the Saracens becomes pressing; Ogier alone can save France, and Charlemagne is obliged to comply with his demand. Taking his young son "by his white hand" he delivers him up to Ogier, who is about to slay him, when an angel intervenes. The poem ends with the reconciliation of the emperor and his rebellious vassal.

"Les Quatre Fils d'Aymon" is a work of later date, and much of it is even copied from "Ogier de Danemarche." Of the brothers whose adventures it relates, the most interesting is Renaud de Montauban, who, in the end of his life, repenting of his many sins, secretly leaves his castle, and goes, poorly attired, to Cologne, where he works as a stonemason in the construction of the church of St. Peter. He will accept no pay for his services, and this, as well as his enormous strength, renders the other workmen jealous of him; they treacherously attack and slay him, then cast his body into the river. God, however, causes the body to float, and attests by a miracle the sanctity of Renaud, who is henceforth honoured as a saint.

Of the third cycle, William "with the Short Nose," or William Fierabras, as he is also called, is the real central figure, although

it has been named after the great-grandfather invented for him by a comparatively late trouvère.

Its chief event is the defeat of the French by the Saracens at Aliscans, and the subsequent revenge of the former.

The historical original of William was a Count of Toulouse, who, in 793, was defeated by the Saracens at Villedaignes,\* and who retired in his old age to a monastery (as does also the legendary William), where he died in 812 with the reputation of a saint. But the legend has confounded with this hero two others of similar name—William, Count of Provence, who lived in the tenth century, and also fought against the Saracens; and William, Duke of Aquitaine (called *Tête d'étoupe*), who was a staunch adherent of Louis d'Outremer (921–954); whence it comes that Guillaume au Court Nez is represented as a defender of King Louis, whom, however, the legend speaks of as the son of Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire. “Aliscans” is the most ancient and the finest of the chansons of the Geste of Garin; it indeed ranks next to Roland, but with a long interval. The former of its two parts (consisting of 7045 verses) differs widely in quality and style from the latter, into which an element of coarse fun and buffoonery is introduced, in the person of the giant Rainouart, a Saracen of immense strength, who, though a king's son, has served for many years as a scullion to his Christian captor, but at length joins the army, is converted, and performs prodigies of valour; finally marrying Aalais, the daughter of King Louis. The poem begins with the battle of Aliscans, in which many noble knights, and especially the young Vivien, nephew of Count William, are slain. William, returning home alone from the fatal field, is advised by Guiboure, his wife, to seek aid against the Saracens from his brother-in-law, King Louis. Ill received by the ungrateful monarch, whom he had defended in his childhood, and even by his own sister, Queen Blanche fleur, he would have slain the latter in his rage, had not her daughter Aalais intervened and besought him to have mercy. At length he is appeased, and having extorted the required succours from the king, now as servile as he was before insolent, he sets forth to avenge the defeat of Aliscans and to deliver the Christian prisoners. How he does this is described in the second part of the poem, of which, however, not William, but Rainouart, greedy, stupid, and brave with a mere animal courage, is the real hero.

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\* The leader of the Saracens was named Abdelmelec; the battle is fully described in the quaint Latin of the *Chronicon vetus Moissiacensis Cœnobrii*, quoted by Duchesne in his “*Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*,” published in 1641 (Tom. III. p. 141). See also Molines de Saint-Yon, “*Hist. des Comtes de Toulouse*.”



The young Aalais, fair "as a rose in a May morning," is one of the few attractive girlish figures in the chansons. "Mercy, my lord," she cries, throwing herself at her uncle's feet. "Here I am, do as you please with me . . . only grant peace to my father, and to my mother, who grieves on account of your wrath; pardon her this time, fair uncle . . . if she offend you again, let me be burned alive. I shall not arise until you grant me the peace." "Wise art thou, my daughter, blessed be the day I bore thee," cries her delighted mother; we can hardly help feeling it a sacrilege when later this wise and gentle maiden is united to the stupid giant Rainouart. Vivien is in most respects a copy of Roland. In another chanson of the geste, "Le Covenant Vivien," he refuses to summon aid against the overwhelming forces of the Saracens, and so brings about the defeat of Aliscans, as Roland did that of Roncesvalles. In the same poem, this lad of fifteen bids his followers "slay women and cut the throats of children," and tortures five hundred Saracen prisoners; but in Aliscans only the closing scene of his life is described to us in detail. This passage, sometimes called "the First Communion of Vivien," is one of the finest in the poem, and I quote it here almost at length, only regretting that, as no translation of it exists, as far as I know, I am obliged to do so in my own words, which will hardly do it justice. William has been seeking his nephew over the entire battle field, and at length finds him lying under a tree:—

His white hands were crossed on his breast, his whole body and his hauberk covered with blood, his face and his bright helmet. . . . The Count William weeps bitterly, wringing his hands one in another. "Nephew Vivien," said the valiant William, "alas for your prowess and hardihood and beauty . . . never did you boast of your valour, but you were gentle and bold, and victorious against the pagans: you have slain more Saracens and Persians than any man of your time. Nephew, you have perished because never for pagan would you fly or draw back—now I see you dead at Aliscans. Ah! why did I not come whilst he was yet living, and he would have tasted the bread which I carry, and thus have received the true body of God, and for ever after would that have given me more content. My God, receive his soul, for this valiant knight has died in your service at Aliscans."

Count William staggers with grief; he kisses Vivien's blood-stained mouth, his tender mouth, sweet as cinnamon, and puts his two hands on his chest. He feels the life which still lingers in his body, and hears a deep sigh. "Ah, Nephew Vivien," said Count William, "when I knighted you, in my palace at Termes, for love of you I gave a hundred helmets and shields. Ah, Guibourc, my wife, this is sad news for you! . . . Vivien, speak to me." The Count takes him in his arms and kisses him gently. He looks at the

youth, who has raised his head a little ; he had heard his uncle, and sighs in pity for him. "My God," said William, "now You have granted my prayer." He embraces the youth and says, "Fair nephew, can you see, for the love of God?" "Yes, I see, uncle, but I have little strength ; that is no marvel, for I am wounded in the heart." "Tell me, nephew, hast thou tasted the Blessed Bread on a Sunday, when the priest has consecrated it?" Said Vivien, "I have not tasted it ; now I know well that God visited me when you came." William put his hand in his satchel and drew out the consecrated bread, consecrated at the altar of Saint Germain. "Now," said William, "confess truly your sins. I am your uncle, save God no one is nearer to you ; in His place I shall act as a priest to you ; I shall be more to you than uncle or cousin." Said Vivien : "Sir, I hunger ; hold your head close to mine, and, for the love of God, give me of this bread, then I shall die here ; hasten, uncle, for my life is departing." . . . William weeps, never can he weep enough. He raises Vivien and embraces him very tenderly with his arms ; then he begins to hear the youth's confession. He tells every sin and omits not one, which he knows or can remember. Says Vivien : "I remember, on the day when I first bore arms, I vowed to God, in the hearing of my companions, that I would not fly for Turk nor Saracen, that in battle no one should see me retreat a lance's length . . . but to-day I retreated, I know not how far, I could not measure it ; I fear the enemy made me break my vow." "Nephew," said William, "do not disturb yourself." So saying, he gave him the consecrated bread, and made him swallow it for the love of God ; then he beat his breast and ceased to speak . . . save that he sent an adieu to Guibourc. His eyes grew dim, he became pale, he looked at the gentle Count, his head sank, he breathed forth his soul. God made it enter into Paradise to dwell there with his angels. (Aliscans, l. 698-868.)

Some, having regard to the situations of the towns and castles mentioned in the chansons of this geste of Garin, have considered it to be of Provençal origin ; this is the opinion held by M. Gaston Paris ; but it is opposed by M. Léon Gautier ; it is, in fact, one of the numerous vexed questions to which the attention bestowed by scholars of late years on the literature of mediæval France has given rise.

The most generally received opinion now is that all the chansons de geste, with, perhaps, the single exception of Girart de Roussillon, were composed by trouvères of the northern and middle provinces of France, and in dialects of the langue d'oïl. This Girartz de Rossilho, which has come down to us in Provençal, is a peculiar poem in many respects.

The story is the very common one of the rebellion of a baron against the king, who, in this case, is Charles Martel. The only originality as regards plot is in the latter part, where the rebel

Girart and his wife retire to a forest, and live there for many years, supporting themselves by manual labour, until they are recognised, and Girart is, through the influence of the queen, pardoned and restored to his former honours. But the treatment of the subject and the general atmosphere of the poem differ in various slight, yet sufficient perceptible, ways from what we find in most of the other chansons de geste.

In the first place, we are struck by the absolutely modern air of the whole; there is everywhere ease and an absence of stiffness; an ambassador, who has received a message to be delivered to Girart, does not repeat it in the self-same words in which he had received it; the barons, at the councils, give their opinions at much length and with fluency; nor are any two speeches alike either in substance or form, and the number of enemies slain in a battle by the heroes does not exceed all possibility. Legal points are continually insisted on; King Charles has no right to endeavour to deprive Girart of his fief, because it was held on allodial tenure—that is to say, it could only be forfeited by a refusal on the vassal's part to give the customary feudal aid (amongst which the *convoi*, or month's provision for the liege lord and his suite, is especially mentioned) to his suzerain, but on the other hand, when Girart opposes Charles with an armed force, even his uncle, Odilon, considers that he has, by this act, forfeited his fief.

Here and there we meet little poetical expressions or reflections, which remind us of the verses of the southern troubadours, or of "Aucassin and Nicolette." "At the time when the rose-tree is covered with leaves and flowers, this battle took place;" or "the moon was full when the war began;" or again, speaking of the knights assembled on the battle-field, "they came from strange lands to die;" there is the same air of reflective melancholy in this last phrase as in another passage, where the aged Girart, looking at the broad expanse of his lands, cries: "O valley of Roussillon, fair valley; there have I seen armed so many knights, who now are dead, whose sons have succeeded them." Another peculiarity is the warm friendship of the Empress Elissent for Girart. She and her sister Berte had been brought to France from the court of their father, the King of Constantinople, as the destined brides respectively of Girart and of the King; but Charles, on seeing them, preferred Elissent, the younger sister, and compelled the reluctant Girart to accept the elder. Girart entertains the King and his bride at Roussillon, and before they depart, he takes Ellissent aside and says to her:

"What do you say to me, Empress, for the exchange I have made between you? I know you hold me despicable." "Nay, sir, rather do I regard you as a man of great worth; you have made me a

queen and taken my sister for love of me. Bertolais and Gervais, mighty counts, be ye witnesses, and you, my sister, above all Jesus, the Redeemer, that by this ring I give my love to the Duke. I give him the flower of my marriage-gift, because I love him better than father or husband ; separating from him, I must needs weep."

Perhaps friendship is hardly the correct name for a feeling so warm as that which is here expressed ; but any approach even to friendship between man and woman is of the very rarest occurrence in mediæval literature.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, we begin to find a great increase in the number of chansons produced, and a corresponding deterioration in their quality. There was scarcely any originality ; councils, battles, and incidents of all kinds were borrowed from the older poems, and enlarged to twice their former length by tedious repetitions. Fairies and enchanters were introduced to diversify themes already old and stale, and stop-gap phrases, "chevilles," as the French call them, were unsparingly used to fill up lines ; the deep religious sense of earlier times was weakened, and appeals to God or to the saints had become mere formulæ ; comic episodes interrupted here and there, the grave march of the narrative ; morality was relaxed, the age of gallantry was drawing near, and bringing with it the decay of real chivalry and a thousand fantastic absurdities. We find, as in the Arthurian romances, knights enamoured of ladies whom they have never seen ; and, instead of chaste maidens such as Aude, we have Claresses or Floripas, types far from ethereal.

There is, however, a brighter side to the picture. With its virtues some of the vices of the old time have disappeared, the brutality of manners has been softened ; we no longer see barbarians rejoicing in slaughter, and men begin a little to reflect on the waste of life and the other evils, which war involves. The softer emotions of pity and regret begin to assert themselves. The mother of Vivien, giving her little son to be put to death by the Saracens in place of his father, will keep a lock of his hair, and "fasten it next her heart to look at on feast days" ("Les Enfances Vivien") ; the innocent Parise, driven forth from her home, will return to look once more on her husband.

She said to her companions, "wait for me a little till I see my lord," she descended from the mule and passed by the knights who lay in the palace side by side ; then she came to where Duke Raymond was. The duke had wept so much that he was weary : beside him burned two great wax lights. The gentle lady did not dare to wake him ; she kissed his face softly and sweetly, then took both his gloves ornamented with gold, then raised her hand and signed him with the cross. "Sir Duke of Saint Gilles, may God protect you, now you and I are to our sorrow separated, so never in my



life shall my eyes behold you more." Before the door of the room she could hardly stand; her heart fainted, she turned back and commended him to God; then she descended the marble steps ("Parise la Duchesse").

Such a scene as this would hardly find place in the *Chanson de Roland*. Then, too, a *bourgeois* element gradually makes itself felt. In the earlier epics, the plebeian soldiery are rarely mentioned, or are only alluded to as being cut down by scores and hundreds by the knightly champions; in *Girart de Roussillon* the citizens, when left to guard the walls, neglect their duty, and allow the enemy to enter unperceived. But the later chansons contain some noble plebeian characters, as in "Parise," the wood-cutter, who gives shelter to the banished duchess, in "Macaire," Varocher, and in "Gaydon," the faithful vassal Gautier, whose simple honest love of wife and home stands in strong contrast with the vicious manners of the nobles. When Gaydon wishes to send him to carry a love message to Clarisme, Gautier protests, "I don't know how to set to such a work, except, by Saint Richard, how an honest man ought to treat his wife; I know better how to guide a plough"; and again, when one of the princesses' attendants, whose advances he has rejected, calls him "a rustic, rather fit to be a carter than to please a lady," poor Gautier groans, in bitterness of heart, "What a fool was I to leave my land, my plough, and my wife."

In war, too, the citizens began to be of some account, and in "Hugh Capet," one of the latest of the chansons, we find them defending the Queen against Count Savary, and even defeating him. At length all the changes are complete, the form itself alters, and from chansons de geste we pass to chansons d'aventure, or mere romantic, narrative poems.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rendered the chansons de geste into prose, and as prose romances they were for a long time popular; in the seventeenth century they fell into neglect amongst the upper classes, but found a warm reception in the huts of the peasantry, who still read, in the little volumes of the "Bibliothèque Bleue," some of the tales which once kings delighted to hear.

On the pictures of life and manners contained in the chansons the limits of space forbid me at present to enlarge, although in this perhaps lies their chief interest, that they lay open to our view a whole world like, and yet strangely unlike, our own, and enable us to understand how the men of mediæval France really lived, and what were their views on the affairs of this world and of the next.

MARY HAYDEN, M.A.



ART. IV.—THE BUDDHIST PROPAGANDA IN  
CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES.

*NIL sub sole novum*—"There is nothing new under the sun," says Holy Scripture, and every day proves the truth of this judgment of the Eternal Wisdom. During these latter days especially, things and systems have been restored to honour, which not long ago were absolutely discredited, and the world has been surprised by quite unexpected rehabilitations. In truth, who would believe that in this century, so full of light, after some 1900 years of the teaching of the Gospel, there could be found among Christians, men, and these in no small numbers, who are again bringing into honour the most extravagant practices of magic, and are working openly for the conversion of Christians to Buddhism and to Kabbalistic doctrines? To those who have not these facts before their eyes, it would seem to be only a dream of some troubled or ill-balanced mind, an attempt to be crushed at its birth. It is not so, however. Distinguished minds, even renowned *savants*, have made themselves co-operators in this strange task, and are working at it silently but perseveringly, all the world over, but principally in England, America, and France.

In this last country a Professor of the Collège de France and a member of the Institute, has just published a second edition of his translation of the Kabbala. The author explains the reason why he has finally decided to republish his work\* :—

For some time [he says] I have often been solicited both in France and elsewhere to publish a second edition of my book of 1843. I refused for many reasons to comply with this request. Being obliged, because of my position as Professor of Natural Law and of the Law of Nations in the Collège de France, to devote all my activity to subjects of general interest, it was very difficult for me to return to a subject of research which did not appear to correspond any longer with the interests of the times. . . . Now the situation is very different. Disgusted with the positivist, evolutionist, or brutally atheistic doctrines which predominate at the present day in our country, and which pretend to rule not only science but society, a great number of minds turn towards the East, the cradle of religions, the native country of mysticism, and among the doctrines which they are endeavouring to bring again into honour, the Kabbala is not forgotten. I will quote a number of proofs.

The reader must know, in the first place, that there exists, under

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\* O. Franck, de l'Institut, *La Kabbale*. Paris 1889.

the name of the Theosophic Society, a vast association which from India has passed to America and Europe, having vigorous branches in the United States, in England, and in France.

It is precisely of this society that we wish to speak in the present article. But before we begin, let us again listen to what the Professor of the Collège de France says :

This association is not a chance affair, it has its organisation, its hierarchy, its literature, its reviews, and its journals. The principal organ in France is called *Le Lotus*. This is a periodical of great interest, which takes its main ideas from Buddhism without pretending to fetter the spirit of them, or to forbid any new research or attempts at their transformation. Upon this Buddhist basis are often developed textual considerations and quotations taken from the Kabbala.

The learned Professor teaches us besides that a French branch of this society, called *l'Isis*, has lately published the translation of one of the two Kabbalistic books, which are looked upon as the most important and the most ancient.

These facts, and many others of which we shall speak further on, have then determined a Professor of the Collège de France, who is occupied in teaching Natural Law, to publish a new edition of a book destined to draw away minds more and more from Christian ideas. He believes that this book will be of such a nature as to excite everywhere both attention and interest, to serve as a kind of basis for the creations of modern inventors of all kinds of religiosity.

M. Franck is not the only French *savant* who places himself at the service of the Theosophic Society. He, at least, does only so indirectly, and because of the importance which others attach to it. But there are others, no less celebrated, who are working their hardest to propagate in the France of St. Denis and of Clovis the religious ideas of the Brahmans and the Bonzes ; who place Buddhism high above the doctrines of the Gospel, and who seek to inspire their pupils with respect for the former as much as with contempt for the latter.

This is being done in the Collège de France, from those chairs of the Sorbonne where but lately the teachings of theology still echoed. The Professor does not hide the fact, for one of his pupils has published it to the world, loudly praising the new teacher, and at the same time has exposed the nature of these lessons in the pages of the Bulletin of the Ethnographical Society of France, constituted as a public institution under the protection of the Government. It is the Sorbonne which at the present time gives credit to these religious doctrines, destined to alienate the world from Christianity, and to deliver it up to

the darkest as well as to the least justifiable of teachings. "Rather Turk than Papist," said the disciples of Luther; "rather Buddhist than Christian," say their modern imitators. Sham Buddhists of course! For not one of them would consent to submit to the laws of this religion which they pretend to admire.

At Oxford, Buddhist or Brahmanic sympathies are not concealed. I know a Hindu who desired to embrace Christianity. He was prevented from doing so by being told "that when a man had the happiness of belonging to such a religion as his, he could not desire to become a Christian!"

In America we could mention, among others, the followers of the famous Colonel Olcott, who is working with real zeal to *Buddhize* both Europeans and Hindus, and who has pushed his anti-Christian mission even as far as Japan.\*

\* In connection with the above remarks, the following extract from an Indian paper will no doubt be read with interest:—

CONVERSION OF AN ENGLISHMAN TO BUDDHISM.—The Theosophical Hall at the Pettah was crowded about a fortnight ago, we learn from a Madras contemporary, to excess with almost all the Buddhists of Colombo, as well as some up-country chiefs, among whom there were Muduwanwella and Malvellatenna Ratemahatmeyas, and Messrs. F. T. Ellawalla and Louis Wijesinghe Mudaliar, to witness the ceremony of converting Mr. E. D. Fawcett, of London, who recently came out from England with Colonel Olcott. The ceremony commenced at about 8.30 P.M., in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Buddhist Hall, where the High Priest Sumangala examined the candidate. Satisfied with the views of Mr. Fawcett, the High Priest came downstairs, followed by Colonel Olcott, Mr. Fawcett, and some Buddhist monks and others. The High Priest then, as chairman of the evening, addressed the large gathering, and said that it gave him the greatest pleasure to introduce Mr. Fawcett, an educated Englishman, who would in a few minutes more be counted as one of their co-religionists. He also said that a great interest was now being taken in the West in the study of Buddhism, and that that philosophy was gaining Western followers rapidly, some of whom he had the pleasure of formally admitting into the Church. Mr. Fawcett then stood up and begged the High Priest to give him the "Pansil." The High Priest assented, and the "Pansil" was given, Mr. Fawcett repeating it after the High Priest. At the last line of the "Five Precepts" the English Buddhist was cheered vociferously by his co-religionists present. The High Priest then asked Mr. Fawcett to address the audience, which he did. Colonel Olcott then also addressed the audience, reviewing the past ten years' work done by the Theosophical Society and the work it proposes to do. The High Priest then addressed the meeting again in a few words, and brought it to a close at about 11 P.M.

The French correspondent of an English daily paper wrote the other day as follows:—

Numberless chapels have been opened to receive the troop of pious mystics whose advent was announced. They have the faith; that is well understood, it remains to be seen to what god they are going to pray, before what altar they are going to kneel. Some propose to the adoration of contemporary youth not Tolstoism, nor Burne-Jonesism, nor Rosettism in the temple of Fiesole, nor the temple of Swedenborgism, but the Magi and Sakia-Mouni take the rag off the bush. On the one hand the Theo-

We have all read lately in the newspapers how the sermons and discourses of this Colonel Olcott have excited the fanaticism of the Japanese Bonzes, and determined them to start at Tokio several

sophists divulge to the world the sacred teaching of the Mahatmas of Thibet, on the other esoteric Buddhism remits armies of adepts. There are 30,000 Buddhists in Paris. There is a professor of Buddhism at the Sorbonne. Our mystics therefore have but the embarrassment of choice; they may even, as some do, make a mixture of worships. It is possible to be at once Christian, Buddhist, and Kabbalist. This is the very *bric-à-brac* of religion.

Again, a recent number of the *Ceylon Catholic Messenger* had the following article:—

AN EX-ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN IN SEARCH OF A RELIGION.—At a public meeting of the Theosophical Society held last month in Colombo, Mr. Bowles Daly, LL.D., delivered an address, which calls for a few remarks on our part, in the name of Christianity, common sense, and honesty.

The lecturer commenced by stating that he had worked as a clergyman for some time, and had now renounced Christianity. Barefaced apostasy has become but too common among Englishmen, and in the present case it is all the more shocking as it is professed in presence of a crowd of infidels, who, unable to read through the farce which is being played before them by a few designing Europeans, take it for granted that, if Christianity is being renounced by white men of great learning, it must needs be a contemptible and decaying religion. On the other hand, it may be said that the frank declaration of Mr. Bowles Daly is to be preferred to the tactics of others, who, like Sir Edwin Arnold, retain their title as Christians whilst they lower Christianity and extol infidelity. There is, however, something particularly shocking and repulsive in the open declaration, from the mouth of a baptised Christian and an ordained clergyman, that he renounces his baptism and tramples down Christ, whom he worshipped and preached in the best years of his life.

Let us now weigh the reasons the ex-reverend gentleman adduces for his renunciation of Christianity, and learn from him what other religious belief he has embraced in its stead.

This is how Dr. Daly states his case: "He found that the spiritual wants of the people (in the East End of London) were not met by the doctrines of Christianity. . . . Doles of food and coal tickets were given by some to procure good congregations." So much for the poor of London. As for the rich, they go to church. "not because of their belief in the creeds of Christianity, but to keep up appearances and respectability. The intellectual class have for the most part abandoned the Church. . . . The desire of the nation is entirely centred on the material plane, and there is a great want of spirituality."

To these objections founded on external circumstances, Dr. Daly adds another grounded on what he calls the keynote of the religion of Christ, the doctrine of "vicarious sacrifice." "The backbone of Christianity is to throw all sins on the shoulders of the Founder and sneak into heaven in a cowardly manner. The lecturer did not think this method either honest or manly. He would rather suffer for his own sins than purchase eternal happiness by so contemptible a method."

Finally, at one of the last meetings of the Alliance Scientifique of Paris, M. de Rosny (an eminent Orientalist), after having extolled the beauties of Buddhism amidst the applause of his audience, solemnly proclaimed that "the progress of this religion was becoming more accentuated day by day; that Paris already contained 30,000 Buddhists, and that very soon they would erect a temple to Buddha!"



journals in which they set themselves to abuse with great violence Christianity in general, and the orthodox faith in particular, indulging in unqualifiable attacks against missionaries,—attacks termed by the Japanese Minister “brutal and foolish orgies.”

And these are not only individual enterprises. Everywhere are books, journals and reviews multiplying themselves, together with the societies which publish and support them. Among their authors and their supporters some work openly, with their names displayed upon their banners; others work in secret, in an underhand manner, or under borrowed names, but with no less ardour and perseverance.

It is really a sad sight to see so many talented writers devoting their energies to spreading doctrines which cannot but mislead the human intelligence and conscience, and alienate a vast number of men, perhaps for ever, from their eternal end. These unhealthy publications are too numerous for us to think of giving a list of them, or of knowing more than their names. Therefore we must content ourselves with the principal and best known ones. We will occupy ourselves first of all with the periodical publications.

The *Isis Society*, of which we have already spoken, has started different reviews, the compilers of which propagate Buddhistic, Kabbalistic, or Eclectic ideas with ardent zeal.

There is, in the first place, *Le Lotus*, of which we will speak later.

There is also *L'Initiation*, started a few months ago, the writers of which are distinguished for the eccentricity of their ideas. This review takes a sub-title, that of “Philosophical and Independent Review of Higher Studies,” and by Higher Studies it means those which common sense does not recognise as such—viz., theosophy, occult sciences, hypnotism, symbolic freemasonry, alchemy, astrology, animal magnetism, spiritualism, &c. For it, the Kabbala is the science *par excellence*; the “holy Kabbala,” as they call it, is constantly quoted in its pages. The doctrine of “Yohar,” the most important of the Kabbalistic books, forms the foundation of a kind of Christianised Kabbala, which they are endeavouring to establish, and which has to serve as a basis to the new “Kingdom of God.”

In England the Theosophic Society produces :

1. The *Aurora*, a review, the special character of which is to reconcile Buddhism and Christianity, and to establish their principles, made to agree with more or less of truth, as the foundations of a new doctrine, one underlying all the religions of the universe. At the same time, the Kabbala again plays a prominent part in it; it is frequently made use of to display the new theories.



The *Aurora* is directed by Lady Caithness, Duchess of Pomar.

2. *Lucifer*, a monthly review like the others, of most respectable form, since it gives monthly 88 pages, or eleven quires royal octavo, or small quarto. It is here that we find Madame Blavatsky at the head, together with a series of assistant editors, many of whom are not without scientific renown. *Lucifer* bears upon its outer cover a picture of the Angel of Light, and informs us that it is published "to bring to light the hidden things of darkness." And its motto adds these words adapted from Holy Scripture: "I, Jesus . . . am the bright, the Morning Star."

3. The *Theosophist*, founded and directed by Olcott himself.

4. *Light*, a weekly journal of abstruse and mystic research, the very special programme of which sets forth as a principle the existence of mind and matter and of pure spirits, as well as an affinity between these latter and the uncreated intelligences, and leaves all the rest open to discussion.

We have had numbers of these various reviews before our eyes, and we can speak of them more at length. M. Franck quotes at the end of the extract which we have made from his preface different Swedenborgian journals, which appear in France and elsewhere, and which spread on all sides the visionary conceptions of the Swedish prophet, of his "New Jerusalem," which is not without relation to the Kabbala.

The English reviews naturally circulate on the other side of the Atlantic; at the same time America is represented in this sorry company by the *Path*, devoted, as its programme says, to the "human paternity," to theosophy in America, to the study of the occult sciences, to the philosophy and "literature" of the Aryans, which means to say that the Buddhists play a prominent part in it.

It also has a society attached to it which goes by the name of the "Gnostic-Theosophic Society," the chief seat of which is at Washington, and which publishes a religio-philosophical journal written in the same spirit. California has not been behindhand either, and sends forth to the world an Esoteric magazine which the Los Angeles *Times* lately styled "the organ of a lunatic asylum," as it is in connection with the "Mother Society of Theosophism." Missouri possesses its *Platonist*, which, under this deceptive title, aims at the same end.

Germany takes part in this movement by various publications, the chief of which is the *Sphinx*, a monthly review whose aim is to establish upon an historic and experimental basis the super-sensible study of the world upon monistic (?) principles, and which calls itself an "Anti-Materialistic Monthly Review for

the Scientific Study of the Mystical and Magical Acts of Nature." Its programme comprehends the study of the super-sensible forces in man and in nature; the exposition of facts which, by their nature or their causes, belong to the super-sensible world, and which, consequently, do not fall under the direct observation of the senses, and are generally neglected by men of research. A very high aim if it corresponds with these indications, but of which the qualifications "mystical and magical" mentioned above make one justly suspicious; and in reality the *Sphinx* is nothing else than an organ of Buddhist theosophism.

The books which treat of these subjects and the aim of whose authors is to entice their readers into the vagaries of this doctrine, are far too numerous to be all noticed here. Besides which, it would be pretty difficult to know them all. We will limit ourselves to mentioning the principal ones, leaving the rest to a well-merited oblivion.

1. The first one, and that which has given the keynote to the projects of the school, is the famous Buddhist Catechism of the American, Colonel H. Olcott, of which we will speak of further on. Then come:

2. "The Secret Doctrine," by Madame Blavatsky, the Priscilla of the new sect. This work is famed by adepts as the most complete and most interesting *exposé* of esoteric *occultism* and philosophy.

The first volume gives "a general outline of esoteric doctrine as to its relation to the formation of the solar system, and an *exposé* of the fundamental ideas upon which the whole system is based. The mysteries of religious and occult symbolism are treated at length in it, as well as the relations between modern science and theosophy." We shall see later what all this signifies.

The second volume treats "of theosophy in so far as it constitutes a degree of the evolution of man upon the earth." It indicates the origin of mankind, the abridged history of human evolution up to the end of the race which preceded our own, and finished with "the true explanation of the genesis and exodic recitals."

3. "Die esoterische Lehre oder Geheim-buddhismus," of A. Sinnett ("Esoteric Doctrine of Secret Buddhism"), which reveals to us the Buddhistic tendencies of the school (Leipsic, J. C. Heinrich). This work has also been published in English under the title of "Esoteric Buddhism."

4. "Licht auf dem Weg" ("Light upon the Path"), by M. C., of a similar tendency.

5. "Die Geheime Lehre" ("The Secret Doctrine"), con-

siderations by O. H. (Leipsic : Grieben), to which we will refer again later.

6. "Isis Unveiled," the principal work of Madame Blavatsky, in two big volumes, which are sold for neither more nor less than 52 francs—thanks, no doubt, to the portrait of the prophetess which it presents to the public.

7. "Traité élémentaire de Science Occulte" (Paris : Carré, 1888). Published under the fictitious name of "Papus," and of which we will speak farther on.

8. "La Science Occulte," by Louis Dramard.

9. "L'Occultisme Contemporain," by Papus. The secondary title to this work opens to us a new horizon and reveals something of the origin of the whole of this movement. It contains the words, "A Pamphlet addressed to the Occultists, Freemasons, and Theosophists." It was easy to foresee that the action of the Lodge was no stranger to these pages.

10. "Le Monde Occulte," by Sinnett; where the Kabbala, Buddhism, and Theosophism are mixed up together in a way which is often difficult to understand.

11. "Les Disciples de la Science Occulte : Fabre d'Olivet et St. Yves d'Alveydre," by Papus.

12. "Le Sepher Jesirah : les 32 Voies de la Sagesse, les 50 Portes de l'Intelligence," by the same author. These two last bear the mark of the two triangles crossed inversely, which show the hand of Freemasonry. Let us add briefly the names of: "Buddhist Theosophy," by Lady Caithness, Duchess of Pomar; "La Nouvelle Théosophie," by J. Baissac; an extract from the review of the "Histoire des Religions," by J. Deville; "Essai de Science Maudite," by S. Guaita; "Histoire Politique et Philosophique de l'Occulte," by Fabart; "The Purpose of Theosophy," by A. Sinnett; "Five Years of Theosophy" and "The Idyll of the White Lotus," by M. C.; "Theosophy, Religion, and Occult Science," by H. S. Olcott, the promoter of the Buddhist movement; "The Nature and Aim of Theosophy," by J. Buck; "People from the Other World," by H. Olcott.

Other works treat of Spiritualism, applying it to Theosophy, to Buddhist Metempsychosis, &c. We pass them by in silence.

But we must again notice a list of books recommended for the reading of the adepts of New Buddhism. It will show better still the spirit which animates the Theophistic societies. The following are the principal ones:—

"Le Mission des Juifs," by St. Yves d'Alveydre; "L'Humanité Posthume," by J. d'Assier; "Terre et Ciel," by Renaud; "La Vie et la Pensée," by E. Burnoy; "La Chute d'un Ange," by Lamartine; "Le Pape," by Victor Hugo; "Religions et Religion," as also "L'Ane," by the same; "Paradis Artificiels,"

by Baudelaire; "Les Civilisations de l'Inde," by Lebon; "La Bible dans l'Inde," by Jacolliot.

This last title will suffice to indicate how much truth and science are esteemed in these quarters.

Finally, to many other names of the same character are added Buddhist or Brahmanic texts, given out as marvels of wisdom: the Bhāgavad-Gīta, the Yoga of Patanjali, the *Upanishads*, &c. &c.

Let us notice that MM. Flammarion and L. Figuier have the honour of appearing in this strange company with many of their works: "Dieu dans la Nature, Contemplations Philosophiques," of the former; "Le Lendemain de la Mort," of the latter, and others still. It may be judged whether the criticisms passed upon them were justifiable. These gentlemen did not certainly expect to figure with the Blavatskys, the Papuses, and the Olcotts, whose reputation is more than doubtful. It is a just chastisement for their aberrations.

After this general outline of the publications, and of the ideas of our Neo-Buddhists, we must enter into some details about their principal productions, without which it would be impossible to have an exact notion of them. As we do not wish to give them an exaggerated importance, we will content ourselves by making known some of the chief ones amongst them. From the reviews we will choose the *Lotus* and *Lucifer*, as the most important; and from the Theosopho-Buddhist treatises we will briefly examine the "Buddhist Catechism" of Olcott, the "Traité des Sciences Occultes" of Papus, and the "Geheime Lehre" of Sinnett.

"A tout seigneur, tout honneur." Let us begin with the inspirer of the work, the American apostate Olcott, as he is called by the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*.

1. "Buddhist Catechism." According to what we have recently seen of the doings of the austere Colonel, his enterprise is no platonic undertaking in admiration of the Buddhist religion. He does not merely wish, as we have been led to believe, to provide Buddhist schools with a manual of doctrines, destined for them alone. His real aim is to draw Christians into apostasy, to persuade them to embrace the Hindu faith, and to prevent the Buddhists and Brahmans from becoming Christians. This is the reason why he seeks to spread abroad a work of a similar nature to that written by Sir Edwin Arnold, "The Light of Asia," in which the author extols the magnificence of the Buddhist faith in the most beautiful verse. This Catechism, written in English, has been translated into different languages. We have before us at present the German edition, which bears upon its cover the following indication: "27th Thousand." This will sufficiently serve to show the ardour with which it has been propagated.



The American editor, Professor Elliott Cones, tells us in the preface that this Catechism is the only one that he has read in which there is any common sense, and from which he has derived any profit. The book carries with it an approbation of the High Priest of Cinpada, the venerable Sumangala, who bears witness to the conformity of Olcott's text with the fundamental books of Buddhism. Also many thousands of copies in Singhalese have been distributed in the schools and monasteries of Ceylon.

The author's preface informs us that the philosophy of Çākya-mûni is the most perfect of any that has ever been conceived, and that his religion is that of the future, because in it there is nothing supernatural, and it is in all things conformable to human reason.

There is no need to add that if human reason were the highest expression of intellectual nature, if there were nothing above it, the final limit of nature would be conformity to this reason. But we shall no doubt be allowed to believe that an Intelligence, capable of constructing a whole world of wonders, of which the human reason scarcely understands a few points in the infinitude of details, and fails to find the cause of the essence of any of them, is something above the mind of man, and can, far better than the latter, claim the right of being the final end of things.

The first part of the Catechism teaches us all the circumstances of the birth and of the life of Çākya-mûni or Buddha. We read in it that the hero of the book was not really a god, but that if the exterior of his person was that of a man, his interior qualities placed him far above other human beings. A note informs us that Christians can find nothing objectionable in this assertion, since they also place the Founder of their faith far above human nature, and that the life as well as the doctrine of Christ are almost identical with those of *his elder brother*, Gautama Buddha. Farther on come eulogies of the immense charity of Buddha, which made him renounce his throne, his wives, and all his pleasures to sacrifice himself in favour of humanity, as well as the visions which determined him to do all this. These visions are admitted to be real, like phantoms formed and sent forth by the superior spirits; and the annotator cites the visions in the Bible as proofs of this reality. The Catechism follows in due sequence the whole life of Çākya-mûni, his studies with the Brahmans, the revelation which made him see the true cause of all the miseries of the sensual appetites, &c. &c. He was made to understand that the one thing necessary is the perfect knowledge of human nature, of its disposition, and of its destiny; so that one should not estimate this life at more than its true value, and should endeavour to procure both for oneself and for others the greatest amount of happiness



and the smallest amount of pain possible. By properly directing ones faculties, one succeeds in suppressing the desire for personal existence and for its delights, and with it all cause of sorrow. In this manner one arrives at deliverance from all present evils, and from all new births, and so on to the Nirvâna, or state of perfect rest—exempt from all change, from all desire, grief or illusion, and where all that belongs to physical man definitely ceases.

The Catechism then goes on to explain the cause of the re-birth of souls into a new body, which re-birth is produced by the desire for life and its enjoyments, and teaches us that the theory of metempsychosis is in perfect accord with the scientific system of Darwinian evolution. The same theory serves to justify the Buddhist doctrine of the different degrees of perfection among the adepts of Buddha, perfection produced by degrees, by natural laws; while the Christian doctrine of final retribution is stigmatised as a "monstrous falsity." The author continues by enumerating the different duties of priests and laymen; the moral principles upon which these duties are based; and the notes also continue to expose the points of superiority of the Buddhist doctrines. One example, however, will suffice to show how much Christian doctrines are here appreciated. As a matter of fact, we read on page 55, that "the idea of the Trinity reposes upon the two columns of Sabeism and Phallacism, as upon the symbols of certain astronomical signs. No Christian can escape from these difficulties, and all that he can do is to repeat the words of St. Augustine, 'Credo quia absurdum.'" They do not tell us, however, where or when the great African doctor pronounced or wrote these words.

After this the author returns to the person of Buddha and his nature, which was that of an omniscient man, enlightened upon all the truth which interests man. But he fails to tell us *how* this omniscience, this illumination, came to him; and he is perfectly right in not doing so, for this runs very close to the inspiration and revelation so much decried by Olcott and his adepts. He tells us of the first sermons, the first disciples of the All-seeing One, and states by the way that Buddhism to-day numbers 500,000,000 adherents! We know enough to say that this is a joke, for among the three to four hundred million Chinese who are ascribed without any ado upon the register of the Buddhist Church, there are not five millions who really belong to it. A good number of Chinese pray to Buddha as to a person who can be of use to them, together with their national gods, but that is all. With the exception of the Bonzes, there are no Chinese who would call themselves Buddhists.

For the rest, the book contains some other pearls. We learn

from it, for example, that Buddhists give honour to images, but without the slightest idolatry, while these contemptible Catholics really worship them ; that according to the Bible the divine nature contains a male and a female element, since man has been created to his image ; that Buddhism is superior to "all so-called religions" (*sic*), because it teaches and preaches perfect goodness without God ; the permanency of beings without what is called the soul ; a deliverance which each man wins for himself, without the intervention of priests or of pretended saints ; a supreme perfection which may be obtained in this life. Buddhism teaches us to believe, not upon the testimony of authority, nor by any act of faith whatsoever, but because our reason and our conscience prescribe it. But if my reason proves to me that Buddhism is an immense and a fatal error, how can I arrive at this deliverance ?

Olcott has even gone to the trouble of seeking from Buddhist *savants* the meaning of the title of the doctrine of Çākya-mūni, Dhammo-cakkappavassanasutta. He gives us two or three, of which one is as erroneous as the other : *sutta*, "establishing the principles of the law," "establishment of the reign of the law," &c. It really signifies "making the wheel of the law go round," a figurative expression indicating the propagation or teaching of principles. Certainly the High Priest Sumangala, who has given his *imprimatur*, does not appear to be very well versed in his own sacred books.

But enough of this morbid work, destined to retard the progress of Christianity by calumniating it in the eyes of those who do not know it. It can easily be imagined what effect such pamphlets will produce upon the minds of Orientals, to whom all ideas of Christianity are absolutely unknown, and who are beforehand satisfied with the perfection of their own beliefs.

2. "Die Geheime Lehre" ("The Secret Doctrine"). With this work we change ground a little ; we pass from Buddhism to Hinduism mixed with occult sciences. "Hindu Wisdom," the preface tells us, "possesses a power over the forces of nature of which Western science does not in the slightest suspect the existence." The secret doctrine is the "queen of sciences," it embraces everything ; the vulgar are not capable of understanding it ; even the initiated only grasp it by degrees, in parts. It teaches development ; continued progress ; the law of love which serves to re-establish the final union of everything ; the indefinite faculty of development innate in the soul ; the divine universal, the All-One. There is neither precept nor faith. Faith rests upon the sight of objects, but it knows the ways of concretion and leads those whom it enlightens to it. These ways are diverse, according to the dispositions of men. What is the truth

for one is not so for another. Each one must study the laws of life, the science of others, their thoughts, their sentiments; and, above all, oneself.

The One-Universal embraces both spirit and matter; there is but a difference of development between these two elements; a succession of degrees leads from one to the other. The two extremes do not communicate with each other, except by the intermediate degrees. The intervening action of pure mind upon matter produces in the latter life, feeling, conscience, and tendency, and thus forms the first inferior self. This reacts by tendency upon the degree immediately superior, and from degree to degree, to the supreme step of pure spirit.

The reciprocal action of different degrees, produces the movements which are subject to the law of undulation; it is represented by a spiral. The progress is indefinite, which does not imply contradiction; the absence of a beginning and of an end is incomprehensible, but not contradictory.

As may be seen, we are here in the very midst of Buddhism, atheism, monism, the universal psychical principle distributing itself in particular souls, but advancing to the indefinite and uninterrupted progress; life, and movement produced by an innate tendency, &c. &c. The details are no less Buddhistic, as can be seen from these few extracts: "The law of cause and effect becomes in man the law of justice and equality, the superior law *Karma*; and the highest element in man, the divine, that which constitutes man as such, is the propagator, the agent of the development of the law." For action the division of universal unity is necessary, the union of mind and matter.

During immeasurable periods, the soul works upon gross matter. Force only grows slowly, almost insensibly, as do the animalculæ which form coral; the soul adds to each of these lives part of a new life. Thus the soul advances unceasingly towards the light, which continues to become greater before its eyes, but the mystery of being always remains hidden before it, and humbly and respectfully it bows down before the eternal essence.

Such are the principles that these men prefer to the philosophy of a St. Augustine or of a St. Thomas. So true is it that the human heart, once it rebels, is ready to embrace anything, whatever it may be, which releases it from the nightmare of the truly divine!

3. "La Science Occulte," by Papus ("The Occult Science"). Here we enter into all the ramblings of the most extravagant alchemy; at every step one is inclined to ask if it is a dream, or if the whole thing is not simply a jest, the work of one who has made a wager to accumulate the greatest amount of nonsense possible.

We will not make our readers wade through these 220 pages of the most insipid trash, enough to make one lose ones senses. A brief sketch of its contents, and a few extracts here and there, will sufficiently enlighten our readers. We hope they will excuse us for placing before them a list of things so fantastical, and, if we may be allowed the word, so absurd.

In the first place, we have the definition of the *necessary science*, very different from the sciences which are subject to error, and to change. *Science* is the entire expression of the eternal truth, it is a synthesis which embraces, within unchangeable laws, the enormous mass of knowledge accumulated for centuries. This science has always been the property of humanity. Orpheus and Moses possessed it, as did Plato and Pythagoras, &c. To seek and to find this science is an enormous work, in which only superior men have succeeded, such as Dutens, Fabre d'Olivet, and Yves d'Alveydre. Through them we have learnt that the ancients employed steam, photography, gunpowder, &c. One proof out of a thousand. The corporation of the Etruscan priests defended *with thunderbolts* the town of Narnia against Alaric! But this science of the ancients was far superior to ours, inasmuch as it did not content itself with studying only the exterior of phenomena, but tried to penetrate to their cause, their meaning, their place in the unity of the universe. This leads the author to show us, in his own way, the visible as a manifestation of the invisible; and this science of the invisible is given to us as the "occult science." We then pass in review all the fundamental notions of this esoteric science. Laws, worlds, the "ternary," theosophical operations, which transfigure us and enable us to penetrate to the essence of things; the cyclical laws, universal life, "the great secret of the sanctuary," the light of the stars, universal strength, involution and evolution, the expression of ideas, and the origin of language, symbolical history; the table of Emerandus, Hermes, Telesmus; alchemy, qualitative geometry, magic, the ten propositions of Madame Blavatsky; the "magic table of the quaternary of Agrippa;" astrology, the "adaptation of the ternary," the pantacles, the serpent and its signification, the cross, the triangle, the twenty-one keys of Hermes, the three primitive languages, the Sphinx, the Pyramids, the Pentagram, Freemasonry, Isis. . . . The explanation of hieroglyphics by W. D. of Paris, &c. &c. All these theories, the author tells us, are entirely in conformity with esoteric Buddhism, but the name even of this writer, as well as his emblems, reveals him as a representative, an apostle of Freemasonry. This it is which speaks, and endeavours to propagate such ideas and such conceptions as the following:—

Man is a compound of cells. Humanity is also a compound of



cells which are men. It is the supreme function of an animated being called the Earth. The Earth is the organ of a superior being, called the World, of which the Sun is the brain.

It is the nerve cell which transforms the vital current into Intelligence. A similar current traverses the universe. Man breathes and transforms the earthly life into human life, and the brain transforms this human life into intelligent brain-life.

The triple principle reigns everywhere: active, passive, and neuter; such are the father, the mother, and the child, as also the Father or Osiris, the Son or Isis, and the Holy Ghost or Horus.

Alchemy is a real science; the philosopher's stone really exists; it is a red stone taken from Mercury in a fermenting state.

What do you think that the Pyramids represent? The "ternary dominating the quaternary—that is to say, mind ruling matter." The ternary is in the facial triangles; the quaternary in the square of the base. The cross has the same meaning.

The aim of man is above all to develop his mind, and if one existence is not sufficient, others will necessarily succeed.

Here are some of the revelations of Madame Blavatsky:

1. There are no miracles, but simply one universal, unchangeable law.

2. Nature is triple: (a) visible; (b) invisible; (c) spiritual.

3. Man is triple: in his physical body, in his astral body, both of which have their movement from, and are illuminated by, the immortal spirit.

4. Magic is the science which makes the mind master of matter.

5. One phase of the skill of magic is the voluntary extraction of the astral man from his physical body; neither space nor time present any obstacle to the peregrinations of the astral body; it is through it that the initiated accomplish such wonders.

But I hear my readers crying "enough"; let us pass on.

4. The *Lotus*. Let us limit ourselves to the analysis of one of its numbers; one of the most curious of its specimens is certainly the issue of February 1888. Let us see something of it.

In the first place, we have a writer who calls himself the Abbé Broca, and gives himself out as a Catholic priest. He tells us that "Catholic priests are much cajoled and with reason, in ultramontane circles, which the ancients call *ultramundane*, and where the religion of Christ has everything to lose and nothing to gain." Then after some very "tall talk" about life and death, and the mission and the divinity of Christ, he speaks of Christian esoterism, of a Christianity similar to Brahmanism, and tells us that a day will come when humanity, overthrowing the barriers which divide the Churches into sects, will proceed towards the fold



which has been prophesied, so as to constitute one universal family of the Father, under the sole guidance of one pastor, who will be Christ himself, personified by a Pontiff to whom the Pope of to-day bears no more resemblance than the Pope of Salt Lake City does to the Pope of the Vatican. Further on, he reveals that the East has had Messiahs and Christs humanly realised, while the West has only received from Moses and the prophets remote promises of religious and social redemption. After this, he discusses with Madame Blavatsky whether a triple or septuple sense should be given to the sacred Scriptures, according to the Christian tradition, or to the Buddhist teaching, and talks quite seriously about the fancies of the Oriental imagination, of which it has been said with reason that it knows neither limit nor measure.

Then follows a treatise on "the soul according to the Kabbala," and especially upon the soul in death. Man dies either because God withdraws his continual influence from the principles Neshameh and Ruach, and Nephesh loses its vital force, which is death from above; or because the body becomes disorganised and loses the twofold property of receiving from on high the necessary influence, and of exciting Nephesh, Ruach, and Neshameh, so that they may descend into him. Neshameh, the spiritual principle, is the last to come into man and the first to leave him, but the human personality can still exist after he departs. Even Ruach (the vital principle) leaves the body alive. Nephesh still remains; his abode is the liver; but then the evil spirits take possession of the body, which obliges Nephesh to leave, &c. The rest is still more ridiculous.

This treatise on the soul is followed by an explanation of the Masonic legend of Hiram, as the hero of the struggle of Freemasonry for the one only religion of nature, against all other particular religions.

After this comes an *exposé* of "astral perception," the sense unknown to ordinary mortals, which teaches the initiated the science of the unknown and of the invisible, and enables him to work prodigies styled magic. He who possesses it, in however small a degree, retains the remembrance of this astral world, in which he formerly floated about; he perceives things which the profane cannot even dream of. The visions of childhood, those sudden fears, those terrors of which we make fun because we can see no cause for them—are produced by apparitions from this astral world, which persist in haunting the mind and the eyes. The soul, when coming into the body, has also traversed the astral world, and retains more or less of its waves, &c. The number concludes, as far as its chief parts are concerned, by a discussion about Positivism, in which the learned author rejects with disdain

the Middle Ages, equality, Protestantism, the Revolution, and modern science, and wraps himself in the cloak of the true sage, the theosophist; and finally by an essay upon the "intellectual and metaphysical constitution of man," which shows him to us living by a quadruple life, "instructive, animic, intellectual and volitive," each of which has its own centre and sphere, its astral focus. These focuses produce each its own object, the body, the soul, the spirit and the will. We will not stop to discuss these productions of an imagination run wild, but simply mention the different features, in which we find all the malice of the Freemason journals and the characteristics of the occult art, and we leave this region of nonsense, no doubt to the great satisfaction of our readers.

5. *Lucifer*. We certainly have here a review upon which the greatest pains have been spent necessary to make it attractive; good paper, beautiful type, a striking cover, a bulky monthly issue, an elegant quarto size, all costing only 15s. per year. All this would matter little if its contents were worth anything. But what are the contents? Let us take one of the last numbers as an example: "Thoughts on Karma and Reincarnation," "Metempsychosis," "Varieties of Magic," "Occult Axioms and their Symbols," "Sun-spots and Commercial Crises, or Astrology in Economics," "The Elixir of the Devil," "The Talking Image of Urur," "Theosophical Activities," &c. &c.

In the first article these Theosophists complain that there are among seekers some who go to them more from curiosity than from love of the truth, and who entirely abandon them after only a short initiation. As a contrast they pride themselves that many believers, who have been convinced by them of the inanity of their faith, who have recourse to them as to skilled surgeons who are capable of extracting from their minds the religious discrepancies fatal to their intellectual development.

Many spiritualists create great difficulties for them, because they will be re-born in their own way, and not according to the truth that the Theosophists alone, naturally, possess. Then after an attack upon the Protestant missionaries in India, they teach us that transmission of souls really exists, and that, too, with complete forgetfulness of the preceding life. This certainly must be so, for there are none of us who remember our anterior existences. (What a solemn farce!)

The article upon magic distinguishes the white from the black, the first being the work of God, aiming at good and directing all the forces of nature to the service of virtuous adepts; the second, proceeding from the demon, directed to pure egoism, to evil. For the one as for the others, natural dispositions are necessary and nothing can replace them.

A little farther on we find a new Genesis, the "Bible of the Future," which commences thus:—

1. Primarily the Unknowable moved upon cosmos and evolved protoplasm.

2. And protoplasm was inorganic and undifferentiated, containing all things in potential energy, and a spirit of evolution moved upon the fluid mass.

3. And the Unknowable said, Let atoms attract each after its kind; and their contact begat light, heat and electricity.

4. And the Unconditioned differentiated the atoms, each after its kind; and their combinations begat rock, air and water.

5. And there went out a spirit of evolution from the Unconditioned, and working in protoplasm, by accretion and absorption, produced the organic cell.

6. And cell by nutrition evolved primordial germ, and germ developed protegene, and protegene begat eozoon, and eozoon begat monad, and monad begat animalcule.

7. And animalcule begat ephemera; then began creeping things to multiply on the face of the earth.

8. And earthly atom in vegetable protoplasm begat the molecule, and thence came all grass and every herb in the earth.

9. And animalcule in the water evolved fins, tails, claws and scales; and in the air wings and beaks; and on the land they sprouted such organs as were necessary as played upon by the environment.

10. And by accretion and absorption came the radiata and mollusca; and mollusca begat articulata, and articulata begat vertebrata.

11. Now these are the generation of the higher vertebrata, in the cosmic period that the Unknowable evolved the bipedal mammalia.

12. And every man of the earth, while he was yet a monkey, and the horse while he was a hipparion, and the hipparion before he was an oredon.

13. Out of the ascidian came the amphibian, and begat the pentadactyle; and the pentadactyle, by inheritance and selection, produced the hylobate, from which are the simiadae in all their tribes.

14. And out of the simiadae the lemur prevailed above his fellows, and produced the platyrrhine monkey, &c.

The rest is in the same style; we have given such a long extract because it is well to know with what they would replace the teaching of the Bible, which is so simple and so clear.

Let us now notice this formula of the modest pretensions of our teachers: "*We begin with instinct and we finish with omniscience*—that is, the intuition of the pure truth. By this it is that the human soul, carried out of itself, becomes the recipient of the World Soul."

What a beautiful thing in truth this omniscience of the human being, incapable of explaining even the essence of a grain of sand!

The activity of these Neo-Buddhist societies does not exert itself upon the Buddhists, Brahmans, or Christians alone; their propaganda extends itself also to other religions. Thus we lately received the work of a Zoroastrian priest, with a letter which informed us of the errors into which those are plunged who interpret the Avesta without having been initiated into the mysteries of Neo-Buddhism. The Avesta after falling into such hands, would be easily understood by everybody. Mr. Dhunjibhoy Medhora, the author of this book,\* is an adept of Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky; most likely he is a Freemason also, for one of his chapters (pp. 195-197) is consecrated to the Rosicrucian system. It would be of no use to us to know what style of doctrine Mr. Medhora gratuitously attributes to Zoroaster. One can guess that its basis is Brahmanic pantheism, with psychology and Buddhist morality engrafted on it. It suffices to know that the Buddhist-Theosophic propaganda has spread to the Parsis and counts some adepts among them. At the same time, so as to be able to characterise the sect, we will give two extracts from this book, which has for its object to lead Zoroastrians into the bosom of the Neo-Buddhist Church:

I. *Doctrine of the Rosicrucians.*—The whole of the Sacred Writings is nothing more or less than a vast game of mysticism, relating to alchemy, and to the universal disputes upon this science. The mystical meaning of the two Testaments is only this: It matters little what religion one professes, Christianity, Sectarianism, or Paganism; the *corner-stone* upon which all reposes is the philosopher's stone, or the art of magic, by which the spirits are commanded and unite to serve the forces and the spirits of nature. . . .

If God is the light which vivifies the whole of nature, He does not penetrate anything unless one figure of the object be taken as a medium in which He places Himself. This *aura* is the infinite and ethereal spirit, and God and it are identical. . . .

The soul of the world is the true Messiah and Saviour, the corner-stone of the temple, upon which are based the Church and salvation. The blood of Christ the Redeemer is its concentrated light, and thus shed to redeem men.

The just man who has become perfect is the alchemist, who has found the philosopher's stone, the Holy Grail, the flame of ecstasy in which he becomes immortal.

There were, originally, two principles—light and darkness, matter

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\* "The Zoroastrian and some other Ancient Systems." Bombay.

and form. Before the production of particular beings, light was a latent divinity, which became active in the formation of the universe.

II. *The Evocation of Apollonius of Tyana.*—The images of persons and things are conserved in the astral light; it is hence that the forms which are no more in the world can be evoked and made to appear. The Kabbalists who spoke of the Spirit World simply related that which they saw in their evocations. Thus it is that the master Eliphas Levi Zohed (in the profane world, Alphonse Louis Constant) made Apollonius of Tyana appear and hold conversation with him. All men have two bodies, one visible, one astral. When one has lived a good life the astral body evaporates; if not, it detains the material body here below, and obliges it to begin a new existence.

Our readers will, no doubt, beg to be excused the rest. We therefore finish with the above extract, which describes Hindu metempsychosis.

Can we help pitying these unhappy creatures who allow themselves to be led into such errors? *Mundus vult decipi*; and only too often it is so. But we cannot sufficiently regret to see so many minds, capable of better things, falling victims to the inventors of systems who make sport of their confidence.

C. DE HARLEZ.

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## ART. V.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASS.

THE greatest change made in the Holy Sacrifice during the centuries immediately preceding St. Gregory, was the introduction of the variable parts of the Mass known as Collects, Secrets, Post-communions and Prefaces. These last, indeed, became so numerous in the earlier Sacramentaries, that St. Gregory dealt with them in the same way as St. Pius V. treated the Sequences and other mediæval additions to the Missal; only a few were retained, as examples of what had once been so frequent. It is not easy to determine when, and under what influences, these parts of the Mass had their origin. Their profusion in the Gelasian Sacramentary—which, after supplying Collects to many of the post-Gregorian additions to the Missal, still contains many of great beauty that are unused—implies that they were not of recent introduction when that work was compiled. The same is true of the earlier Leonine Sacramentary, though here the irregularity of their number and arrangement shows that we have got nearer to their first employment in the Mass. Many of the Collects and Prefaces so closely resemble the thoughts and the terse antithetical style of St. Leo, that we can hardly be wrong in ascribing them to that great Pontiff. The alternative, that they were extracted from his works, would hardly survive an examination of the parallel passages collected by Muratori and the Ballerini—an examination which might easily be extended. Moreover, the stress laid in so many of them on the necessity of divine grace points to a time when Pelagianism was rife. Contemporaneously with St. Leo, we find the fourth Council of Carthage speaking of Collects as in use, and the Council of Milevi (416) prohibiting those which had not been approved. To go farther back, M. Duchesne points out that some of the Gelasian variables refer to the influence of the anchorites in Rome in the time of SS. Damasus and Siricius. Nor will Sala's statement appear incredible, that some of the prayers, especially for baptism, must date from a time when paganism was still prevalent, and must therefore go back as far as SS. Silvester and Julius in the fourth century. There are distinct traces of prayers like our Collects at a much earlier period, such as this passage in St. Irenæus:—"Lord, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob and Israel, who art the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; God who, out of the abundance

of Thy mercy, hast been pleased that we should know Thee, who didst make heaven and earth, governest all things, art the only true God, above whom there is none other, grant, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that the Holy Ghost too may govern us" (iii. 6, 4). St. Fulgentius testifies that the prayers ended in his day in Africa with the same words we now employ.\*

There is good reason, then, for believing that prayers of this kind have been used in the Western Church from a very early period; we have next to inquire under what influences they became part of the Roman Mass. Palmer conjectured that they were due to the example of the Church of Alexandria. He pointed out that Cassian describes such prayers as said by the monks in Egypt; these are, however, connected in Cassian's account with the Office rather than with the Liturgy. He also noticed the close resemblance between our Collects and certain prayers in the Coptic St. Basil. The latter, however, are not variable, so that the analogy fails in an essential particular. Nor will any Oriental rite furnish us with parallels to the special Prefaces and additions to the Canon that have also to be accounted for. All of these are to be found in the Hispano-Gallic Liturgies; and (assuming the antiquity of this Liturgy) I would therefore rather look to it for the influence which introduced the variables into the Roman rite. The position of the Collect seems to point to the Spanish Mass, in which the "Gloria" expands into a special termination for each feast.

We are able to date more satisfactorily the introduction of the psalm at the Introit, since it is ascribed to St. Celestine (421-430). We learn from St. Augustine that at the same time selections from the psalms were first sung in Africa: "sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo id quod fuisset oblatum" (Retract ii. 11). Here an Eastern, and in particular an Alexandrian, influence is more obvious. We find in the works of the so-called Areopagite an account of the Alexandrian Mass in the fourth century,† from which it appears that a psalm was "almost always" sung before the lessons, and another at the unveiling of the Elements, which corresponds to our offertory. From the Apostolical Constitutions and St. Jerome, we learn that in the East the 33rd Psalm was sung during the Communion, being no doubt selected on account of the verse, "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet," which is so often referred to the Blessed Sacrament by early Christian writers.

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\* "In orationibus sacerdotum per Dominum nostrum J. C., qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per universas pæne Africæ regiones dicere Catholica consuevit Ecclesia" (Ad Ferrand.) Tertullian's language (Apol. 21) seems to imply that a similar form was used in his time.

† "Ecl. Hier." cap. 3, ss. 2, 3.

The psalms after each lesson, from which our Gradual and Tract are derived, have been in use for a much longer period. I mentioned in my first paper that they were chanted in the Jewish Synagogal service; they seem to be referred to by Tertullian, and they are described in the earlier account of the Liturgy in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 57). The prayers for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, before their exclusion from the sacred mysteries, must have been omitted from the Roman Mass about the same time as the Introits and Offer-tories were introduced. I have already said that this part of the Liturgy is extant only in the so-called Clementine Liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions (viii. 6-9); but we have evidence that it must at one time have been contained in the Roman Mass. Tertullian tells us\* that the sermon was followed by "exhortationes castigationes et censura divina," these terms being respectively applicable to the prayers over the catechumens, the possessed, and the penitents. It must have been retained in Rome as late as Sozomen. That historian was much impressed by the fervour of the penitents, who "cast themselves on the ground groaning and lamenting. The bishop, weeping, comes forward to meet them, prostrates himself with them, and the whole congregation sheds tears. Then the bishop, rising up himself, raises those who are prostrate, dismissing them with a prayer suitable for repentant sinners." †

In St. Gregory's day so much at least of the ancient discipline was preserved that the deacon proclaimed, "If any one does not communicate, let him depart" ‡; just as in the Ethiopic Liturgy even now the deacon says, "Qui non communicatis exite." Abundant evidence is to be found in St. Justin of these prayers, but I cannot appeal to him for proof of their existence in the Roman Mass, because there is so much doubt whether he describes the ordinary Liturgy of the Church of Rome at all.

This part of the Mass has passed away, leaving no trace in our present service; that which followed it in the primitive Liturgies has fortunately been preserved for us. After the exclusion of those who were deemed unfit to assist at the holy sacrifice, a series of prayers followed in which all present joined, which were therefore called the "Prayers of the Faithful." §

It seems to be generally admitted that these are represented

\* Apol. 39.

† H.E. vii. 16. Compare with this the vivid picture in Tertullian's "De Pudicitia," where the penitents implore the intercession of the faithful, and the Pope is moved to indulgence by their united prayers.

‡ Dial. ii. 23.

§ *ἔπειτα ἀνστήμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ ἐνθάς πέμπομεν.*

"We all stand up together and pray," St. Justin, Apol. 67.

in our Missal by the prayers which on Good Friday follow the Passion, and precede the Adoration of the Cross. M. Duchesne the latest Catholic writer on this subject, points out that these occupy the exact place of the Prayers of the Faithful, and that nothing in them is so characteristic of Good Friday as to have caused their special insertion on that day. It is infinitely more likely that in this, as in many other respects, the Good Friday Mass is the only survival of an earlier stage of the Liturgy. M. Duchesne thinks the "Oremus" at the Offertory is the last remains of this part of the Office in our present Mass.

It is strange that, so far as I know, no one has examined these prayers critically with a view to determine their age and original character. If I now do so only as far as they concern my present subject, it is in the hope that some one may be induced to study, more completely than I have done, this very interesting part of the service.

It will be at once remarked that the Good Friday prayers consist of two series: bidding-prayers which precede the "Flectamus genua," and Collects which follow the "Levate." The latter, may I believe, be set aside at once as much later in date than the former. Their style shows they come from the same hands as the collects of the Sacramentaries; they have no analogues in the Oriental Liturgies; and so far as my reading goes, they are quoted by no writer of antiquity. The bidding-prayers, on the contrary, are referred to sufficiently often and clearly to establish their existence at an early period. Thus St. Celestine (about 432) says: "Praesules . . . tota secum ecclesia congemiscente postulant et precantur . . . ut idololatrae ab impietatis suae liberentur erroribus, ut Iudaeis ablato cordis velamine lux veritatis appareat, ut haeretici catholicae fidei perceptione resipiscant, ut schismatici spiritum redivivae caritatis accipiant, ut lapsis paenitentiae remedia conferantur, ut denique catechumenis ad regenerationis sacramenta perductis caelestis misericordiae aula reseretur."

I think, too, there can be no doubt St. Augustine refers to the same prayers when he says: "Quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare *exhortantem populum Dei orare* pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro Catechumenis . . . et pro fidelibus;" and the prayers are described by him elsewhere as "Obsecrationes quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici."\* St. Optatus quotes the bidding-prayer for the Church; † and

\* Ep. 107 vel 217, ad Vitalem; Ep. 149; so, too, Ambrosiaster, de Sac. iv. 4.

† Cont. Parmen. ii. p. 43.



Arnobius evidently alludes to the general tenour of them all.\* Lastly, Tertullian refers to them in general terms,† and as we shall presently see, reproduces great part of one of them at the end of his treatise on prayer. An examination of the grammar and phraseology of these bidding-prayers adds greatly to the evidence for their antiquity. They are not grammatically correct, but are composed in the “*lingua latina vulgaris*,” in which such solecisms as “*infirmantibus*” “*elegit eum in ordine episcopatus*,” and “*diaconibus*” abound.‡ The irregular form for “*diaconis*” is, of course, common in St. Cyprian, as well as in later writers; but the other instances I have given cannot be matched in his works. The like are, however, to be found in the pseudo-Cyprianic works, which are for the most part of Roman authorship, and in the letters of the Roman clergy and confessors to St. Cyprian during the vacancy of the see before the election of St. Cornelius. (Epp. 30 & 31, ed. Hartel.)§

The language and phraseology of these same documents supply so many parallels to the Good Friday prayers, that it cannot be doubtful that the latter were used in Rome in the earlier half of the third century. For instance, the two Roman letters, and they only, in enumerating the several orders in the Church, mention confessors in the same way the Good Friday prayers do: “*Conlatione consiliorum facta cum episcopis presbyteris diaconibus confessoribus pariter et stantibus laicis.*” (Ep. 30, 5; 31, 6.)||

“*Mater Ecclesia*,” “*lavacrum regenerationis*,” “*ianua misericordiae*,” “*aures praeiudiciorum*,” are all phrases that will be found in the pseudo-Cyprianic works—the first, indeed, in St. Cyprian. The most notable, because the most frequently recurring phrase, “*Deus et Dominus noster*,” seems to be a protest against the Gnostic heresies, whence the importance attached to it by St. Irenaeus and Tertullian; ¶ it, therefore, points to the end of the second century.

\* Adv. Nat. p. 171 ed Reifferschied.

† Apol. 39.

‡ “*Levate*” is probably not to be construed with “*corpora vestra*” understood as Duchesne suggests, but as a reflective verb, like the well-known verse in Virgil: “*Sese attollens cubitoque innixa levavit.*”

§ “*Infirmo*” is, however, only to be found much later in the active, according to Rönsch (“*Itala und Vulgata*”).

Menardus supposed, on the strength of two inconclusive conciliar canons, that the word confessor here was equivalent to cantor; while Duchesne remarks that it is often used for the ascetae in the fourth and fifth centuries. The passages I have quoted above, however, seem to fix its meaning to those who had confessed the Faith, and therefore held a special grade in the Church. (Cf. Hippolytus Can. Ar. 6, and St. Cyprian Ep. 34.)

¶ Adv. Haer. iii. 6–8: Adv. Hermog. 1–3. See, too, Novatians de Trinitate and Ruinart Acta S. Vinc. vi. The phrase is also found repeatedly in the “*De Pascha computus*,” a Roman tract of date 243.



These parallels have been noted on a very hasty examination of the early Latin ecclesiastical writers. I have no doubt they might be greatly multiplied by a search, particularly among the catacomb inscriptions, which I have not been able even to look through; but as they stand they are no doubt enough to show that the bidding-prayers were used in Rome in the third century. Much of the evidence I have adduced, indeed, comes from Africa; but it is admitted that Rome bestowed her creed and ritual, with her faith, on that country;\* and that the Roman and African liturgies were identical. There is a close similarity in general character and contents between these prayers and the Prayers of the Faithful which, in slightly varying shapes, are to be found in every Oriental liturgy. But Archdeacon Freeman was, so far as I know, the first to point out that many parts of the bidding-prayers are to be found, in the same words, in the Commemoration of the living and the dead which is interpolated in the Preface of the Greek Alexandrian Mass. He thought this was their earlier form, and that they were changed from an intercession by the celebrant into bidding-prayers by the deacon, when they were adopted in Rome. This, however, is impossible. Not only do the other two ancient Eastern rites (the Liturgies of St. Clement and St. James) give them as the Roman Good Friday Mass does, but the Coptic form of the Alexandrian liturgy also puts them into the mouth of the deacon as invitations to the faithful to pray. No doubt the Roman form of these prayers underwent frequent minor alterations in those early ages when the liturgical formulæ were not considered unchangeable; but they bear much fewer internal traces of change than the intercession in the Liturgy of St. Mark, which has only reached us in two corrupt manuscripts. As an instance of change in the Good Friday prayers, I may mention the prayer for the Emperor, which is evidently later than the rest. The original prayer for the Sovereign seems to be now fused with the first prayer—that for the Church; for in the Alexandrian rite the words “subiciantur illi barbaras gentes . . . . ut vitam tranquillam et placidam ducamus in omni pietate” form part of the prayer for the King, and the reference to 1 Tim. ii. 2 shows this was their original application. But there can hardly be any reasonable doubt that these prayers in their general character are apostolic in origin, being lineally descended from the Jewish bidding-prayers called the Shacharith, which I briefly described in my first paper. They occurred in the Sabbath morning service, as in the Mass, after the lessons and the sermon,

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\* “Videamus quid (Roma) didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserit. . . . Inde . . . . eucharistia pascit.”—Terullian; *Praeser. Haer.* 36.

and they were bidding-prayers chanted by a precentor, to which the congregation responded Amen.\*

In the case of one of the prayers—that for special necessities—we can now fill up the gap between the origin of Christianity and the third century. It will be seen by the parallel extracts which I subjoin, that many of the petitions in this prayer are to be found at the end of Tertullian's "De Oratione," so that we can hardly doubt he had it in his mind when he wrote. But the same phrases also occur in the Alexandrian Liturgy, and they again are found in that portion of the Epistle of St. Clement which was recovered in 1875. Dr. Lightfoot pointed this out at the time, and remarked that "the coincidences are far too numerous and close to be accidental." It will hardly be thought that the liturgy borrowed these expressions from St. Clement; and it is far more probable that both took them from one common source. This Dr. Lightfoot found in the "Shemoneh Esreh," or "Eighteen Benedictions;" but he was apparently unaware that Bickell had already shown that these were inserted at this point of the Jewish synagogal service. We have then converging evidence sufficient, to prove that this bidding-prayer is derived from a Jewish source; and to strengthen greatly Lightfoot's suggestion, that St. Clement was quoting liturgical prayers, which were already—at the end of the first century—assuming a definite shape in the Roman Church. I need not here dwell upon all the points which are suggested by the following parallels; I will only remark that Tertullian seems to have been acquainted with a longer form of this prayer than the one we have in our present Missal, and one which contained the first point, not found in St. Clement or the Alexandrian Liturgy.

1. THE SHEMONEH ESREH. (Lightfoot).—"Thou bringest the dead to life. Thou supportest them that fall, and healest the sick, and loosest them that are in bonds."

2. ST. CLEMENT OF ROME (Cap. lix.).—τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ἡμῶν σῶσον, τοὺς πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἴασαι, τοὺς πλανωμένους τῶν λαῶν σου ἐπίστρεψον, χόρτασον τοὺς πεινῶντας, λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν, ἐξανάστησον τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, παρακάλεσον τοὺς ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας.

3. ALEXANDRIAN LITURGY (Greek from St. Mark's; Latin from St. Cyril's).—ἐξελον τοὺς ἐν ἀγαγκαις, lapsos erige, νεοσηκότας ἴασαι, πεπλανημένους ἐπίστρεψον, esurientes satia, λύτρωσαι δεσμίους ἐξανάστησον τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα, ὀλιγοψυχοῦντα παρακάλεσον.

\* The prayer for the Sovereign, which I take from Bickell, will give an idea of their character. "May He, who giveth victory to kings, bless, preserve, maintain, support, exalt, and make great our glorious ruler N. N.; may He put into his heart and into the hearts of all his councillors and generals to do good to us and to all Israel; let us say: Amen."

4. TERTULLIAN. ("De Oratione," cap. 39).— . . . "Defunctorum animas ab ipso mortis itinere vocare, debiles reformare, aegros remediare. . . . claustra carceris aperire, vincula innocentium solvere. . . . Pusillanimos consolatur, peregrinantes deducit, fluctus mitigat. . . . lapsos erigit, cadentes suspendit, stantes continet."

5. ROMAN LITURGY. (Feria vi. in Parasceve).— . . . "Morbos auferat, famem depellat, aperiat carceres, vincula dissolvat. Peregrinantibus reditum, infirmantibus sanitatem, navigantibus portum salutis indulgeat."

I do not know of any evidence showing when and under what influence these prayers were omitted from the ordinary Mass and restricted to Good Friday (the Gregorian Sacramentary directs them to be said also on the Wednesday in Holy Week). They appear to have been still in use in the time of St. Augustine and St. Celestine, and to have been provided with Collects about the time of St. Leo. Previous to that there was an interval for silent prayer after "Flectamus genua," ended by "Levate."\* We shall probably not be wrong in supposing they were omitted from the Roman Mass under the influence of the other great Liturgy of the West. There seem to have been no prayers of the faithful in the Hispano-Gallic Mass, and as variable Collects and Secrets came into use they would be less required.

The only other point in the pro-anaphoral part of the Mass which need detain us is the lessons from Scripture.

We have seen that in the Synagogue two passages were read, one from the law and the other from the prophets; and that the Christian Church added to these readings from the Epistles and Gospels. All of these are represented in the Good Friday Mass, the Passion being the lesson from the New Testament. But from a very early period the number of lessons was reduced on many days to one, either from the Old or New Testament, the older custom being retained on certain days.†

When we turn to the more solemn part of the Mass—the Preface and Canon—we are met at once by a great obstacle to further research. The discipline of the Church prevented its being made known to the uninitiated, so that we find at most allusions and references, instead of the tolerably numerous quotations which have enabled me to trace the history of the earlier parts of the Liturgy. A good deal can, however, be done, as will be seen,

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\* Menardus, note 242. "Post paululum dicit, Levate" (Sac. Gelas).

† This appears from St. Augustine, Sermon. 45 and 176, and from St. Justin, who expressly says: "The memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read." Not remarking the "or," Palmer and Swainson believed they had detected a discrepancy between the account in St. Justin and the Roman Mass which does not exist.

and more interesting results still probably await greater patience and skill than I have been able to give to the task.

The earliest quotation of any notable portion of the Canon of the Mass is to be found in the treatise "De Sacramentis," which is included among the works of St. Ambrose, though certainly not written by that Father. It must date from about the end of the fourth century, since, on the one hand, St. Ambrose is quoted, and, on the other, Paganism is spoken of as still flourishing. Duchesne conjectures that it was written in some town of Northern Italy—perhaps Ravenna—where Roman and Milanese influences were combined. In this work all the Canon is quoted, with a few unimportant differences, from "Quam oblationem" to the words "summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech" after the Consecration.

But, though we are not able to adduce any direct proof of the identity of the present Canon with that used at an earlier date than this work, we have a good deal of indirect evidence on different lines which proves a higher antiquity.

Thus we have Roman Pontiffs of the fifth and sixth centuries asserting that it is of Apostolical origin.

St. Vigilius (538) speaks in this way of the Canon, distinguishing it from the "capitula et preces" (the variable "Communicantes") which have been added for certain feasts. He sent the Roman Ordinary of the Mass to Profuturus, with the Paschal proper as a sample of the additions which might be made at the discretion of the latter. More than a hundred years earlier we find St. Innocent claiming an apostolical origin for the Roman Mass, mentioning at the same time its two most distinctive peculiarities—the recital of the offerers' names in the Canon, and the position of the Pax after the Lord's Prayer. This brings us within the time when the great schism was still active, which had divided the Christians of Rome for two centuries. It is not conceivable that the apostolical origin of the Roman Liturgy could have been asserted by the Popes, if the Novatians were able to point to a different rite, which they had taken with them when they left the Church in the middle of the third century.

Sir W. Palmer brought forward another very strong argument for the antiquity of, at least, the general order and structure of the Roman Mass. The Liturgy of the Church of Africa is sufficiently known to us, from the references in the great writers of that Church, to enable us to say it was practically identical with the Roman. We must, therefore, suppose it was brought from Rome at the first introduction of Christianity into that country, since it could not have originated independently, or have been imposed later without some evidence of such a change. In like manner, the Ambrosian rite has differed from the Roman



since the fifth century, yet in the opinion, I believe, of all Liturgiologists save Duchesne, it is of Roman origin. Here, again, the entire absence of any history of a later introduction leads us to believe that the first missionaries took their Liturgy with them from Rome, when they evangelised Northern Italy. If this argument is accepted, we can carry up the chief characteristics of our present Mass to very early, probably sub-Apostolic, times.

Another argument of the same kind has not, I think, been sufficiently considered. The similarity between the Roman and Alexandrian Liturgies has been recognised by many authorities, and is, indeed, obvious on any comparison.\* Both appear to have begun with a threefold repetition of the "Kyrie eleison," interposed between prayers which have been omitted from the Roman Mass; † and in both the solemn Benediction of the celebrant was given at the end of Mass, instead of before the Preface, as in the Oriental rites. Both seem to have had originally two intercessory prayers; the prayer of the faithful before the Preface, and the commemoration made by the celebrant during the Canon; and this is probably the reason why we now find the latter intercalated in such a singular manner in the Alexandrian Preface. ‡

Still more remarkable, as showing a common origin, are the passages which are verbally the same in both Liturgies. I have already mentioned that many parts of the prayers of the faithful are the same, and for these I will refer the reader to a comparison of the originals. But, besides these, we find portions of the Roman Canon which are word for word identical with prayers in the Alexandrian Liturgy, so that we cannot doubt of the common origin of at any rate the following prayers:—

1. ROMAN.—"Iube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui, in sublime altare tuum. . . . Digneris accepta habere, sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ. . . . Partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum sanctis tuis. . . ."

2. ALEXANDRIAN.—τῶν προσφιλόντων . . . τὰς προσφοράς προσδέξαι ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ . . . ἐπουράνιον . . . σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας . . . προσδέξαι . . . ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τῶν δικαίου σου Ἀβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τῶν πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ . . . δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων σου . .

\* Encore ne serait-il pas impossible de ramener le type gallican au type syrien; et de conjecturer que l'usage d'Alexandrie dérive pour une certaine mesure de celui de Rome. (Duchesne: "Origines du Culte chrétien," p. 55.)

† See St. Gregory, Ep. ix. 12.

‡ "Huius interpositionis exemplum, et si in Oriente rarissimum, subministrat tamen Canon Latinus, qui eadem ferme capitula sed brevissime perstringit." (Renaudot, i. p. 360.)



(The first two of these passages occur in a prayer over the offerings; the last immediately precedes them, but, like the "nobis quoque peccatoribus," follows the reading of the Diptychs of the dead.)

It is difficult to believe that either of these two great patriarchal Churches borrowed these prayers from the other;\* and still more difficult to account thus for the many coincidences between the two Liturgies in thought but not in language. It is more natural to suppose that the Church of Alexandria received its Liturgy from Rome at the hands of the Evangelist who founded it. This would appear to follow from the account given by Eusebius of St. Mark's mission to Alexandria by St. Peter, when he took with him the Gospel, which the former had approved for public (and therefore liturgical) use in Church.† The later Greek ecclesiastical historians recognised the antiquity of the tradition which connected the liturgical customs of Rome and Alexandria;‡ but I have only met with one testimony to St. Mark as their common source. The curious Irish fragment which I have already quoted as deriving the Gallican Liturgy from St. John, is equally explicit in ascribing the Roman and Alexandrian Liturgies to St. Mark.§ Though the account is confused and inaccurate, it may be cited—*valeat quantum*—as the witness of the author, probably a Scoto-Irish monk, to the tradition of a school where learning had lingered longer than elsewhere in the West. He says: "B. Marcus Evangelista, sicut refert Iosephus et Eusebius in 4to libro, totam Aegyptum et Italiam praedicavit sicut unam ecclesiam. . . . Tanta fuit sua praedicatio unita, et postea Evangelium ex ore Petri Apostoli edidit."||

Without laying any stress on this authority, it seems as if we must look to St. Peter as the most likely common source of these two Liturgies. This conclusion is greatly strengthened by recalling the coincidences I have noted above between St. Clement's Epistle and the Alexandrian and Roman prayers of the faithful, coincidences which are not to be traced in any other Liturgy. It is natural to suppose with Dr. Lightfoot that when

\* The last extract is found, as a quotation from the Liturgy, in Origen (In Hierem. tom. iii. p. 217), and therefore, if there has been any borrowing, it must have been Rome that derived it from Alexandria.

† H. E. ii. 15, 16. *κυρώσαι τήν γραφήν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.*

‡ Socrates, v. 22: Sozomen, vii. 19.

§ This MS. was not traced by Haddan and Stubbs, but is in the British Museum (Cotton MSS. Nero A. ii.), and has been fully described by Mr. Maunde Thompson. It is probably not so old as Spelman thought, but dates at latest from the end of the eighth century.

|| I cannot here enter on an explanation of the blunder which brings in Josephus and the fourth book of Eusebius.

St. Clement wrote the letter, of which the very beautiful passage referred to is the climax, the Liturgy of the Church of Rome was already assuming a fixed form. The language of the Pontiff, in calling the Corinthians to prayer, "runs into those antithetical forms and measured cadences which his ministrations in church had rendered habitual with him."\*

I therefore think it may be asserted that the Roman Mass may be traced to sub-Apostolic times, and even to St. Peter himself, through his disciples, St. Mark and St. Clement. But it must not be thought that the Canon has come down to us from those early days without alteration. Its identity is like that of some living being, not inconsistent with change and renewal of many of its parts, provided the original form and purpose are preserved.

It is, to begin with, admitted that the language current among the first Roman Christians was Greek, and that their public worship must have been originally in that tongue. But it is uncertain when, and in what circumstances, Latin came to be employed. Cornely, the latest Catholic writer I can find who has treated this subject, holds that Greek alone must have been used in Rome for the two first centuries, Latin being first required for the use of the Church in Africa; he might have added for that of Northern Italy also. There are reasons, which I gave in a former article on the Creed, which lead me to think Latin was probably used at an earlier period than the third century in Rome, at any rate in some congregations, the two languages being used simultaneously in different churches; so at least I understand a passage of Origen.†

The cause which most probably led to the general adoption of Latin in Rome seems to me to be the great schism, which began with Hippolytus, and was consummated by Novatian. The schismatics were, on the whole, the aristocratic and literary class of Christians in Rome, while I have referred above to the uncultivated style of the letters of the Roman clergy who elected St. Cornelius, and of other Roman documents of that time. The constant communication between Rome and proconsular Africa must have been another influence acting in the same direction. Both of these seem to me more plausible suggestions than Mr. Hammond's, that the confusion produced by the great plague may have caused the change.

We may suppose from what has just been said that the earliest

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\* St. Clement of Rome, Appendix, pp. 269 *sqq.*

† *χρῶνται ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς . . . . οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἕλληγκοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμάκοις, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον ἔρχεται τὰ θεῶν, καὶ ὑμνεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς δύναται.* (Cont. Cels., viii. 37.)

Latin text of the Canon must have borne traces of its Greek origin,\* and must have been written in the same "lingua vulgaris" as the Good Friday prayers, unless indeed the African Mass was from the first more polished, and was adopted in Rome.

There can be little doubt that these characters have been removed from the Mass, as we have it now, by the recensions it must have undergone as the Catholics of Rome increased in numbers and culture. Some of the phrases, by their antithetical rhythm, suggest the authorship of St. Leo; and a tradition asserts that he added the clause "sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam." It has been suggested by Anglican writers that he broke up the original Liturgy of the Roman Church, incorporating many fragments of it in the Secrets which he composed; but there is no evidence of this, and all that I have adduced in favour of the antiquity of the Roman Mass is against it. Nor need I here consider the ingenious theories of Probst and Bickell, each of whom suggests a different rearrangement of the Canon in its primitive order, for the reasons they offer are too purely conjectural to detain us. It is more necessary to dwell on the signs which the Canon still exhibits of extreme antiquity, in spite of the many alterations it must have undergone. One of the most remarkable is its independence of the letter of Scripture. Thus the account of the Institution in every other Liturgy has been more or less closely based upon St. Paul's language, beginning in each case with "the night He was betrayed" instead of the Roman "the day before He suffered." † In like manner all the other Liturgies end the account of the Institution by 1 Cor. xi. 26; while the Roman has "As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of Me." So, too, in all other Liturgies the additions to the words of Institution are (with one remarkable exception) obtained by combining the different Scriptural accounts; but in the Roman Mass we find "elevatis oculis in caelum," "aeterni," and "mysterium fidei," which do not occur in the New Testament. The last of these phrases has been assigned by some to St. Leo; there can, however, be no doubt it is far more ancient, for it is found also in the Clementine Liturgy, which has come down to us unaltered from the fourth century. But the words are there placed earlier in the account, the passage running thus: ". . . . gave to His disciples, saying, 'This is the mystery of the new

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\* I only remark two Graecisms in the present Canon, "ex hoc" and "post quam cenatum est;" both are in the account of the Institution, and in the text of the Itala as read by St. Cyprian.

† The Alexandrian Liturgies (Greek St. Mark and Coptic St. Cyril) go on to commemorate the Passion and Death of our Lord in a manner which leads one to suppose they must have formerly begun like the Roman.

covenant; take, eat' . . . ." and this position must be due to a transposition, made when the original precise meaning of the words had been lost. I do not lay stress on Mr. Field's argument\* that the "mystery of the faith" in 1 Tim. iii. 9 is contrasted with "much wine," though the point is remarkable. But two reasons come out clearly in the early Christian writers why the words should be applied to the consecration of the chalice and not to that of the Host.† In the first place, the separate consecration of the blood of our Lord is, as St. Justin would have said, a *μυστήριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, a symbolical act, intended to be the sign of His death. And, secondly, almost all the early Fathers attribute a special importance to the prophecy that Juda should "wash his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes" (Gen. xlix. 11) as referring to the form in which the Precious Blood should be presented to men."‡

Another instance in which the Canon shows its independence of the text of Scripture, is the order of the Apostles in the "Communicantes." As is well known, we have four arrangements of the Apostolic College in the New Testament; that in the Mass does not conform to any one of these. It differs from them, not merely by the omission of the traitor, and the insertion of St. Paul with St. Peter; but also by bringing up SS. Thomas and James above Philip, Bartholomew, and Matthew, in other respects following the order of St. Luke's Gospel.

Other evidences of a remote antiquity are the coincidences which are numerous between the Canon and such early writers as Tertullian and St. Irenaeus. Probst has collected many of these; and I therefore need not burden the reader with more than a few of the most remarkable. The catalogue of the three first Roman Pontiffs in the "Communicantes" is that presented to us by the earliest witnesses—Hegesippus and St. Irenaeus—from which, as is well known, later writers departed.

"Offerimus Tibi de Tuis donis et datis" seems to be directed against the Gnostics, as in St. Irenaeus's "Offerimus ei quae sunt eius" (iv. 18, 4); so too the same Father repeats the synonyms "dona, munera, sacrificia" (iv. 19, 1), like the Missal. Finally, "locus refrigerii, lucis et pacis" is to be met with repeatedly.

\* "The Apostolical Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews," p. 595.

† "In consecratione corporis Christi non repraesentatur nisi passionis substantia; sed in consecratione sanguinis repraesentatur passionis mysterium; non enim a corpore Christi sanguis eius seorsum fuit nisi per passionem." (St. Thomas in 4 Sent. Dist. viii. qu. 2.)

‡ So, for example, St. Cyprian (Ep. lxiii. 6) "quando sanguis uvae dicitur, quid aliud quam calicis dominici sanguis ostenditur?" See, too, Tertullian, adv. Marc. iv. 40, and the passages from St. Justin, Origen and Clement Alex., adduced by Dr. Taylor in "The Theology of the Didache."

“Refrigerium” is used for the state of the blessed after death, most often by Tertullian; “locus refrigerii” comes twice in St. Irenaeus; and the “somnus pacis” is frequent in catacomb inscriptions. And we get the two words—light and refreshment—used together in the Letter of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian, which I have before had occasion to quote.\*

Much remains unsaid, which I should be glad to relate, and which would interest, I believe, many readers. But I am too conscious that I have not been able to avoid being tedious, to dwell any longer on details which, after all, are only of secondary importance. I hope I have at least attained my chief objects: to point out the direction which modern research has taken, and the road by which further advance is to be made. In a final article I hope to sum up the results obtained; and to compare them with the only contemporary account we have of Mass in Rome in the second century.

J. R. GASQUET.

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\* “Paravit Deus refrigeria, sed paravit etiam aeterna supplicia; paravit inaccessibilem lucem, sed paravit etiam . . . vastam aeternamque caliginem.” (St. Cyp. Ep. xxx. 7.)



ART. VI.—SAINT AUGUSTINE AND HIS  
ANGLICAN CRITICS.

CELESTIUS hastened to Rome where Innocent had been succeeded by Zosimus. Zosimus, who, being a Greek, had little taste for these questions, accepted the favourable view of their (Pelagius' and Celestius') opinions, and held with them that original sin was not a recognised doctrine of the Church, and that other points at issue were mere school problems. Looking at the question simply on its practical side, he wrote to reprove the African bishops for their excessive zeal in heresy-hunting; for their uncharitable haste in condemning, and the vain curiosity of systematising refinement which led them to be wise above what is written. He finally told them to submit to the authority of the See of Rome. This they were quite ready to do when the Pope agreed with them, but when he differed from them it was an altogether different matter. Failing with the Pope they secured the Emperor, and having found from the Donatist controversy how effective is the syllogism of violence, they at once obtained from Honorius, at Ravenna, a *Sacrum Rescriptum* which banished Pelagius and Celestius out of the Empire, and threatened their followers with confiscation and exile. (This was probably effected by Augustine's influence with Count Valerian, and it was said that in order to secure this interference of the secular power to control theological opinions, bribery was freely used.) Another African Council of 200 Bishops, in 418, anathematised the views of Pelagius. Thereupon, Zosimus, in sudden alarm, turned completely round, and declared strongly against Pelagius in an *Epistola Tractatoria*. Eighteen Bishops of Italy, and with them the excellent Julian, of Eclanum, refused to accept the new decision, and were driven into exile. All Pelagians and all who supported them were punished, and Pelagianism as an external heresy was effectively crushed. Of Pelagius and Celestius we know no more; they died in obscurity and neglect. Julian alone maintained the controversy in which the happiness of his life was shipwrecked. He was powerless to withstand the twofold force of the imperial authority and the passions of the mob, to which Augustine had equally appealed, and to which the trimming Pope had instantly yielded. 'Why,' he indignantly asks Augustine, 'did you hire the populace and stir up factions at Rome? Why, out of the revenues of the poor, did you fatten troops of horses through almost all Africa? Why, with the legacies of matrons, did you corrupt the powers of the world, that the straw of popular fury might blaze against us? Why, did you besleck the age of a religious Emperor with the impiousness of persecution?' To these invectives there was no adequate reply."

Doubtless, some reader will ask, and very fairly ask, from

which of the Reformers has this trash been taken, and what is the use of troubling us with it in this enlightened age? But, it has been taken, not from Luther, nor from the Centuriators, nor from Mosheim, but from a work published last year, Archdeacon Farrar's "Lives of the Fathers" (vol. ii. p. 554). Verily, historical studies, on some subjects at least, have not advanced much in England during our own time. Dear Milman, in 1854,\* gave the very same version of this affair; his mistakes have been pointed out again and again by Catholic writers, including our humble selves nearly forty years ago;† and yet, here we have them repeated, by an eminent dignitary, as coolly as if nothing had been said or done. Fond traditions die very hard, and one of the fondest traditions handed down by the Reformers, makes St. Augustine anti-papal. Hence, Protestant writers never allude to his explicit declarations on the papal claims, such as his list of the popes,‡ given expressly to prove their succession from Peter, and their relation to the centre of unity; or his declaration§ that "the Bishop of Carthage could afford to despise all his enemies, seeing himself in communion with the Roman Church, in which the Primacy (principatus) of the Apostolic See has always flourished;" or his celebrated words (Serm. 131), "The Rescripts (from Rome) have arrived, the cause is ended." No; such declarations are too explicit for the purpose of these writers, and hence they pretend to look for the mind of St. Augustine in two episodes of African history, the first of which is the one that we are now considering.

Let us briefly state the facts and dates of this transaction, as given by the Benedictines in vol. x. of St. Augustine's works. In January 417, Pope Innocent condemned Pelagianism, and excommunicated its authors, Pelagius and Celestius. We have here two very distinct things, a doctrinal decision, of which St. Augustine said, *the cause is ended*; and a personal censure which the Pope expressly desired to have removed on the repentance of the culprits. Celestius set out at once from the East for Rome, and Pelagius sent a confession of faith in which he says: "This, most blessed Pope, is the faith which we have learned in the Catholic Church, and which we have always held and still hold. If we be found to have in any way erred through ignorance or inadvertence, we wish to be corrected by you, the heir of Peter's faith and Peter's throne."

Celestius, on his arrival at Rome, found that Innocent, to whom his first appeal had been addressed, had died, and had been

\* "Hist. of Latin Christianity." Vol. i. p. 121.

† DUBLIN REVIEW, December 1854.

‡ Ep. 53.

§ Ep. 43.

replaced by Pope Zosimus in March 417; however, he got an early audience in public consistory, being particularly asked whether he submitted to the rescripts of Pope Innocent.\* His answers, and especially his apparent submission, made a good impression, but the decision was deferred for two months, and the acts sent on to Carthage, because there was question of absolving from censures imposed by the African bishops or at their request; there never was any question of even revising the *doctrinal* decision. Here is St. Augustine's version of this transaction.†

Pelagius was afraid or ashamed to disclose to you (Albina, Melania, Pinian) this sense which his disciple (Celestius) was neither ashamed nor afraid to avow plainly at the Apostolic See. But the truly merciful pontiff, seeing him rushing heedlessly towards the abyss, preferred to treat him like a maniac, and by question and answer to tie him up and draw him gradually to repentance, rather than by a stern sentence to push him down the precipice towards which he seemed to be tending. I say *tending*, not fallen, because in the aforesaid document (his profession of faith), and before coming to the questions, he said: "If through human ignorance I have fallen into any error, let it be corrected by your sentence." Encouraged by these words the venerable Pope Zosimus endeavoured to induce this man so inflated by the wind of false doctrine, to condemn the errors imputed to him by the deacon Paulinus, and to submit to the letters of the Apostolic See issued by his predecessor of holy memory. He refused to condemn what had been objected to him by Paulinus, but did not dare to resist the letters of Pope Innocent; he even promised to condemn whatever that See might condemn. But, although gently soothed in this way to calm him down, he was not as yet thought worthy to be absolved from the bonds of excommunication; a delay of two months was given, to afford time for his repentance and for the arrival of letters from Africa.

To this version written at the end of the whole controversy, in the summer of 418, he constantly adheres. Thus, writing in 420 to Pope Boniface, the successor of Zosimus, he says (ii. 5, 6,) that all the documents relating to this matter were then open for the inspection of every one; that no word of Pope Zosimus could be quoted against the doctrine of original sin; that the confession of Celestius had been called Catholic, simply on account of his submission to the Apostolic See and to the letters of Pope Innocent; that this submission, not his errors, had been approved; that for greater security the Pope had awaited letters from Africa where the craftiness of Celestius was better known; that the reason why the African bishops were so anxious for a

\* Aug. ad Bonf., ii. 6.

† De Gratia Christi, ii. 6, 7, 8.

detailed retractation, was the fear that a mere general acceptance of the letters of Pope Innocent might tempt people of small intelligence to suspect that the errors, contained in the confession of Celestius had been approved by the Apostolic See. He then says: "By the interrogatories of your holy predecessor and the answers of Celestius, in which he professed to agree with the letters of the blessed Pope Innocent, Celestius was so tied up as not to dare to hold any longer that original sin is not remitted in infant baptism."

To all this, Protestant writers have but one answer; that St. Augustine, with all the documents before him, and these open to every one, simply tells an officious lie in defence of the Pope. They prefer their own version of the matter, extracted by forced interpretations from the extant letters of Pope Zosimus—a mere fragment of the evidence at the disposal of St. Augustine; for, unfortunately, all the other documents have perished.

But we must proceed with our facts and dates. On receipt of the first letter of Pope Zosimus, Aurelius of Carthage asked for a prolongation of the two months. During this interval, the appeal of Pelagius was heard in public consistory, and the result, very favourable to the appellant, sent on to Carthage with a second letter from the Pope. On receipt of this letter, Aurelius assembled a synod of 214 bishops, late in the year 417. In their synodical letter to the Pope, they say: "We have decreed that the sentence passed on Pelagius and Celestius from the See of the blessed apostle Peter, by the venerable Bishop Innocent, should remain in force until they most explicitly confess, that in all our actions we are aided by the grace of God through Jesus Christ, not only to know, but also to do justice; so that without it we can neither have, nor think, nor say, nor do, anything truly pious and holy." This fragment preserved by Prosper, is all that remains to us of a document from which Protestant writers quote so many anti-papal utterances.

To this letter, Zosimus returned the following answer dated March 21, 418, and received at Carthage, April 29.

"Zosimus to Aurelius and the other bishops, his most beloved brethren who met in the Council of Carthage, health in the Lord.

"Although the tradition of the Fathers has attributed to the Apostolic See an authority so great that no one would dare to question its judgments, and has always observed the same in its canons and rules; and the existing ecclesiastical discipline in its laws accords to the name of Peter, from whom it derives its origin, the respect that is its due; for, so great was the power unanimously attributed to the apostle by canonical antiquity, that by the very promise of Christ our God he could loose what was bound, and bind what was loosed, a power granted also to those who should with his



approval inherit his dignity. In effect, he has the care of all the churches, and especially of this in which he himself sat; nor does he suffer one iota of his privilege or his sentence to yield to any breath of opinion, having placed the foundations of his name on a firm and immovable basis which no one may fall upon with safety. Such then being the authority derived from Peter and confirmed by the respect of all antiquity; and the Roman Church being sustained in it by all laws human and divine, over which church, beloved brethren, you know, and as priests ought to know, we are placed with all the power and authority attached to the name; nevertheless, although our authority is such that no one can reform our sentence, we have done nothing which we have not communicated to you of our own accord, in order that we might consult together in the spirit of fraternal charity; not that we were ignorant of what ought to be done, or from any fear that we might do something opposed to the interests of the Church. We also desired to treat with you about a man who, as your letters assert, had been accused before you. Asserting his innocence and pressing his former appeal, he came to our See, calling for his accusers and condemning all that rumour had falsely attributed to him. We explained to you all this in our former letters, and have, we think, replied to your subsequent letters; but on perusing the voluminous memoir brought by your subdeacon, Marcellinus, we find that you have so understood our letters as if we had without discussion believed every word uttered by Celestius. Things which require long and mature consideration are never to be treated rashly, and a sovereign sentence is not to be pronounced without great deliberation. Know then, my brethren, that since the date of your letters and ours nothing has been changed, in accordance with your requests to us."

This letter reached Carthage on the eve of the great synod of 200 bishops which was opened May 1, 418. Did the assembled prelates "protest against its high sounding pretensions," as some writers tell us, or "treat it with silent contempt," as others assert? Not a shadow of this *protest* can be found in its canons, nor in any other record of its proceedings that we possess; and the *silent contempt* may be disposed of by this fragment of their answer preserved for us by Prosper (*contra collat.* 15): "What act of yours was ever more free than that by which you communicated all this to our littleness?" Moreover, with this "high sounding letter," they received another which must have been most galling to men, who, as every Protestant writer tells us, "had come together to assert their independence of Rome." This letter appointed a commission of bishops to examine some grave matter, probably an appeal, in Mauritania, a province subject to the Primate, Aurelius of Carthage, the president of the synod. Did they question the Pope's right "to name judges outside his own province?" The deputies quietly set out



upon their long journey, "because," says St. Augustine, "of an ecclesiastical necessity laid upon us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See" (Ep. 190).

Between the date of the Pope's letter, March 21, and the opening of this great synod, May 1, decisive measures were adopted at Rome. In addition to the long memorial brought by Marcellinus from the African synod of 417, information regarding the duplicity of Pelagius and Celestius had arrived from the Bishop of Jerusalem, who had at first recommended Pelagius, from Antioch, and even from clerics of Rome itself; Celestius was summoned to a final audience; he fled in dismay; and then Zosimus came to the final decision which he addressed to all the bishops of the world. The African Council of 418 could have known nothing of this when it enacted its canons, for there was as yet neither cable nor steamer between Carthage and Rome.\*

To give legal force to the Pope's encyclical, the Emperor Honorius issued a "Sacrum Rescriptum," April 30, 418, which of course, came after the encyclical, as St. Augustine takes care to inform us (Ep. 215). Possidius (c. xviii.) relates the matter thus :

Those Bishops (Innocent and Zosimus) of so great a see, each in his own time pointed out these men, and having issued letters to the African Churches of the West, and to the Eastern Churches as well, came to the conclusion that they should be anathematised and avoided by all Catholics. And this judgment of the Catholic Church of God having been heard and followed by the pious Emperor Honorius, he, too, ordained by his own laws that they should be condemned and regarded as heretics.

From all this we derive the following conclusions :

1. There never was any question of revising the doctrinal decision of Pope Innocent.
2. The only question at issue was the personal guilt of Pelagius and Celestius, and the propriety of absolving them from censures.
3. As a matter of fact, they never were absolved.
4. The African Council of 418 had nothing to do with the Pope's final decision.
5. Nor had the "Sacrum Rescriptum."

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\* "Jesus Christ, when giving a divine guarantee to the decisions of His Vicar on earth, did not arrange that he should learn the needs of the Church by revelation, and not by the ordinary means of human prudence. Who does not see how important local synods may be in furnishing these human lights and counsels? It is the Pope that pronounces definitively; but, regularly and habitually, the bishops have previously conferred with him, and the decision is in reality the result of their reports, opinions, and instances" (Bouix, Conc. Prov. P. 4, c. 21).

6. The Africans did not turn from the Pope to the Emperor, nor procure this "Rescriptum."

7. The African bishops were not disobedient.

8. Zosimus did not declare the doctrine of Original Sin to be an open question.

These conclusions have been placed beyond all doubt; there remain only a few minor accusations. It is not true that Pope Zosimus blamed the African bishops for their "heresy-hunting;" on the contrary, he told them that he had rigidly enforced the rescripts of his predecessor, in which their zeal in this respect had been lauded to the skies. It is not true that he reproved them for their "vain curiosity, their school-problems, and their over-refinements." On the contrary, he tells them expressly that these reproaches had been addressed to Celestius and others in public consistory, and we know that they were by no means undeserved. In the three letters which have come down to us he treats the whole matter as a judicial question, and exhorts the bishops to be guided in their decision by the judicious principles and precedents laid down in the Holy Scriptures and the canons. It is true that he blamed them for their violation of these rules by the reception of tainted evidence; but to this day the character of these witnesses is disputed.

We come at last to the charge of bribery, mob-violence, and persecution, for which no reference is given; we find it has been taken from the "Opus Imperfectum" (iii. 35), and there explicitly denied. It is mentioned four times previously in the same work (i. 33, 41, 42, 74), and each time branded as an impudent fabrication. Thus (i. 42), departing from his usual gentleness, the saint says to Julian: "What could be more flagitious than to invent such a calumny, or more stupid than to have believed its inventor? But that you should have committed it to writing without any fear that it might cross the sea and expose you to scorn and contempt is an instance of incredible folly and insolence." If such public denials from such a man do not seem to the Archdeacon to be "an adequate reply" to the ravings of his "excellent Julian of Eclanum," few persons will admire his discrimination or good taste; and no one can be blamed for thinking that his sympathies are with the champions of heresy, not with the Fathers of the Church.

"With the Bishops of Rome, except Zosimus, he (Augustine) was in kindly relations; and though he had a theoretic respect for the decisions of the See of Peter, he maintained as strongly as Cyprian and as Hincmar the independence of National Churches. In 419 he induced an African Council to protest against the pride as well as against the unwarrantable interferences of the Bishop of Rome (Farrar. id. p. 565).

“Apiarius, a priest of Sicca, convicted of various faults, had been excommunicated by his bishop, Urbanus, a disciple of St. Augustine. He appealed to Zosimus, the Bishop of Rome, against the decision of his bishop . . . successive Councils of Africa had forbidden appeals beyond the sea. Now, again, the affair of Apiarius gave occasion to a solemn re-assertion of the independence of the African Church, and placed the great name of Augustine beside that of Cyprian as the defender of the independence of individual churches against the usurpation of the See of Rome. Zosimus received the appeal of Apiarius, and appointed three legates to inquire into the case, and deal with it on the spot, viz., Faustinus, Bishop of Potentia, in the March of Ancona, and two Romish priests, Philip and Asellus. Zosimus claimed that priests and deacons excommunicated by their bishops had an appeal to their neighbouring bishops, and that bishops had an appeal to the Bishop of Rome. He founded this claim upon certain canons he put forth as canons of the General Council of Nicea, to which the whole Church paid the greatest deference, but which were canons of the local and not very important Council of Sardica, held in 343-4. (Cutts’s “St. Augustine,” p. 212.)

We have allowed Dr. Cutts, a well-known writer of the Christian Knowledge Society, to fill in the details of the Archdeacon’s story, in order to give our readers some idea of the present extent of this Anglican tradition regarding St. Augustine’s anti-papal spirit. Mr. Lloyd, another writer of the same society, does his best to perpetuate this tradition through his work “The North African Church, 1880,” and, in fine, we have not met a single Anglican writer who questions the tradition, or seriously examines its foundations. Surely a writer of the Archdeacon’s eminence ought not to have adopted the legend without some examination of the facts and dates. We now proceed to supply this omission from the sources indicated in the previous question.

Reserving for a moment the side issues raised by Dr. Cutts, we come at once to the pith of the matter as expressed in these four propositions.

1. That St. Augustine held the independence (of Rome) of National Churches.

2. That he induced the African Council of 419 to defend this independence.

3. That the Pope claimed only under the canons.

4. That the African bishops, led by St. Augustine, denied his claim from this or any other source.

For the first proposition not an act or a word of his own can be quoted, hence this desperate effort to compromise him *indirectly* by means of two episodes in African history; we have seen what has come of the first, the appeal of Pelagius; let us now see what can be made out of the second, the appeal of Apiarius.

But, it will be asked, are there no explicit acts or words of the saint *against* the first proposition? Ah! who can count these acts and words? And why attempt to count them; do not the declarations already quoted suffice to stamp the teaching of any man? But, if we must enumerate, let us begin with his use of the expression "The Apostolic See." Whether speaking to Catholics, Donatists, Pelagians, or even Manicheans, he says, without qualification of any kind, "The Apostolic See" (Ep. xliii. 7, clxxv. 2, clxxvi. 1-5, clxxviii. 2, cxxxvi. 2, exc. 22, 23, exci. 1, 2, exciv. 1, ccix. 8 9; Serm. cxxxi. 10; Con. Petil. ii. 162; De Gratia Christi, ii. 8, 18, 19; Ad. Bonif. ii. 5, 7; Cont. Jul. i. 13, vi. 27; Opus. Imperf. ii. 103), and always in allusion to the Apostolic *authority*, not merely to the Apostolic origin, of the Roman See. Thus, to the Catholics of Carthage he says (Serm. 131): "The deliberations of two Councils were sent to the Apostolic See; rescripts have thence arrived; the cause is ended." To the Donatists he says (cont. Petil. ii. 162): "Why do you blaspheme the Apostolic See?" To the Pelagians he says (Opus. Imperf. ii. 103): "You still look for an examination which has been already completed at the Apostolic See." Even to Manicheans he says (c. Ep. Fund. 5): "And I am retained also (in the Catholic Church) by the succession of priests to this day in the see of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of his sheep."

Strange language this for an opponent of the Roman claims. Would an Anglican bishop use it habitually? And remember that at this very time the Popes Innocent and Zosimus were preaching their claims on the housetops, and this more especially to the Africans.

It is worthy of remark that St. Augustine never says *the Apostolic See of Rome*, but always "the Apostolic See"; a clear proof that the formula was too well understood to be open to any misconception; there was no danger that any one would think that Jerusalem, or Alexandria, or Antioch, or Ephesus, or Corinth, was meant. And yet, the fairest of St. Augustine's Anglican critics, the Rev. James F. Spalding ("The Teaching and Influence of St. Augustine," p. 44), infers from one—and only one—of these passages (c. Petil. ii. 118), that the Saint places Jerusalem and Rome on the same footing; but he forgets to compare the passage with those we have indicated, or to note its remarkable conclusion, "you blaspheme the Apostolic See, with which you do not communicate." He ought to have also seen that the argument is an *argumentum ad hominem*, in which the Donatists are pressed on their own admissions, viz., the necessity of being in communion with the principal churches of the world. But, neither in this passage nor in any other, does he speak of



“the Apostolic See of Jerusalem,” although it was founded by the Apostle St. James, and governed by him until his death. Such Sees he calls simply, “Churches founded in Apostolic times” (Ep. xlv.); “Churches to which Apostles wrote” (Ep. liii.); “Apostolic Churches” (Ep. xliii.). He knew of only one See that claimed to have inherited full Apostolic authority, and that See he always called “The Apostolic See.” Let any one examine the passages—more than twenty—here indicated under this single head, and then candidly say whether there is any foundation for the Anglican assertion, that St. Augustine held at most only a Primacy of honour.

The Archdeacon tells us that with the bishops of Rome, except Zosimus, Augustine was in kindly relations; how does he reconcile this with the assertion that he was the leading opponent of the Papal claims? For, after the time of Zosimus he lived under two Popes, Boniface and Celestine; and we have already seen enough of his relations with Zosimus to know that the exception made by the Archdeacon is purely imaginary. Saint Augustine lived as bishop under six great Popes, all remarkable for their zeal in maintaining the rights of the Apostolic See; he had relations with them all through the Synods of Carthage, and close personal relations with the four last; his death took place in the time of Pope Celestine, and here is what Celestine says of him (Prosper, c. collat. 58); “Augustine, a man of holy memory, for his life and merits, we have always had in our communion; nor has public report ever tarnished the reputation of one so well known to us for his learning, as to have been counted among the greatest masters by my predecessors. All thought well of him: all loved and honoured him.” The Archdeacon could have seen this in the 10th volume of the saint’s works, from which he professes to have derived much of his information; why has he not laid it before his readers to enable them to form a correct opinion about the saint’s attitude towards Rome?

We have already seen enough—and we shall see more as we go on—to convince any reasonable man that the Archdeacon’s first proposition is a pure myth; let us now examine the second, accepting Dr. Cutts’s account of the main facts, as far as it goes.

1. The 17th canon of the great synod of 418, already mentioned, re-enacted a canon of 407, forbidding priests, deacons, or inferior clerics to appeal to any tribunal beyond the sea. Apiarius appealed soon after, and his appeal was heard by Pope Zosimus. 2. This appeal gave great offence to some of the African bishops, either because it ignored their new canon, or, as Bouix thinks (Conc. Provin. P. 3, c. 6), because by an immemorial African usage tolerated by the Popes, all clerical causes of persons beneath the rank of bishop were to be concluded in Africa itself. 3. On



the arrival of the legates at Carthage, Aurelius assembled a small synod to meet them : we know nothing of its proceedings except what we learn from the synod of the following year—419—which informs Pope Boniface that their (the legates') instructions (*commonitorium*) ordered them to discuss four points—viz., the right of bishops to appeal to Rome ; the right of priests and deacons to appeal to the neighbouring bishops ; the visits of bishops to Court ; and the conduct of Urbanus—probably some informality in the trial of Apiarius. The three first points were supported by three Nicene canons, which are now acknowledged to be Sardican. The third point caused no difficulty, as a canon (Can. 12, A.D. 407) of their own had already forbidden bishops to go to Court without a letter of the Pope ; they asked time for inquiry regarding the other two canons, promising meanwhile to observe them “out of respect for Pope Zosimus.” Fleury, with these words before him, says it was out of respect for the Council of Nicea. 4. The plenary synod of Carthage, consisting of 217 bishops, assembled May 25, 419, and transacted more business than any other African synod on record ; it compiled the celebrated “*Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ*,” a collection of all previous African canons ; but it also found time to discuss the questions raised by Pope Zosimus, the same legates being present by order of Pope Boniface. The result is given in their synodical letter, in which they say to the new pope : “We wish to communicate what has been done by the synod and the legates ; it would have gladdened the heart of Zosimus, were he still alive, to see how amicably everything was settled. Apiarius asked pardon of his faults, and was restored to communion. . . . Our brother Urbanus, bishop of Sicca, was the first to correct himself what needed correction, &c.” With regard to the two canons, which they could not find in their copy of the Nicene canons, they renewed the promise to observe them pending further inquiry at Alexandria, &c., adding these words : “Should these canons be found in the originals, as they are in the *commonitorium*, we hope that a charge, which we do not wish even to name, shall not be made against the Africans, and that we shall never again be treated in so haughty a manner as long as Boniface is pope.” The last words are aimed at Faustinus, as we shall see later on. It was Augustine that proposed, and carried by an unanimous vote, the resolution to observe the first of the disputed canons for the present ; and it was his friend Alypius that proposed and carried a similar resolution for the second. This was St. Augustine's first and last interference in this dispute. What, then, becomes of the Archdeacon's second proposition, viz., that he induced the synod of 419 to defend the independence of national Churches ? We ought to have observed that the synod did not, as some writers

assert, refuse to observe the two disputed canons if found not to be Nicene; on the contrary, they promised to discuss in a subsequent synod what was to be done in that case. The acts were signed by Faustinus immediately after the two presidents, and sent on to Rome in the care of the legates. Here we have a great national synod receiving the Pope's legate, giving him his place of precedence, sending on their acts to Rome, and going to the greatest lengths to avoid every appearance of offence to Rome; and yet the Archdeacon asks us to believe that it asserted its independence of Rome.

We come now to the third proposition, viz.: that the Pope claimed only under the Canons. We have already answered this, by inserting the letter of Pope Zosimus, and the answers of the African bishops; surely, if ever Pope claimed by divine right, it was he. But his predecessor, Innocent, was just as explicit. In 416, the African bishops assembled in synod, asked him "to add the weight of the authority of the Apostolic See to the decisions of their littleness"; and in his answers he commends their dutiful submission grounded on the knowledge, "that without the participation of the Apostolic See nothing important could be concluded, even in the most distant provinces; and this not by human, but by divine right" (Aug. Ep. 175, 176, 181, 182). It was on this occasion St. Augustine said: "The rescripts have arrived, the cause is ended." Why then did Pope Zosimus insert these canons in his *commonitorium*? For the appellants, not for himself, unless we suppose him to have renounced the divine right which he had claimed a few months before. The Popes never claimed under the canons *for themselves*, and all the canons regarding appeals are addressed to the appellants, not to the Popes, whose power they suppose but do not pretend to give. The Popes had heard appeals long before the Canons of Sardica were enacted to protect bishops from Arian violence and intrigue, and to restrict local usages adverse to the rights of appellants.

We come at last to the fourth proposition, viz.: that the African bishops, led by St. Augustine, denied the Pope's right from any source, to hear appeals from distant provinces. We may at once get rid of the name of St. Augustine, because after the synod of 419, his name occurs but once in connection with appeals, and that is in 423, when he prosecuted an appeal to Rome against Antony, Bishop of Fussala, and in doing so, tells Pope Celestine of three recent appeals to Rome from the single province of Mauritania, one of the six included in the African Church (Ep. 209).

From the scarcity of original documents subsequent to the synod of 419, and the efforts of Gallicans and Anglicans to

extract improbable conclusions from the fragments that remain, the rest of this proposition has been surrounded by a cloud of mystifications. The assertion we are combating rests entirely on a document which, to prevent all misunderstanding, we here insert in the original from Hardouin (T. 1, p. 947).\*

\* Incipit epistola Concilii Africani ad papam Celestinum Urbis Romæ Episcopum.

Domino dilectissimo et honorabili iratri Celestino—Aurelius, Palatinus, Antonius, Tutus, Servus Dei, Terentius, Fortunatus, Martinus, Januarius, Optatus, Celticius, Donatus, Theasius, Vincentius, Fortunatianus, et ceteri qui in universali Africano concilio Carthaginis adfuimus,

Optaremus ut quemadmodum saucitas tua de adventu Apiarii lætatos vos fuisse, missis per compresbyterum nostrum Leonem litteris, intimavit, ita nos quoque de ejus purgatione hæc scripta cum lætitia mitteremus. Esset profecto et nostra et vestra modò alacritas certior, nec festinata nec propropera videretur, quæ adhuc tam de audiendo quam de auditu præcesserat. Adveniente sanè ad nos sancto fratre et coepiscopo nostro Faustino, concilium congregavimus, et credidimus ideo cum illo missum, quoniam per ejus operam presbyterio antea redditus fuerat, ita nunc posset de tantis criminibus a Tabracensis objectis eo laborante purgari; cujus tanta et tam immania flagitia decursum nostri concilii examen invenit, ut et memorati patrociniū potius quam judicium, ac defensoris majus operam quam disceptatoris justitiam superaverit. Nam primum, quantum obstiterit omni congregationi diversas injurias ingerendo, quasi Ecclesiæ Romanæ afferens privilegia, et volens cum a nobis in communionem suscipi quem tua sanctitas credens appellasse, quod probare non potuit, communioni reddiderit; quod minimè tamen licuit, quod etiam gestorum melius lectione cognosces. Triduo tamen laboriosissimo agitato judicio, cum diversa eidem objecta afflictissimi quæreremus, vel moras coepiscopi nostri Faustini, vel tergiversationes ipsius Apiarii quibus nefandas turpitudines occultere conabatur, Deus jndex justus, fortis et longanimus, magno compendio resecat. Tetriore quippè et putrediore obstinatione compressà quâ tantum libidinum cænum impudentia negationis volebat obruere, Deo nostro ejus conscientiam coarctante, et occulta quæ in illius cordi tanquam in volutabro criminum jam damnabat etiam hominibus publicante, repente in confessionem cunctorum objectorum flagitiorum dolosus negator erupit. Et tandem de omnibus incredibilibus opprobrii ultroneus se ipse convicit; atque ipsam nostram spem quâcum et credebamus et optabamus de tam pudendis maculis posse purgari, convertit in gemitus; nisi quoniam istam nostram mæstitiam uno tantum solatio mitigavit, quod nos labore diuturnioris questionis absolvit, et suis vulneribus qualemcumque medelam, etsi invitè, ac suâ conscientia reluctante confessione, providit domine frater.

Profato itaque salutationis officio, impendio deprecamur ut deinceps ad vestras aures hinc venientes non facilius admittatis, nec a nobis excommunicatos in communionem ultra velitis excipere; quia hoc etiam Niceno concilio definitum facilè advertet venerabilitas tua. Nam etsi de inferioribus clericis vel laicis videtur ibi præcaveri, quanto magis hoc de episcopis voluit observari, ne in sua provincia communionem suspensi, a tua sanctitate vel festinato vel proproperè vel indebitè videantur communioni restitui. Presbyterorum quoque et sequentium clericorum improba refugia, sicuti te dignum est, repellat sanctitas tua; quia et nulla Patrum definitione hoc Ecclesiæ derogatum est Africanæ, et decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos, suis metropolitans aperitissimè commiserunt. Prudentissimè enim justissimèque providerunt quæcumquæ negotia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, finienda. Nec unicuique providentiæ gratiam sancti spiritus defuturam; quia æquitas a

At first sight this document looks very formidable; but on closer inspection, the illusion quickly vanishes. The first thing we observe is, that it has no date; for students of African history this immediately raises the question of authenticity, as St. Augustine at the Conference of Carthage (Brev. Col die 3<sup>ia</sup>. 27), public charged the Donatists with trading in such documents, and asserted that Catholic synodal documents always had accurate dates (diem et consulem). Yes, to be of any use to Anglicans, this document, first, should be unquestionably authentic; second, should be the voice of the African Church; third, should explicitly deny the Pope's right to hear appeals. As to its authenticity, most writers take it for granted without discussion, probably because it is found in all the great collections of the Councils; but they assign various dates—424, 425, 426. Others deny it altogether; and the great historians Rohrbacher (vol. vii.) and Darras (vol. xii.), and the great Canonist Bouix (Conc. Prov. p. 3, c. 10), strongly doubt it, and mention great names on the same side. Our own opinion, however, has been formed more from the internal evidence, the silence of contemporary writers, and the subsequent history of appeals in the African Church. The first thing which attracted our attention, the absence of date, has been already noticed. The second was the title, *concilium universale*. For the Africans had very definite names for their Councils, viz., provincial, general or universal, and plenary. The general or *universal*

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Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur et constantissimè teneatur; maximè quia unicuique concessum est, si iudicio offensus fuerit cognitorum, ad concilia suæ provinciæ, vel etiam universale provocare. Nisi fortè quisquam est qui credat, unicuilibet posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium sacerdotibus denegare. Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum iudicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ, vel propter sexus vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, multis aliis intercurrentibus impedimentis, adduci non poterunt? Nam ut aliqui tantum a tuæ Sanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus Patrum synodo constitutum. Quia illud quod pridem per eundem coepiscopum nostrum Faustinum tanquam ex parte Niceni concilii exindè transmisistis, in exemplaribus verioribus quæ accipiuntur Niceni, a Sancto Cyrillo, coepiscopo nostro Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ, et a venerabili Attico Constantinopolitano antistite, ex authentico missis, quæ etiam ante hæc per Innocentium presbyterum et Marcellinum sub-diaconum, per quos ad nos ab eis directa sunt, venerabilis memoriæ Bonifacio Episcopo, prædecessori vestro, a nobis transmissa sunt, in quibus tale aliquid non potuimus reperire. Executores etiam clericos vestros, quibuscunque petentibus, nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumosum typhum sæculi in Ecclesiam Christi quæ lucem simplicitatis et humilitatis diem Deum videre cupientibus præfert, videamur inducere. Nam de fratre nostro Faustino (amotum jam pro suis nefandis nequitias de Christi Ecclesiæ dolendo Apiario) securi sumus quod eum, probitate et moderatione tuæ sanctitatis, salvâ fraterna caritatè, ulterius Africa minimè sustinere patiatur. *Et alia manu;* Dominus noster sanctitatem vestram œvo longiore orantem pro nobis custodiat, domine frater.



consisted of deputies from each of the six provinces with their primates, and had at least twenty-two members, the lowest legal number; Tripolitana was required to send only one deputy. The *Plenary* Councils consisted of the whole body of bishops, but not more than half the number ever attended. The Primate of Numidia when present, always signed the acts after the Bishop of Carthage, Primate of Africa. Now, this Council claims to be *universal*, and we are naturally tempted to examine its claim, after our experience regarding the date. The first thing that strikes us is, the absence of Augustine, Alypius, and Possidius, who used to be always deputies for Numidia, and were all alive at this time, and for years after. Then, on comparing the signatures with those of the Provincial Synods of Carthage and Milevis in 416, we find eight are pro-Consulars, four Numidians, one Mauritanian, and two unknown. We next look for the six primates whose signatures ought to come immediately after that of Aurelius, and we at once miss Valentinus, who was then Primate of Numidia, and can find no place for the Primates of Tripolitana, Byzacena, Mauritania Sitifensis, and Mauritania Cæsariensis, as the four first signatories are pro-Consulars, and the next three Numidians (Aug. Ep. 175, 176). We know that an effort has been made to represent Palatinus as a mistake for Valentinus, and that Labbeus countenances it; but, we prefer Hardouin, who came long after him, and who gives the Greek and Latin texts. Even allowing for some deaths between 416 and 424, this comparison, and the fact that not more than one or two of these bishops were ever before heard of as deputies for any of the provinces, force upon us the conclusion that these men deserve no confidence.

The third thing which attracted our attention in this document is, its line of argument against appeals; this is completely at variance with facts of which no African bishop of any note could have been ignorant, viz., the appeals to Rome of SS. Athanasius and Chrysostom, and of their own Primate, Cecilian, from the tyranny and injustice of Eastern and African Synods. They also misapply the Canons of Nicea, as there is not one among them which excludes the Pope from hearing appeals, any more than it does a general council; their own primate, Cecilian, the most celebrated appellant of the time, had assisted at the Council of Nicea, and could not have approved of canons even implicitly condemnatory of all that he had done.

So much for the internal evidence. These results aroused in us so many suspicions, that we began to think of all the contemporary writers whose works we had occasion to consult; we could remember no allusion in them to this synod or this synodical letter, but to make sure, we examined some of them



again, and can now assert with absolute certainty that neither St. Augustine, nor Possidius, nor Idatius, nor Prosper, nor Salvian, nor Victor, nor any other contemporary writer, connected with African affairs, makes the remotest allusion to such a synod or such a synodical letter.\* St. Augustine lived for six years after the date assigned to this synod; we have letters, sermons, and great works written by him during this time; how comes it that he never once alludes to this synod or this letter, so unlike any letter he had ever seen from Africa to Rome?

Our next thought was to ascertain what effect this synod had on appeals from Africa to Rome. We remembered a letter (Ep. 209) of St. Augustine's, which describes very circumstantially how matters stood in 423, just before the date assigned for this synod. Owing to his efforts, Antony, Bishop of Fussala, had been deposed by the Provincial Synod of Numidia; he appealed to Rome, with a letter of recommendation from his Primate Valentine, an excellent man, but no match for the crafty Antony; the case was heard by Pope Boniface, who only made a *conditional order* that Antony should be restored, if his alleged innocence could be fully established. At this stage of the proceedings, Boniface died, and was succeeded by Celestine. To conclude the matter, it was necessary that the new Pope should appoint local judges, as St. Augustine and others had been appointed in 418 for some important case in Mauritania; or that he should send a legate to examine the matter on the spot, with or without local assessors. Antony was already boasting that he should be soon back in his see, accompanied by the civil officers and a military escort; and the Roman clerics in the suite of the legate would probably execute the sentence, if favourable to the appellant, in this manner. Alarmed at this prospect, St. Augustine induced the primate, who was now fully aware of his own mistake, to send on all the records of the case to Rome; and at the same time wrote a long letter himself to Celestine, entreating him not to allow the case to proceed any further. In this letter, he had to answer a point raised by Antony, and in doing so mentions three recent appeals from the single Province of Mauritania, and the decisions come to at Rome. We have not Pope Celestine's answer, but we know that Antony was not restored. From all this, we can see, that up to the date assigned to the document which we are examining, appeals to Rome were in full operation. Fleury suggests that this was under the temporary arrangement

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\* The first writer who mentions it is Dionisius Exiguus, who died about 540; but this leaves a gap of more than a century to be accounted for, and this, at the critical period of its history; a period too, in which the Vandals had become quite favourable to the Donatists, while they persecuted the Catholics to the death.

made at the synod of 419; but he forgets, as usual, to tell us that this conditional arrangement had come to an end on the 29th of November that same year, by the transmission to Rome of the result of the inquiries at Alexandria and Constantinople, as to the authenticity of the two disputed canons. Nor does St. Augustine make the slightest allusion to the arrangement of 419; but he does allude very distinctly to the African usage of appeals to Rome "from the remotest times." This was the state of things in 423; let us now see whether appeals ceased after this time. In 426, the whole country was convulsed by the revolt of Count Boniface; then came, in 428, the terrible Vandal invasion, followed by an Arian persecution for more than a century. During all this time, the African Church was scarcely allowed to breathe, and had no leisure for appeals; and yet, in 446, Pope Leo the Great had several appeals from Mauritania;\* some bishops he restored to their sees, others he referred back to local judges, who had to report to himself, and for future cases he established a local court of appeal which had also to apply to himself for the confirmation of its sentences (Epis. 12 T. 1, Ed. Migne). As the scope of our argument does not bind us to the strict technical sense of the word *appeals*, we may mention the two following cases. In 487, a question similar to that of the *lapsed* in St. Cyprian's time, arose in reference to those who had fallen in the persecution of Huneric; and just as in St. Cyprian's time, it was referred to Rome (Felix PP. Ep. 7). The African Bishops appealed to Pope Boniface II. to oblige their Primate to be more observant of the counsels of the Apostolic See (Baronius ad An. 531). In 535, the Plenary Council of Carthage consisting of 217 bishops, sent a synodical letter to Pope John II. asking his decision as to the manner of receiving Arian priests into the church; and telling him that they had unanimously resolved to abstain from publishing their own opinions, until they should have received the decision of the Apostolic See (Darras, t. 14, p. 593). In 534, the Vandal domination came to an end, and the Greek period of more than a century begins; during this period, the Church enjoyed complete liberty, and appeals to Rome became more numerous than ever before.

All this points to the conclusion that the document we are examining is either the work of a few obscure African bishops, who had no claim to represent the African Church, or a pure fabrication of some exasperated Donatists. We have no space at present to discuss the relative merits of these two alternatives; but we may remark that for two centuries after their legal

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\* Those who believe in the synodical letter of 424, think he is the "Com-presbyterum nostrum Leonem" of that celebrated document.

suppression the Donatists continued their efforts to revive the schism.

The second thing Anglicans have to prove is that this synod and this document represent the African Church. We have nothing to add under this head, except that our opinion is in no way affected by the presence of Aurelius' name, as even the most stupid forger could not have omitted it. With Darras we feel certain that he never signed a document so completely at variance with the principles of his whole life.

The third thing Anglicans have to prove is that this document explicitly denies the Pope's right to receive appeals. We say *explicitly* because the practice of appeals before and after this date is so absolutely certain that nothing less than an *explicit* synodical act could pretend to question it or interfere with it. Anglicans constantly quote as final on the subject the synodical document which we are now considering,\* and so lately as August 10, 1889, a writer, thought to be an Anglican dignitary, speaks thus of it in the "Spectator":

Apiarius was again excommunicated, and again appealed to the Pope (Celestine), who acquitted him, and sent a Papal legate to restore him to communion. Thereupon a great council of 460 bishops assembled at Carthage, tried Apiarius after his acquittal by the pope, condemned him afresh, and wrote a stern synodical letter to the pope, rebuking him and repudiating his claims. Four points stand out clearly from this historical incident:—

1. The popes grounded their claims not on divine right, but on a falsely alleged Nicene Canon—in other words, they thus admitted the pope's subjection to an Œcumenical council.

2. The African Church, while willing to yield obedience to a Nicene Canon, peremptorily rejected the pope's claims when they were found unsupported by Œcumenical authority.

3. The African bishops positively asserted that the Nicene Canons, which Pope Leo said must last to the end of the world, subject bishops to their respective metropolitans, thus excluding all extraneous appeals other than to a general council.

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\* They never mention the antecedent improbabilities of their case. St. Augustine was the oracle of the African Bishops; they well knew his doctrine on the Papal claims; did they all at once desert him in a body? Appeals to Rome had been going on in Africa for centuries; was it only in 424 their unlawfulness was discovered? The bishops heard and approved the high claims of Zosimus and Innocent in 416 and 418. Did they reject the same claims in 424? St. Augustine and other bishops from the synod 418 proceeded on a mission to Mauritania by order of the Pope. Did they in 424 deny the Pope's right to name such a commission? All through the Donatist controversy the African bishops insisted on Cecilian's right to appeal to Rome. Did they now deny this right? The African Canon against the appeals of priests to Rome was directed solely to their own subjects. Do the bishops now want to direct it to the Pope himself? The alleged synod of 424 had not the slightest influence on the practice of appeals to Rome. Would this have been the case if a *general* African synod had condemned it?

4. The African bishops condemned as an innovation the claim of the pope to send legates to councils beyond his own provincial jurisdiction, and declared that they would not permit it.

The arithmetical feat by which the fifteen bishops are converted into 460 is entirely beyond our comprehension. But most of the other points have been already met, and we shall endeavour to meet the remainder in the little space at our disposal. This famous synodical letter is now before our readers, and we are assuming it to be genuine. Where does it say—and there is no other authority on the subject—“that Apiarius was tried and condemned after his acquittal by the pope?” It says the very contrary, and actually denies that he had even formally appealed at all, and one of their charges against Faustinus is that he had dared to make such an assertion without the slightest proof. From what took place in his previous trial, and what we have seen in the case of Antony, it is quite clear that at most a *conditional order* had been granted by the cautious pontiff. “The stern synodical letter” on examination turns out to be a fulsome letter of entreaty, asking the pope not to receive appeals or restore excommunicated persons too easily; not to allow sentences to be executed with secular pomp; not to overlook the difficulties attending these appeals from distant provinces; not to encourage disobedience in the inferior clergy; not to ask them to see more wisdom in one of his legates than in a whole synod of bishops; and, above all, not to impose this insolent Faustinus upon them any longer. They take good care not “to condemn as an innovation the claim of the pope to send legates;” but they profess not to have discovered any canon authorising it; they do *not* “declare that they would not permit it.” On the contrary, they suppose that after all they can say or do appeals will go on; and hence they try to dictate to the pope when and where, and how he is to receive them. If he had, as they asserted, no power under the canons, where was his power to come from if not from his divine right? \* The synod of 419 makes the very same admission in asking Pope Boniface to enforce the two disputed

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\* If they thought the pope had no right to hear appeals why did they not plainly say so, like an honest Anglican Synod? No; they go on weaving a mesh-work of contradictions which no one has ever been able to unravel. Pope Zosimus never quoted any Canon for the appeals of priests to Rome; and yet he heard the appeal of Celestius without the faintest protest from any one; and the first appeal of Apiarius without any denial of the divine right which he had just claimed. And now Pope Celestine hears his second appeal, and these men, so violently opposed to the practice of appeals, do not dare to question his divine right; they adroitly endeavour to make the whole matter a mere canonical question, in order to deny directly the rights of appellants, and indirectly those of the pope. The animus exhibited by these men, renders it quite clear that they were prepared to deny the pope's right *explicitly* if their own convictions and those of the country would permit it.



canons elsewhere as well, if they were to be enforced in Africa. We have already admitted that the authors of this document misapplied the Canons of Nicea. But what about "the falsely alleged Nicene Canon"? Pardon, Monsieur, there were two or rather three of them; the Africans made no difficulty about the third; and strangely enough the two others were canons that concern the rights of appellants, and the pope left out the only Canon of Sardica that seems to confer any right upon himself. To make this quite clear we insert the commonitorium of Zosimus with the two disputed canons, and also the Canon of Sardica which he omitted.\*

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\* *Fratri Faustino, et filiis Phillippo et Asello presbyteris, Zosimus.*

Vobis commissa negotia non latent. Vos ita ut nostra, imo quia nostra ibi in vobis presentia est, cuncta peragite: maximè cum et hoc nostrum possitis habere mandatum: verba canonum quo in pleniorum firmitatem huic *commonitorio* inservimus. Ita enim dixerunt dilectissimi fratres in concilio Niceno, cum de Episcopiscoporum appellatione decernerent.

Placuit autem ut si Episcopus accusatus fuerit, et judicaverint congregati episcopi regionis ipsius, et de gradu suo dejecerint eum; et appellasse episcopus videatur, et confugerit ad beatissimum ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopum, et voluerit audiri, et justum putaverit ut renovetur examen; scribere his episcopis dignetur qui in finitimâ et propinquâ provinciâ sunt, ut ipsi diligenter omnia requirant, et juxta fidem veritatis definiant. Quod si is qui rogat causam suam iterum audiri, deprecatione suâ moverit Romanum episcopum ut e latere suo presbyterum mittat, erit in potestate episcopi Romani quid velit et quid existimet. Et si decreverit mittendos esse qui presentes cum episcopis judicent, habentes auctoritatem ejus a quo destinati sunt, erit in suo arbitrio. Si vero crediderit sufficere episcopos ut negotio terminum imponant, faciet quod sanctissimo consilio suo judicaverit.

De appellationibus autem clericorum, id est minoris loci, restat ipsius synodi certa responsio. De quâ re quid acturi sitis credimus inserendum quod taliter dictum est in sardicensi concilio. Osius episcopus dixit; quid me adhuc moveat reticere non debeo. Si episcopus fortè iracundus (quod esse non debet) citò aut asperè commovetur adversus presbyterum sive diaconum suum, et exterminare eum de ecclesia voluerit; providendum est ne innocens damnetur aut perdat communionem; et ideo habeat potestatem ejectus ut finitimos interpellat episcopos, ut causam suam audiant et diligenter tractent, quia non oportet negari audientiam roganti. Et ille episcopus qui aut justè aut injustè eum ejecit, patienter accipiat ut negotium discutiatur, aut probetur aut emendetur sententia &c.

This is all that remains of the commonitorium; it is found among the acts of the synod of 419. Most critics think the word *Sardicensi* to be an interpolation. We now come to the third Canon of Sardica to which Pope Zosimus made no allusion; it consists of three clauses, but only one concerns us; it runs thus:

Quod si aliquis episcoporum judicatus fuerit in aliquâ causa, et putat se bonam causam habere ut iterum concilium renovetur; si vobis placet, sancti Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus, ut scribatur ab his qui causam examinarunt Julio Romano Episcopo, et si judicaverit renovandum esse judicium, renovetur et det iudices; si autem probaverit talem causam esse ut non refricentur ea quæ acta sunt, quæ decreverit confirmata erunt.

Hetele (Councils t.1), no ultramontane surely, proves that this Canon confers on the Pope no new power.

Now if this "astute Pope" wanted to support *his own* pretensions by false canons, why did he omit the very canon that seems to confer on him some new power? And what did he hope to gain by quoting false canons? Did he want to add something to his divine right so clearly proclaimed in his letters? Did he hope to deceive nearly five hundred bishops whose leaders were veterans in polemics, and among the greatest lights of the age? All these difficulties count for nothing with Dr. Cutts, who tells his readers (p. 215) "that the examination undertaken by the African prelates resulted in the discovery that the Church of Rome had put forward the Canons of Sardica as part of those passed at Nicea, the first of the long series of frauds and falsifications by which that see gradually encroached upon the rights of churches, and revolutionised the primitive constitution of the Church." Now our document simply mentions this mistake, but does not dare to accuse the pope. Even Hefele admits (Counc. T. 1, B. 2. ch. 2. N. 41) "that the mistake arose from the fact that in the ancient MSS. the Canons of Sardica were placed after those of Nicea under one heading, and that Zosimus might *optimâ fide* fall into the same mistake as many of his Greek contemporaries." And, after all, what did the mistake amount to? The Canons of Sardica, though now forgotten by the Africans who had helped to enact them, were genuine canons, binding on the whole church; summoned as a general council, attended by papal legates, and by bishops from almost every province of the church, presided over by the great Osius, who had presided over the council of Nicea—the council of Sardica was always regarded as complementary to that of Nicea. How the Africans came to forget its canons is too long a story for this place.

We have placed this celebrated synodal letter in full before our readers to enable them to test at once for themselves the loose statements of Anglican writers. It sneers at papal officials, and even lectures the pope himself; but it carefully abstains from questioning his inalienable authority—a sure sign that African sentiment was too strong for its writer—possibly Antony of Fussala whose name holds a first place among the fifteen signatures. Hence, too, perhaps the singular conclusion: *Long live the Pope to pray for us Africans.*

THE AUTHOR OF

"ST. AUGUSTINE: AN HISTORICAL STUDY."

## ART. VII.—PHILIP AND MARY.

PARLIAMENT had not consented to crown Philip, even with the crown of the Queen's consort of England; but he had an almost inexhaustible fund of patience; he could afford to wait, and meanwhile he employed all the means at his command to dazzle and impress the people. Constituting himself the protector of their favourites, he procured the liberation of Courtenay, and the recall of Elizabeth after her year of forced seclusion. A greater claim to their regard was the fact that he had brought with him no throng of needy followers, clamouring for place and office. Moreover, the bullion that he sent to the Tower on his arrival, to be coined into English money, filled ninety-seven chests, each chest being a yard and four inches long, so that twenty carts were required to convey this treasure.\* But the palace gates, hitherto open to all comers, were now kept closed, and every man was required to give an account of himself, and to state his errand, before he was allowed to enter; a necessary precaution, perhaps, considering the fear and hatred with which the people had been taught to regard the Queen's marriage.

It is, however, easy to estimate what would have been the value of real cordiality on Philip's part. A little *bonhomie* would undoubtedly have gone further to bring the nation to his feet than all his wealth and magnificence. But Philip was unbending, even in his condescension. Spanish etiquette prevailed henceforth at Court in place of the unceremonious manners of the preceding reigns, and this fact more than anything else contributed to the prejudice against him at the very outset. Unpopular, indeed, he was everywhere but in Spain. Contemporary correspondence shows him to have displeased the Italians, to have incurred the dislike of the Flemish, and to have been odious to the Germans.†

In England, he repelled the middle classes by his stiffness, while he offended the ladies of the Court by the impertinence of his attentions. The Bishop of Carlisle spoke reprovingly of his moral conduct. According to the Venetian Envoy at Paris, Philip considered that nothing was well said or thought, but that which was Spanish and uttered by Spanish lips. In return, his Spanish subjects idolised him, and no Spaniard to this day writes of him or of his reign dispassionately. If the reverse had been the case, and for Spanish we could have read English,

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\* Milner's "Antiquities of Winchester."

† Wiesener: "Etudes sur les Pays Bas au XVIème Siècle." Paris, 1889.

might not our national pride have chronicled him as Good King Philip? The like has happened on more debatable ground.

Tasso considers him "a king so just and so pious, that neither his superior, nor even his equal, is to be found in the records of past centuries."\* He was at all events as irresolute as Elizabeth. "We must walk as if we had feet of lead," is a metaphor to be found in one of his letters, and which might have served as his motto in all his political transactions. Slow of speech and of action, as he was, his voluminous correspondence is a monument of verbosity. Chantoney accuses him of spending seven weeks on business that could have been easily despatched in three days; † but it is certain, that his want of political insight was more than counterbalanced by his unparalleled industry. But Philip's was a nature so strangely complex, that he possessed scarcely a single quality that had not its contradiction in another side of his character.

At Brussels, he gave himself up to amusements. His only concession to Flemish customs was his patronage of wedding-balls, which he would attend masked, and would dance till two o'clock in the morning. Then, however detestable the weather might be, he would go and rouse the Duke of Savoy, who was young like himself, and the two would laugh and joke together for hours. Sometimes a ball would be given at the house of a lady renowned for her beauty, and with whom he was in love. Even after a day spent in hunting with the Queen of Hungary and the Duke of Saxony, he would in the evening put on a mask, and resort to his favourite amusement. On Shrove Tuesday, 1556, he walked about the streets of Brussels all night, accompanied by the Duke of Brunswick. The true son of Charles V., but less robust than his father, he would make himself ill with feasting; while on the other side of the sea, Mary Tudor, seeing that he delayed his promised return to her, and hearing of his illness, grew sick with hope deferred, and was bathed in tears day and night.

In spite of a morality not, at least in his youth, entirely above reproach, Philip practised the outward observances of religion with the austerity of a monk. But we may scarcely on this account charge him with hypocrisy, because in the midst of much that is confusing and clashing in his behaviour, he seems always to have entertained a very sincere desire for the furtherance of religion. The author above quoted § says further that—

his principal occupation was to converse with preachers and theo-

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\* "First Dialogue on Nobility."

† Chantoney's Letter of October 1562, Belgian Archives.

‡ Wiesener: "Etudes sur les Pays Bas," p. 29.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 27.



logians. In religious orthodoxy, in the resolution to preserve it with regard to, and in spite of, every one, was to be found the great passion of his soul, so devoid in appearance of all passion. The inexorable destruction of heresy was to constitute the terrible unity of his reign. Gentle by nature, he yielded to an excess of anger (*une extrême férolicité*) if he thought the rights of the Crown, or those of religion, compromised.

Heretic and rebel were synonymous terms with Philip, and he, together with other rulers who discerned the revolutionary tendency of the new heretical opinions, expended all his energy in stamping them out, without regard to the divine quality of mercy. Pity was not a virtue much practised in the sixteenth century, and tolerance, far from being laid down as a Christian principle, would have been treated as culpable indifference. The law had no more indulgence for heresy than for murder; both were in its eyes a heinous crime, to be expiated by blood alone. We have in these days grown so well accustomed to the ravages of false doctrine, that it is difficult for us to enter into the mind of an age in which it was regarded as an offence to be visited with capital punishment. Murder was a crime committed against God and man; heresy offended the majesty of God by perverting His truth, and led to the spiritual death of multitudes. Murder was an open and violent transgression of the law; heresy lurked in hidden places, gave stabs in the dark with poisoned weapons. Any means therefore were deemed just and lawful, which the State might adopt, to prevent the spread of an evil which kills not the body, but the soul. The legal punishment for obstinate heretics was burning at the stake.

The statutes on which heretics were tried and condemned in England, were those of Richard II. and of Henry IV. and V. They were enacted for the peace and preservation of the State against the attempts of those who, under the pretence of conscience, would have subverted it. That they were not canons of the Catholic Church, but statutes of the realm of England, would be clear to any but those who, like Foxe and others, were interested in confusing men's minds. The sentence no more rested with Gardiner, Bonner, or any other bugbear of the Reformers, than it did with the humblest clerk in holy orders.

Any individual suspected of heretical opinions would be cited to appear before the Bishop of his diocese, to answer certain charges made against him. Supposing that he did appear, and admitted the offence, the Bishop would admonish him, warn him against the consequences of a persistence in his error, and appoint an ecclesiastic to instruct him. If the man after a reasonable lapse of time showed no sign of repentance, a letter would be written to the sheriff, whose business it now was to reason

with him, warn and counsel him. The next step, if he remained obstinate, was to commit him to prison, where he was attended by a chaplain till his final act of impenitence. If even at the stake he recanted, his life was spared.

But while Philip's thoughts were directed towards the crushing of the great enemy of Church and State, Mary was consumed with the longing which had possessed her, ever since her accession, to bring back her kingdom bodily into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Pole had for a whole year been on his way to England with a twofold mission from the Pope, to negotiate a peace between France and Austria, and to reconcile the kingdom of England with the Centre of Unity. He had got as far as Brussels, where he was detained by the chicanery of politicians, beginning with the Emperor's fear that his presence in England might raise further obstacles to the Queen's marriage with his son. But the marriage had taken place, and still nothing was done. Pole at last wrote a long letter to Philip, expostulating on the delay, for he could not set foot in England till certain formalities had been enacted, reversing Henry VIII.'s bill of attainder against him. The Queen's ambassador at Brussels also wrote, urging that Pole was weary of spending his life to no purpose, and that he talked of returning to Italy. Should this happen, the letter went on, he indeed would have the displeasure of being deprived of his country, but the realm in its turn would lose a person who for his wisdom, learning, and eminent virtue was sought and honoured by every one who had the honour (*sic*) of his acquaintance. His conversation was much above that of ordinary men, and was adorned with such qualities that he wished the man who liked him the least in the kingdom was to converse with him but one half-hour, and that it must be a stony heart which he did not soften.\* Parliament met on the 12th November (1554), and a bill was brought forward to reverse Pole's attainder. It set forth that the sole cause of his disgrace was his refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's father and mother, and in order that the repeal might be clearly understood to be an act of justice and not of grace, the cause was rejudged, the result of which was that both Houses of Parliament repealed the attainder, and restored him to all his rights and privileges, which his uprightness alone had caused him to forfeit. The great seal put to this act was, for more distinction, taken off in gold. Pole was then free to return to his native land, and was received with the honours due to a royal person. From Gravesend, where he was presented with the act by which he was restored to his rights and privileges, he

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\* "Life of Reginald Pole," by Thomas Phillips: London, 1750.

proceeded up the river in the royal barge, it being the command of the King and Queen that he should henceforth appear in his character of Papal Legate. The barge, with a large silver crucifix at his head, was accompanied by a crowd of smaller boats flying gala colours. At Whitehall, their Majesties rose from dinner to greet him, receiving him at the top of the large staircase. After a short audience he was conducted to Lambeth Palace, which had been prepared sumptuously for his reception. Three days later he went in great state to the House of Lords, and the Chancellor, having sent for the Commons, informed both assemblies of the object of Pole's embassy.

The Legate then rose, and in a long speech acknowledged the act of justice done to him, invited the nation to a sincere repentance of its past errors, and exhorted the members of both Houses to receive with joy the reconciliation which as Legate to God's Vicerent here on earth, he was charged to impart to them. As they, by repealing acts made against him, had opened his country to him once more, so he was invested with full power to receive them back into the Church of God. He then retired, and the Chancellor addressed them in a discourse, beginning with the words, "The Lord shall raise up a prophet to thee, from amongst thine own brethren," making a touching allusion to himself as having been among the number of the delinquents. He urged them to rise from their fallen state, and to seek reconciliation with the common parent of all Christians. The next day, Parliament reassembled, and passed a unanimous resolution to return to the communion of the Catholic Church. Another day passed, and on the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, the King sent the Earl of Arundel, with six knights of the garter and six prelates, to escort the Legate to the House of Lords. He took his place at the Queen's right hand, the King being on her left, though nearer to her. The Commons having been summoned, Gardiner recapitulated his speech of the preceding day, asking all present if they ratified it, and desired to return to the unity of the Catholic Church and the obedience owed to her chief pastor. The shouts and acclamations of the whole assembly answered him. He then handed a petition to the King and Queen on behalf of both Houses as representatives of the nation, declaring their sorrow for the schism, and all that had been done against the See of Rome and the Catholic religion, requesting them to obtain of the Lord Legate, to pardon and restore them again as true and living members to that body from which they had separated themselves by misdeeds. When this petition had been read and returned to the Chancellor, who read it aloud in the hearing of all, both Houses rose as one man, and went towards the Legate. He stepped forward to meet them,

while the Queen in her own name and that of the nation petitioned him to grant them the pardon and reconciliation sued for. The Legate, in a pathetic discourse, spoke to them of the thanks due to Divine Providence for this further proof of His forbearance and the favour shown to England. Then the whole assembly fell prostrate, except the King and Queen, and Pole rising pronounced the solemn words of absolution. When they rose from their knees, they all fell into each other's arms, exclaiming, "To-day we are born again." A move was then made towards the royal chapel, where they returned thanks to Almighty God in a fervent *Te Deum*.\*

All this apparent enthusiasm might almost mislead us into the belief that twenty-five years of schism had left the nation where it was, and that a simple act of contrition was all that was wanted to restore a Catholic mode of thought, Catholic traditions, and Catholic life in the land. The truth is that everything was changed, except the deeply rooted habit of submission to the behests of a Tudor Sovereign. The same people who threw away their faith at the command of the tyrant Henry VIII., who trampled upon it under Edward VI., now embraced it anew in obedience to Mary. She was able to restore to them their lost heritage, and take from them the fatal liberty to go their own ways and make shipwreck of their consciences; but it was another matter to bring them back to what they were before the schism, low even as that standard was in many ways. Fortunately for the Catholicity of those "movable Catholics" enriched by the spoils of the Church, Cardinal Pole came armed with a Papal dispensation exonerating all the recipients of ecclesiastical plunder from the necessity of restoring the treasure. He contented himself with an earnest admonition concerning their putting the sacred vessels of the altar to a profane use, entreating all those whom it might concern "through the bowels of mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that from a regard to their own eternal lot, they would provide out of the Church lands, such especially as had been set aside for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, a competent subsistence for those who exercised that charge, which might enable them to live creditably according to their state, and perform their functions, and support the burden of their calling."

The Queen's example, first in the renunciation of the title of Head of the Church of England, which her father had usurped, and afterwards in restoring confiscated estates and making restitution of abbey lands, failed to inspire those around her with a desire to go and do likewise. When the question of the

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\* "Life of Reginald Pole."



restoration of Church property had come under discussion before the Papal dispensation had been proclaimed, the Earl of Bedford fell into a violent passion, and breaking his rosary beads from his girdle, flung them into the fire, saying he valued his sweet Abbey of Woburn more than fatherly counsel that should come from Rome.\*

The Journal of the House of Commons, Oct. 21, 1555, states that a Bull of Pope Paul IV. was read, confirming all that the Cardinal had done concerning the retention of abbey lands, and special mention is made of a decree ratifying the possession of lands held by Sir William Petre.

The Queen herself, writes De Noailles, "is so poor that her want of money is apparent even to the dishes put upon her own table." The marriage ceremonies too had been conducted with a regard to economy, a circumstance which is more to the credit of Mary's honourable endeavour to discharge her debts and those she had inherited, than of her prudence in husbanding the enthusiasm with which she had been greeted on her accession. When her council objected, that by surrendering the possession of the abbey lands she failed to support the due splendour of the Crown, and laid her state open to contempt, she answered them in the following dignified words:—

You are here of our council, and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession. First, I do consider that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the Church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them, and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same, with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realm.

And albeit you may object to me again, that considering the state of my kingdom and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul than by ten kingdoms, and therefore the said possessions I

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\* "Portfolio of a Man of Letters:" *Monthly Magazine*, Nov. 1820. Cole MSS., British Museum.

utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf than I am myself.\*

Having satisfied her conscience in this matter and repudiated her father's ill-gotten gains, she was not unmindful of the needs of his own soul. Her first care, after his death, had been to provide a series of Masses for him, and now, out of her extreme poverty, and "in the hope that his soul was not wholly beyond the reach of intercession (she) presented an advowson to a college he had founded in Cambridge, saying that as his benefaction to this college was the best thing he had done for himself, the best thing she could do to show her duty was to augment its revenues for his sake."† We learn incidentally of Mary's affectionate care for her brother's eternal welfare, in a description of the beautiful Norman chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Tower, where she "heard Mass for the repose of Edward's soul."

But in her anxiety for the dead, Mary did not lose sight of the charity she owed to the living. From motives of policy, Philip had urged her to put an end to Elizabeth's term of banishment, and in spite of the correspondence discovered between her and the French ambassador, Mary schooled herself to treat her sister with something like her former cordiality. Elizabeth continued to assert her innocence with many round oaths. It was on one such occasion that Mary put a costly ring on her finger, saying solemnly, "Whether you be guilty or innocent, I forgive you;" a circumstance which goes some way to establish Elizabeth's guilt, for it is clear that an innocent person would have every reason to resent such forgiveness, and would insist on a further investigation of matters, so that there might be no longer even the shadow of a doubt.

Elizabeth, on the contrary, seems to have been perfectly well satisfied with the treatment she received, and relinquished for a time her favourite position, as head of the various revolutionary factions in the kingdom. She startled the whole Court by a sudden request that she might be instructed in the Catholic faith, and in the space of a week declared that she was convinced by the books of theology and controversy she had been given to study. She remained for a time at Court, openly professing herself a Catholic, sharing all the Queen's religious observances, and comporting herself as a devout Catholic, hearing daily two

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\* Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," vol. vii. p. 34.

† Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. v. p. 545.

Masses, one for the living and one for the dead, seeming extraordinarily devout to our Blessed Lady.\*

An establishment was provided for her at Hatfield, and Mary frequently visited her there. This, however, did not prevent the house from being the resort of suspicious and ill-conditioned persons; and it is enough that all malcontents felt themselves sure of a welcome there,† to render more than doubtful Elizabeth's sudden and unexpected conversion. All her attendants, moreover, were known to be heretics. It had been proposed to marry her to Courtenay, before the late rebellion, but the project was of course abandoned, when their share in it was suspected. It was, however, no more than just that the indulgence granted to Elizabeth should also be extended to him. When he appeared at Court on his release from prison to do homage to the King and Queen, he received permission to travel abroad for the improvement of his mind, treatment the more remarkable, since Renard, in a despatch to the Emperor, had written: "As touching Courtenay, there is matter sufficient against him to make his punishment certain." Availing himself gladly of the opportunity to escape from a dangerous position, he disappeared for ever from the scene of his not very brilliant exploits.

In September 1553, Cranmer had been committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. He had been the chief promoter of Henry's divorce, had pronounced the sentence, and had crowned Anne Boleyn. He had subscribed to the settlement, by which Parliament had set aside both Mary and Elizabeth, in favour of the house of Suffolk; had proclaimed the Lady Jane, and had spread abroad seditious libels against his rightful Sovereign, inciting the people to rebellion. To all of this he pleaded guilty, and craved the Queen's mercy. He would probably have obtained a full pardon but for his religious contumacy, for Mary was not vindictive, and few were punished for treason against her person. From the beginning of her reign she had loved rather to pardon than to punish. She had no standing army wherewith to awe Parliaments, no money to bribe her judges. She had told them they were to sit "as indifferent umpires between herself and her people;"‡ and if she interfered to stop the course of justice, it was always to exercise her prerogative of mercy.

But during the session in which Parliament had ratified the Queen's marriage treaty, the statutes against heretics had been confirmed. This had been rendered necessary by the recent

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\* "Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria," p. 72.

† *Ibid.* p. 88.

‡ "State Trials," i. 72.

disturbances, and the danger to the State, contained in seditious sermons and pamphlets circulated by the Reformers. The Emperor had moreover intimated that it would be impolitic for Philip to set foot in England, while heretics were allowed the freedom of speech in which they poured forth their detestation of the marriage. The ratification of the statutes for the extirpation of heresy was understood by Parliament as an expression of loyalty to the person of the Sovereign, called forth by the disloyalty and the threatening attitude assumed by the schismatics. "The House," wrote Renard, "resounded with the cries of 'God save the Queen.'"

Foremost among those accused of spreading heretical doctrines, were Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester. By a royal warrant they were all three removed to Oxford, and Commissioners from the House of Convocation were sent down to hold a public disputation with them on the doctrines at issue. Two days after the conference, they were required by the deputies of Convocation to renounce their errors, and to subscribe to the Catholic Faith. On their refusal to do so, they were unanimously declared to be obstinate heretics, and sent back to prison. Pole made repeated efforts to soften Cranmer's heart, visiting him in prison, and writing to him in terms of the gentlest admonition. At last, he is obliged to tell him that he has small hope of him, since he has remained unmoved by what the learned Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Fisher, has written on the subject of the Blessed Eucharist; that the late conference at Oxford seems only to have hardened him the more, and that he is neither enlightened as a teacher nor endowed with the teachableness of a scholar. He tells him, finally, that the errors he has fallen into are the effect and punishment of the disorders of his past life, and that he is given over to a reprobate sense.\* Even then, the Cardinal declares in the most affectionate terms that he would save him from the terrible punishment which hung over his soul and body, at the price of whatever honour and emolument might befall any one in this life.

Cranmer was by far the most conspicuous of the three bishops. He was still Primate of all England, and had received the *pallium* from the hands of the Pope; his cause, therefore, came under immediate papal jurisdiction, and could only be judged at Rome. Cardinal St. Simeone was appointed to examine it, and Dr. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, nominated to try the criminal. A court of delegates was opened in St. Mary's, Oxford, and

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\* This letter is contained in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, MS., vol. 10213, page 43.



Cranmer was formally accused of apostasy, of heresy, of keeping a wife secretly in Henry's reign, openly in Edward's, of publishing heretical books, and of constraining others to subscribe to them, of denying Christ's presence in the Sacrament of the altar, and of disputing publicly against it at Oxford. Mention was also made of his treason, and to all the charges he pleaded guilty, except as to having forced others to subscribe to his opinions; but in his reply he disowned any submission to the Pope, and accused the See of Rome of practices contrary to the Gospel. A report was then made to the Pope, who found him guilty on all points, excommunicated him, deprived him of his Archbishopric and of all ecclesiastical privileges. His effects were confiscated, and he was condemned to be publicly degraded, and then handed over to the civil power. During the awful ceremony of degradation, he continued to dispute the Pope's jurisdiction. He was then transferred to a secular court, sentenced to death, and removed to the Dean's lodgings at Christ Church. Even after the sentence, no exhortations were spared to induce him to recant in the hope of obtaining a pardon; and such was his abject terror of death, that having seen Latimer and Ridley led to execution, he was ready to swear to anything on the chance that his life might be spared. In the Memorial in which he abjured his errors, he not only subscribed to the seven sacraments, to the Corporal Presence, to Purgatory and Prayers for Departed Souls, to the Invocation of Saints, but to the Pope's supremacy, urging all those who had been led astray by his doctrine and example to return to the Catholic Church. Under Elizabeth, such a confession might have been wrung from the accused by the potent agency of the rack, which in the latter years of her reign was scarcely ever at rest; but Mary had abolished the rack, and lest there should be any suspicion that he was not in earnest, Cranmer protested that his recantation proceeded "from his own free motion and for the discharge of his conscience." He also sent a letter to Cardinal Pole, praying that the Queen would order his execution to be delayed for a few days, in order that he might have time to give more convincing proof of his repentance, and to this Mary gladly consented. To Ridley and Latimer pardon had been promised, if they would recant; even at the stake their lives would have been spared; but to the question whether the like indulgence would be granted to Cranmer, the council returned a negative answer. He had been the cause of the schism, the promoter of heresy in Edward's reign, and he must suffer "for ensample's sake." In the reign of Henry he had been active in promoting the death of Lambert and of Anne Askew for those very errors which he now confessed. He had moreover compelled

Edward to sign the death warrant of Joan Bocher, on account of the strange opinions she held concerning the nature of Christ's body; and when the statute of Heresy was repealed, he had availed himself of the powers of Common Law, to send heretics to the stake without mercy, for denying the Godhead of our Lord. Although, according to De Noailles, Cranmer did not in so many words ask for mercy, it is certain that his recantations, seven in number, were all made with a view to obtaining a pardon. This he admitted in his stake speech, declaring that they had all been wrung from him by the hope of life, and that as his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, it should be the first to receive its punishment.

Friedmann\* says of Cranmer, that he was "an admirable deceiver, and possessed the talent of representing the most infamous deeds in the finest words;" and this judgment passed upon him at a much earlier period of his career is thoroughly borne out by the end. In his sixth recantation, he acknowledged that he had been a greater persecutor of the Church than Paul, and wished that, like Paul, he might make amends; but that as he could not rebuild what he had pulled down, he trusted that as the penitent thief on the cross had obtained mercy by the testimony of his lips, so he too by this offering of his lips might move the clemency of the Almighty. He then went on to declare that he was worthy not only of temporal, but of eternal punishment. He conjured the Pope to forgive his offences against the Apostolic See, and the King and Queen to pardon his transgressions against them, the whole realm, the universal Church, to take pity on his wretched soul, and God to look on him with mercy at the hour of his death.† He had had nearly two years for reflection, and it is not to be wondered at that Mary believed in the sincerity of his repentance. With the knowledge before us of his final act of impenitence, the awful blasphemy of this pretended conversion almost removes the cringing wretch beyond the pale of human sympathies. That he should for so long have been the hero of the Anglican Church, that men should still bear to hear his voice in the accents of the English Liturgy, is another proof of the strange credulity and inconsistency of the English people, in matters of religion. The same historian who speaks of "the sad pathos of the Primate's humiliation and repentance," on the self-same page scorns "the moral cowardice which had displayed itself in his miserable compliance with the lust and despotism of Henry," forgetting

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\* "Life of Anne Boleyn," by Paul Friedmann, p. 176.

† Strype's "Life of Cranmer," vol. iii. p. 235.

that that "miserable compliance" contained the germ of the Protestant Church of England, and of all the "sad pathos" that followed.\*

When Philip had been about a year in England, the Emperor, preparing to make a solemn abdication of his dominions, required his son's presence at Brussels. The call was not unwelcome to Philip, for there was little to make his sojourn in England a pleasant one. In spite of the Queen's devoted attachment to him, he had never cared for her, and although the English people treated him with outward respect, his Spanish attendants were subjected to every kind of insult. They complained loudly that the prejudice against them was so great that they could never obtain an unbiassed judgment in any English court of law.

To Mary's intense desire for an heir had succeeded bitter disappointment. If ever she had needed the support of Philip's presence, she needed it doubly when saddened by evils she could not remedy, in ill-health and surrounded by time-serving Ministers, the misfortunes of which she was the victim had made her unpopular with the bulk of the nation. Michele writing to the Doge and Senate, says :—

Certain knaves in this country endeavour daily to disturb the peace and quiet and present state of the kingdom, so as, if possible, to induce some novelty and insurrection, there having been publicly circulated of late throughout the city a "Dialogue," written and printed in English, full of seditious and scandalous things against the religion and Government, also against the Council, the Parliament, and chiefly against their Majesties' persons. †

Poverty had obliged the Queen to ask Parliament for subsidies wherewith to carry on the Government, and this had sown discontent among the various merchant guilds. Defamatory libels pursued the Queen into the privacy of her own apartments. Elizabeth's friends at the same time agitated, and complained loudly that her allowance was insufficient to keep up the dignity required in the second person in the State. Even if the strict economy which prevailed in the royal household, had not prevented Mary from yielding to these clamorous demands, it would have been exceedingly shortsighted to have given her sister the means of increasing the number of her adherents; for in Elizabeth herself was another poignant cause of anxiety. Failing the so ardently longed-for child, she was next in the succession, and Mary had never thoroughly believed in the sincerity of her conversion.

The religion it had cost her so much to re-establish, and which

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\* Green's "Short History of the English People," p. 360.

† May 6, 1555. Venetian Archives.

had scarcely as yet taken fresh root in the soil, was in jeopardy, and the purpose of her life seemed doomed to overthrow and destruction. Philip, from the moment that all hope of issue was abandoned, began to treat Elizabeth as the heir to the throne, and, it was said, made her such obeisance that his knee touched the ground. Cardinal Pole, meeting her in the presence-chamber, kneeled down and kissed her hand. To many it appeared as if she were at the eve of her triumph, for the Queen was so ill that for weeks she had been seen by none but her closest attendants. It was even reported that she was dead. But on the day of Philip's departure, she had so far recovered as to be able to accompany him to Greenwich in an open litter, he riding by her side. A lame beggar seeing her was elated with joy, threw away his crutches, and followed her, leaping and shouting. If Mary had become unpopular with the nobility and the middle classes, the friends of wealth and worldly prosperity, the poor loved her still. She had always had a warm heart for them, and they understood and appreciated her. While the nobles had little religion but their own interests, and did not greatly care whether Mass were offered, or Cranmer's Liturgy substituted for it, the poor, when untampered with by fanatics, clung faithfully to the old religion. Even where a breach had been made in the fortress, the enemy had to fight his way, step by step.

Foxe has several instances in which a poor man or woman, having been taught by a series of misrepresentations, to regard Mass as idolatrous, cling tenaciously to some other doctrine of the Church, and this may account for the survival of many old Catholic customs and fragments of Catholic teaching in different parts of the country. Thus, among the "godly letters of John Bradford," is one addressed to a woman that desired to know his mind, whether refraining from the Mass, she might be present at the Popish matins or evensong. "Both in matins and evensong," says this *learned divine*, "is idolatry, maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which He will give to none other;" and he calls the "Latin service a mark of Antichrist."

Such a definition of the Divine Office is more easily conceivable in days like these, when Protestants have lived so long in ignorance of the grand scriptural method of sanctifying the hours of the day, by singing the praises of God. But it appears almost incredible that the religion, "not fully six years old, a religion of mere liberty, pleasing to gallants, void of all austerities,"\* should have so poisoned the wells already, as to make such a particularly

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\* "Life of the Duchess of Feria."



transparent lie possible. It was in this way that the English poor were robbed of their faith, under the cover of a blustering and self-sufficient zeal. Mary did what she could, to counteract the subtle influences at work all over the country, and it had been her wish to make yearly progresses throughout the kingdom, so that in this way she might become personally acquainted with the people, and extend the circle of her usefulness. But she abandoned the idea when she found that it would be necessary to requisition them, at a season when they needed all their resources to get in the harvest.

This Queen seldom went in progress, except it were to the Cardinal's house at Croydon (for Cardinal Pole, her kinsman, was Archbishop of Canterbury), avoiding by all means to trouble and grieve her subjects in time of hay and corn harvest, when they had use of their horses and carts. And being at Croydon for her recreation, with two or three of her ladies, she would visit the poor neighbours, they all seeming to be the maids of the Court; for then she would have no difference, and ever one of these was Jane. She would sit down very familiarly in their poor houses, talk with the man and the wife, ask them of their manner of living, how they passed, if the officers of the Court did deal with them as such whose carts and labours were pressed for the Queen's carriage and provisions. And among others, being once in a collier's house, the Queen sitting by while he did eat his supper, on her demanding the like of him, he answered, that they had pressed his cart from London, and had not paid him. The Queen asked if he had called for his money. He said, Yea, to them that set him a-work, but they gave him neither his money nor good answer. She demanded: "Friend, is this true that you tell me?" He said, "Yea," and prayed her to be a mean to the comptroller, that he and other poor men might be paid. The Queen told him she would, and willed that the next morning, about nine or ten o'clock, he should come for his money. She came no sooner to the Court, but she called the comptroller, and gave him such a reproof for not satisfying poor men, as the ladies who were with her, when they heard it, much grieved. The Queen said that he had ill officers who gave neither money nor good words to poor men, and that hereafter he should see it amended, for if she understood it again, he should hear it to his displeasure; and that the next morning, the poor men would come for their money, and that they should be paid every penny. Mr. Comptroller wondered how this came to the Queen, and the ladies told him what had passed that evening.

In the visiting of these poor neighbours, if she found them charged with children, she gave them good alms, comforted them, advising them to live thriftily, and in the fear of God, and with that care to bring up their children; and if there were many children, she took order they should be provided for, placing both boys and girls to be apprentices in London, where they might learn some

honest trade, and be able to get their living. This did she in a poor carpenter's house, and the house of the widow of a husbandman. And in this sort did she pass some hours with the poor neighbours, with much plainness and affability; they supposing them all to be the Queen's maids, for there seemed no difference. And if any complaints were made, she commended the remembrance very particularly to Jane Dormer.\*

Many good laws were either made or revived under Mary for the benefit of the poor, but no poor-rates were levied, although corn was at famine prices, owing to bad harvests and rainy seasons. A more excellent way was invented by which an irksome tax was converted into a beautiful act of charity. Two suitable persons were appointed yearly to collect alms in every parish church for the impotent, aged, and needy. The Sunday after their election, when the people were at church, they were to "gently demand of every man and woman what they of their charity will be contented to give *weekly* towards the relief of the poor; and the said collectors shall justly gather and truly distribute the same charitable alms *weekly* to the said poor and impotent persons, in such manner, that the more impotent may have the more help, and such as can get part of their living may have less, and be put to such labour as they are able to do."† It was also enacted, "that if any person being able should obstinately and frowardly refuse to give towards their help, or should discourage others from so doing, the parson and churchwardens should gently exhort him, and if he would not be persuaded, then the Bishop was to send for him, and take order for the charitable reformation of every such obstinate person."

The gaols, too, which had been loathsome sinks of iniquity before Mary's reign, were now kept decently, and the condition, physical and moral, of the prisoners was greatly improved. With so much that is admirable in Mary's character and actions, with all her honesty of purpose and absence of self-seeking, it is strange almost beyond conception that she should have so signally failed in the accomplishment of permanent good to England. It would be a problem too difficult and painful to face, if men were to be judged by results. According to Friedmann, and he is among the most enlightened and unbiassed of Mary's judges, she failed by a want of diplomacy in her Government. Having at the beginning of her reign all in her favour, she lost all by not knowing how to conceal her hand. Her trump cards were useless to her, through her ignorance of the game of politics. Duplicity, which was the very marrow of Elizabeth's bones, she

\* "Life of the Duchess of Feria," by Henry Clifford, pp. 64-66.

† "A History of the English Poor Law," by Sir George Nicholls, vol. i. p. 144.

was utterly incapable of, and without duplicity the various elements which then composed the English nation could not be governed. The straightforwardness so admirably characteristic of the woman, amounted in the Queen to a want of tact, by which all her best actions were spoilt. Her intentions were good, but their result was such that, had they been bad ones, they might have been productive of fewer evils.\*

But if Mary was wanting in diplomacy, Philip, although absent, continued to exercise a very considerable influence in the Government, and he was the very soul of diplomacy. Nothing was done without his consent, every writ that was issued, was sent to him for his signature, and he insisted on the Ministers being in constant communication with him. From the time of the marriage, the Government had been carried on in the joint names of Philip and Mary. On his departure for the Netherlands, he had desired that Cardinal Pole should remain in close attendance on the Queen during his absence, but Pole had declined taking any part in its Government, by reason of his ecclesiastical character. Publicly, therefore, he was no support to Mary, although she took his advice on every important occasion.

On Cranmer's degradation and death, he had reluctantly accepted the honour and burden of the vacant Archbishopric, and the reform of the English Church lay henceforth nearest his heart. Great disorders necessarily prevailed, the history of the past twenty-five years being fruitful in irregularities of every kind. Whether the Cardinal's predecessor travelled about, in Henry's reign, with an oblong box, containing a surreptitious German wife, as story hath it, or whether Mistress Cranmer throned it at Lambeth Palace under Edward, the result was to introduce innumerable stumbling-blocks for the weak and the unwary. Pole now ordered that those who presented themselves as candidates for ordination, were to be carefully scrutinised as to motives; the marriage contracts of religious persons, those of priests and of other orders of the clergy, were declared sacrilegious and unlawful, and a separation was commanded. Negligence, regarding the clerical tonsure and habit, was censured, and the neglect of the Divine office severely reprimanded. The visitation of churches was enjoined on the Bishops, and those which had suffered dilapidations under Henry and Edward were restored by the Queen's munificence. Seminaries were founded, and religious houses re-established, notably that of the Grey Friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittines at Sion; "three houses," observes Lingard,

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\* Friedmann : "Dépêches de Giovanni Michele, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre." Venise. 1869.

“the former inhabitants of which had provoked the vengeance of Henry by their conscientious opposition to his innovations.”

In March 1557, Philip returned to England, not so much in answer to Mary's appeals, as to draw England into a war with France. The Queen longed for peace as ardently as her subjects clamoured for war, and it is probable that had Gardiner still lived to maintain the just equilibrium of the council, the impending disasters might have been averted. But the Chancellor had died in November 1555, a victim to the conscientious discharge of duties which had become too onerous for his worn-out frame. He was at the helm of public affairs till within three weeks of his death, and when he expired, Mary was left without a friend in the Government, on whom she could depend. Philip remained little more than three months in England, when, having obtained the object of his visit, he returned to the Netherlands, never more to set foot on English soil. He had convinced himself that he could never be King of England, other than in name, and the greatness he enjoyed in his own dominions, far exceeded the scant homage that the Queen's subjects grudgingly bestowed on him. The tears and entreaties of the wife were only a reason the more, for removing himself to a more congenial atmosphere.

But with his departure, trouble seemed to close in and envelop Mary, in a cloud from which she never after escaped. Grief, in that she was abandoned by her husband, was not the greatest of her sorrows. “She is so virtuous and good a lady,” wrote De Noailles, “that she will conquer this adversity by the same means and remedy which she has found efficacious in an infinity of other tribulations, which have been her aliment from her youth upwards, like her daily bread.” But when the Duke of Guise surprised Calais, and “wrenched away that brightest jewel from the English Crown,” her heart fairly broke. “The kingdom,” she had declared in answer to those who had opposed her marriage, “was her first husband.” All the sacrifices she had made were for her country's good, and all the dowry she had brought her husband was, as Pope Paul IV. rounded it, in an epigram, the loss of Calais. Of Mary's retrospect, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson says : \*

Her burden indeed was a heavy one; so heavy, that she was sinking beneath its weight, and longing for the time when she might lay it down and be at rest. Like a desperate gambler, she had ventured all upon one single cast in the game of life, and had lost. For Philip, she had sacrificed all that she had to give, more than she ought to have given : her own independence, the affection of her subjects, and the welfare of her country. In her solitude,

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\* Calendar of State Papers, 1558, 1559. Foreign.



she had leisure to look back upon her reign, and to discover that it was one mighty failure. To begin so hopefully, and to end so miserably; why such results from such premises? She now discovered the truth. The English would never consent to become an appendage to Spain, or to be merged in that universal sovereignty at which Charles and Philip were aiming. The anticipations of her early womanhood—to love and to be loved—had faded away before the realities of her wedded life, and now in her premature old age she found herself husbandless, childless, friendless. There was no longer anything for which to live. Every stay upon which the heart can rest was gone, save one—trust in God, and submission to His will; and we may hope that these did not fail her in the hour of her extremity. I have before me a little Book of Prayers which seems to have belonged to her. It opens of its own accord, at a page which is blurred and stained more than any of the others of its well-worn leaves. There we may read the two secrets of her life, the two leading ideas of her existence. The one is a prayer for the unity of the holy Catholic Church, the other is a prayer for the safe delivery of a woman with child. It pleased God that in neither case should the prayer of faith prevail; and however humble may have been her submission, disappointment was death.

When Mary felt that her end was approaching, her first anxiety was to satisfy herself that she was leaving the kingdom in hands that would carry on her work—the work that was dearer to her than aught save her own soul's health. She sent Commissioners to her sister, with orders that they should examine her as to her religion. "Is it not possible," exclaimed Elizabeth, "that the Queen will be persuaded I am a Catholic, having so often protested it?" And she prayed the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic.\*

The Duke of Feria was one of those who visited her for this purpose, and after the interview he wrote to Philip, certifying that she professed the Catholic faith, believed the Real Presence, and was not likely to make any change in essentials. Mary seemed to be satisfied with the report of the Commissioners, and sent Elizabeth, by the hand of Jane Dormer, her jewels and other valuables. Elizabeth received them gladly, and returned a message to the effect that she would uphold Catholic religion, would be good to the Queen's servants, and would pay what might justly be required. Needless to say, not one of these promises was kept.

Having settled all her worldly affairs, Mary occupied herself exclusively with thoughts of death and eternity. The Duke of Feria had brought her a letter from her husband, but the painful

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\* "Life of the Duchess of Feria," p. 72.

craving for his presence had ceased, and her cheerfulness and wonted resignation never once forsook her.

“She comforted those of them that grieved about her; she told them what good dreams she had, seeing many little children like angels play before her, singing pleasing notes, giving her more than earthly comfort; and thus persuaded all, ever to have the holy fear of God before their eyes, which would free them from all evil, and be a curb to all temptations. She asked them to think whatsoever came to them, was by God’s permission, and ever to have confidence that He would in mercy turn all to the best.”

On the 17th November, 1558, having received the sacraments of the Church, she peacefully ended her troubled life. The manner of her death, as related by the biographer of the Duchess of Feria, is too beautiful to be passed over.

“That morning, hearing Mass, which was celebrated in her chamber, she being at the last point (for no day passed in her life that she heard not Mass) and although sick to death, she heard it with so good attention, zeal and devotion, as she answered in every part with him that served the priest; such yet was the quickness of her senses and memory; and when the priest came to that part, to say *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, she answered plainly and distinctly to every one, *Miserere nobis, Miserere nobis, Dona nobis pacem*. Afterwards, seeming to meditate something with herself, when the priest took the Sacred Host to consume it, she adored it with her voice and countenance, presently closed her eyes, and rendered her blessed soul to God. This the duchess hath related to me, the tears pouring from her eyes, that the last thing which the Queen saw in this world was her Saviour and Redeemer in the sacramental species; no doubt to behold Him presently after in His glorious Body in heaven. A blessed and glorious passage. *Anima mea cum anima ejus.*”\*

The corpse having been embalmed, was laid in state, until the 13th December, when it was removed to Westminster Abbey, and interred on the north side of Henry the Seventh’s chapel. The funeral sermon was preached by White, Bishop of Winchester, and redounded more to his honesty and his devotion to Mary than to his prudence and care to hail the rising of a new star. It was exceedingly simple and devoid of all rhetorical ornament, but it gave offence to Elizabeth, and he was confined to his house, by order of the Court.†

Sir Frederick Madden calls attention to the fact, that Mary’s

\* “Life of the Duchess of Feria,” p. 71.

† Privy Purse Expenses, Sir F. Madden.

will has been most unaccountably passed over by every writer, from that time to the present. It forms, together with the codicil which bears date 28th October, 1558, a most interesting document, and was printed for the first time, as an appendix to the Privy Purse Expenses. It bears twice on every page the signature "Marye the Quene," and is authenticated by her privy signet. Some of the bequests are written in Mary's own hand, especially the description of certain jewels she leaves to her husband. They were chiefly those she had at different times received from him, or from the Emperor. Other bequests are to religious houses, to the relief of poor scholars, in either of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to the Hospital of Savoy, and the yearly sum of 400 marks towards the foundation and erection of a Hospital for the reception of Poor, Old, or Invalid Soldiers. There are a multitude of other legacies; no one is forgotten, who has the least claim on her charity or kindness. To her poor servants she leaves £2000, and to other members of her household £3400. Her husband and Cardinal Pole are her executors, but the latter only survived her twenty-two hours. In the codicil, knowing that Elizabeth is to succeed her, she entreats that the bequests and intentions of her will, may be carried out, and desires that her mother's remains may be brought from Peterborough, to repose near hers, in Westminster Abbey. But, "so far from the will being complied with by Elizabeth, it was so completely disregarded, that it is only after the lapse of more than two centuries and a half we learn such a document ever existed.\*"

Mary chose for her motto the device, "Veritas Temporis Filia:" is it not time that the garbled pages of her history should be revised, and the true story of her character told to the people she loved so dearly?

J. M. STONE.

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\* Privy Purse Expenses. A copy of this will and codicil is preserved in the British Museum. Addit. MS. 32091, fol. 153.

## ART. VIII.—DEEP-SEA EXPLORATIONS AND SOME OF THEIR RESULTS.

THIS century has achieved important discoveries in almost every department of science. Whole branches of knowledge have been created in the course of those eventful years : chemistry, geology, palæontology, comparative anatomy, great as these sciences already appear, have all been constituted on their present basis within our own times, and the most valuable as well as the most astounding discoveries in connection with electricity date but from yesterday. Steam, also a recent invention, has made it possible for man to acquire a knowledge of the earth's surface not vouchsafed to former ages, and to collect information respecting the fauna and flora of the world, without which the immense progress made in the province of biology could not have been realised. One great fact thus became known, namely, the universality of life on the face of the globe. Even where temperature is lowest, where light is most scanty or altogether absent, living beings have been discovered deeply altered, indeed, by those unfavourable conditions, yet still able to maintain their own existence, and to propagate that of the species. Life was found to be the true explanation of many natural phenomena hitherto unexplained, such as, for instance, fermentation, and many of those mysterious diseases of a contagious nature for which the science of our century is seeking a remedy in the inoculation of those very living elements from which the danger is now believed to arise.

But, greatly as our knowledge of the earth had increased, until recently nothing or nearly nothing was known of the depths of the sea, which forms nearly three-quarters of the surface of our globe. The soundings of navigators had indeed established the fact that there are shallow shoals and banks, deep plateaux, alternating with deeper troughs and valleys, beneath the mighty waters ; it was known that great depths existed in some parts, but of the absolute depth of the ocean, and of the true nature of the sea-bed in those lower regions nothing was known. Still less, if possible, did we know of the kind of vegetable and animal life by which they might be tenanted. For a long time a belief prevailed, chiefly owing to the influence exercised by Edward Forbes, the eminent naturalist, that all life ceased below a few hundred fathoms, as soon, in fact, as a cold temperature and a complete obscurity were added to the increased pressure of the liquid elements. A few living forms might perhaps occasionally find their way somewhat below the



usual level, but no regular existence was to be expected there. These views, based upon incomplete observations, could not long be maintained. Each year, since 1859, when Forbes's celebrated work on the natural history of European Seas first appeared, brought to light new facts contradicting Forbes's somewhat dogmatic assertions, until more recent researches, of which we wish to make here a brief sketch, revealed the surprising fact that animal life not only exists but even abounds at all the depths reached by our soundings. Thus a new field of study and speculation was open to modern biologists by these startling discoveries, and the opportunity thus offered has not been neglected by them. Many new theories, many new conceptions of the plan of nature owe their birth or increased growth to those revelations from the deep. It may not be, therefore, uninteresting to condense in a rapid manner the history of those expeditions by which our present knowledge of the deeper regions of the ocean has been obtained. This will enable us to realise more clearly the problems raised by those discoveries, and to weigh more accurately the real scientific value of some of their results.

The view held by Edward Forbes that the greater ocean depths were entirely untenanted by living forms, had at first met with very general acceptance, but before many years had elapsed, facts came in one by one, all more or less in contradiction of his theory. Among others we may mention the discovery of the "globigerina ooze"\* of the Atlantic at a depth of more than 6000 feet by Lieutenant Brooke of the American navy; the researches of Ehrenberg, the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Wallich during his expedition to Greenland and Newfoundland in the *Bulldog* in 1860, and more particularly the fortunate accident which happened in the same year to the telegraphic cable laid between Bone and Cagliari. This cable got broken at a spot where the Mediterranean is of an average depth of 6000 to 9000 feet, and in endeavouring to repair it, it was again broken, but fragments of it were thus obtained which, on examination, were found to be covered with animals still alive when the specimens were brought up. Mr. Alphonse Milne-Edwards who examined those valuable documents from the deep sea satisfied himself that many of the animals had existed ever since their birth attached to the cable, and some, during growth, had actually become moulded exactly to the shape of the cable that gave them support. The notion of Edward Forbes that all life ceased in the sea below a few hundred feet was therefore completely exploded by this discovery.

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\* This "ooze" is a fine mud which covers vast spaces in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. It is almost entirely made up of the microscopic shells of the genus *globigerina*.

This and other similar discoveries at once stimulated fresh researches in every direction, the first to lead the way in 1853 being the national poet of Norway, Absjorn Absjörnssen, who was at the same time a distinguished naturalist, and the first discoverer in the Hardangerfjord of that magnificent star-fish, which he at once called *Brysinga*, after the name of the mystic jewel attributed to the goddess Freia by the Scandinavian mythology which the poet knew and loved so well.

Michael Sars, and his son Ossian Sars, had long been engaged in the investigation of the seas that wash the coasts of Norway, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Lofoden Islands, while space will not allow us to do more than mention the explorations of Duben, Koren and Danielssen. Encouraged by these successful undertakings, Professor Wyville Thompson and Dr. W. Carpenter, conceived the idea of making a thoroughly methodical investigation of the deep seas, and applied with this object through the Royal Society to the Admiralty for the loan of a vessel. There happened to be at that moment an old paddle-boat, called, not precisely on account of her speed, the *Lightning*, and as she was considered quite unfit for further service, the Lords of the Admiralty saw no objection to her being applied to the advancement of Science. On August 4, 1868, the *Lightning* started from Pembroke with the two naturalists on board *en route* for the Faroe Islands. The weather proved so unfavourable that only seventeen dredgings could be performed during the six weeks that the expedition lasted, and on September 25, the *Lightning* came back utterly disabled. Yet, the voyage had not been without some good results. The "globigerina ooze" of the Atlantic, first discovered by Brooke, was again found, and in it were imbedded magnificent sponges adorned with long silvery spicules by which they were fixed to the deep mud. At the same time important observations upon the temperature of the sea at various depths were collected.

Nothing succeeds like success. The results of the *Lightning's* expedition led in the following year to another headed by Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys, the celebrated conchologist, this time in the *Porcupine*, an excellent ship well adapted for a scientific mission.

The *Porcupine* made three expeditions during the summer of 1869. The first, under Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys, on the west coast of Ireland; the second, directed by Professor Wyville Thompson, in the Atlantic; the third in the Faroe Islands, by Dr. Carpenter. The *Porcupine* again went to sea in 1870, and this time visited the Mediterranean. In the course of these expeditions, on July 22, 1869, the dredge was sent down in mid-Atlantic to a depth of more than 14,000 feet, and after seven hours was

brought up again filled with mud, in which were imbedded representatives of nearly all the groups of invertebrate animals. This solved the question of the existence of living forms in the abyssal zone.

Meanwhile, similar efforts were being made in America with equal success. Between 1867 and 1869, Louis Agassiz, and after him the Count de Pourtalès, explored the Gulf Stream, and later on Louis Agassiz, on board the *Blake*, of the United States Coast Survey, made a careful study of the great depths about the West India Islands and the Gulf of Mexico. His observations and discoveries tended to modify profoundly an idea then still generally received, namely, that beyond a certain depth, the same species occurred more or less everywhere. This idea owed its origin to the fact that so many specimens of animals found in the north by the Scandinavian explorers had also been discovered in the regions investigated by the leaders of the British expeditions. But the results of the *Blake* expedition had not confirmed these views. The seas of the West Indies had yielded very different forms from those found in British waters. It became therefore evident, that no safe conclusions could be arrived at, unless a thorough investigation of all the regions of the globe were first instituted. This opinion had already taken possession of the minds of Professor Wyville Thompson, Dr. Carpenter, and the other leaders of the British expeditions. They had held to their idea with characteristic British tenacity and perseverance ever since their first adventure in the *Lightning*. This led to another far more important and far more productive expedition now known in the history of Science as the Voyage of the *Challenger*.

Nothing was spared to make that celebrated expedition a great success. A distinguished officer, Sir George Nares, was in command, and the scientific staff, under the direction of Professor Wyville Thompson, comprised such distinguished workers as Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Moseley. Chemical and biological laboratories had been fitted up, and a number of delicate instruments for magnetic and meteorological observations had been entrusted to the care of the second officer, Mr. Maclear. Special apparatus for dredging and sounding had been devised, and these together with their cables must have taken considerable room on board, when we remember that the dredge was more than once sent down in the course of the expedition to the amazing depth of five miles.

The *Challenger* left Portsmouth on December 21, 1872, only to see England again after a most successful voyage of three and a half years round the world, when the *Challenger* brought home an immense harvest of results which have been gradually set

before the scientific world in those ponderous but invaluable volumes known as the "Challenger Reports." We owe to the researches of the distinguished naturalists who had charge of the expedition more accurate information than any hitherto possessed respecting the various depths of the oceans. None of these fabulous depths reported by ancient authors were found, but, to those illusions, were substituted exact records entirely deserving of our confidence.

Dredgings gave results no less important than the soundings. During the four crossings of the Atlantic, from the Canaries to the West Indies and Nova Scotia; from Bermuda to the Azores; from there to Brazil; and from San Salvador to the Cape of Good Hope, the *Challenger* gathered a precious harvest. From great depth strange blind crustaceans were brought up. Some had their legs of extraordinary length, as if to enable them to feel what they could not see. In theory, it appeared only natural that the inhabitants of great depths should be blind. In abysses where a photographic plate did not reveal the least trace of light, what could eyes be used for? Yet theories were sadly shaken by the fact that from these same abysses which had yielded blind animal forms, other crustaceans and also fishes were brought up possessing eyes—nay, eyes of extraordinary dimensions. We shall return to this interesting question later on.

As the dredge of the *Challenger* was being dragged along the bottom of the ocean, it brought devastation to large colonies of deep-water corals, sponges, sea-urchins, star-fishes, and many other forms, upon whose delicate loveliness human eyes had never gazed before. All those beings were there living together in the foraminiferous mud of the Atlantic, eloquently testifying to the comparative abundance of abyssal life. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, the *Challenger* directed her course towards the Antarctic regions, and there, more than once, our brave explorers encountered serious dangers while engaged in gathering most interesting observations. They came, at the most southerly point of the cruise, in sight of the great ice-barrier, which forms an immense wall rising to from 100 to 200 feet above the sea level. It is made up of an apparently uninterrupted accumulation of icebergs, extending over many miles, as far as longitude 170° E., where the wide opening occurs by which Sir James Ross was enabled to penetrate to the foot of Mount Erebus and Mount Terror. The travellers had now to advance, with no little care and anxiety, amid enormous icebergs (seventy-seven were sighted in a single day). Once, about noon, the ship, diverted from her course by some unknown cause, drifted upon an iceberg, and coming into collision with it, buried her jib-boom in its side. After much trouble the ship was extricated from



that dangerous position only with the loss of her jib-boom and adjoining gear.

At last the *Challenger* altered her course for Australia, whence, after some weeks of necessary rest, she started for New Zealand. The soundings made during the crossing between the two islands, or rather continents, showed that the greatest depth (so far ascertained) between Sydney and Wellington is 2600 fathoms, or about three English miles, the sea gradually becoming much shallower towards the coast of New Zealand.

Later on, on their way to Japan, the scientific staff of the *Challenger*, in the course of their frequent soundings, came upon the greatest ocean-depth as yet ascertained by strictly accurate methods. In Lat.  $11^{\circ} 24' N.$ , Long.  $143^{\circ} 16' E.$ , about midway in the narrow sea which separates Guam Island of the Mariana group from Uluthi, one of the Western Caroline Islands, the sound was sent down to the enormous depth of 4575 fathoms, or about five and a quarter English miles! The rod of the sounding-machine came up covered with fine red mud or clay; the bottom temperature corrected for depth was  $1^{\circ} C.$ , and three out of the four thermometers sent down in the two soundings made, returned to the surface crushed to atoms by the enormous pressure to which they had been exposed, the glass of the tubes being reduced to a fine white powder. Off the coast of Japan, the bed of the sea was found to deepen rapidly, some of the soundings indicating 3625 fathoms, or over four English miles. This great depth is probably on the southern extremity of the 4000-fathom hollow previously discovered in that region by the staff of the *Tuscarora* of the American navy. It represents, as far as we know, the greatest depression, the deepest wrinkle, so to speak, upon the face of this earth.

In the Pacific, the *Challenger* found the greyish mud already mentioned replaced by a sort of red clay which covers immense spaces at the bottom of the ocean. That clay is coloured in more or less deep brown by oxide of iron and manganese. It is very soft and greasy to touch when fresh, but when it becomes dry it forms blocks so hard that great force has to be applied in order to break them. This red mud appears to be deposited with extreme slowness.

It was during the long voyage through the Pacific that Mr. Willernoës-Sühm, the youngest naturalist of the *Challenger*, died in a few days, of erysipelas, to the consternation of all on board. He was scarcely twenty-eight years old. At last, after passing through the Magellan Straits, the *Challenger*, for the fifth time, crossed the Atlantic and arrived at Portsmouth on May 26, 1876. This memorable expedition round the world, in the name of science, had lasted forty-two months, during

which 492 soundings had been made, and the dredge had been sent down 234 times. No greater contribution to our knowledge of the depths of the sea has yet been made than this one which the whole scientific world will ever mention with gratitude, and all Englishmen may well remember with legitimate pride, as the Expedition of H.M.S. *Challenger*.

Thus Norway, England, the United States, each in their turn, were contributing to the solution of the great problem raised by modern science; but what was France doing all this while? It was a Frenchman, Mr. Alphonse Milne-Edwards, as we have seen, who had first given positive proof of the existence of a deep-sea fauna. Yet France itself, as a nation, had practically taken no part in the great movement of submarine exploration. At last, in 1880, at the instance of the Marquis de Folin (well known for his own independent researches), strongly supported by Mr. A. Milne-Edwards, the French Government ordered a Scientific Commission to be formed for the purpose of investigating the Coast of France, and particularly the Bay of Biscay, and a steamer, the *Travailleur*, was placed at the disposal of the Commission, which included Mr. A. Milne-Edwards, the Marquis de Folin, Professors Vaillant and Maurin, and Dr. Perier de Pauliac. Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys had been invited to join the Commission and give its members the benefit of his experience acquired during his expeditions in the *Porcupine*. Although this voyage of the *Travailleur* only lasted a very short time, it brought, nevertheless, the most encouraging results, and supplied the public collections of France with numerous specimens hitherto unknown.

In the following year, the *Travailleur* shifted the scene of her labours from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. There many species already found in the Bay of Biscay were again discovered, and one of the conclusions arrived at by the Commission was that there is much more in common between the fauna of the Mediterranean and that of the Atlantic than was formerly supposed.

We believe, wrote Mr. A. Milne-Edwards, in his Report on the *Travailleur's* expedition, that the Mediterranean has been peopled by the emigration of animals from the neighbouring ocean. Finding in the Mediterranean a place favourable for their existence, those animals settled there, and they have often attained in their new abode a richer development than had been the case in their original home. It is easily understood how those animal forms, thus placed under different biological conditions, may have become modified in size and other external characteristics; and this explains the very slight differences which exist between certain oceanic forms and their corresponding Mediterranean types. The belief in the primordial

separation of the two faunas was mainly due to the fact that scientific men compared the products of the Mediterranean with those of the North Sea, of the British Channel, or of the Coast of Brittany, instead of taking for terms of comparison the faunas of the Coasts of Portugal, Spain, Morocco and Senegal. For the animals of those seas must have been the first to emigrate towards the Mediterranean.

The *Travailleur* undertook a third campaign in 1882, and after visiting again the Bay of Biscay, it investigated the Coast of Portugal, finally pushing as far as the Canaries. But the results of that expedition are to a great extent merged into those obtained by a much more important expedition organised by the French Government in the following year.

We are alluding to the scientific campaign of the *Talisman* in June 1883, whose results have so much contributed to the popularity of Deep Sea Explorations in France. The scientific staff was composed of Mr. A. Milne-Edwards, Marquis de Folin, Professor Vaillant, Professor Edmund Perrier, and MM. Filhol, Fischer, Brongnart, and Poirault, and the special adaptation of the vessel to its new requirements had been superintended by M. Thibaudier, the distinguished engineer, in a manner which recalled the splendid arrangements of the *Challenger* for a similar purpose.

The *Talisman* did not, however, undertake anything like the *Challenger's* Expedition. It was not the aim of the French Commission to cover a great deal of ground, and thus to secure only general results. The learned men assembled on board the *Talisman* conceived that, given the large views and the generalised ideas inspired by the great undertakings of England and the United States, the interests of Science would be better served if many workers would each choose one particular limited area, and investigate it thoroughly, so as to supply well-ascertained facts affording a sound basis for scientific generalisation at some future period. It is by this method that all the branches of Natural Science have progressed; our knowledge of the deep must be obtained in a similar way.

The *Talisman*, after visiting Mogador, came upon some unknown forms of fish-life of the greatest interest, such as *Eurypharynx pelecanaoides*, a deep-sea fish, so called because its enormous mouth is supplemented by a kind of pocket, which somewhat recalls the characteristic appearance of a pelican.

At Teneriffe, the Commission landed for a few days, and made an expedition into the interior. At the Cape Verde Islands, valuable observations were made on the Coral fisheries. In former times, it was believed that the red coral of the Mediterranean was exclusively found there, and nowhere else; but it is now ascertained that coral is found in the Cape Verde archi-

pelago identical with that of the Mediterranean. There also is found the *Pleurocorallium Johnsoni*, Gray, white in colour, and with its polyps disposed all on one side of the branch, like the *Pleurocorallium Secundum* from Japan. But perhaps the most interesting observations made were those respecting the Sargasso Sea, that vast marine prairie in so much Mid-Atlantic, which frightened Columbus and his men when they first beheld it. The plants which compose the Sargasso Sea are algæ closely allied to the brown sea-weeds of our own coasts. They float interlaced, forming, as it were, islands which follow each other in interminable processions. It was formerly believed that this floating weed of the Atlantic had been detached by the waves from the shores of the Antilles and Florida, and then carried away by the Gulf-stream. But the naturalists of the *Talisman* were able to show, by a closer examination, that the Sargasso originates and is developed on the surface of the water. It has neither roots nor any kind of bulb. Each stem is abruptly terminated at its lower extremity by a sort of cicatrice, and evidently is only a detached branch of another plant. Vesicles full of air, which have given this fucus the name of "tropical grape," serve as floats to sustain it on the water, while hundreds of foliaceous membranes rise vertically above every group of the weed so as to absorb the quantity of air which these organisms require in order to grow and propagate themselves. Perhaps the day may come when the agriculturists of Europe and America will find in that vast mass of rich sea-weed a valuable manure for their soils.

As might be expected, animal life revels within the shady abode afforded by that floating vegetation. Fish of many kinds sport there in vast numbers, and myriads of crabs, shrimps, serpulæ, mollusca, bryozoa, feed and dwell upon the interlaced stems of those migratory forests.

But while our naturalists were thus busily engaged in studying the marvels under their eyes, an accident happened on board which materially reduced their means of investigation. Owing to some defect in the machinery, the steel rope of their dredging apparatus suddenly gave way, and thus in an instant more than 5000 yards of rope were lost. It was a great disappointment, for they were then upon practically unexplored ground lying at great depth. They were, however, able to study the sea-bottom with the sound. It revealed a volcanic bottom apparently of recent formation, entirely composed of lava and other volcanic products, thus showing that the Canaries, the Islands of Cape Verde and the Azores are not isolated volcanic centres, but that a large area between those archipelagos is probably also the theatre of submarine eruptions which take place at a great depth below the surface.



On the voyage home from the Azores, the naturalists of the *Talisman* did not cease to dredge within the limits allowed by what remained of rope at their disposal. They were still able to go to a depth of nearly 2800 fathoms, and the harvest from that depth proved very important. Even their last attempt, actually in sight of Rochefort, brought to light rare encrinites or sea-lilies, whose presence was little suspected in such a spot. Thus ended the principal deep-sea exploration undertaken by France. Let us hope that before long other and equally successful efforts will be made, now that the importance of such researches is fully recognised. To aid in such studies is one of the most useful ways in which a Government can promote the advancement of science, and when well-conducted meteorological and hydrographical observations are carried on concurrently with the biological investigations proper to such expeditions, it is idle to object that the money thus spent is not spent for an immediately practical object, and therefore cannot well be given by the State. Many such observations have already largely increased our knowledge in nautical matters, and we venture to say that some day it will become evident to all that the money given to such expeditions as that of the *Challenger*, the *Blake*, or the *Talisman*, was as well employed from a practical point of view, as that which is now so freely and so justly bestowed upon the construction and maintenance of our lighthouses.

In this rapid historical *résumé* of the principal submarine explorations, we have only mentioned the most salient facts as they presented themselves in the course of our narrative. Yet many and most interesting are the questions raised by those investigations, and some of them, at least, should be briefly indicated, in order that the reader may fully appreciate the immense importance to science of such a branch of research. For instance, we promised to return to the curious facts connected with the various conditions of the organ of sight at great depth. All readers are doubtless familiar with the facts themselves, but it may not be out of place to say a few words upon the higher questions raised by those facts. Habitual residence in darkness has very remarkable effects upon those animals who inhabit dark caves or subterranean waters. Their skin tends to lose its coloured pigments; their eyes, where the darkness is not absolute, become extraordinarily enlarged; where, on the contrary, there reigns complete darkness, the eyes tend to become either greatly or totally abortive; these changes are often accompanied by a remarkable development of the organs of touch, in virtue of a sort of principle of compensation. It would seem, therefore, logical to suppose that, at those great depths, where no ray of

light can penetrate, all animals must be blind, and even deprived altogether of all organs of sight.

As a matter of fact, the case is far more complex. Certain animals are found among the inhabitants of the abyssal zone whose eyes, as in the case of some crustaceans, for instance, are still of normal shape, but devoid of pigment, or of other necessary element. In other cases, the eye is replaced by a spine; Dr. Fischer, one of the naturalists of the *Talisman*, noticed that many of the Lamellibranch molluscs collected during the expedition were quite destitute of any organs of sight, although those same molluscs when taken at more moderate depths possess normal eyes—they had been brought up from depths varying from 1500 to 2500 fathoms. Such were, for instance, *Pecten fragilis*, or among the Gasteropoda, *Pleurotoma nivalis* and *Fusus abyssorum*.

On the other hand, many animals, particularly many crustaceans, who inhabit the same depths, have perfect eyes, often enormously developed. But they also present this peculiarity: they are powerful swimmers, like the prawns; while the blind crustaceans rather belong to the type of the crab, whose locomotion is slow, and which lives chiefly in ambuscade, half buried in the deep mud, waiting for any prey which may chance to come within measurable distance of its powerful claws. As a rule, with the preservation or increased development of the eyes in the swimming crustaceans, a remarkable development of certain tactile organs is observed. This is the case also with abyssal fishes who, however, only rarely are found blind. "Whenever we find in a fish," says Dr. Gunther, "long, delicate filaments developed in connection with the fins or the extremity of the tail, we may conclude that it is an inhabitant of still water, and of quiet habits. Many deep sea fishes are provided with such filamentous prolongations, the development of which is perfectly in accordance with their sojourn in the absolutely quiet waters of abyssal depths." An explanation of the remarkable difference, as regards the organs of sight, between sedentary and actively swimming animals, has been sought in the fact that a sedentary life may not make so great a demand upon the eyes of such animals as it does, for instance, upon the crabs. They are content to crawl on the abyssal mud, and make a living by merely snapping at whatever comes within their range; whilst, on the contrary, those animals who go in search of their prey, must necessarily be provided with much more adequate means for the purpose, in the shape of large eyes, and delicate, thread-like feelers. As is now well known, those eyes are not a mere luxury. They fulfil a real purpose, for at those abyssal depths, the ordinary sunlight is replaced by phosphorescent light

produced by many marine animals, and that light is sufficient to stimulate the eye, and to enable it to distinguish the outlines of the objects that emit or reflect the phosphorescent light. Some fishes would seem even to have eyes which not only are sensitive to light, but actually produce it, and emit it through the lenticular body very much as light is sent through the convex glass of a lantern. The case is still under investigation as regards fishes, but that some crustaceans possess eyes which project light and also see it, was well made out by the naturalists of the *Talisman*. One night, in the Atlantic, the sea was seen covered with luminous points like floating stars. Some of the water was procured, and was found to contain an innumerable quantity of small crustaceans, probably of the genus *Mysis*. These little animals, when examined under a microscope in a dark room, actually illuminated the field of the instrument. Yet it was observed that the eye itself remained in darkness, but was only surrounded by a sort of luminous cap, so that the eye, while shedding its own peculiar light, was itself affected only by reflected light.

In presence of these facts, we must confess our inability to understand most of the reasons brought forward to account for the existence of animals undoubtedly blind in the midst of the phosphorescent light which mitigates the horror of those dark abysses wherein their whole life is spent.

On the assumption that those blind forms have lost their eyes by degeneration, we ask, why should they have lost their eyes in a medium filled with sufficient non-solar light to maintain the healthy action of the eyes of their immediate neighbours, and even to lead to their enormous development in some cases? The distinction drawn between swimming and non-swimming animals by Professor Perrier and others appears scarcely to meet the difficulty. It is not contended that phosphorescent light may not occur near the sea bottom at all abyssal depths, nor does it appear reasonable to suppose that eyes would not be more useful to a crab for the purpose of catching its prey than any abnormal lengthening or strengthening of its claws. We even come here upon another contradiction. It would seem natural to suppose that in proportion as the organs of sight become lost, organs of touch would acquire increased development and delicacy. The conservation of the species would seem to require it. But this, as we have shown, is not the case. Remarkable developments of tactile organs are found particularly in those swimming fishes and crustaceans whose eyes are perfect, a strange and unexpected commentary upon the text, "to every one that hath shall be given."

This is a good illustration of the difficulties into which one is led by attempting to explain the whole of nature by a theory,

however ingeniously contrived. What appears to suit one aspect of a fact, breaks down when the same fact is looked at from another side. We shall be willing to believe explanations as to how nature develops useful organs, when we better understand how and why nature allows the suppression of the same organs under conditions still calculated, at least in a degree, to excite them into useful action.

Our increased knowledge of the great depths of the ocean has led to more than one disappointment in the case of some of our modern scientific theories. The impression at one time prevailed that the animal population of the abyssal zones must be of incomparable variety and abundance. The bottom of the sea was conceived to be, as it were, the great laboratory of Nature, from which came the innumerable forms that were destined to people our shores, and, later on, the dry earth itself. We all remember how that notion was implied in the belief that the famous *Bathybius* was a portion of the primordial living matter out of which all things, by evolution, have come to be.

The mistake in the case of the *Bathybius* had to be acknowledged. But other admissions also had soon to follow. It is now acknowledged that the number of species diminishes as depth increases, and that the number of individuals diminishes even more rapidly than that of species. This ought not to surprise us, since from the investigations of the *Challenger* and the *Talisman*, it seems clearly proved that, as depth increases, the conditions become more and more unfavourable to existence. First, with the sunlight all vegetable life, of course, ceases in the depths of the sea. All deep-sea animals are, therefore, carnivorous. Then comes the immense pressure to which their body has to adapt itself. That pressure amounts to a ton weight for every 1000 fathoms of depth. On the other hand, temperature at great depths is very uniform. At a depth of 500 fathoms the temperature of the water is already as low as 40° Fahr., but from the greatest depths upwards to about 1000 fathoms, the temperature stands only at a few degrees above freezing point. Temperature cannot, therefore, oppose any serious obstacle to the dispersal of abyssal forms, and we are no longer able to attribute to this factor the importance once conceded to it by Gwyn Jeffreys, Wyville Thompson, and others.

It remains, however, certain, as far as our investigations go, that the marine fauna becomes poorer and more incomplete as we descend further towards the greatest ocean depths, and there is every reason to believe that the abyssal fauna, far from having given birth to the fauna of our shores, is itself nothing but a colony from the latter; not a primordial fauna, but rather a fauna constituted by emigration, and, therefore, incomplete in many of its



features. The inferior types, those starting-points of our zoological classifications, are altogether wanting, and no class of the animal kingdom is found to be at all fully represented. What a contrast with the exuberance of life exhibited by the littoral zone, where plants, under the vivifying influence of the sun, supply a rich and varied food to a fauna placed under the most favourable conditions that light and temperature can afford. It is very probable that from those favoured stations living forms went forth to people the surface of the sea, now inhabited by so many pelagic animals; and the ocean depths, only recently revealed to us by the great deep-sea explorations of our age, and the fresh waters of our rivers and lakes; and gradually the earth itself, according to the striking words of Genesis i. 20: "Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature having life, and the fowl that may fly over the earth under the firmament of heaven."

Thus the marvellous plan of God in nature becomes slowly more intelligible to us, not indeed in its essential features, for that remains to this day, in spite of learned theories, as inscrutable as ever, but at least in its more general aspects, and for this we are deeply indebted to the splendid efforts of modern science in the field of deep-sea investigations.

L. BAYNARD KLEIN.

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ART. IX.—MEDIÆVAL GUILDS AND MODERN  
COMPETITION.

1. *English Gilds*. Edited by TOULMIN SMITH. London : Trübner. 1870.
2. *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System*. Parliamentary Papers. May 12, 1890.

THE Reformation and the French Revolution, the two great modern revolts against the mediæval tradition, destroyed much besides the institutions against which they were primarily directed. The overthrow of the hierarchical principle, effected by the first in religious, by the second in civil society, involved as a necessary consequence the suppression of the spirit of association in both. This tendency, the most characteristic of the Middle Ages, was also the one which had the largest share in shaping the growth of the modern world. The leaders of spiritual thought seized on it as a potent engine for the promotion of religious ends, and its leverage, utilised in the Crusades and in the monastic orders, became the largest factor in the future.

But civil society caught at the same instrument to work out its own deliverance. Military organisation, the first bulwark of order evolved from chaos, produced an ideal antagonistic to the democratic spirit of commerce. Hence some counter-organisation of the interests of the latter became a necessity unless it was to lie helpless under the heel of the armed knight, who, from the champion, not seldom became the tyrant of society. The traders of particular towns or districts grouped themselves together in guilds or corporations, modelled on the forms of still older associations, and the feudal lord often saw his rude soldiery held at bay by the civic independence of the burgher commonwealth. Thus the corporate unions, which formed the earliest embodiment of municipal freedom, might have been held worthy of sympathy by the later movements which sheltered their innovations behind that name. The reverse has, however, been the case, and while the Craft Guilds in Teutonic countries came with monasticism under the ban of the Reformation, because associated with the rites of the ancient faith, they were proscribed with equal rigour by the Revolution in France, because inimical to its cardinal dogma of State absolutism. That epoch of destruction, while annihilating the existing organisation of labour, proved unable to replace it, and foremost among its many legacies of evil is the state of industrial anarchy which threatens to

undermine the very basis of a highly complex society. Many French sociologists look to a reconstitution of the old trade corporations in some modified form as a remedy for some of these evils, and a passage in the Papal address to the French Pilgrimage of Labour last October shows that Leo XIII., no less eminent in practical than in spiritual wisdom, favours the idea. Thus the generation which destroyed, in impious self-sufficiency, what it was unable to build up, has left to its successor the task of painfully retracing its steps towards the ideals from which it has been led so far astray.

The origin of Craft Guilds is sought by modern research in two opposite directions. While some refer them to classical antiquity as the direct representatives of the Roman "Collegia" of the various trades, others identify them with the Scandinavian *gylds*, or annual feasts in honour of Pagan divinities, later Christianised by the substitution of a patron saint. Either conjecture is plausible, and the probabilities are in favour of a convergence of the double stream of tradition. The Roman Colleges, which existed to the number of eight in the time of Numa Pompilius, had grown to eighty under the Emperors, and included all crafts and professions, from bankers and doctors to donkey-drivers and muleteers. When too large for convenience they were broken up into centuries, and these again into smaller units. That the cooks of the Imperial household formed a single college, we learn from a bequest to it by one of its members, and the slaves in the domestic service of private families constituted similar clubs. It is easy to imagine what facilities this organisation may have afforded for the formidable servile rising terminated by the death of Spartacus. Similar combinations existed in the provinces, and each navigable river, for instance, had its guild of watermen, those of the Saone and Rhone both having their headquarters in Lyons.

It is, however, in the Germanic countries that we find the later, or mediæval merchant guilds make their first appearance in history, and Saxon England in the eleventh century furnishes the earliest authenticated example. Here one was founded "in honour of God and St. Peter," in connection with the monastery of Abbotsbury, by one Orey, a friend of Canute the Great, and his wife, Tola of Rouen. Its statutes bound the brethren to mutual help in all necessities, including burial of the dead, and prayers for the souls of deceased members. A yearly banquet on the patron's day, a characteristic feature of these associations, gives colour to their supposed derivation from the original guilds of heathen Scandinavia. The dinners of the London City Companies, prescribed by almost immemorial tradition, are thus a surviving observance of the worship of Thor and Odin. These

same companies had their representatives as far back as the time of Athelstane, when the statutes of the London Guilds were already committed to writing, as they had combined in a common association for the maintenance of order, repression of crime, and resistance to the tyranny of powerful families.

We have thus a double line of descent for the trading corporations, whose defensive constitution perpetuated that of the classical colleges of crafts, as their convivial character did that of the Scandinavian societies in honour of the deities of the Northern Olympus. But in the mediæval transformation of society under the influence of Christianity, they received that distinctively religious character which recognised at once the sacredness of labour and its subjection to the discipline of authority. Hence the large place which works of piety and beneficence, almsgiving, the celebration of Masses for the dead, and of devotional exercises in association with all their festivities, had in the statutes by which they were governed. The recitation of psalms for the souls of deceased members, and the number of tapers to be carried on the occasion of their commemoration, are frequent matters of prescription. The individuality of the association was sometimes asserted in the fashion of its devotions, as by the quaint rule of the Guild of St. Peter, in Norfolk, which enjoined on its members to go to Mass on the Saint's day with a garland of "hoke lewes" (oak leaves) on their heads. Their beneficence was not restricted to their own members, for the Guild of the Holy Cross in Birmingham maintained almshouses for the people of the town, and the Guild Merchant of Coventry kept "a lodging-house with thirteen beds to lodge poor folks coming through the land on pilgrimage, or any other work of charity in honour of God and of all Saints," a woman being kept for the office of washing the pilgrims' feet. The Guild of Swafham Bullock charged itself with "the repair of the church, and renovation of vestments, books, and other ornaments," and the Guild of Pampesworth, Cambridgeshire, set aside the increase on certain bushels of barley for a like object. Works of general utility were also undertaken by the guilds, and bridges and walls were repaired, schools and colleges founded, and public shows and feasts organised by their energy. The Lord Mayor's Show, threatened with abolition, but still surviving, is one of their legacies to London. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a more permanent monument of their activity. Its foundation, in 1352, by the united Guilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin, was due to the scarcity of priests and consequent exorbitant charge for Masses after the Plague, as the College was instituted in order to supply scholars bound to the performance of ecclesiastical offices for its founders.



Nor were the services of the Corporations to the public confined to the fulfilment of pacific duties alone, as some formed semi-military organisations, and furnished their quota to patrol the streets and defend the walls and gates of their town. Many, indeed, on the Continent were called into existence by the necessity for self-defence, and one formed by Canute at Roeskild had for its object the suppression of the piracy of the Vikings. In other cases, as the champions of municipal independence, they defied in its name the power of feudal lords, and even of sovereigns. King Nicholas of Denmark fell a victim in 1130 to the resentment of the Guild of Scheswig for the death of Duke Kund, their alderman and protector, slain by his son Magnus. Having been advised not to expose himself to the vengeance of the citizens by entering the town, he scornfully asked what he could have to fear from tanners and shoemakers. No sooner was he within the gates than they were locked behind him, the guild-bells were rung, and he and all his followers killed on the spot.

As early as the time of Charlemagne, the increasing power of associated numbers began to be looked on with jealousy by those in authority, and the statutes of that monarch prohibit the formation of guilds or oath-bound societies under pain of flogging, slitting of the nose, or banishment. The spirit of combination existed even amongst the clergy, whose associations were called guilds of Kalendars, because they originally met on the kalends of each month.

From guild rights, confirmed and recognised by the Crown, municipal rights in many places developed, the united trade corporations being gradually identified with the civic body. The word *Commune*, first known to have been used in 1070, was then applied to a league of the burghers of Mans, formed to resist the tyranny of Godfrey of Mayenne. But the burgher guilds, which began their career as the champions of liberty, became in their turn, as they waxed in strength, the oppressors of others. Formed in the towns from the original freeholders, or ground-owners, invested with civic rights as a corporate body, they expended their common funds in the purchase of the adjacent lands; and as these increased in value grew into rich and privileged companies, constituting in many towns a hereditary aristocracy. The pride of the wealthy burgher, based on the length of his purse alone, had perhaps a more irritating quality than that of the militant noble, and the statutes of some of the German, Danish, and Belgian guilds, prohibiting membership to those "with dirty hands," "with blue nails," or who cried their wares in the street, must have been particularly galling to the excluded, from the personal character of the distinctions drawn.

The citizen aristocracies, while thus lording it over their

inferiors, were also divided among themselves by the same contentious fury which made every Italian town a theatre of internecine war. The feuds of the Blacks and Whites, of the Capulets and Montagues, the Colonna and Orsini, had their counterparts north of the Alps, in those of the Weissen and Overstolzen, the Sternträger and Papageien, the Zornen and Mühlenheimer of Cologne, Bâle, and Strasburg respectively. These dissensions among the upper *bourgeoisie* prepared the way for the rise of the lower, and the annals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are full of records of intramural wars between these two classes, on the inferior of whom the whole burthen of taxation was thrown. The Craft Guilds, which had originally risen as associations of serf-artisans, had now become strong enough to attempt to wrest from the burgher corporations, or Merchant Guilds, some of their exclusive privileges. The struggle was a long and bitter one, accompanied with sanguinary reprisals on both sides. Thus in 1301 ten aldermen of the Craft Guilds were burned alive in the market-place of Magdeburg, and in Cologne the defeat of the weavers by the families, in what was known as "the weavers' battle," on November 21, 1371, was followed by the practical extermination of the obnoxious craft. Not only were thirty-three publicly executed, and others hunted out and massacred in their houses, but 1800 were driven into exile with their wives and families, while their Guild House, described as "a palace," was razed to the ground. These reverses delayed, but could not hinder, the emancipation of the trades, and their admission to equal civic rights, for in the end the tables were so completely turned that the patricians were compelled to inscribe themselves in the guilds as a qualification for municipal office.

The same revolution was effected in England after a less virulent struggle. Here, too, the weavers were the militant representatives of the aspiring trades, and the privilege conferred upon their guild by Henry I., in consideration of a yearly tribute of 18 marks, making membership compulsory on all exercising the craft, so aroused the jealousy of the burghers as to lead to a protracted feud with the City. The latter, having outbid the Guild by the offer of a tribute of 20 marks, obtained from King John a decree for its suppression, which seems, however, to have fallen into abeyance, as in the sixth year of Henry III. the weavers and the City were again at variance.

The final enfranchisement of the trades took place in the 49th year of Edward III., when a municipal ordinance transferred the right of election to civic office from the ward representatives, in whom were vested the privileges of the original ground-owners, to the Trading Companies. The burghers, how-

ever, still retained a preponderance, for, having been compelled, as early as the reign of Edward II., to enrol themselves in the guilds, they entered certain privileged ones, and so perpetuated their precedence. Thus arose the twelve great companies, from whose ranks, since the time of Edward III., the civic dignitaries have been chosen. It was in the fourteenth century when the different trades appeared before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to have their statutes registered and confirmed, that they assumed a common uniform, and styled themselves Livery Companies. The Grocers' Company, so called because they "engrossed" all manner of goods, was the most influential, as it returned sixteen aldermen, and secured, in 1385-86, the election of Sir Nicholas Brembre as Lord Mayor twice in succession, despite the opposition of the rest of the community. The position of the great companies was attested by the enrolment of many of the sovereigns in their ranks: Edward III. in the Clothiers' Guild; Henry IV. and VI. in the Guild of the Trinity at Coventry; and Henry VIII., with his Queen and Cardinal Wolsey, in that of St. Barbara, near the Tower.

But royal patronage availed nothing to save the guilds when the doctrine of plunder, inaugurated by the Reformation, furnished rapacity alike with pretexts and precedents. The London guilds ransomed their property by a payment of £18,700, and so perpetuated their existence. Not so those in the provinces, of which 30,000, as Dr. Jessop tells us in the *Nineteenth Century* for June 1890, were stripped of their all by a stroke of the pen. The whole machinery of self-help was extinguished at a blow, and the English working classes were thrown on the degrading charity of the State for aid in their necessities. In Germany, too, the abolition of the guilds was effected by the Reformation, their character as Catholic institutions being sufficient to point them out for destruction.

In France the system of trade monopoly, always more rigidly enforced, survived longer than elsewhere. A feudal privilege, originally purchased from the over-lord, the exclusive right to exercise an industrial calling, was later conferred by the King, either for money or favour. Louis VI., in 1160, gave five trades to the wife of Yves Lacobe and her heirs, and the superintendence of the various handicrafts devolved on the officers of the household, by whom they had in earlier times been actually practised. Thus the blacksmiths were under the control of the Grand Marshal, the bakers of the Pannetier du Roi, &c. The trading corporations of Paris, to the number of 100, were first registered in 1260, by Etienne Boileau, the City Provost, in his "*Livre des Métiers.*" They were governed by syndics, either elected or nominated by the Provost, and termed also *prud'*-

*hommes, jurés, or gardes du métier.* They formed collectively the *syndicat jurande*, and exercised very extensive powers, regulating the most minute details of business. The most important of these corporations, which formed for a considerable time the civic body of Paris, was that of the *mercatores aquæ*, or *Marchands de L'Eau*, forming the *Hanse Parisienne*, or *Compagnie Française*, conducting the traffic of the Seine by which Paris was provisioned. The title of king was bestowed on the heads of all the trades, as *roi des archers, roi des merciers, roi des ribauds, &c.*

An interesting example of the spirit of charity fostered by the guilds is furnished in the foundation of the Hospice de St. Julien le Pauvre, by that of the *jongleurs* and *ménestrels* in 1330. A poor paralytic woman, called Fleurie de Chartres, or Fleurie la Chartraine, had been for two years an object of pity to the inhabitants of the Rue St. Martin, when her miserable condition, as she lay in all weathers in an open cart or handbarrow to receive the alms of passers-by, excited a more active sentiment of compassion in the breasts of two wandering minstrels, one Huet, from Lorraine, and Jacques Grare, called also Lappe of Pistoia. By the exertions of these two strangers she was installed in a permanent refuge, subsequently enlarged into a *hospice* for poor minstrels, with a confraternity in charge, and church attached. The right of the Minstrel Guild to appoint the chaplain was disputed in 1644 by Jean François de Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, but the musicians successfully maintained their claim. The church, restored in 1718, subsisted until the Revolution. The minstrels then, moved by a sudden impulse of patriotism, went in a body on December 17, 1789, to bestow it on the nation, and it was demolished in the following year. That the public spirit of the guilds was not inferior to their piety was proved by the offer of a frigate from one of them to Louis XIV. for his war against the English. Neither piety nor patriotism, however, availed to save them from the destructive fury of democracy, and they were indiscriminately suppressed by the law of 1791.

Trade associations played a large part in the history and social life of the Italian Commonwealths. They occupied separate *contrade* or quarters in many towns, and Milan was thus divided at the date of the battle of Hastings. The seven arts, forming the *popolo grasso* or upper *bourgeoisie* of Florence, were sufficiently powerful to compel the resident nobles to be inscribed in their associations as a condition of citizenship. The minor trades, exercised by the *popolo minuto*, were innumerable, and the woollen manufacture alone supported twenty-five, of whom the carders and dyers formed powerful corporations.

The form of commercial organisation, thus practically identical



throughout mediæval Europe, was based on a principle the very reverse of that which obtains at the present day. The interests of the producer were then held no less paramount than those of the consumer now, and the ideal of all trade regulation was the restriction of competition within the smallest possible range. Narrow as the system seems to the cosmopolitan expansiveness of modern philosophy, it, at least, foresaw and provided against some of the most crying evils that afflict society at the present day. It united employers and employed in a society bound together by corporate interests, and strong enough at once to control and to defend its members of all classes. By a compulsion which the ideas of the present day might stigmatise as tyrannical, it excluded the grinding competition of misery and incompetence from the labour market, that of low-priced inferiority from the warehouse. The patriarchal constitution of early society was extended to trade, and the *régime* of a household governed the arts and crafts. But religion, the active principle of all mediæval life, was the true bond of union, which reconciled the conflicting interests of classes, and made combination between them possible.

This was seen in the whole working of the guild system, with its naïve assumption of inquisitorial rights over the general conduct of its members. An ordinance of the Guild of St. Anne in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, London, runs as follows:—

And if any man be of good state (of health?) and use hym to ly long in bed; and at rising of his bed ne will not work but wyn his sustenance and keep his house, and go to the tavern, to the wyne, to the ale, to wrastling, to schetying, and in this manner falleth poor, and left his cattel in his defaut for succour, and trust to be helpen by the fraternity; that man shal never have good ne help of companie, neither in his lyfe, ne at his dethe; but he shal be put off for evermore of the companie.

The "black books" of the Guilds, in which the names of transgressors were inscribed, implying the loss of all rights of membership until they were erased, have given rise to a familiar colloquialism signifying condemnation or disgrace. The machinery of control was provided by the weekly, monthly, or quarterly meeting of the guild brothers, whose supervision was anything but illusory. The quality of the goods was tested, adulteration being strictly prohibited, while the use of fitting tools by the workmen was enforced by domiciliary visits. Excellence of material was prescribed, as by an ordinance of July 30, 1350, prohibiting the Parisian shoemakers from using sheepskin, or dog's hide tanned, while sanctioning the employment of Flemish

cordovan, in addition to the Spanish leather previously alone permissible.

- Payment of heavy fees, or a severe test of proficiency by the production of a costly sample, excluded over-competition in the higher grades, and the words, master-piece, *meisterwerk*, *chef-d'œuvre*, and *capo d'opera*, commemorate, in the principal European languages, this qualification for the master's degree. The privileges thus obtained were strictly guarded. No member might take away another's servant, supply his customers, or work for a customer in debt to him. While a member wanted work, no outsider could be lawfully employed, save in the case of the help afforded by the master's wife, children, or maid. The guild rights thus secured became hereditary, and were even transferred by a widow's remarriage to her second husband. Competition in the purchase of raw material was restricted by regulations such as that of the joiners and carpenters of Worcester, compelling a member buying a lot of timber to dispose of a portion, not exceeding a third, to any brother on his demand. Foreigners were admitted to these privileges only in case of agreement between individual cities for interchange of civic rights, and great indignation was felt by the Weavers' Guild when Edward III. conferred guild rights on the Flemish weavers. In all trade disputes resort to arbitration by the guild elders was compulsory before going into Court.

While competition among employers was thus narrowed, the rules as to apprenticeship formed a barrier against the undue swamping of the labour market. Each master was limited generally to two apprentices, and a long probationary term, usually seven years, was imposed on these latter. The same code tended to check early marriages, a frequent source of modern misery, since the apprentice, living as a member of his master's household, could not aspire to one of his own. The duration of the working day, the question now agitating the mercantile world, was limited, often to the hours of daylight, the Angelus of Nôtre Dame being in Paris the signal for its termination. Religion prescribed, not only the total rest of Sunday, but the observance of Saturdays and the vigils of the Doubles as half-holidays, the ecclesiastical celebration of the feast beginning on the eve. Longer periods of repose were sometimes stipulated for, and the London weavers enforced vacation from Christmas to Candlemas. Thus the restrictions on excessive labour, towards which this utilitarian age is slowly struggling by legislative process, were imposed centuries ago by the religious faith which was then the basis of society.

The long struggle between capital and labour had, however,

even then begun. The modern spirit germinated in the chaos of destruction left behind by the Great Plague of 1348, memorable among epidemics as having swept away institutions together with individuals. From the clearance of population wrought by it dates the uprising of labour, manifested in an immediate rise of wages, which legislation, ever ready, like the Manchegan Knight, to try a fall with the windmills of economic laws, made futile efforts to check. The Statutes of Labourers (23 and 25 Edward III. c. 2) forbade masters to pay, or workmen to demand, a higher rate of wages than before the Plague, and a similar attempt to restrain the working of the law of supply and demand was made in a royal ordinance passed in 1362, when, after a number of houses had been unroofed by a great storm, it was forbidden to raise the price of labour or materials for repairing the damage.

A petition of the master cloth shearers in 1350 urges the complaint that workmen will no longer work at the previous rate, but only by piece-work, which they do so hurriedly as to damage the goods, the restoration of the old custom being invoked. Statutory wages alternated with their assessment by justices of the peace from 1389, when an Act in the latter sense was passed, through the 6th Henry VI., 2nd and 3rd Henry VII., and 6th Henry VIII. Meantime labour, conscious of its growing strength, replied to statutory compulsion by combination. Fresh enactments were required to check this form of resistance. The organisation of apprentices was made illegal, and all common gatherings or conspiracies of workmen penalised by a proclamation issued in 1383. Four years later three cordwainers' apprentices were committed to Newgate for having conspired with a begging friar to get an ordinance from the Pope authorising them to found a brotherhood, thus overriding the civic laws. Even associations ostensibly religious were at this time prohibited as revolutionary and dangerous. The introduction of foreign workmen next became a cause of dissension, leading to frequent riots on the part of the turbulent apprentices. Evil May Day in 1517 was signalled by one of these risings, of which another, directed against religious refugees, took place in 1586.

The date of the suppression of the guilds by Henry VIII. coincided with that enlargement of the scale of trade which eventually created the factory system. An attempt to check the tendency was made in Acts 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, limiting the number of looms and apprentices to be employed by a single individual. In the following reign the results of the overthrow of the self-protective organisation of labour were seen in an Act giving for the first time legislative protection to skilled labour. The Statute of Elizabeth (5th Eliz. c. 4), which remained

in force until 1814, imposed a seven years' apprenticeship for all trades, limited the working day to twelve hours in summer, and from daylight to dark in winter, and prescribed the general assessment of wages, either by the justices of the peace or town magistrates, at the first sessions after Easter. This latter provision received a still further extension in the subsequent reign (1 Jac. I. c. 6), but later fell into abeyance, which led to a combination of workmen in the woollen trade. By an Act of 1725 such combinations were declared illegal, but one passed in the following year embodied the measure demanded—assessment of wages by the justices. Still the powers conferred by it remained unused, and a fresh conflict broke out in 1756. Workmen and employers petitioned respectively for and against the enforcement of the Act, and exasperation at the neglect of its provisions produced serious riots amongst the weavers. The strike was concluded by mutual agreement, and in the following year a fresh Act (39 Geo. II. c. 13) was passed, again throwing on the magistrates the onerous obligation of determining wages.

Meantime the continued expansion of trade left far behind the capabilities of the older associations, which survived only as time-honoured relics in the richly-dowered corporations of London. The domestic organisation of labour which they typified survived longest in the woollen trade. It was, down to the beginning of the present century, organised on the basis of a seven years' apprenticeship, and carried on principally by small masters in their own homes. In Harmley, a cloth-makers' village of from 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, there were at that date (1806) 97 apprentices, of whom only four were bound for shorter terms. Each master employed on an average ten journeymen and apprentices, in the proportion of two or three of the former to one of the latter. All lived as members of his family, receiving £8 to £10 per annum wages, in addition to their lodging, food, and washing. Many remained in the same employment for twenty years, and were not dismissed even when work was slack, as the master in that case either found a place for them elsewhere, or kept them on himself at a loss. This, according to their evidence before a Parliamentary Commission, they regarded as a strict duty.

The introduction of steam power had, however, already begun to revolutionise this as well as all other trades, and the increased number of those employed enabled them to combine with greater effect. While the old trade guilds had united employers and employed in an association of which *esprit de corps* was the animating principle, the new combinations of workmen were based on class interest alone. The harmonising influence of religion, inculcating mutual forbearance, had ceased to act upon the com-



ponent elements of commercial society, and its structure dissolved into a chaos of incoherent and struggling forces. No longer an "artisan," in whom mind was a necessary adjunct to muscle, the worker had become a "hand," and the man a function of the machine. But the human automaton used his power of volition in other directions, and the mine and the mill taught the value of concerted action to their toiling masses. The army of labour began to organise itself, and Trades Unionism came fully grown into existence.

The hatters had inaugurated it as early as 1792, with a trade society to which the members subscribed 2*d.* weekly. It was directed against sub-contractors, or "little masters," as they were termed, whose intermediate profit, like that of the "sweaters" of the present day, narrowed the wage-earners' margin of subsistence. The framework-knitters, a body which, having come into existence after the Statute of Elizabeth, was brought within its scope by a special charter, suffered heavily from over-competition in labour. The source of the evil here was the number of parish apprentices, whose employment in the trade, with the consequent lowering of wages, produced such misery among the workmen that a single coat, known as a "reliever," was possessed by several in common. From their dire necessity rose the Stocking-makers' Association for mutual protection, which became such a force in the Midland Counties as to return its member unopposed for Nottingham in 1778. Although the workmen fully proved their case before a Committee of Inquiry, no remedial measures were introduced, and a lengthened period of disturbance followed.

The violation of the Statute of Apprenticeship in the Sheffield cutlery trade led to organised combination among the men, and they formed a powerful union in 1791. On the adoption of machinery in the calico-printing business in 1790, a saving of a third in wages was effected by the employment of an unlimited number of apprentices, instead of journeymen as heretofore. The opposition of those whose interests were affected proved, in this case too, unsuccessful. They formed a powerful trade union, and under its auspices a Bill limiting the number of apprentices was introduced into the House of Commons, but thrown out by the influence of Sir Robert Peel, himself concerned in the trade. All legislation in favour of mechanics was indeed rendered difficult during the first half of the present century by the powerful representation of the manufacturing interest in Parliament.

The clothworkers of Halifax formed, in 1796, a trade society called the Institution, to oppose the employment of workmen without apprenticeship. Under the designation of a Friendly Society, it at first included masters as well as men, but the former withdrew on finding that it assisted workmen on strike, and the

latter retaliated by refusing to work for mill-owners who did not belong to it. The men were eventually triumphant, and compelled employers to subscribe an agreement accepting a seven years' term of apprenticeship. The silk trade was convulsed by frequent strikes and labour disputes until the Spitalfields Acts of 1773 empowered the Lord Mayor or magistrates to assess wages. This measure, contrary to ordinary precedent, proved successful, and worked with satisfaction alike to masters and men.

But the Statute of Elizabeth, thus clung to as the charter of skilled labour, could not be maintained in face of the economic evolution of the modern world. Its restrictions on competition became purely arbitrary as the gradual improvement of automatic machinery superseded the necessity for intelligent skill on the part of the workman. Its repeal in 1814 was therefore but the recognition in practice of the altered state of circumstances, though the larger problems which confront modern sociologists may well make them look back regretfully on a state of society whose difficulties admitted of so simple a solution. The withdrawal of legislative protection from labour led naturally to an attempt to replace it by an extension of the system of voluntary combination. The social history of the next decade is the record of the struggle to check the growth of Trade Unionism by prohibitory measures in force from 1818 to 1824. It was only, however, by the Trade Union Acts of 1870 and 1876 that combination received a full legal status, the law of conspiracy being relaxed in its favour, even when "in restraint of trade." Unfettered by legislative restriction, in accordance with the modern principle of allowing free play to all the economic forces, it has at its disposal a vast machinery, with a reserve of potential violence behind it. Thus, while the mediæval industrial system was framed on the combination of employers and employed against the common enemy, the consumer, the modern world finds the two former ranged in hostile camps, while the latter profits by their dissensions. For their interests are really identical, the proportion in which profits are divided being a minor matter compared with the existence of profits to divide. Capital, so-called, represents not money alone, but the veritable "headship" of brain-power, innate or acquired, applied to the organisation of labour. It is no less useful to the workman than to the employer, since its outlay gives an enhanced value to his work. Were he and his fellows endowed to-morrow with all the plant and stock-in-trade accumulated by their masters, they would find themselves not enriched but impoverished by the change; and the first step towards turning their new acquisitions to account would be to replace the proprietary machinery of control by a hiring staff, which would probably be equally costly and less efficient.

The Eldorado of labour has been vainly sought in the scheme of co-operative production, in which the workers divide all profits. Factories on this system have been tried in France since 1848, but with unfavourable results, and a Commission of Inquiry held there in 1866 reported that they could only succeed under very exceptional circumstances. Experiments in this country have proved equally unsuccessful, and the promoters of the system, at a meeting held in London, on May 29, 1890, were obliged to confess it a failure.

The nostrums of latterday reformers are thus one by one found impotent to cure the ills of the body politic, and a world which has eliminated religion from its teaching sees itself threatened with an outbreak of the barbaric forces which no other influence can tame. That this truth is beginning to dawn on the minds of those in authority is evidenced by the action of the Emperor of Germany in summoning a dignitary of the Catholic Church to assist in the deliberations of the recent Social Congress at Berlin, as well as by the anxiety of the statesmen of all countries to enlist the good offices of the Pope as a mediator in the war of classes.

The social problem confronts the English public at this moment in a twofold aspect. On the one hand, they are met by the increasingly difficult relations between employers and employed, exemplified in the familiar story of the recent Dock Strike; on the other, by the misery occasioned by over-competition among the lower grades of unskilled labour. The embarrassment caused at one end of the scale by workmen who ask too much seems as irremediable as that created at the other by workmen who are satisfied with too little. Legislation, vaguely invoked in both cases, seems equally inapplicable as a remedy for either.

For the first, various forms of arbitration have been suggested, and the latest scheme of this description comes with the authority of the London Chamber of Commerce. It is proposed that Committees of Conciliation, containing an equal representation of employers and employed, should be formed for the various trades of London, with a central committee constituted on the same principle. The French Councils of Prud'hommes, as to which a report was furnished by the British Embassy in Paris, on February 13, 1890, are here taken as the models. These tribunals of arbitration, called into existence at the request of the local Chambers of Commerce, in reference to trades concerned with the transformation of materials, now number 136 throughout France, and deal annually with 42,000 cases, of which 16,000 are amicably settled, 12,000 withdrawn, and the remainder submitted for formal judgment. As yet, however, no jurisdiction is

exercised in cases of strikes or general wages disputes, the questions decided being only those arising in regard to individuals, but it is in contemplation to extend the authority of the Councils to the larger subjects of contention as well. A difficulty would seem to arise as to the power of enforcing such awards. The responsibility of position would be a guarantee for the good faith of the masters, but recent precedents go to prove that the men would only hold themselves bound by the action of their representatives as long as it suited their convenience or interests.

The adoption of a sliding scale of wages as a settlement of the question has an appearance of abstract justice, but the variability of earnings would be attended with great practical inconvenience. There are periods in most branches of business when no profits are made, and the employer keeps things going at a dead loss, which to the operative, on the profit-sharing system, would mean starvation. Among the unrecognised debts labour owes to capital is one for this function of equalising wages, distributing losses over prosperous seasons when its previous outgoings can be repaid.

It is precisely the absence of this reserve of wealth which causes such cruel hardship among the wage-earners at the lowest end of the industrial scale. It is pointed out by Miss Beatrice Potter, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, that while the "sweating system" so-called defies all attempts at exact definition, its essence consists in the absence of a responsible employer, whose wealth and standing would place him in a position of accountability for the welfare of those in his employ. Not the "bloated capitalist," whose prosperity is generally distributed in pretty fair proportion among the grades below him, but the small employer, struggling on the knife-edge between penury and subsistence, is the source and centre of those miseries of which he himself bears his full share: most often a penniless Jewish workman, the instinct for organisation inherent in his race alone enabling him to become the master, instead of the fellow, of his companions in toil. The popular conception of him as an ogre battenning on the earnings of his victims has had to be abandoned in the light of recent investigation, in which he appears as the helpless product of circumstances and surroundings.

This conclusion, by removing responsibility from the individual to the impersonal abstraction of economic law, renders a remedy all the more difficult to seek. It is the grinding pressure of international competition which leaves no practical alternative between the extinction of a trade at a cost of still greater suffering, and its pursuance under the present terrible conditions. The prices of the markets are no longer ruled by the subsistence



standard prevailing in any particular country, but by the lowest rate that can be struck over a large area of the earth's surface. Whether the competition takes the form of the importation of foreign goods, or the immigration of foreign workmen, but slightly alters the form of the difficulty occasioned by it. A universal protective system of labour was tried by the International, founded during the London Exhibition of 1862. Leaguering itself with secret societies abroad, it degenerated into a conspiracy against society, and fell in consequence into disrepute. The Berlin Conference was a more recent attempt to attain the same ends by State combination. Failing in this larger aim, it had to content itself with a more modest programme, the adoption of factory legislation in restriction of female and juvenile labour on the model of that in force in this country.

The House of Lords Committee on the Sweating System found itself equally unable to recommend heroic legislation. The extension of the powers of sanitary inspection under the Factories Act to smaller workshops and dwelling-houses is the principal measure they propose, one which, however necessary as a palliative, leaves the economic evils of the situation untouched. It is worth noting that the reinstatement of apprenticeship was pressed on the Committee from various quarters, and that, while they decline to advocate it, they suggest technical education as an alternative. Unless accompanied by the legal restriction of unskilled labour, it is obvious, however, that it would fail to fulfil the same purpose. The labour question thus seems incapable of solution by political nostrums alone.

In France, where socialistic experiments have been tried in vain, there is a movement of opinion in another direction, that of the reconstitution, on a modernised basis, of the old industrial corporations. Destroyed, as we have seen, in Lutheran countries by the Reformation, they here subsisted down to the Revolution, the second great manifestation of the modern anarchical spirit. The edict for their suppression, termed by M. Floquet, "the martial law of industry," was passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1791, and prohibited those engaged in the same trade from forming any combination or association whatever. This law, based on the principle that there was to be no intervening organisation between the State and the individual, was soon recognised as an error, and the restoration of the corporations was frequently demanded. Under consideration in 1812, by Napoleon's Council of State, it was petitioned for after the Restoration by merchants, artisans, and local assemblies, and recommended in 1841, by the Parisian Chamber of Commerce. The decree of 1791, nevertheless, remained in force until 1884, when it was repealed by the law of Professional Syndicates,

authorising the incorporation of those in the same trade in societies to consist exclusively either of workmen or of employers. Legislation in Germany has taken the same course, both the German and Austrian Parliaments having repealed their prohibitory laws against corporations at the lapse of twenty-five and twenty years, the course having been forced on the latter by great trade assemblages in Vienna.

Reinstitution of apprenticeship, and the creation of corporate capital, are among the demands made on behalf of French workmen, and the effect in that country of the unchecked industrial struggle for existence in annihilating the lower middle class is manifested in the absorption in Paris alone, into great magazines owned by companies, of 10,000 establishments of smaller shopkeepers. The French Catholic party advocate a still closer approximation to the former industrial *régime*, by the association of masters and workmen in the same organisations. An amendment proposed by M. de Mun, extending the provisions of the Permissive Law of 1884 to these mixed syndicates, was, however, rejected by the Chamber, though supported by a petition with 6000 signatures.

Meantime a great work is being carried on by this gentleman in the organisation of the Catholic workmen into an extensive federation, with religion as its primary bond of union. "L'Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques des Ouvriers Français" was founded in 1871 by M. Maurice Meignen, a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, who enlisted as his associate Count Albert de Mun, then an officer serving with regiment. The name of the latter is now most conspicuously associated with the movement, to which his energy and ability have given great extension. Branches have been established in every part of France, and the zeal of the members seems to increase in the same ratio as their numbers. Among the most conspicuous of the demonstrations organised by this society was the "Pilgrimage of Labour" to the Vatican, in October of last year. It was memorable, not only for its size, 12,000 pilgrims, principally of the working class, having visited Rome on that occasion, but for the discourse addressed to them by the Holy Father, termed by the anti-clerical *Journal des Débats*, "a manifesto of Christian Socialism." Socialism, however, based not on the obliteration of the distinctions of classes, but on the re-establishment between them of the harmonising relations of Christian fraternity.

What We demand [he said] is that by a sincere return to Christian principles, there should be restored and consolidated between masters and workmen, between capital and labour, that harmony and union which are the only safeguard of their common interests, and on

which depend alike private well-being, and public peace and tranquillity.

To the working men he addressed himself in a more especial manner in the following words of fatherly advice:—

Around you, dear children, is an agitation maintained by thousands of other workmen, who, seduced by false doctrines, imagine they can find a remedy for their ills in the overthrow of what constitutes, as it were, the very essence of political and civil society, in the destruction and annihilation of property. Vain delusions! they will come into collision with immutable laws which nothing can suppress. They will dye with blood the path by which they pass, accumulating ruins and sowing discord and disorder, but thereby only aggravating their own miseries, and drawing down on themselves the curse of all honest minds. No, the remedy cannot be found in the perverted and subversive action of some, in the seductive though erroneous theories of others, but exclusively in the fulfilment of duties incumbent on all classes of society, and in respect and regard for the functions and attributes proper to each of these in particular. These truths and duties it is the mission of the Church to proclaim aloud and inculcate upon all.

On masters he enjoins consideration and charity for their workmen, guardianship of their spiritual and temporal interests, and their edification by good example. Some of the more conspicuously anti-Christian tendencies of the ages are severely rebuked in the following passage:—

The governing classes should have hearts and feelings for those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow; they are bound to put a curb on that insatiable desire for riches, luxuries, and pleasures, which, both in the higher and lower ranks, is increasingly propagated. The thirst for enjoyment is, indeed, found in all classes, and as the power of satisfying it is given to few, we have as the result a vast mass of uneasiness and dissatisfaction, which must have as their consequence rebellion and insurrection *en permanence*.

For those who are in authority, it is before all things necessary to be imbued with this truth, that in order to avert the peril which threatens society, neither human laws, nor the repression of judges, nor the weapons of soldiers will suffice; what is above all important and necessary is that freedom should be left to the Church to revive the divine precepts in human minds, and to exert her salutary influence over all classes in society; that by just and salutary laws and regulations the interests of the working classes should be guaranteed, youth, together with the weakness and purely domestic mission of women, protected, the right and duty of Sunday cessation from labour recognised, and that thus, in families as in individuals,

purity of manners should be fostered, and custom should prescribe an orderly and Christian life. Not alone the public weal, but justice and natural right, require that this should be.

While the broad Christian basis of humanity and morality is thus laid for the foundation of industrial as of all other social activities, the prevailing desire for the restoration of the common helpfulness of the guild is re-echoed in the following passage of the Pontifical address:

What we demand is that this social edifice should be cemented by a return to the spirit and doctrines of Christianity ; by a resuscitation, at least in their essence, in their beneficent and multiform virtues, and under such forms as the conditions of the times may admit, of those corporations of arts and trades which, informed by the Christian ideal, and inspired by the maternal solicitude of the Church, provided for the material and religious wants of working-men, facilitated their labour, took care of their savings and economies, defended their rights, and supported in due measure their legitimate demands.

Thus the necessities of the present generation have called forth in many quarters the desire for a return to those earlier ideals which have been cast down but never replaced. Whether the functions of the old trade guilds can ever be performed by any modern institutions seems doubtful, but it is at least certain that their violent suppression was a source of great evils at the time. The part they played in the social history of their age is only now beginning to be fully recognised, as we see how they not only fostered infant commerce and championed rising liberty, but provided also a system of charitable relief, giving mutual insurance against sickness, old age, and all unavoidable misfortunes. Their extinction was a blow struck at the root of the principle of self-help among the English working-classes, and necessitated the introduction of the Elizabethan Poor Law, with its degradation of poverty to pauperism, and of personal charity to official relief.

If any modernised resuscitation of their old-world constitution be possible, it can only be, like their original creation, under the guiding influence of religion. Christianity alone, of all systems inaugurated since the world began, has secured, or even attempted to secure, the protection of the weak. Without it, modern society, under pressure of a growth of population out of proportion to the means of subsistence, would rapidly degenerate into such a struggle for existence as is presented by the over-luxuriant vegetation of a tropical forest, where "the survival of the fittest" is secured by the extinction of all feebler forms of life. Without it, the free play of the economic forces would be as pitiless as that of the laws of nature, and the great machine of human progress



would roll on, a veritable car of Juggernaut, over a weltering mass of human misery. So it is even now in East London, where the slaves of the modern commercial system wear out their lives under conditions compared to which those of ancient servitude were light and tolerable. Philanthropy can only proclaim, without remedying, their woes, while society trembles at the laying bare of the abyss on which it rests. The boasts of civilisation are silenced in the presence of the hopeless record of facts contained in the Report on the Sweating system.

E. M. CLERKE.



## Science Notices.

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**New Theories of the Solar Corona.**—It has long been apparent that the beautiful aureola seen to encompass the totally eclipsed sun is not merely a lustrous atmosphere held in equilibrium by gravitation influences. Its origin and nature are of a more recondite character. A complex interaction of forces is betrayed by the highly intricate arrangement of the materials composing it. They are disposed in part into streamers and silvery beams, forked or curved like comets' tails, at times entangled and interlaced among themselves, in part into fibrous rays, diverging from each of the sun's poles, and suggesting the illuminated lines of force of a magnetic field. The analogy, however, has only obtained scientific precision through the recent publication at Washington of Professor Frank H. Bigelow's mathematical investigation of coronal phenomena by the theory of spherical harmonics. Starting from the supposition that the coronal matter is, if not actually expelled from the sun, at least controlled by the repulsive action of free electricity at its surface, he finds so striking an agreement between the computed lines of force and the rays traceable in the coronal photographs of January 1, 1889, as to give a strong assurance that the structure of the appendage is in fact mainly prescribed by the laws of electric potential. To its polar concentration correspond polar emanations which have been especially conspicuous during the two most recent eclipses. "The lightest substances," we are told, "as hydrogen, meteoric matter, débris of comets, and other coronal material," are thus carried to great distances from the sun, where they soon become invisible by dispersion; while the closing in of the lines of force "forms along the equator, the place of zero-potential, a sort of pocket or receptacle wherein the coronal matter is accumulated and retained as a solar accompaniment." Hence the formation of the wide-spreading equatorial "wings," visible at epochs of minimum solar activity; perhaps also of the zodiacal light, which may, in Professor Bigelow's opinion, result in like manner from an accumulation of ejecta carried towards the plane of the sun's rotation by "forces, all of which approach the equator perpendicularly, but there become zero." Substances once deposited in this species of celestial waste-pit have accordingly no escape from it, except by subsidence into the body of the sun.

Professor Bigelow's rationale of the radiated, or "quadrilateral" corona accompanying sunspot maxima appears less satisfactory than the theoretical representation, on the same principles, of the "brush-and-wing" appurtenance of the quiescent sun; but he has so clearly marked out the direction to be taken by future researches that an increased measure of success can hardly fail to attend them. Their

interest is enhanced by the strong probability that the phenomena of sunspots will prove to be a secondary effect of the energies primarily exerted to produce the sheeny structure of the solar halo.

A "mechanical theory of the corona," proposed by Mr. J. M. Schaeberle, of the Lick Observatory, is the outcome of some ingenious yet possibly misleading experiments. A model of the sun, represented by a little ball thickly planted with needles over two belts of its surface corresponding to the sunspot zones, exhibited, when photographed in different positions, varieties of aspect agreeing to a certain extent with the noted fluctuations of coronal "type." Proof was thus considered to be afforded that the "corona is caused by light emitted and reflected from streams of matter ejected from the sun, by forces 'acting' in general along lines normal to the surface of the sun," and "most active near the centre of each sunspot zone." Changes of type have, on this hypothesis, no real existence. They are due simply to the shiftings of the point of view. "According as the observer is above, below, or in the plane of the sun's equator, the perspective overlapping and interlacing of the two" (northern and southern) "sets of streamers cause the observed apparent variations in the type of the corona."

But if this were so, the description of corona rendered visible by eclipses should depend exclusively upon the time of year. Similar luminous appendages should invariably be disclosed when the earth occupied the same position in its orbit. Equatorial extensions should *always* appear in June and December, when we are borne across the line of the sun's nodes; "aigrettes" in March and September, when the sun bows alternate poles in our direction. Facts, however, show no trace of conformity to these rigid deductions. They make it perfectly clear that the progress of the eleven-year cycle of sunspots counts for much, and the advance of the terrestrial revolutions for next to nothing in bringing about variations of coronal figure. Contrasted types replace each other, after a sufficient lapse of time, at the same annual epochs. Thus, a radiated corona was seen in July 1851 and 1860, an equatorially extended one in July 1878, and oppositely characterised aureolas were in the same way recorded in December 1871 and December 1889. The theory, then, that such changes are effects of perspective must be pronounced wholly inadmissible.

**Life at the Lick Observatory.**—The material cares of existence are always waiting their opportunity to thrust aside more ethereal pre-occupations, and claim attention, even from astronomers "on the tyrant's plea, necessity." We have heard a great deal of the beatific condition of star-gazers on Mount Hamilton, of the translucent skies enjoyed by them, in which unwinking stars burn, inviting scrutiny with magnificent telescopes planted above the clouds. It is time that the reverse of the medal should be exhibited; and Professor Holden's retiring address as president of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, delivered at San Francisco, March 29, 1890, lets the world into the secret of the difficulties and hardships besetting,

during the winter months, the little community of which he is the head. Nothing at times can be worse than the weather. Blizzards rage, snow-drifts accumulate, rain and sleet wash down the earth-slopes into the valleys below. The utmost speed of the gales has never been registered, the anemometer having hitherto invariably been blown away when it rose above seventy miles an hour. Roads are frequently rendered impassable; the breaking of telegraph and telephone wires is a disaster always liable to occur, yet formidable in its menace of abandonment to the mercies of the elements. During five days of last February, communication with the outer world was completely cut off by snow. On the sixth day, a sortie was attempted with success. Three men forced their way through the snow-blockade to Smith's Creek, "and returned the same night, bringing a mail and thirty pounds of much needed provisions, after a journey of fourteen miles, which had taken something like eight or nine hours of very hard work."

The nearest source of supply for the varied needs of the colony on Mount Hamilton, numbering between thirty and forty souls, is at San José, twenty-six miles distant. Parcels for the observatory deposited, when the stage-coach does not ascend the mountain, at Smith's Creek, are fetched in a waggon should the roads admit of being traversed by wheeled vehicles. Otherwise, a man on horse-back brings what can be brought, and leaves what must be left. It is thus easy to imagine that larders often remain ungarnished, wardrobes unreplenished, and pressing wants of all kinds unsupplied. The "reservation" itself is entirely unproductive, except of water, and even that runs short in the dry season. There is no alternative but to fall back upon the rain-water collected during the winter as a source of power, which having repeatedly passed through engines and hydraulic rams, is covered with a heavy film of oil, and is consequently both distasteful and unwholesome. In the absence of any better, it must however be used. Each day a water supply, weighing eight thousand pounds, has to be lifted vertically 412 feet, in order to make it available. A leak anywhere in the system of pipes and valves through which it is forced by the action of a steam-pump would be fatal to the success of this important operation; and a careful watch is kept over the reservoirs, lest the cracks produced in them by frequent hardly perceptible earthquakes, should imperil the preservation of their invaluable contents.

Fuel is another fundamental difficulty. None is to be had on the mountain itself, and delays in procuring it from below are counted by months. Procrastination assumes among the dwellers in those regions "colossal" proportions; it has, in Professor Holden's phrase, the "inexorable" quality of a law of Nature. No wonder then that needful commodities are scarce. In 1888-9, the only wood at hand for consumption was derived from the Director's private store, ordered in May, but not all delivered until the following February. "During the severe winter of 1886-7," our authority continues, "the Lick Trustees were obliged to collect wood along the stage-



road, and it was delivered in small parcels, like express packages. Even so, it was impossible to keep the houses warm, and the water froze on the very dining-tables! The photographic lens of the great telescope was worked by Mr. Clark in water so cold that it froze when it was not immediately under his hands, and this because no room in the Observatory could then be warmed above the freezing point.

Smoke makes a still worse plague than cold. The wind on Mount Hamilton has a trick of blowing right down the chimneys, when even the flames from the hearth exposed to this dismal blast, are dispersed several feet into an apartment rended instantly uninhabitable. This evil seems for the present incurable. Physical discomforts, however, rank as trifles in the estimation of the genuine astronomer, when compared with scientific impediments; and these too abound on Mount Hamilton. Special needs can often not be met nearer than England or New York, while, for lack of some of the minor adjuncts to the complex apparatus indispensable to modern "astro-physicists," precious weeks and months are lost, and opportunities may irretrievably slip away. Scarcity of money, too, cramps effort to keep the observatory on the most efficient footing. A vast sum was spent on its outfit; a bare pittance remains for its support. The income of the establishment, in fact, amounts to only six-tenths per cent. of the original outlay. As a consequence of the exigencies of their position, the members of the staff are compelled to turn their hands to everything; they are engineers, machinists, carpenters, photographers, and printers, as well as observers; they devise, invent, and construct to the utmost limit of their resources. But the development of their ingenuity has its drawbacks. It is poor economy to lavish what is beyond price for the sake of saving dress; and a few thousand dollars could not be better bestowed by the countrymen of James Lick than in rescuing special and exquisite faculties from the blunting effects of mere mechanical drudgery.

**Spica Virginis.**—The ear of corn held in the left hand of the Zodiacal Virgin is marked by a radiant star just now too near the sun to be conveniently visible. One of the latest revelations of the Potsdam "spectrograph" is that this beautiful object is very closely double. Measurements from day to day of its "line of sight" motion, have brought into view inequalities due—there is little or no doubt—to revolution in an orbit in a period of four days at a minimum speed of fifty-six miles a second. That is to say, the rate at which it circulates round its obscure companion cannot be less, and may be much greater, if the track pursued be highly inclined to our visual ray, than is indicated by the line-displacements alternately to and from upon the negatives. The spectrum of the second star makes no effect upon them. The lines in that of Spica, accordingly, shift without doubling, indicating a combination which resembles rather that of Algol and its satellite, than such a union of equality as is formed by the twin stars of *G. Ursæ Majoris*. It is not, however, as Professor Vogel points out, necessary to suppose the attendant of Spica Vir-

ginis absolutely dark. The appearances recorded are equally consistent with its possessing about one-sixth the lustre of its brilliant primary, or none at all. But there is just as small a prospect of discerning it visually in the one, as in the other case. Supposing the two bodies equal in mass, their distance apart (if their orbit lie nearly edgewise towards the earth) is about three million miles—an interval, at the unknown, but probably enormous distance of Spica, utterly imperceptible with the most powerful telescopes. Upon the same hypothesis, the mass of each star exceeds by one-fifth that of the sun, and it is certain that the bright member of the pair vastly transcends the solar standard of brightness. Its intimate association with a dusky mass, although paralleled in Sirius, Procyon, and Algol, is hence the more remarkable. Spectators suitably placed would see a considerable part of the light of Virginis (or Spica) cut off by an occultation once in four days. The star then virtually belongs to the Algol class of variables, and shines constantly to our observation merely because our situation in space happens to lie above or below the track of eclipse.

**The Chemin de Fer Glissant or Sliding Railway.**—A journey from London to Paris in two hours is a somewhat startling idea, even in this age of speed. Yet M. Barre claims this rate of locomotion for his Chemin de Fer Glissant, provided he has the assistance of the channel tunnel, which might be traversed in no less than a quarter of an hour. The Chemin de Fer Glissant came into prominent public notice at the late Paris Exhibition, where there was a liliputian railway, but it was invented some fifty years ago. There is some pathos attached to its history. It was the invention of M. Girard, the eminent hydraulic engineer, who possessed and managed the hydraulic works at La Jonchère. It was there he constructed an experimental line, the results of which were so promising that he ambitiously applied for a concession for a railway from Calais to Marseilles, which was granted to him. But the Franco-Prussian war in 1871 swept away both the enthusiast and his experimental line. M. Girard died on the battlefield, and the German army destroyed the railway at La Jonchère. The documents, however, relating to the railway scheme were preserved, and these were purchased by M. Barre, who had worked in conjunction with M. Girard, and who had faith in the enterprise. In the hands of the former the system has been considerably developed and modified.

In the Chemin de Fer Glissant, the motive power is supplied by a series of jets of water, issuing from hydrants, which stand up along the centre of the railway track. The streams of water exert their effect on vanes placed underneath the carriages, and propel the train along the line. The great novelty of the system consists in there being no wheels to the carriages. For these, flat surfaces called skates are substituted. These slide upon the rails, and in order to reduce the friction, water is introduced at pressure between the skate and the line, the consequence being that the carriage is lifted off the line by a film of water, and it is on this film of water

that the train slides along so freely. There are four to six of these skates attached to each carriage, in the same position as the wheels of an ordinary railway carriage. The skate may be described as a kind of box fastened to the carriage by a rod. The bearing surface of the skate is formed with grooves to retain the water, arranged so that communication between them is established by passages that are directly opposite each other. Water is admitted to the skate through an opening at the top, and when the normal pressure is exerted by the water between the skate and the rail, there exists a film of water of from one-half to threequarters of a millimetre in thickness. In the case of short journeys the water for supplying the skates can be obtained at a sufficient pressure by carrying reservoirs of water on the tender. These reservoirs can be recharged at each station. For longer journeys a boiler with engine and pump for compressing the water could be carried; but a simpler and more practical plan has been lately developed by M. Barre. He proposes to pass a portion of the water under the necessary pressure from the hydrants which are on the line into a reservoir placed in each carriage.

The iron rails upon which the train runs present broad, flat and true surfaces, which are not interrupted at any point, like those which form an ordinary railway, though they must be free to expand or contract. To combine a perfectly true surface with freedom of expansion and contraction demanded the exercise of ingenuity. M. Girard originally cut the ends of the rails to an angle, and filled in the space thus formed by a wedge-shaped piece of metal, which was held in contact by the rails by means of a spring, but which was still free to slide with the dilation of the rails. M. Barre considers this device too complicated to be practical in working, and in his arrangement he joins the rails by making a curved groove in the end of each rail. In this groove is placed a rubber fillet, which has sufficient elasticity to allow for the variation in the length of the rail, arising from differences of temperature.

To effect the propulsion of the train, there are four levers attached to it, two at one end and two at the other. When the train approaches the hydrant the lever opens a valve in the hydrant to release the water which flows out against the vanes underneath the carriages. When the whole train has passed over the hydrant, the lever at the other end of the train closes the valve, and shuts off the supply on the hydrants; there are two nozzles, each being differently placed for the different directions of the trains. It is for the purpose of operating on these respective nozzles that the levers at each end of the trains are doubled.

The water for the hydrants is supplied from a main running the whole length of the line. The main is supplied with water by pumps placed at intervals, and in connection with cisterns under pressure. The water used for propulsion as well as the water used for producing the film of water between the skate and the rail goes into a waste water channel in the permanent way, after it has done

its work, and is returned to the cisterns to be re-used. The distance between the hydrants depends upon the length of the train. At Paris, the distance was 48 feet. The valves of the hydrant can be opened or closed from each end of the train by means of a mechanical contrivance, as, if the train is stopped by signal, it is necessary to interfere with its automatic action. To brake the train it is only necessary to stop the supply of water to the skates, which would then act like a continuous brake and pull up a train of any speed. It has been proposed to make the stations on the line on inclines. This would make it easier to pull up, and be an assistance in starting down the next incline. Such an arrangement would seem to be a very great hindrance to express trains, which on an ordinary railway dash through stations without any alteration of speed.

The train which was exhibited in the Paris Exhibition was 50 feet long. The line was 170 yards. It had first a downward incline of 1 in 90 for 40 yards; this was followed by a level of nearly 90 yards, and then an upward incline of about 40 yards at an incline of 1 in 180. In 114 days, 118,000 passengers took trips on the model railway, which became as popular an amusement as "tobogganing." It is reckoned that between July 12, 1889, and November 6, 750 miles were traversed. The hydrants were opened and closed some 4000 times without hitch of any kind, and no repairs had to be made during the term of working. It appeared to be an experiment sufficiently successful to tempt no less an authority than Sir Edward Watkin, to construct a trial line at Neasden, on a scale that will be more decisive as to the practical prospects of the invention. It is to this experiment that engineers are looking forward with no little interest. The British public has an opportunity of travelling by the *Chemin de fer Glissant* at the Edinburgh Exhibition, where it is announced to be one of the attractions. One of the latest improvements in detail which M. Barre contemplates, is the reduction of the resistance of the air at high speed. In an ordinary railway train there is a resistance not only in front of the engine but against the front of each carriage, depending upon the intervals between them. M. Barre suggests that the train might be continuous in the shape of the half of a cigar divided longitudinally, articulated so that it could pass round curves and with pointed ends.

M. Barre has put forward a long list of advantages for the system. There would be an absolute smoothness of motion. The travellers would not be deafened by noise, choked with smoke, or blinded with dust. Accidents, he thinks, would be of rare occurrence, as there is little risk of the train running off the line, as no object however small, can pass beneath the skates. The trains could stop almost instantaneously without shocks, and there would be a small chance of collision with other trains. He asserts it would be possible to stop on a gradient as steep as 45 in 100, and that the system will afford ease in ascending inclines, and in traversing



curves. He lays stress on the high speeds attainable, asserting that some 125 miles an hour could be realised. There can be greater lightness in the rolling stock, which need not weigh more than half of that on an ordinary railway. The heavy locomotive will be done away with, and consequently bridges and other works of construction will be lighter. M. Barre reckons there would be an entire saving of cost of traction in mountainous countries, where there are waterfalls. He also claims economy in all the usual incidental train expenses. There would be no wheels to be greased or repaired, no brakes to keep in order. There would be a large saving on the maintenance of steam engines, as he reckons that there would be a less horse power required to do a given work, and because the fixed engines which pump the water would be worked under more economical circumstances than is possible with locomotive engines.

Engineers, however, have by no means received M. Barre's claims for an ideal railway with absolute faith. There are obvious questions which will present themselves when the railway is extended beyond the toy scale that was so successful in Paris, such as, How will the water be prevented from freezing in winter? or how will the quantity of water required for propulsion be provided? In many of M. Barre's claims, one recognises what is already accomplished by the electric railway. In such a system there need be no locomotives, great speeds would appear to be possible, the trains could be rapidly braked, and the danger of collisions reduced to a minimum. The carriages may be of little weight, and consequently the bridges and viaducts may be lighter structures. Undoubtedly the great virtue of M. Barre's system is the smoothness of motion attainable by the supporting film of water. There is no other system of locomotion which affords this to so perfect a degree. It will be a matter for regret if this portion of the invention turns out to be only a mechanical curiosity. In our present system of railway travelling our bodies are shaken and our nerves jarred. Such a jostling of the nervous system has undoubtedly a detrimental effect on the subject who performs a daily railway journey, and whether or not smoothness of motion can be attained on a practical railroad by utilising Girard's beautiful conception, it is a question that might with advantage exercise the ingenuity of the railway engineer.

**Cloud Structure.—Dust Motion.**—The constant travels of Mr. Ralph Abercromby are adding much valuable data to our store of meteorological knowledge. His wanderings in 1889 in various desert regions on the west coast of South America, on the Tamarugal Pampa, and on the desert of Atamaca, has given him opportunities of observing the manner, in which grains of sand or dust of different weights and sizes arrange themselves, under the action of wind blowing in different ways, and from these dust motions he has deduced conclusions as to how drops of water, snowflakes, or hailstones

are built up into certain structures under the influence of various currents of air.

Any day, he says, nearer home than the South American deserts we can see sand, or leaves, arranged into streaks along the ground. We can also see on any plain loose sand or dry snow formed into waves, whose troughs and crests are perpendicular to the direction of the wind. The former case is an analogy to fibrous or heavy cirrus clouds whose filaments usually move in the direction of their length; the latter case to fleecy cirro-cumulus clouds in which the cloud bars often move at right angles to their length. He has however observed that under certain conditions, wind does not blow a sandy plain into straight waves of sand, but into curious crescent-shaped heaps. These are called in Peru *Mëdãnos* or sand-heaps. In the specimens of these which Mr. Abercromby saw in the Pampa de Joya below Arequipa, in Peru, the crescent was from four to twenty feet high in the centre, and tapered down to nothing at the points of the horns. The convex side of the heap faced the wind, and presented a low angle of slope, while the inner surface of the crescent was as steep as the sand will lie. The outer surface which faced the wind was furrowed with transverse waves. The width between the extremities of the horns varied from twenty to eighty feet. The whole structure advanced slowly before the wind, horns first. On the Pampa de Joya a whole plain thirty miles across is covered with these sand heaps. As Mr. Abercromby never saw similar sand-heaps anywhere on the Tamarugal Pampa, above Iquique, or on the Atacama desert, he came to the conclusion that the cause of their formation must consist in the character of the sand. On examination the sand of the Pampa de Joya is found to be "a sharp loose volcanic sand mixed with but little dust." The soil of the other Pampas is more earthy and dusty in character, containing some salt in addition. Hence he thinks that the form of sand-drifts must be due to differences in the drifted matter.

Mr. Abercromby has been able to find an analogy to these crescent shaped heaps in cloudland. There is, he says, a rare form of cloud called "Mackerel scales." This is a species of the cirro-cumulus type, and is crescent-shaped. He reminds us that the ancient Norwegians observed a species of cloud which they called *Nagelfar*, and thought was made up of parings of nails. He thinks such clouds assume their peculiar shape from the action of the wind on a floating layer of snow, whose flakes are of a particular size or weight.

Mr. Abercromby has observed a simple form of air motion, which raises dust without any whirlwind action. He thinks that the common cumulus cloud is produced by such a movement. He explains the origin of such an upward movement as follows:—"If, while a large body of air is in motion, a thread of that air happens to move quicker than the adjoining portions, the gust so produced will catch up the air in front of itself, and being pushed on from behind, will be forced to rise to and carry some dust up with itself. If the air were laden

with vapour instead of with dust, a cloud might be produced by condensation over the gust; and this I take to be the explanation of the simple cumulus cloud, without any cirrification or any complex overlying stratum, which characterises the plain squall, unaccompanied by any shifting of the wind."

Besides the simple rising gust and what may be termed genuine whirlwinds Mr. Abercromby has observed some transitional types of air motion. These seem to be analogous to some of the more complex features of cloud structure. "The rounded, flat, and hairy clouds that are built up over certain types of squalls and showers." He describes a remarkable dust cloud which he witnessed on the Tamarugal Pampa. It had a solid dark base. The upper portion was round in form excepting at the right hand corner, where the mass of matter was drawn upwards into threads. The whole of the lower part of the mass was seething irregularly, and sometimes a more pronounced rounded topped column would rise up from the mass. Mr. Abercromby, while on his travels in Peru, saw rain clouds over Lake Titicaca, which seemed very analogous to the above described dust clouds. In these there appeared a white cirrifying mass, corresponding to the threads, above a dark cumuliform mass, corresponding to the lower portion of the dust cloud.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**An American Explorer in Tibet.**—Trübner's *Oriental Record* publishes the following letter, addressed by Mgr. Félix Birt, Vicar Apostolic of Tibet, to Mr. Rockill, formerly Secretary to the American Legation at Peking, and a well known Tibetan scholar, who attempted last year to reach Lhasa disguised as a Lama. The letter is dated September 8, 1889, from Tatsienlu, on the borders of Eastern Tibet, and on the high road from Szechuen to Lhasa:—

I have received the letter you sent me from Chung King, on July 31, the eve of your departure for Shanghai. Your servants have twice for three days been put in chains by the Lamas of Tchegundo, and during their captivity two of your horses perished. When on your arrival at Tchegundo the Lamas went to Derge to ask for instructions as to the way in which they were to treat you, you did wisely in taking your departure at once, leaving your goods and servants to follow you at short stages. Had you waited for the return of the Lamas from Derge, it is certain that they would have killed you, or that you would have been compelled to return off your road towards the north frontier. For the Lamas brought back the order that they were to prevent you at all hazards from exploring between Silinfu and Tatsienlu in the province of Derge. Thanks to your prudence and firmness, to your

acquaintance with Tibetan and Chinese, and to your extraordinary self-possession, aided by a robust constitution which has allowed you to brave all hardships, you have been enabled to accomplish this important exploration of an interesting part of Tibet, which no European has hitherto been able to penetrate. Since Messrs. Huc and Gabet's journey to Lhassa in 1845, your exploring expedition, I do not hesitate to say, has been the most difficult and the most important executed in Asia in the course of this century—the most difficult and the most dangerous, I say, considering that you have travelled these immense steppes, that land of grass, without an escort, only accompanied by a few servants, living on tsamba, the meal of roasted barley and rancid butter, sleeping in the open air, unable to lay in a fresh stock of provisions in those desert regions, and dreading the habitations of man more than the solitude, for in the centres that are somewhat fertile and inhabited one is sure to find lamaseries; but the Lamas are the sworn enemies of explorers.

**Importance of the Results.**—You have opened up the road, you have mapped out a route of prime importance for commerce, and for political and civilising influence for Tibet. Your successful exploration is a practical answer to that Mandarin trickery which flatly denies the existence of that important route, in order to keep it secret. For in, in fact, it is open, and much frequented by Tibetan caravans. Only they wish to keep it closed to Europeans. Not only civilisation but trade will profit by it, inasmuch as a splendid market is here opened up to foreign goods, such as red, green, yellow and brown linen cloths, Indian flowered calicoes, and the bazaar curiosities so much liked by the Tibetans. Silin is, in fact, the emporium for the trade from the north to Tibet, just as Tatsienlu is the emporium for the Eastern trade from China with Tibet. These are two extreme points of your exploration, both very important. But the centre of Derge, Tchegundo, so near to the capital of Derge, has a particular importance which your visit will make known, because Tchegundo and Derge form, as it were, the centre of a radius by which to reach without the circuits of the official Chinese route, Tchamonto (Tsiando), the centre of Tibet, and Bathang, which is itself the key of Sudiya. Since you have travelled through the region of the Koko Nor, and of Derge, with all the attention of a learned and practical explorer you will have noticed what riches they contain for export. Here one could procure at very low prices musk, gold, wool, hides and rhubarb. Your successful journey has opened up this fine country, teeming with natural riches which are lying forgotten and unutilised.

**New Transatlantic Route.**—The *Times*, in its City article of March 31, refers to a scheme for bringing passengers and perishable goods from Chicago, New York, &c., by a route, saving in round numbers, it is claimed, some 1,300 miles of sea voyage to Milford Haven. The charter of the Company to be formed was then under consideration by the Senate of the Dominion, having passed its lower House. From America to Europe in three and a half to four days by a voyage of some 1700 miles, instead of the 3052 miles from New York to Liverpool is the programme of the new scheme.

This they propose to accomplish (says the *Boston Globe* of March 10) by constructing a railway along the north shore of the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Quebec to St. Charles Bay on the Labrador coast, a distance of 844 miles. With vessels steaming 20 knots, the promoters of this scheme calculate on the sea voyage between St. Charles Bay and Milford Haven, a



distance of 1700 miles being made in 3 days 13 hours, as against the average of 6 days 8½ hours from New York to Liverpool. Quebec is over 500 miles nearer to Liverpool than New York is, but there are no ocean greyhounds on the Canadian route, and so it happens that with a much shorter course the Dominion steamers not infrequently take two or three days more to make the crossing.

The new route is expected by its projectors to take the bulk of the Western passenger business, and of the shipment of perishable freight. These expectations are founded upon the calculations that passengers can be carried from Chicago to St. Charles Bay, a distance of 1880 miles, in 1 day 23 hours, which, added to the time of the voyage from St. Charles Bay to Milford Haven, 3 days 13 hours, makes 5 days 12 hours from Chicago to London.

The same journey by the present route takes, according to the estimate of the promoters, seven days eight hours, namely 23½ hours from Chicago to New York *via* Pennsylvania Railroad, and six days eight and a half hours from New York to Liverpool. The names of those engaged in forming the Company are considered a guarantee for its genuine character. Their capital is \$20,000,000, (£4,000,000), and they expect Government assistance to the extent of \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000 from the Federal authorities at Ottawa, in addition to what the Government of the Province might be induced to contribute to a scheme so calculated to develop its resources by opening up a road to its numerous mines, guano deposits and quarries of marble and other ornamental stone.

**Raisin Cultivation in California.**—Raisins are the staple production of the San Joaquin Valley, as oranges are of the Santa Anna Valley in California. Fresno county now monopolises half the raisin trade of the State, whose total produce in 1888 was 1,034,000 20lb. boxes. Of this the above-named district contributed 534,000 against 4000 in 1882. Nearly 40,000 acres in this county are covered with raisin grape vines, nearly all of the muscatel variety. Irrigation has been recently found to improve their growth instead of being detrimental to it as formerly supposed. The grapes are dried altogether by the sun, a process facilitated by the climate, as the summer and early autumn are absolutely rainless, and the air is as dry by night as by day. The clusters are merely laid in the sun on open trays for a fortnight, during which they are turned once, and the manufacture is complete. The grower receives generally 2½d. a lb. from the packer, who sells them for about double that, though special brands command fancy prices. Of the £220,000 realised by the crop last year one-half thus went to the grower. With the highest culture and experience £80 per acre has been realised, and £50 is not uncommon, but nothing can be done without capital to start with.

**Cardinal Lavigerie on the Senoussite Sect.**—The Primate of Africa in a letter to the Anti-Slavery Conference of Brussels, points out the progress of the Senoussite Sect as one of the greatest dangers to the proposed crusade against the slave trade in Africa. He states that this formidable organisation has now a hundred centres in North Africa, connected by a continuous system of communication,

and engaged in perpetual intrigues for a general revolt against Europeans. The names and geographical distribution of these centres are given by MM. Duveyrier and Rinn. The motto of the brotherhood is that Turks and Christians, as equally tainted with the spirit of modern innovation, must be condemned to a like destruction. Its wide extension, embracing the whole section of the Continent, threatens Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, the Turkish provinces, the English settlements on the Niger, the French in Senegal, and the British and German colonies in East and West Africa, with a common danger. The fanaticism of the sectaries, who are ready to be either warriors or assassins, according as opportunity may serve, has already caused the loss of many exploring parties in North Africa, and may at any time lead to a formidable upheaval of aggressive Mohammedanism.

**The Rio Tinto Mines.**—An interesting account of the great copper deposit of Southern Spain is given in Mr. Lawson's recent volume.\* Although these mines have been worked from the time of the Romans, if not earlier, the surface of the lode had barely been scratched until late in the present century. Their new era of development dates from 1872, when they were sold by the Spanish Government to the London Bremen Syndicate, their actual owners. Although the first outlay amounted to nearly four millions, and an almost equal sum was expended before the workings were in full activity, the speculation has proved a brilliantly remunerative one, and this too despite the great depreciation of copper, effected by the superabundance of the new supply. The original calculations, based on an annual output of two thousand tons, have been exceeded in one direction by a production of ten times that amount, while in another, that of estimated profit, they have been found to be proportionally above the mark. The average price then, reckoned at £62 8s. per ton, would have left the company a margin of £30 per ton profit, but the former figure has within the past year fallen as low as £35, leaving the latter a problematical quantity. The actual cost of production is, according to the writer, not easily estimated, as it varies for different classes of ore, but the general opinion of the neighbourhood estimates it at less than £30 per ton all round. While the expenses of "establishment," and removal of soil are common to all qualities, each bears other charges peculiar to itself. Ore exported raw is chargeable with freight, transport, and cost of commission, that calcined on the spot, with that of the attendant processes, while sulphur, a secondary product of the mines, enters as a disturbing element into the calculations. In addition to these three forms of mineral wealth, copper is also extracted from calcined ores by washing, and from the subsequent residue technically known as "smalls." Strange to say, this last product, the poorest in percentage of metal, gives the largest profit to its owners, from the cheapness of the process to which it is subjected, the copper being

\* "Spain of To-day." By W. R. Lawson. Edinburgh; Blackwood. 1890.

simply washed out of it by infiltration of water after exposure in thin layers to the air. A cost of £6 per ton for this process, added to that of £15, representing its share of the general expenses, gives its total cost of production. The amount of stuff undergoing this treatment is, according to Mr. Lawson, sufficient to yield 4500 tons of copper a year, thus assuring the company of £340,000 per annum without the extraction of a single ton from the mines.

**The Khojak Tunnel.**—The *Allahabad Pioneer* gives some interesting particulars of the tunnel just completed through the Khojak range on the railway from Quetta to Candahar. The pass is 9500 feet above the sea, and about 2000 higher than the level of the surrounding country. The gallery enters the hill about 1000 feet below the crest of the pass, piercing the range at right angles, its course being due east and west. Its length is 12,600 feet, or about two and a half miles, and it will carry a double line of rails. For the first half the floor rises about 1 in 1000, and for the second half descends with an incline of 1 in 40. Two main shafts, one 318, and the other 290 feet deep, were sunk in order to facilitate its construction. The chief difficulty was caused by its flooding at various points, a large spring cut on the Candahar side having submerged the workings to the depth of 180 feet. The pumping out of the water required ten weeks' work, the discharge from the west mouth being 500 gallons a minute, necessitating the construction of a side cutting. The magnitude of the work may be estimated from the size of the banks of shale and rock at the mouths of the tunnel and at the pitheads, where they are large enough to make a sensible alteration in the landscape. A curious discovery was made during the progress of the work, as the result of an investigation into the cause of certain mysterious explosions, by which it was proved that "combustion had arisen inside a case of blasting gelatine" (*Times*, May 19). The completion of this tunnel improves the strategic position on the frontier out of all proportion to the mere gain of distance, as it removes the only formidable obstacle to the prolongation of the railway to Candahar, and places British troops within a day's ride (60 miles) of the Afghan capital.

**The Growth of St. Petersburg.**—The principal increase in the population of the Russian capital has taken place during the last quarter of a century, the period of reform. Its population, which numbered 218,350, a hundred years ago, had increased at the beginning of the century, to only 227,710, and in its middle period to 512,880, while in December 1888, it had risen to 978,309. Thus the increase, which in the first half of the century was but 274,000, was in the last forty years, 466,000, though for the last decade it has been but 50,000. It would therefore seem as if the maximum rate of increase which ten years ago was 2 per cent. per annum, and is now but 0·7 per cent., had been reached and succeeded by a period of slower, though still steady growth. If a distinction be made between the centre of the city, and the quarters on the right bank of the Neva, it will be found that it is in the centre that the



increase has been checked, being there but 3·3 per cent., as opposed to 9·5 in the outlying districts. Recent growth has been principally in the suburbs, where the population has tripled during the last ten years, having increased only 15 per cent. in the previous fifteen. This is as might be expected from the greater cheapness of the more remote localities, and their increased accessibility by trams and other modes of conveyance. There is, indeed, an outflow of population thence from the three central quarters, where the number of uninhabited houses has increased during the seven years between 1881 and 1888 by 29 per cent., and where there are 300 shops fewer than some years ago. The amount of building in progress has also much diminished, and there is a sensible decline in rents and in the value of house property. Thus during the past winter the Panaiew Theatre, valued at 900,000 roubles, sold for 150,000. In 1888 there were 9382 empty dwellings, and 4323 unoccupied shops and warehouses, in comparison with 108,492 inhabited dwellings.

**Emigration from Spain.**—The tide of emigration from Spain, and particularly from Andalusia, not only, according to the United States Consul at Gibraltar, continues to flow without abatement towards the Argentine Republic, but seems also to be setting towards Chili. Not a month passes during which three or four large steamships do not leave Gibraltar for South America, carrying away thousands of the population of the southern provinces. The increased scale of the emigration to Buenos Ayres is ascribed to the activity of the emigration agents, who have succeeded in arousing a perfect *furor* on the subject among the working-classes. Many of those in receipt of fair wages in Spanish factories and railways, throw up their situations in order to seek their fortunes beyond the sea. The bulk of the emigrants, however, who embark on board Spanish, French, Italian, and Argentine steamers, chartered for Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, show evident signs of poverty and distress, even more marked among the women and children than among the men. The latter appear to be hardworking peasants or mechanics, well suited for agricultural, mining, or railway employments, yet few have any possessions beyond the clothes they wear, and seem to be emigrants rather from necessity than choice.

**Saved by a Dog.**—A mishap, which nearly proved fatal, was encountered by a recent exploring party in Tasmania. Mr. Brown, Conservator of Forests, left Hobart Town on February 20, in company with two bushmen for a trip in the Port Davy country, expecting to be picked up by the steamer *Koonya* in about a fortnight. Owing to a mistake they missed the steamer, and endured great hardships from rains, heavy travelling, and insufficient food, subsisting on badgers, porcupines, brown trout, lobsters, seaweed, and periwinkles. The *Koonya* being sent back for them they were found in an exhausted condition by a search party, their lives having been saved by their dog's activity in catching game.

**The Lost Leichhardt Expedition.**—An expedition is in con-



templation at the Antipodes to be sent in search of the relics of the long-lost Leichhardt Expedition. It is now nearly half a century since Dr. Leichhardt, his brother-in-law Classen, and a large party of friends started for the wilds of Central Australia, there to disappear for ever. Reports were brought in from time to time that white men, in possession of instruments such as surveying parties carry, were living with the aborigines, who would not permit their return to civilisation. Classen, indeed, was said to occupy a position in the Carpentaria country, like that of Emin Pasha in Central Africa, controlling an extensive region, but with occasional reverses of fortune. He, too, was reluctant to come away, and the bushman who brought the reports, and was sent, like Stanley, to rescue him, emerged after a long absence on the North Australian Coast, with the story that Classen had evaded him, but that he had captured all his diaries and those of the other members of the expedition. Great excitement prevailed throughout the southern colonies at the prospect of receiving authentic intelligence, but the would-be rescuer reached Sydney with the tale that the bag containing his treasures had been cut open on board the steamer, and the precious relics abstracted. As nothing has since been heard of them it may be concluded with all probability that they existed only in the fertile imagination of their suppositious finder. The project now on foot in Melbourne is to send out Mr. McPhee, a well-known Western Australian bushman with great experience of the back country. He has an idea that he knows where there is a chance of discovering traces of the Leichhardt Expedition, and it is possible that papers or instruments may still exist undestroyed. That any member of the party should be found alive may be regarded as in the last degree improbable, even rumours to that effect having long since died away.

**The Cathedral of Carthage.**—A letter from Tunis in the *Unità Cattolica* of May 29, describes the religious festivities which celebrated the opening of the Cathedral of Carthage. A little chapel, known as St. Louis of Carthage, and venerated no less by the Mussulmans than by the Christians, has always marked the spot where the royal crusader breathed his last; but for this monument, Cardinal Lavigerie has substituted the larger building, whose consecration, on Ascension Thursday, May 15, marks a great advance in the position of the Church in Africa. The hill on which it stands, commanding a magnificent view over the Gulf of Tunis and surrounding plain to the mountains beyond, was thronged with such a motley crowd as can only assemble where the rival civilisations of east and west are brought into contact. More than forty prelates walked in the procession, in which the relics of St. Louis, saluted by salvoes of Mussulman artillery, were borne to the cathedral, where five altars were consecrated simultaneously by as many bishops, in presence of an assemblage, comprising the civil, military, and diplomatic authorities, as well as Prince Tayib, brother of the Bey, and his staff. The ceremony concluded with the blessing of the people by all the bishops from the

principal door of the church, after which came a grand banquet given by the Cardinal, followed by solemn Vespers in the afternoon. The bishops sat in council during the three subsequent days, and on the 18th, took place another solemn ceremony, the blessing of the foundation of the pro-Cathedral of Tunis by the Cardinal Primate, assisted by twelve bishops. This church is dedicated to St. Vincent de Paul, whose enslavement at Tunis was one of the most striking episodes of his career, and to St. Oliva, a Sicilian maiden, martyred in Tunis.

**Politics in Uganda.**—*Illustrated Catholic Missions* for June publishes a letter from Père Denoit, written from Rubaga, the capital of Uganda in October, 1889. He describes the defeat of the Mohammedans by Mwangá's forces, the last battle having been fought on the land of the mission of St. Mary of Rubaga.

We ourselves [he says] re-entered Rubaga on October 12, but at first could not settle in our old residence. All the huts had been burned, the land is waste, and the odours from the dead bodies make it impossible to remain many days there.

What about our Christians? Many are missing, and these the principal ones, the old chieftains who have been killed in the numerous battles. On the other hand, we have found many new faces; for not only the Christians who had fled to Usagara, but many heathens had come to take refuge from the Arabs' intolerance, and were very soon under instruction. In Mwangá's isle, the ardour was no less, thanks to Mwangá's followers, all entirely Catholic, coming from Guagezi, a "Christianity" on the south side of the lake, so much so that it was necessary to give catechism in the open air.

Thus, the Mussulman persecution, far from destroying our mission, will only have fortified it; and if we left 3000 neophytes or catechumens at our departure, there must now be at least 5000 or 6000. Judge of the work this gives us!

Let us end with a word about Mwangá. Although he has been very good for a year at Bukumbi, and even on the island where he spent four months, and although he knows his catechism very well, it cannot be said that he is really converted. Polygamy will long be the great obstacle for the kings of Uganda, and Mwangá does not seem disposed to give it up. But we may hope that, as he has need of Europeans for trade, for the Arabs are expelled, and will have to count upon the Christians who form his whole strength, he will leave each one liberty to teach or practise whatever religion he will. That is what we desire.

We need no longer hide ourselves to pray or teach catechism, and we scarcely ever hear *lubare* or sorcery spoken of along the roads or in conversation.

I write from Uganda. Fancy! a fortnight ago, the most fanatic Mussulmans were masters on this very spot. What is more remarkable is that we arrived back on October 12, the very anniversary of the day we were expelled. An exile of just one year—to the very day.

He concludes by begging both for prayers and alms to revive the Uganda mission.

**Novel Arctic Expeditions.**—Dr. Nausen, the explorer of Greenland, proposes to take Behring's Straits as his route to the North Pole. Proceeding thither in February, 1892, in a wooden steamer of 170 tons burden, strengthened to bear the ice pressure, with pro-

visions, coals and stores for five years, he expects to reach the islands of New Siberia, before the autumn of that year, and thence, enclosed in the floe, to drift across the Pole to Greenland. The idea that a strong ocean current takes this course, is derived from the fact that fragments of the wreckage of the *Jeannette*, which foundered off the New Siberian Islands, on June 13, 1881, were picked up on a piece of floating ice off Julianehaab, on the coast of Greenland. A confirmation of this theory is afforded by the discovery on some drift ice near Godthaab in Greenland, of a species of bow unknown in that country ; but identical with one used for shooting birds by the natives of Alaska, Norton Sound, and the Yukon river mouth. The daring of the attempt is in keeping with the previous character and career of this truly "hardy Norseman."

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The Sin of Joost Avelingh.* By MAARTEN MAARTENS. London Remington. 1890.

THIS novel, translated from the Dutch, as its title suggests, was well worth rendering into English. It is a remarkable study of crime and its consequences, the expiation that at first does not spring from true repentance, and consequently brings no peace, and the final change of heart wrought by circumstances gradually brought to bear upon conscience. Joost Avelingh's guilt consists, first, in the hatred nourished against the uncle-guardian, who has thwarted him in his dearest wishes, and finally in the act of almost murder, by which he allows him to die in a fit, for want of the assistance he could have rendered him. With this dark shadow on his life, he takes his place as the heir of the dead man's large fortune, marries the woman he loves, and acquires a great reputation for beneficence by the number and extent of his charities. Suspicion, however, is awakened, and he is tried and found guilty, on false evidence, of the actual crime of murder, which he did not commit. The intervention of his wife, and the inspiration by which she divines the truth, and persuades the principal witness to retract, bring about a reversal of the sentence, and a reaction of public feeling in his favour, but his inner trouble grows as his remorse is awakened by the discovery that his uncle's action on the two points where it had so grievously wounded him, was really based on true regard for his welfare. The rehabilitation of his victim, compelling him to abandon the self-justifying hatred he had still cherished to his memory, causes a revulsion of feeling under the influence of which he makes public,

confession of the truth, and surrenders all his uncle's property to the next heir. Thus he at last, attains true peace of soul, and is enabled to enjoy the domestic happiness that remains to him.

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*The Bull i' the Thorn.* By PAUL CUSHING. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1890.

THE present demand for novels of adventure seems of such indiscriminately omnivorous capacity as to accept any narrative, however crude, in which the incidents of war and travel occupy a sufficiently large space. The laws of probability may be safely relegated, with those of political economy, to Jupiter or Saturn, and consistency of character exiled to any other outlying dependency of the planetary system, provided the hero goes through the regulation number of hair-breadth escapes and accidents by flood and field, and slaughters enough of enemies in the course of a campaign to satisfy a head-hunter of Borneo. The wild and rambling story of the career of Mr. Cushing's hero in Mexico does not come up even to the usual standard applied to this form of fiction, and the opening act of his drama, of which the scene is laid in a remote English village during the last century, shows a far higher order of literary ability. The picture of the deserted inn, from which the book takes its outlandish name, with that of the reduced scions of an ancient race by whom it is inhabited, is not without power, though this again falls off when we come to the hero's love story. The author is totally wanting in the delicacy of touch which discriminates the lighter shades of character, and tries, in consequence, to produce his effects in the darker ones by laying on the lamp-black with the palette-knife instead of the brush. There is no compromise about the wickedness of his wicked personages, and his villains are very thoroughpaced villains indeed. A mother who tries to murder her son, in ignorance of his identity it is true, is perhaps a novelty in fiction, but we make the suggestion with all due reserve, not knowing whether our author may not have been anticipated even in this brilliant invention.

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*A Lady Horsebreaker.* By Mrs. CONNY. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1890.

MRS. CONNY'S heroine is by no means of the fast and slangy type that might have been expected from her avocation, but a ladylike and refined girl, compelled to carry on her father's business as the only possible means of earning a livelihood. The barrier of reserve and seclusion with which her strange position obliges her to fence herself round, is accidentally broken down in the case of the hero, Major Travers, and his friend Archie Douglas, both of whom are attracted to her in their different ways. The latter, with all the external advantages of good looks, wealth, and a prospective title in



his favour, but with latent possibilities of ineffable meanness in his nature, is eclipsed in the good graces of the lady by his plain and penniless companion, who is by his misrepresentations induced to go to India without declaring his affection. During his absence, a strange turn of Fortune's wheel raises Miss Duke, the professional horsebreaker, to rank and affluence as the Hon. Hester Douglas, while her mother, now Lady Cairnfall, inherits a peerage in her own right, and the lover who returns to propose for her in ignorance of the change, finds his constancy rewarded by being spurned as an unblushing fortune-hunter. The protraction of the misunderstanding through the third volume is of course obligatory on the author, and gives room for lively description of life in a Scotch shooting lodge during the grouse season. The story is well and brightly written throughout, with sufficient discrimination of character to give interest to the doings of the individuals whose fate is chronicled in its pages.

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*Mrs. Fenton.* By W. E. NORRIS. London: Longmans. 1889.

THIS one-volume tale, termed a sketch by the author, is certainly a clever one. The plot turns on the well-worn subject of personation in order to lay fraudulent claim to an inheritance, but here a variation on the thread-bare theme is introduced by the substitution of a fictitious heiress for the male claimant of ordinary romance. A runaway match with a music-master has ended in the rightful heiress's expatriation to New Zealand, where the advertisement of a fortune waiting for an owner naturally finds a response from a pretender. In this case it is the second wife of the deceased lady's husband who appears, armed with sufficient credentials as to her identity to satisfy the legal requirements of the situation. The interest of the tale turns principally on the character of this adventuress, whose vivacity and natural endowments enable her to achieve success in her enterprise. The unconventional frankness with which she makes friends with Fred Musgrave, the dispossessed heir and nephew of her supposed father, end by winning a certain measure of affection from him while still smarting from a recent love disappointment, and the engagement of the rival cousins seems about to settle in the happiest way the conflicting claims to the inheritance. But the bright prospects of the lady are darkened by the appearance of an old acquaintance from the colonies, whose threat to reveal her imposture drives her to flight and suicide. Although her disappearance clears the way for the happiness of the more legitimately interesting *dramatis personæ*, we must confess to a feeling of regret for a woman who, despite her equivocal career, is redeemed by a genuine attachment to the man whom she had attempted to defraud of his property.

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*Misadventure.* By W. E. NORRIS. London : Spencer Blackett.  
1890.

MR. NORRIS is one of the least unequal of contemporary writers of fiction, and the reader can always rely upon his name as guarantee for a readable and pleasing story. In the present work, however, he has risen above his average level, and given us a tale of a higher order of interest. The fate of the English heroine, and the events of her more or less common-place circle are ingeniously intertwined with that of a more mysteriously romantic character, Madame Souravieff, the Russian *intriguante* and conspirator. Many of the doings of this lady will infallibly suggest those of a well-known figure in the political world, and the author can scarcely complain if his fictitious personage is ticketed by the public with a real name. The identification, however, can scarcely be agreeable to the lady in question, and the introduction of so obvious a presentment seems to us a breach of good taste, particularly as Madame Souravieff's domestic relations are described as anything but harmonious. The intrigue by which the unhappy Archibald Bligh, after falling under suspicion of murder in England, is entangled in a web of Pan-Slavonian conspiracy on the continent, is an interesting and novel episode, and the characters of his unscrupulous associates are sketched with keen and graphic touches. Where the author most fails to excite our sympathy is in his delineation of his heroine Cicely Bligh, a self-opinionated and headstrong young woman, whose attraction for her various admirers is not made intelligible to the reader. She is absolutely heartless, too, in the cold-blooded coquetry with which she encourages the attentions of all, making her morally responsible for the tragical deaths of two of the men misguided enough to set their affections on her. Neither is the one rendered happy in the end much to be congratulated on his prospects of matrimonial bliss with so domineering a personage.

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*Lady Baby.* By DOROTHEA GERARD. Edinburgh : Blackwood.  
1890.

THE discrimination of delicate shades of character among well-bred people is, perhaps, Miss Gerard's forte, and this work is a charming specimen of this particular *genre* in fiction. The wilful but warm-hearted heroine, a spoiled child of the mature age of seventeen, is thoroughly lovable, and moreover, thoroughly lifelike, all her caprices being consistent with the type of character throughout presented. Sir Peter Wyndhurst, the lover whose imperturbable command of manner provokes her into dangerous experiments in rousing him to demonstrativeness, is an equally successful study, and the contest between their two natures, bound together by their very dissimilarity, is a graphic study of moral friction. Perhaps it is even a greater triumph for the author to have succeeded in

enlisting some share of the reader's sympathy for Maud Epperton, undisguised matrimonial schemer and social adventuress as she is. Hardened and worldly rather from the necessity of her desperate circumstances than from innate baseness, she is unfortunately a familiar type in modern society, and is so far better than most of her class in real life that she is free from the envy and malignity generally fostered by their deteriorating career. A companion picture to hers is that of Mr. Carbury, the man of the world and worn out egotist of eight and thirly, for whom the reawakening of the extinct possibilities of passion end in such tragic disappointment. The minor personages are limned with equal individuality, and Lord Rippendale, the fussy and hospitable Scotch earl, Lady Euphrosyne, the arbitrator and high-priestess of etiquette, Lady Agnes, the unquestioning slave of the matrimonial ring, and Nicky, her practical and selfish husband, form a portrait gallery of recognisable types of humanity. The author is less successful in her third volume, where the plot becomes complicated with sensational intrigue, than in the earlier ones, where the incidents are supplied by the drawing-room finesse, in the description of which she is an adept.

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*The Captain of the Pole Star.* By A. CONAN DOYLE. London: Longmans. 1889.

THESE short stories are all told with the unusual narrative power displayed in the author's longer work "Micah Clarke." Many of them are tales of maritime adventure, and so far trench on the preserve of Mr. Clark Russell, but human nature occupies a larger place in them in proportion to the "seascape" of its setting, than it does on the pages of the "Wreck of the Grosvenor." Some have an element of semi-supernatural weirdness like "The Ring of Thoth," in which, as in some other modern works of fiction, the resources of Egyptology are drawn upon in order to invest them with a savour of prehistoric romance. There is a suggestion of *vice-versâ* in the humorous episode of "The Great Keinplatz Experiment," in which an exchange of identity is made during an experiment in hypnotism. Bret Harte, again, might have written the story of the reformation of the mining community of "Jackman's Gulch" by the persuasive piety of Elias J. Hopkins, and the unexpected *dénoûment* of that individual's ministrations, though here the scene is laid among the Australian, instead of the Californian gold diggings. A curious feature of all these stories is the almost total absence from them of the feminine element, introduced at most as an influence in the background but without actual personification. The author's power of exciting interest while dispensing with the usual material of romance, is perhaps an additional proof of his imaginative strength while it suggests the question whether love is not perhaps played out as the motive power of literature in this rosiac age.

*Cosette.* By KATHERINE S. MACQUOID. London: Ward & Downey. 1890.

MRS. MACQUOID has given us in these two volumes one of her fresh and charming stories of foreign life. The scene is in this case laid in Flanders, and the *dramatis personæ* belong to the working classes of the towns of Dinant and Namur. The characters are drawn with a droll perception of the humours and inconsistencies of human nature, and the authoress seems quite at home in the manipulation of the creatures of her brain. The heroine is nothing more exalted than a pretty little laundress, who in washing her linen in the stream of the Lesse, attracts the admiration of a good-looking but good for nothing young fisherman of the name of Auguste Wirkay. The tenor of their courtship is interrupted by the appearance on the scene of another wooer for the girl, in the person of the well-to-do head-cook of one of the chief hotels in Namur. The pretensions of this more substantial aspirant are favoured by the stout and energetic aunt, Madame Popot, on whom not only Cosette, but the crippled mother on whom her affections are fixed, is absolutely dependent. Self-interest and filial devotion urge his acceptance, but love triumphs for a time and the handsome fisherman is admitted to the position of a *fiancé* on his probation. The rest of the story is concerned with the vicissitudes of this courtship, and the gradual development of character in opposite directions by the forcing power of circumstances. The reader soon perceives whither events are tending, and is not surprised when Auguste's unreliability of disposition leads to a final rupture, and his rival, having proved the sterling nature of his affection, is eventually promoted to take his place.

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*The Nugents of Carriconna.* By TIGHE HOPKINS. London: Ward & Downey. 1890.

THESE volumes, described on the titlepage as "A Story more or less Irish," might fairly claim that description with all qualification omitted. The phases of Irish life which form its subject are sketched with a subdued satire, no less diverting in its latent suggestions of humour than the more rollicking drolleries of Lever. The oddities of Hibernian character supply, indeed, quite enough foundation for witty description without any intermixture of the element of caricature. The figure of Anthony Nugent as here delineated, with his whimsical caprices and combination of shrewdness and simplicity, is at once a subtle study of human nature, and a faithful embodiment of national peculiarities. The change wrought in his disposition by the sudden accession of fortune, and the grotesque extravagances of his eccentric imagination, are a perfectly consistent realisation of the effect of circumstances upon character. The gradual recovery of Dora's better nature from the deteriorating effects of an ill-assorted marriage, under the ennobling influence of a self-



sacrificing attachment, is wrought out with equal truth and fidelity. There is tragic power in the picture of Trenchard's enslavement to a corroding vice, and his eventual deliverance by her strength and courage in venturing to risk her future on his capacity for self-regeneration. The boycotting of Lady Frayne, a characteristic episode of life in the sister island, is a lively sketch of that form of social proscription, which is made on the writer's pages rather the occasion of an agreeable series of picnic parties than the formidable weapon of an irate population. The turn of speech and thought, common to the upper and lower classes in Ireland, is throughout most faithfully reproduced.

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*Soldiers Three.* By RUDYARD KIPLING. Allahabad: Wheeler & Co. 1890.

MR. KIPLING's short sketches of cantonment life in India, are, in graphic power and evident fidelity to nature, quite worthy of the sensation they have created. The doings and sayings, however, of the private soldier, whether at home or abroad, are not a pleasant subject of contemplation, and carry with them, when literally recorded, a low moral atmosphere very unrefreshing to the mind. Behind the undeniable humour of the scenes described we are conscious of a still darker back-ground at once suggested and skilfully veiled. The narrative consists of stray reminiscences recounted by private Terence Mulvaney, in his racy Irish dialect, inimitably reproduced without caricature. The episode of the drunken draft, time-expired soldiers on their march to the port of departure, is a most vigorous piece of narrative and depicts a side of military life novel in literature. Comic power of characterisation is the writer's forte, and he shows great keenness of observation in catching and reproducing the salient peculiarities of his chosen subjects. Though this collection of tales affords little scope for pathos, there are touches which show he is not without that supreme gift, thus, leading to the hope of his advance to a higher level in the larger work he is said to be engaged on. There is a gruesome, we had almost said brutal, description of a battle, in realistic force, perhaps unrivalled in its particular literary *genre*, but without a redeeming touch of self-devotion to exalt to heroism its savagery of slaughter. Taken altogether, this little volume, small as it is, gives fair ground for the public estimate of Mr. Kipling as the rising star of the literary firmament.

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*The Miner's Right.* By ROLF BOLDREWOOD. London: Macmillan. 1890.

WE must confess to a feeling of disappointment in reading this second work of the author of "Robbery Under Arms," as the promise of exceptional power given by the latter is not sustained, and we have here nothing comparable in interest to the adventures

of the gang of bushrangers there narrated. The present work is described on the title page as "A Tale of the Australian Goldfields," and such is indeed its purport and scope, as it bears all the stamp of being a faithful and literal presentment of life at the diggings in the early days of the gold fever. Thither the hero and narrator, Hereward Pole, the penniless cadet of a good old house, has come to seek his fortune in the hope of being enabled to marry the heroine Ruth Allerton, whom her parents have permitted to pledge herself to him for a five years' engagement. The difficulties and disappointments of the miner's life, its ceaseless toil and hardship with frequently inadequate results, the legal aspects of his position, and the haphazard caprices of fortune, making blind chance in many cases the sole arbiter of success, are all vividly portrayed. Of lawyers and their doings and dealings, we have indeed rather more than enough, and could spare some of the orations in which the battle of conflicting claims is fought out at full length. There is an element of tragedy in the fate of the wife of one of the adventurers, whom the hero, having known her in England, seeks to rescue from ill-treatment and degradation, only to see her murdered under his very eyes. The picture of life at the gold-fields is, however, on the whole a favourable one, and the rough virtues of the miners, their kindly sense of comradeship, spirit of straightforwardness and fair play, and unexpected traits of delicacy of feeling, are done full justice to.

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*John Vale's Guardian.* By CHRISTIE MURRAY. London: Macmillan. 1890.

IN a perfectly fresh, wholesome, and interesting story of English rural life, Mr. Christie Murray recounts the fortunes of an orphan lad left as ward to a self-interested guardian, who aims at getting him out of the way in order that he may inherit his belongings. The overmastering growth of cupidity in this man's mind, leading him on from covert to overt crime is a powerful study, and the power of such a passion when indulged, in absorbing into itself all the other faculties of the mind, is faithfully portrayed. The rugged devotion of a boy friend to John Vale, his weakly companion, with brain disabled by an accident, forms a touching picture, and his successful rescue of him occurs just in time to prevent the reader's feelings from being unduly harrowed by his maltreatment. With fiendish malignity his guardian has conceived the idea of either reducing him to idiocy, or doing him to death through the machinery of severe educational discipline, and by the instrumentality of a cruel schoolmaster, is in a fair way to realise his aim when the victim is saved by flight under the guidance and protection of his friend. A group of kindly French people who give hospitality to the refugees, is well described, as is also, though with somewhat painful realism, an elderly drunkard, who eventually betrays the boy's retreat. The previous strategy of the wicked guardian having,

however, been suspected, he is compelled to resort to more insidious means of attaining his object, in which he is eventually thwarted. All these incidents, with a rustic courtship thrown in, to add a flavour of grown-up romance to the adventures of the boys, are told with a spirit and vivacity which make them pleasant reading, while the *ensemble* is helped by the graphic touches with which the accessory characters are sketched.

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*The Rajah's Heir.* A Novel. Three vols. London :  
Smith, Elder & Co.

“**A** DREAM and a forgetting, is our life that? The sages who have searched into the past and future say that it is even so,” &c., &c. This is a beginning which is calculated to check the ardours of the experienced novel-reader, who knows too well how fatally easy it is to put in pages of copy in this style; fatally easy to the writer, but terribly hard on the reader. It would be a pity, however, to lay down the book, for it turns out to be a great deal better than it promises. It is a story of the Indian mutiny. A Rajah dies, and makes an English youth heir to all his wealth, and, it would seem, to his political power also. The English youth, when in his mother's cottage on the banks of the Thames he hears the news, is naturally somewhat excited. What is more, he undergoes, one night, a strange and weird experience, as if some one else's personality were being transfused into him. We thought we were what the vulgar call “in” for a tale of Theosophy; and it is not clear that the writer did not start with that purpose in view. But not much comes of it; “The Rajah's Heir” turns out to have a large amount of Indian blood in him, and is received by the Rajah's subjects, and by Orientals generally, as one of their own race. There are a good many young ladies in the story. Amongst them is Grace Elton, with whom the Rajah's heir is deeply in love. She is only a doll, and the reader entirely fails to sympathise with the young man in his adoration; but she serves as a peg on which to hang the regular mutiny business of danger and rescue, which is admirably described. It is not, by any means, a bad novel.

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*A Woman of the World.* By F. MABEL ROBINSON. Three vols.  
London : Smith, Elder & Co.

**A**LTHOUGH this novel is too long for the matter that it contains, it is clever and amusing. It is not clear which of the characters is the woman of the world. Sometimes one thinks it is the heroine's mother, sometimes the heroine herself. Nearly all the characters are disagreeable, including that of the heroine. She is beautiful—(her beauty is analysed at some length)—and her voice is several times described as “haunting,” an epithet which the writer seems

to think is rather effective. She is first very religious (that is, "high"), burning to practise heroic asceticism, and making her family uncomfortable. This, however, she drops by degrees. It is not very evident why she deteriorates so much, except that she has fixed her affections on a worthless young man; and when he proves false, it is to be presumed she experiences a general sense of the hollowness of the universe, including the Anglican Church. She finally marries a baronet, whom the author seems to wish us to consider wicked—and who, for the matter of that, is wicked; but who would have made her a very passable husband but for her own "tantrums." There is also a hero in the book. He is a medical student and a Methodist, with a bright face, a good voice, and deplorable hands. He falls in love with the heroine, who, on her side, is described as "liking" him very much, but who cannot be got to "care for him in that way," as ladies say. This one-sided attachment furnishes a good deal of the "comedy" of the book. Not but what the young Methodist is a fine and serious character; the writer is very successful with him, and interests us in his charity, bravery, and sincerity, the only mistake being that his death by consumption in volume three, is far too long drawn out. There is a group of young men, whose conversations and discussions are extremely well done.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

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### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By CANON BELESHEIM, of Aachen.

#### 1. *Katholik*.

THE Rev. Dr. Samson contributes an essay on Easter, describing the idea of this feast and the influence it exercised on the poetry and customs of the German people. To the Rev. Dr. Esser, we owe an article on "St. Peter's Episcopal Office at Antioch, and the Feasts of the Chairs of St. Peter." He stoutly maintains that St. Peter from A.D. 35 to 42 ruled over the Church of Antioch, a fact which was denied in this country only last year, by a Catholic Divine. His arguments in favour of the ancient Catholic tradition, are gathered from the early Fathers and monuments, and will not be easily refuted. Another article sets forth some weighty remarks on the necessity of establishing unity in ecclesiastical rites; to understand the appropriateness of which it should be noted that in Catholic Germany, far from there being unity as to this ritual discipline, there are, at this moment in use, many diocesan rituals more



or less diverging from the Roman Ritual. The same remark applies to Breviaries. In the May number of the *Katholik*, we have a biographical sketch of Professor Hettinger, of Würzburg University, one of the most gifted pupils of the Collegium Germanicum, and favourably known in England from the translations of his book on "Dante" and his "Evidences of Christianity."

In a notice on Hettinger contributed to the "*Allgemeine Zeitung*," of Munich (March 3, 1890), even Dr. Scartazzini styled Hettinger's work on "Dante," a glory of German literature likely to be perused with great profit for many years. A characteristic trait of Hettinger may be recorded here, in the words which he never wearied of repeating: "First a priest then a professor."

The next article in the May number is a severe but just criticism of the wanton attacks by the "*Evangelische Bund*" (Evangelical Association) on the great Pastoral letter of 1889 of the German Bishops. Another article treats of the "Devotion to Our Blessed Lady" evidenced in recent German poetry.

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### 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The March number contains the last contributions of Professor Hettinger, a series of pictures of the Tyrol and Switzerland. An article headed "Dom Mabillon and the Congregation of St. Maur," dwells on the life, learning, and works of this great *savant*. A large part of the article is devoted to Mabillon's literary journey to the German convents of his order. Two articles also appear in March which are noteworthy, as bearing on the conflict between Catholic morals, and some modern systems of moral philosophy. They deal with Professor Paulsen's (of Berlin University) "*System of Ethics*," and show that modern moral philosophy seeks to sever morals from religion to the immense damage of the former; history clearly showing the fact that morals gradually sink as they are removed from the firm ground of religion. In the ranks of Catholicity in Munich in the palmy days of King Lewis I. was Dr. George Phillips, whom Catholics of the passing generation will remember. His great system of Canon law, in six volumes was left unfinished at his death in 1872, and Professor Vering, of Prague University, undertook to continue it, and has just brought out the first instalment, a learned volume on the history of Episcopal elections. It brings the history down to the mediæval conflict about investitures.

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### 3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

In the March issue Father Meschler treats of the "*Pedagogical System of our Lord*," in an article which will well repay perusal. It evidently shows, once again, what an inexhaustible mine of piety, learning, and practical wisdom is hidden in Holy Scripture. The article reminds us of F. Coleridge's works on the Gospels.

P. Pfülf contributes some articles tracing the history of devotion to St. Joseph in the Church, from germs to be found in the first centuries, development very gradually occurring in the course of ages. Father Haan treats of hypnotism, inquiring into the facts and testing them by the doctrine of the Church. To Father Duhr we are specially indebted for his article on "The Attempt to murder the King of Portugal in 1758," an article based on unpublished documents in the Imperial archives of Vienna. The despatches of the Austrian Ambassador in Lisbon leave no doubt that F. Malagrida was not only not involved at all in any design to murder the King, but was a most respectable, even holy man. With Pombal, on the contrary, rests the charge of having more than once been guilty of judicial murder. In the June number of the *Stimmen* Father Nix inquires into the "Devotion to the Sacred Heart in the plan of Divine economy." A brilliant article is contributed by F. Baumgartner, "A Protestant Poet on the Blessed Virgin, Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson von Skálholt." A few years ago F. Baumgartner was lent by Professor Gisli Brynjólfsson of Copenhagen, a copy of the manuscript poems of the above-mentioned protestant bishop, who flourished in Iceland in the seventeenth century. We would call attention also to the article on the "Scientific Publications of the Benedictines of Monte Cassino," contributed by Dr. Ehrhard, of Strasburg. After a brief history of the vicissitudes the august convent has undergone in modern times under the Italian Government, the writer enumerates the publications issued by its monks since the year 1869. Let me mention P. Caravitas "I Codici e le Arti a Monte Casino" (1869), and also the catalogue of MSS. issued under the title "Bibliotheca Casinensis, seu Codic. manuscriptor . . . series," four volumes of which (1873-1880) have thus far made their appearance. The 1080 MSS. which will be described in this work, when it is completed, are only the small remains of what this celebrated monastery once possessed. Part of them date back to the very time of St. Benedict himself who prescribed the reading of the sacred writings as a main occupation of his monks, and for this purpose divided sacred Scripture into "Decurien." The "Paleografia artistica di Monte-Cassino," by P. Oderisio Piscicelli, in 58 tables, traces the history of paleography in the convent. A second volume is to be published: "Le Miniature nei codici Cassinesi," seven *fascicoli* of which were presented to Leo XIII. on the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee. Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Dictionary of National Biography" is duly brought before the German public by Father Zimmermann, a German Jesuit residing in England, in an article in which he gives it almost unqualified praise, and favourably contrasts it with a kindred undertaking, the "Allgemeine Deutsche Biography."

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Father Paul de Hoensbroech writes on St. Cyprian and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. It has now become a sort of

axiom with not a few protestant and "old Catholic" scholars in Germany to deny St. Cyprian the privilege of being a defender of the Roman Primacy. Our learned author shows the unsoundness of such opinions, and unanswerably proves that the holy bishop is one of the strongest champions of Rome. Let me mention a sentence of Professor Harnack's, quoted by F. Hoensbroech, in this article: "In most religious communities at the end of the third century Catholicism appears, having the very same features which we find in Catholicism in our own day"—words of the famous protestant scholar which deserve to be pondered. Father Knabenbauer defends the Catholic tradition in the explanation of Ezekiel xl—xlvi. and to Father Michael we are indebted for a solid article on "Pope Innocent IV. and Austria."

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### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 15 Marzo, 19 Aprile, 1890.

**Migrations of the Hethi.**—The learned articles on the subject of the Hyksôs or shepherd kings of Egypt, which appeared at intervals in the pages of the "*Civiltà Cattolica*," and of which we have given a brief notice, contained much that was interesting concerning the origin of the invaders to which our available space did not permit us so much as to allude. Suffice it to say that the writer expressed his well-grounded conviction of the identity of the Hyksôs with the Xeta of Egyptian monumental inscriptions, and of these with the progeny of Heth or Hethi, known commonly by us as Hittites, the Biblical appellation of *Hittim* being thus rendered in the vernacular. But he confined his remarks to the doings of the Hethi-Hyksôs, leaving to another occasion to speak of the migrations of the race to which they belonged into westerly lands. Much interest has of late years been excited among the learned concerning the Hethi, in consequence of the Egyptian inscriptions above alluded to relating to the Pharaonic wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth Dynasties, as also by the Assyrian cuneiform monuments, where the name of Hetti or Hatte occurs, corresponding historically and geographically with this same race, called Xeta by the Egyptians. In the studies which have ensued the writer awards the palm of scientific research to the English. He now himself undertakes to treat the obscure question of the migration of this people into Greece and Italy in most remote times, an arduous task in consequence of that very remoteness. He would identify them, in fact, with the aboriginal colonists of those lands known by the name of Pelasgi. It is new ground which he occupies, for although various writers, Bochart and Mazocchi in particular, have already alluded to the migration of the Hethi into Italy, they consider these people to be sons of Javan, whereas he assumes that they sprang from Canaan, and were, therefore, children of Cham, not of Japhet.

The sons of Javan followed in after times, but those of Canaan, he believes, were the first to colonise, not Greece and Italy only, but the Mediterranean islands and coasts. The quasi identity of the names of the two progenitors of these races has naturally led to erroneous conclusions. There is, indeed, no difference between them, save in the consonants *Kheth* and *Caph* which, as all Hebrew scholars know, are frequently interchanged. For the full elucidation of this subject we must refer such of our readers as are familiar with Hebrew to the writer's explanation. It will be readily understood, however, by all how the two names of the *Cittim*, descendants of Javan and of the *Chittim* (identical with *Hittim*) by which the *Hethei*, sons of Canaan, were designated, might be easily confused.

The writer proceeds to quote authorities for the generally received opinion of Biblical interpreters that by the name of *Chittim* or *Cittim* the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean were known to the Hebrews. As he had already pointed out the ambiguity attaching to these terms he feels that it must need close examination of all available sources of information before anything definite can be pronounced as to the original colonists. This is the task he has set himself; in the meantime, he makes some brief allusion to certain facts which he considers afford strong presumptive evidence in favour of his own view that the sons of Canaan led the way in the colonisation of these lands. In particular, he mentions the remains of the most ancient city of *Amath* in the island of *Cyprus*. Now *Hamath*, or *Emath*, was a celebrated city of *Syria* near the *Orontes*, which in the Bible is called the great *Emath* (*Amos* vi. 2). It was built by the *Hethei*, who in their migration to *Cyprus*, no doubt, desired to retain a memorial of their native land. It must be observed that in the *Syrian Hamath* were found the first inscriptions which led to recent studies concerning the *Hethei*. The characters examined were similar to those of the *Cypriot* alphabet, for, although the language spoken in *Cyprus* in the course of time became *Greek*, it retained this archaic alphabet in writing. We look with interest to subsequent articles to which these first two are intended to serve as introductions.

Since the above was written a third article on the subject of the migrations of the *Hittim* has appeared, developing more fully the points already indicated, the notice of which must be deferred.

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3 *Maggio*, 1890.

**Thought-reading Hypnotism at Turin.**—There has been another disgraceful hypnotist exhibition at *Turin*. About the middle of *March*, an individual of the name of *Pickman*, who, like *Donato*, is a *Belgian*, made his appearance at the *Teatro Scribe*, the scene of *Donato's* display. One would have thought that he could hardly have been welcomed very cordially, with the sickening memory of his predecessor so fresh in men's minds, for *Donato* had



left an evil repute in Turin, where he had sown the seed of an hypnotic epidemic, injurious alike to health and to morals, as the doctors affirmed, including the Professor Lombroso; who, however, now associated himself with Pickman for the purpose of introducing him to the public, undertaking the office of medical examiner and tester of the Hypnotist's state, and of explaining by scientific oracles the mysterious phenomena manifested in his person. The new diviner exhibited his wonderful performances in the first place free of charge to a select assemblage drawn from the highest classes in every department. All the Freemasons and anti-clericals were there, for Turin is dominated by Masonry, and there was a concourse of some 150 spectators, Lombroso being in close attendance. It will be readily imagined how the approval of these distinguished worthies served as a drum-call to the public for the subsequent general meeting which was to fill the "magician's" pockets.

Pickman, is a man of about forty, of a highly nervous, hysterical, and even epileptic temperament. He discovered his faculty of thought-reading when in the service of Donato, and, having taken to the business himself, became quite insane, so that he had to be shut up in a lunatic asylum and put in a strait waistcoat. He recovered, that is to say, so far as he may be said to have recovered, married, and has a little son, who, poor boy, is already treading in his father's footsteps. Lombroso is more than confident that, in order to place himself in the condition of a diviner, Pickman hypnotises himself. Pickman stoutly denies that he does so, and maintains that all his power resides in an exalted nervous energy, which makes him at once understand mentally the commands of the individual placed in contact with him, always retaining his own consciousness and reasoning faculty. Nevertheless, the reviewer thinks that in this matter the doctor is right. It is by no means always necessary that a hypnotised person should manifest all the symptoms of that state, or absolutely lose his sensitive power. Pickman is ready to put himself in communication with any, the first comer; having previously prepared himself by abstaining from food and imbibing very strong cups of coffee, it suffices him to take the person's hand and raise it to his brow, and he will immediately execute the individual's behest mentally given, provided this person has not a strong antipathy to or distrust of him. There are a good many provisos, it must be confessed, for the command must be conveyed with energy, and must be also conceived in French only. The acts prescribed are, after all, though sufficiently surprising, confined to a very restricted circle, a remark, be it observed, which may be very generally applied to all so-called thought-reading. Pickman, for instance, will take off one man's spectacles and put them on another; he will apply a stated number of blows to the head of a third mentally designated to him; he will guess numbers thought of and discover cards hidden where he could not possibly see or imagine them to be; indeed, his eyes are closely bandaged and his ears carefully stopped. It is Lombroso himself who draws attention

to the narrow range of Pickman's thought-reading powers, while guaranteeing at the same time the total absence of all jugglery. Pickman, he contends, is lucid to a certain extent. Granting the accuracy of these assertions, we have no difficulty in allowing that this man performs acts for which natural causes fail to account, whatever the Professor may say, for Lombroso feels no difficulty whatsoever in explaining them naturally, seeing that with him thought is a merely mechanical process; accordingly, he expresses these phenomena in his scientific phraseology, the meaning of which is somewhat hard to catch, but of which the drift is unmistakable—namely, rank materialism. Supposing, then, that Pickman is no charlatan, but a *bonâ-fide* diviner of the mesmeric order, our reviewer says that he still cannot but wonder at the wonder which he has excited in both the cultivated and uncultured vulgar of Turin. Pickman offers neither a new nor a rare phenomenon, but one most common and repeated a hundred thousand times in all ages. In the hypnotist and magnetic *séances* of our times and the spiritist assemblies, divination of thought is "as daily bread," while there is not a heathen nation on the face of the earth which does not possess its diviners, its medicine-men, its sorcerers, who, as our missionaries attest, often perform feats compared with which Pickman's look small and insignificant. To confine ourselves to Europe, have we not had the Jansenist *convulsionnaires* and the Calvinist *Camisards*? Moreover, in all times, the possessed have understood the secret commands of the revealed hidden things to exorcists, and have often the bystanders.

But there is this wide difference between the contemporaries of the ancient Pickmans and those of the modern ones. Of old, divination was always attributed either to divine influence, or to the preternatural influx of some superior agent. And herein the writer considers that the ancients showed a hundredfold more sense than the modern philosophers, more metaphysical intelligence of the human mind, and more profound acquaintance with the forces of nature. All this he proceeds to demonstrate, first exposing the erroneous interpretation of Pickman and Lombroso, and then giving the true answer, not to Pickman's diminutive case, as he esteems it, but to the question in a large and general sense.

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5 April, 1890.

**Russian Difficulties with China and with her Sects.**—There is often much interesting information concerning the internal state of Russia, not easily to be met with elsewhere, communicated by the correspondent of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. In the number for April 5, for instance, there is a detailed account of Moscovite relations with China on the Siberian frontier of the Celestial Empire. The Chinese are a difficult and very cunning people to deal with, and, if they have to yield under pressure, they never lose sight of an opportu-

nity to regain what they have ceded; and so it has been with the compulsory treaties of 1854 and 1858. They are quietly colonising and preparing for re-appropriation of their lost territory; for the immense distance which a Russian army would have to traverse in the case of war, and the difficulties of transport make them entertain little dread of the Czar's power. A railway is now in contemplation by the Russian government which, traversing Siberia, would terminate at Kiachta, near the Great Wall, some 300 miles or less from Peking. This would make the Chinese look about them, but is this colossal undertaking feasible? colossal even were it possible for the line of railway to run parallel to the old Siberian road, along which the greater part of the population are gathered; but the interposing obstacles offered by the great rivers, in particular, seem to put any such plan out of the question. An enormous circuit must therefore be made in order to cross the rivers nearer their sources; this would lead to most disastrous consequences—viz., the displacement of some two millions of the rural population, which, in order not to die of hunger, would have to abandon their present homes in order to settle along the track of the railway.

One of the remarkable results developed by the emancipation of the serfs, has been their desertion in ever increasing numbers of the so-called Orthodox Church. Thousands secede every year to join the existing sects, or found new and often most eccentric ones of their own. For this purpose they will leave their homesteads in large bodies to settle in the depths of some pathless forest, where they may escape official persecution. Gross religious ignorance, fanaticism, and distrust of the old clergy prevail, no doubt, among the emancipated peasantry, and have been actuating motives for their wholesale desertion of the communion to which they were presumed to be attached, but to which it is now plain they were only tied and bound by their state of servitude. But however true this may be, and however strong their wishes for religious freedom, it cannot explain fully the departure of whole villages to bury themselves in the profoundest solitudes. Perhaps the explanation may be found in an intense desire to escape from the grievances of a bad administration, and the countless devices of a vexatious police to curtail their liberty. They want to be free. Not long ago a traveller stumbled upon one of these self-governing communities in the wilds of Eastern Siberia. They were Russian emigrants, and when questioned why they had settled themselves in this desert spot, they replied, "We did so to avoid interference with our affairs from the constituted authorities." These little isolated republics abound, and the Government does not care to seek them out and disperse them by force, for fear of worse consequences from the active enmity which would thus be excited.

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## Notices of Books.

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*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*; or, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*. By the Most Rev. JOHN HEALY, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert, Commissioner for the publication of the Brehon Laws, Ex-Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, Maynooth College. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, and M. H. Gill and Son. London: Burns and Oates. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

A WORK by the Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert on the subject of Ancient Ireland one would naturally conclude beforehand is sure to be a learned work; but when it is noticed that the story of Celtic Schools in Erin is here brought down to only the Anglo-Norman Invasion, and there is further noticed the size of the work (an octavo of over 600 pages) a feeling of wonder may arise in some minds, that so much can possibly be said of so very remote a period. Not the least noticeable thing, however, about Dr. Healy's volume is the revelation it brings of the vast amount of respectable evidence available as to the Christianity of Ireland in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries—for with these he is chiefly concerned. Another noteworthy feature is the style in which the book is written, and the manner in which, in the hands of the able author, the old world records of men whose very names are strange to modern ears is made readable, and even attractive. This quality, indeed, has particularly struck us; and we should like to remark, in passing, what an amount of interesting information concerning the character and contents of some of the chief monuments of ancient Erin is to be found in these pages. This knowledge of sources, their historical value, and the best available editions and translations of them is of considerable importance, and calculated both to inspire confidence and to lead on the merely superficial reader to become an interested and serious student. We do not know whether any other modern work, even pretends to take the English reader over the ground covered by Dr. Healy's volume, but we can hardly imagine how the task could be performed with a happier combination than there is in his volume, of a flowing, well-written narrative, popular in the best sense and intelligible to the least learned reader, growing naturally, also, out of an immense store of dry and erudite reading, with a critical discrimination between the authentic and the legendary, and a sufficient exhibition of literary and even bibliographical material to serve the purposes of the scholar. Of the latter class are the numerous valuable sketches of the contents and history of ancient works, which the author is fond of giving, whenever a monumental work happens to be mentioned; the sketch—*e.g.*, of the contents of Sedulius's



“Carmen Paschale” (p. 36), of the “*Dicta Patritii*” (p. 87), of the “*Book of Armagh*” (a long and highly interesting account, pp. 103-5), of the “*Book of Lismore*” (p. 474), and not a few others, in reading which we have been reminded of the admirable account of the writings of the Fathers in Alban Butler’s notes to their Lives. As to the ancient documents available for the history of St. Patrick and their respective values, reference to Dr. Healy’s pages is desirable. It is a point of not only nice critical judgment, but a point of considerable practical importance to determine the age, authenticity, and value of the writings,—both those professedly by the Saint himself, and concerning him by contemporary or subsequent admirers. Of the former class are the Saint’s famous “*Confession*,” and his “*Epistle to Coroticus*,” and also “*St. Patrick’s Shield*.” The author devotes half a dozen pages to the contents, history, and indubitable authenticity of the *Confession*. On a point which is made much of by Protestant writers, he remarks:

It is singular that no reference is made to the Roman Mission, or to his ever having been at all in the City of Rome. But neither does the Saint refer to St. Germanus, although all the Lives agree in saying that he spent many years in Gaul with that holy and eminent prelate, nor does he even tell us where or by whom he was consecrated bishop. Nothing, therefore, can be deduced from his silence regarding St. Celestine and the Roman Mission, especially in face of the ancient and authentic testimonies which assert it (p. 73).

The author also contends for the authenticity of St. Fiacc’s metrical life of St. Patrick, as we now have it. This is also a point of considerable importance, as St. Fiacc, who was a “young poet” in the retinue of Dubhtach on the Easter Sunday morning when St. Patrick stood before the king on Tara, wrote it soon after the saint’s death. The author further considers that its acknowledged genuineness also “settles the question as to the use of letters and writing in Ireland before St. Patrick;” for no language could suddenly have attained to the grammatical perfection and the richness and flexibility there evidenced. Its language, he observes, is “much superior, in every respect, to the debased Gaedhlic of the last three centuries.” Then there is the “*Tripartite*” or three-divisioned life of the National Apostle, in reality, three homilies probably preached on three festival days, in praise of the saint. There is no intrinsic evidence for the date of its composition, hence wide differences of opinion amongst judges. O’Curry followed Colgan in attributing it to St. Evin of Monasterevan in the sixth century; Dr. Whitley Stokes contends that it cannot be earlier than the tenth, and is probably of the eleventh century. Dr. Healy replies to the arguments of the latter, and sides with Colgan. Now it is the *Tripartite Life* which informs us (as also does the scholiast on St. Fiacc’s hymn) that Pope St. Celestine commissioned St. Patrick to his apostolate of Ireland; a statement which, whatever the silence of the Saint’s “*Confession*,” is in keeping with the unmistakable spirit of the ancient Irish Church towards Rome, as may be gathered from other places in this volume.

About the "Lorica," or St. Patrick's Shield, which the "Book of Armagh" tells was universally recited in the eighth century, the writer has an interesting remark :

Patrick knew that the Druids of Laeghaire possessed magical powers ; they even claimed dominion over the elements, and, therefore, strong in the faith of the Holy Trinity he . . . . calls to his aid not only the Holy Trinity, but all the elements created by God, but sometimes perversely used by the Druids for evil purposes. [A remark which reminds one of the Bishop of Clifton's argument for the hymn-character of the Account of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis].

I bind unto myself to-day  
 The strong name of the Trinity,  
 By invocation of the same,  
 Three in One, and One in Three. . . . .

I bind unto myself to-day  
 The virtues of the star-lit heaven,  
 The glorious sun's life-giving ray,  
 The whiteness of the moon at even,  
 The flashing of the lightning free,  
 The whirling wind's tempestuous shocks,  
 The stable earth, the deep salt sea,  
 Around the old eternal rocks. . . . .

This is merely a specimen of the beautiful Gaedhlic hymn as translated—and well translated—by Mrs. Alexander. Even to this day the original is chanted by the peasantry of the South and West in the ancestral tongue and it is regarded as a strong shield against all evil natural and supernatural (p. 76).

This last is not the only little touch of realism in the book which will interest the untravelled English reader. There is another and, as our own observation also tells, a correct one, much later on in the volume, which is equally pleasing. Speaking of St. Finnian's (he died about 550) intimate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures as being the secret of the attraction which drew so many to him and made his name so famous in ancient Ireland, the author claims for the newly converted Irish that they had a deep thirst for sacred knowledge, and adds :

We know of our own knowledge that it is so still. There is not a congregation in the wildest part of Ireland that will not listen with the most intense interest to a preacher who can clearly and literally explain the Gospel or Epistle for any Sunday. They will be more attentive than than at any other time ; they will catch up his smallest word ; they will take it home with them and tell it to their children, and the children sometimes will take it home to their parents. And they are right, for the words of God are far beyond any words of men (p. 203).

But it is time we gave the reader a consecutive outline of this story of Irish scholars who were also saints. There are two Introductory chapters, one on the State of Learning before St. Patrick, in four excellent sections on the three privileged classes, the Druids, the Bards, and the Brehons, and on the Ogham Alphabet ;

the other chapter, on Irish Scholars before the National Saint, Cormac MacArt and Sedulius; whilst a section on Celestius claims that he was not an Irishman. Then we have the education of St. Patrick, and the state of learning in his day. In the fifth chapter, the great schools of the fifth century, the schools of Armagh and Kildare receive full treatment, and in the sixth chapter, some minor schools of the same period, viz., those of Noendrum, Louth, Emly, &c. The seventh, a remarkably valuable chapter prefatory to the specific treatment of the monastic schools of the sixth century, traces a general view of an Irish monastery of that early period, its buildings, its discipline, and its routine of daily life. We are struck with the close likeness between this description and the passages descriptive of British Monasticism at the same period in the article, "Anglicanism and Early British Christianity," in our number of last January. Of these Monastic schools, a chapter is devoted to St. Enda and the Isles of Aran, and their Pagan and Christian remains, another chapter to St. Finnian of Clonard, a chapter each to Clonfert and its Saints, and to Moville and St. Finnian, and another and long chapter to Clonmacnoise and the famous St. Ciaran. The Columbian Schools receive full treatment in three chapters. The schools of Bangor, Clonenagh, and Glendalough receive due attention in turn, the latter leading to a valuable chapter on St. Laurence O'Toole. Next come the schools of the seventh century which being disposed of, chapters on Celtic art, Irish scholars abroad, and Gaedhlic schools and scholars down to the eleventh century, conclude a volume of unusual historical and religious interest.

How vast an amount of information, as valuable as little known, these pages contain, will perhaps be sufficiently surmised from this sketch to rouse interest in the volume itself. The author says, in his preface, that the first three centuries of the period he here treats, form "certainly the brightest page of what is, on the whole, the rather saddening but not inglorious record of our country's history." Sceptical objections have, however, been insinuated as to the celebrity of those ancient schools, but the author gives quite sufficient evidence to banish all such scepticism. The ancient Celtic monks appear to have been not only eminently learned, but eminently holy men. Asceticism and study went hand in hand; and to their poetic sense and keen perception of the beauty of nature, and love of solitude was joined a severity of mortification which recalls the rigours of the Thebaid.

In conclusion, it is worth while to mention that the learned author most happily does not write as a controversialist. He has banished from him the spirit of controversy, which, he rightly observes, tends to obscure rather than make known the truth—adding this admirable remark: "It is better from every point of view to let the facts speak for themselves; and hence not only in quoting authorities, but also in narrating events, we have, as far as possible reproduced the language of the original authorities." Certainly the learned

author never forgets he is an Irishman:—why, indeed, should an Irish bishop withhold due and warm praise of his own faithful country or be shy of manifesting enthusiasm. This, however, does not interfere with an impartiality of which there are many instances throughout the book. We must not overlook, also, that he brings into prominence the intercourse between the Monasteries of Britain and those of Ireland, and the fact that St. Enda of Aran, before he became himself a Monastic founder studied under St. Ninian at Candida Casa or Whithern. But St. Ninian, according to Bede, “had been regularly instructed in Rome in the faith and the mysteries of truth.”

A most important statement of Bede [says our author], for, as we shall see, very many of the founders of the earliest and greatest of our Irish monasteries were trained at Whithern, and the founder of Whithern himself was trained at Rome . . . thus directly connecting the fathers of Irish monasticism with the discipline and dogma of Rome (p. 166, and cf. pp. 192 and 217).

The volume is well printed in good sized type; we have, indeed, noticed one or two, but not more, typographical errors. An excellent map of Ireland showing the ancient schools is prefixed to, and an Index, correct as far it goes but insufficient, closes the volume.

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*On Right and Wrong.* By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. London: Chapman & Hall. 1890.

THIS book, like all Mr. Lilly's publications, is marked by high purpose and serious thought. It deserves, therefore, and requires, serious notice; the more so because it deals with subjects intimately connected with religion itself. It is true that Mr. Lilly disclaims all concern with Christian views in ethics, and professes to treat morality by the light of reason alone. But no Christian writer is allowed to ignore Christianity. Revelation not only furnishes religious truth beyond what nature can tell us of, but corrects and clears up our views of natural teaching itself.

All the same, no enterprise can be more useful at this moment of the world's history than to try to convince thinking men of the difference between spirit and sense, between mind and matter, between relations and the absolute. This is Mr. Lilly's purpose. He has carried it out in that philosophical yet popular style which he has made his own, showing an acquaintance with books and writers of every age and almost every country which is little short of marvellous. He writes strongly yet calmly. Perhaps he is a little too respectful to some of the loud-voiced unbelievers with whom he deals; and perhaps he bows down just a little too profoundly to an idol called Kant. But all this, as also his civility to a person he calls Aquinas, and a page about Louis Veuillot which reads as if it had been composed for the “first Whig” himself, are doubtless only a sacrifice to that largeness and liberality which



appear to be the price of a hearing in the intellectual circles whom he wishes to interest.

The nine chapters, with appendix, of which the book is made up, deal with Morality. Mr. Lilly considers, rightly enough, that we are living in a moral crisis, in which there is the greatest possible danger that Materialist principles will altogether swamp those necessary and abstract ideas of Right and Wrong, which Reason itself, to say nothing of Christianity, dictates to the human race. His own theory of ethics he explains in the fourth chapter. Our first principles of Right and Wrong, he says, are based on Reason, are self-evident and transcendental. Ethical obligation, or the sense of duty, is a primary fact of human nature. He thus expresses himself:

The moral law, an expression of Universal Reason, is a formal law, sovereign over all; a law of ideal relation, obligatory upon all wills. The desire to do right as right—that alone is morality. The idea of "right" or "ethical good," is a simple aboriginal idea, not decomposable into any other, but strictly *sui generis*. It cannot be resolved into the idea of happiness, or of pleasure, or of greatest usefulness; neither does it mean "commanded by the Deity," or "imposed by social needs." It admits of no definition save in terms of itself, which is equivalent to saying that it is an ultimate, like the perception of sweetness or of colour (pp. 117-8).

Again, he writes:

I prescind entirely from all theological theories and religious symbols. I admit, or rather I insist, that morality is, in a true sense, independent. I mean this, that our intuitions of right and wrong are first principles anterior to all systems, just as are the intuitions of existence and of number. . . . (Morality) views man transcendently—not only going beyond the facts of sense by means of our imaginative faculty, but grasping that spiritual substance which cannot fall within the range of physics" (p. 98).

These extracts sufficiently define Mr. Lilly's theoretical position. He proves, or rather expands, these views in a series of eloquent pages, developing them from the idea of personality, and appealing to the universal thought of the human race. No one will deny for a moment that they are true, valuable and especially necessary to be insisted upon at the present time. Mr. Lilly is contending against the Materialism, gross or refined as the case may be, which insists that our noblest impulses, equally with our basest, are only sensations or induced tendencies of the nervous system, thus destroying all responsibility, reducing Right and Wrong to a meaningless formula, and making Morality a mere matter of police. Nothing can be more opportune than to appeal from those grovelling systems to the spiritual and universal conceptions of the human mind and the grand and lofty utterances of the greatest men. It may be well to observe, however, that Mr. Lilly does not go very far in his philosophical groundwork. Between his exposition of principle and his criticism of modern materialistic ethics, there is an important gulf. It may be true that the great ethical question of the day is, Have we any *à priori* notion of right as right, and wrong as wrong?

But it is also very important to decide whether, if we have such an *à priori* notion, there is any way of settling what is right and what is wrong. Mr. Lilly treats the former question, and it cannot be denied he goes some distance in discussing the latter. As to the first, all proof must be more or less of an analysis, the ideas in question being so "aboriginal," as he says, and primitive. Here his brilliancy and wide reading stand him in good stead. As to the second, he tells us that "when we speak of the moral law, we mean that rule of action which necessarily arises out of the relation of Reason to itself as its own end" (p. 105); that the great aboriginal right of man is to "realise the idea of his being" (p. 114), or as he elsewhere expresses it, "to fulfil his vocation as a moral being, to devote himself effectively to the work of developing the perfect character in himself and others" (p. 153); or again, "to the full idea of human personality, to its due explication, its complete development" (p. 181). All these phrases are very vague; probably they are intentionally vague. But it might have been more useful to his readers to have told them that Right and Wrong, being terms of relation, express a relation to something, and that that something can rationally be nothing else, in the last resolution, than that complete, adequate, and ultimate End of man's being which man's reason is more or less competent to discover. To call this End the "end of reason," "the full idea of personality," and "the development of the perfect character" is not erroneous—far from it: but, perhaps, under the circumstances it is inadequate. Human reason is, no doubt, the proximate or immediate rule of human conduct. But human reason is so made that it can do very little for itself without constantly comparing its conclusions with things outside itself. Its light is its own, but that light is infallible only in a few general laws. Hence the necessity for a practical external guide. Hence, also, the distrust expressed by Catholic moralists of Kant's "Categorical Imperative"—that one must never do anything except what one could will to be a Universal Law. It is undeniably right, but it is inadequate, and so far misleading that it seems to deny the necessity of any external rule. Indeed, we cannot agree with Mr. Lilly when he asserts (p. 115) that "the moral law leads to, is not derived from, the Theistic idea." It may be true that an obscure and confused notion of Right and Wrong may precede a knowledge of the being of a God; but it is certain that man cannot either understand *why* he should in reason choose what is right, or obtain any single moral rule, without some notion of God; for without some kind of knowledge of God he could not have a rational idea why he existed at all; and if he had no idea why he existed, he could have no idea what he ought to do, or with what motive he ought to act.

It is certain, however, that Mr. Lilly's principal thesis—that Morality is grounded on Reason and not on molecular action—is most true and most opportune. His analysis of the teachings of the late Professor Clifford, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and of Professor

Huxley, is most convincing and most complete. Materialists they are and remain, in spite of a long and elaborate, but most self-contradictory, protest by Professor Huxley, which Mr. Lilly admirably unravels in an Appendix. His four last chapters are entitled, respectively, "The Ethics of Punishment," "The Ethics of Politics," "The Ethics of Journalism," and "The Ethics of Art." They are all interesting, sound and vigorously written. As to the pressing problems which the question of property raises, he is neither very hopeful nor very definite. "I believe," he says, "the new industrial organisation which the world must have, will be a natural growth, not an artificial machine; a growth rooted in the essential needs of human nature, which are ethical needs; in the regulative principles of human action, which are ethical principles; in the mighty hopes that make us men, which are ethical hopes. So much seems to me certain, so much and no more" (p. 201). Does this point to a new Gospel, or at least a new Prophet? Or is it merely a rhetorical amplification of the idea of the "sliding scale?"

It should be added that the book is preceded by an analysis of each chapter, and that there is a good Index.

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*Ritus Servandus in Expositione et Benedictione Sanctissimi Sacramenti.*  
Nova Editio. Londini; ex typographiâ Burns et Oates.  
1889.

THE attention of the clergy should be directed to this new edition of the *Ritus Servandus*, beautifully brought out by Messrs. Burns & Oates. There seem to be few alterations in the work itself; the only one we have noticed occurs in the note to p. 8, in regard to the prayers between the *O Salutariis* and *Tantum Ergo*. But the editor has added, at the end, several Latin "Orationes," one or other of which is often directed by bishops to be recited, the "Ordo Confirmandi," and the prayers ordered by Pope Leo XIII. after low Mass.

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*Les Indulgences, leur Nature et leur Usage.* Par le R. P. F. BERINGER, S.J. Deux Tomes. Paris: P. Lethielleux. (London: Burns & Oates.)

UNDER this title two Jesuit fathers, Abt and Feyerstein, have given us a translation of a work which may be briefly described as a new and complete edition, brought down to date, of Maurel's well-known treatise, "Le Chrétien éclairé sur la nature et l'usage des Indulgences." Readers who know the last-named manual will understand that we have here not only an exhaustive treatise on the theology and practice of Indulgences, but also a complete list of almost every existing Indulgence, with all the prayers in full. Grounded upon the "Decreta Authentica" (Pustet, 1883), and the "Rescripta Authentica," edited by Father Schneider (same publishers and year), together with the Roman "Raccolta" (printed at

the Propaganda Press, 1886), it may be said to supersede these publications for the general reader, and even for the working priest.

The first part of the book treats of Indulgences in general. It gives the whole Catholic doctrine of the *reatus culpæ* and the *reatus pœnæ*, explaining very precisely that Indulgences do not remit *sin* and yet are much more than the mere remission of *canonical penance*. The doctrine of the "treasure of the Church" is proved by numerous citations. The power of the Church to grant Indulgences is shown in Scripture and in tradition; the manner of their application to the faithful departed is made clear, and the effects of Indulgences are treated in detail. After laying down the dispositions necessary for gaining an Indulgence, the author goes into numerous practical details as to the mode in which they are granted, how to distinguish false Indulgences from genuine ones, the congregation of Indulgences, &c.

The second part, which the author considers to be the substance of his work, gives the prayers, pious exercises, works of zeal and charity, objects of devotion, places, special times, confraternities and pious associations, to which Indulgences are attached. We have here not only all that there is in the *Raccolta*, but innumerable explanations and practical hints. Père Maurel's work has here been entirely re-cast. For example, the pages on the "Via Crucis" have been re-written in conformity with the Franciscan official publication "Instructio de Stationibus S. Viæ Crucis;" the article on the "Heroic Act" has been entirely re-modelled; the rules about Confraternities have been harmonised with recent decisions. Father Beringer tells us that he had a very great deal of trouble to satisfy himself on the subject of Confraternities, and would have had more but for the fact of his being in Rome when he was on the subject, and so having the power to consult authentic documents whenever he was in a difficulty. The translators add that there is a vast amount of ignorance about Confraternities and their rules. The work ends with a very complete "Formularium" or collection of formulas for blessings, receptions, petitions, &c., connected with Indulgences. An appendix brings the information down to the latest date, the recently-published decree relating to the Feast of the Sacred Heart being found therein. There are very complete tables of contents and a good index. Enough has been said to show that this is a manual which no priest should be without. The French publisher asks us to mention that the work can be found, on sale, at Messrs. Burns & Oates.

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*The Seat of Authority in Religion.* By JAMES MARTINEAU. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

THIS elaborate work of a veteran writer, though written with much vigour and in many parts with great beauty of literary style, is a melancholy and a miserable book. It is a most determined attack, by one who, no doubt, calls himself a Christian, on all that the world has uniformly held Christianity to mean. To him, there



is no priest, no sacrament, no Church, no teaching power, no Bible, no Messiah, no resurrection—nothing but the “beauty” of Christ’s character, as certified by Dr. Martineau’s inner consciousness. The Gospels are chiefly unhistorical, if not pious forgeries; the slender thread of genuine history being only to be discovered by Dr. Martineau under the guidance of Scholten, Harnack, and Weizsäcker. St. Paul added and invented freely; the author of the Fourth Gospel was a mendacious “theologian,” with narrow polemical views; and the whole history of the Church has been one of more or less successful attempts to pervert the true idea of the person and teaching of Jesus.

The one element of value in this book is the re-assertion, on every possible occasion, of Dr. Martineau’s well-known “intuitional” views. We may thus sum up in his own words his exposition of fundamental morality :

We are sent into the world charged with a number of instincts, each, when alone, darkly urging us towards its own object; but all, when thrown into various competitions together, lighted up with intuitive knowledge of their own relative worth and rights; so that we are never left in doubt which of two simultaneous impulses has the nobler claim upon us. This natural estimate is what we mean by *conscience*. It has nothing to do with the values of external actions, but only with the comparative authority of their inward springs; it gives no foresight of effects, but only insight into obligation at its source. But this it does with revelation so clear, so solemn, so consentaneous for all men, that those who will not own it to be divine can never find a voice of which it is the echo in our humanity (p. 76).

Far be it from any Catholic writer to contravert the truth and importance of these words. But it is quite evident, and, indeed, Dr. Martineau himself admits it, that the absolute intuitions of moral truth are few in number, and are practically difficult of application to the thousand problems of actual life. Passion, prejudice, education, heredity, and all the contending impulses which have their play in human nature and human society, will wreck morality almost as surely as if there were no such thing as intuitional ethical judgments, unless such judgments are upheld, preached, developed, and enforced by an external system. As far as the common herd are concerned, Dr. Martineau and his friends seem to admit there should be churches and preachers. He claims for his own views a “chaste and modest temple,” and “only a sparse company of worshippers; where, it is true, one may number many a pale and lofty brow, many a pure and noble will, and see hung upon the walls some crowns of highest martyrdom, and lyres of sweetest song; but whence spirits more fervid or less choice turn aside to crowd around some bolder prophet, and kneel in worship of deeper tone”(p. 304-5).

This taint of gnosticism—this arrogance of superior refinement—runs through the book, and gives it that intolerable tone of assumption and cock-sureness which generally characterises the prophet of a particularly small sect. Dr. Martineau has two things to do—to destroy the reasonableness of ordinary Christianity, and to give the world something instead. He devotes forty pages to

the destruction of the Catholic Church. In performing this task, he considers that disputes and heresies have destroyed her claim to Unity, that Galileo's condemnation has made Papal Infallibility a simple absurdity, that Torquemada is fatal to her claim to Sanctity, that the lives of her Saints leave the human mind "between the doll and the idol," that Père Hyacinthe and Dr. Döllinger have irreparably destroyed her Catholicity (!), and that she cannot be Apostolic because the Mass in St. Peter's is so much more gorgeous than St. Paul's description of the celebration of the Eucharist. Having thus feebly tried to damage the Church, and succeeded to about the same extent that the Philistine tourist damages the Great Pyramid by scratching his name on it, he attacks the Protestants and the Bible, in a long polemic of nearly a hundred pages. After that he shows how the various theories arose as to our Saviour's person—that he was the Messiah, that He rose from the dead, that He was the Word, and He was the Word made Flesh. He goes on to discuss and set aside the Christian ideas of Sin, Redemption, Sacraments, and life everlasting.

This is not the place to enter upon an examination of Dr. Martineau's arguments. None of them, as far as we can see, are new. The effect of them depends on the boldest and freest handling of the earliest Christian records, and on the audacity with which the writer unhesitatingly puts his hand on interpolations even in the Gospel of St. Matthew. Thus the great commission of Matthew xxviii. is rejected without appeal, as containing the Trinitarian formula, and the plain assertion of our Lord before the High Priest that He was the Christ is set down as a "doubtfully accurate detail" because it clashes with his theory that Christ never claimed to be Messiah. This is the stuff of which the critical part of the book is made up. To refute it would naturally require a volume as large as itself. But there are one or two points that may be mentioned. First of all, Dr. Martineau has no right to give nicknames; "Romanists" is not a word that Roman Catholics recognise. Neither ought he to call the sacramental view by the name of "magic." He must know that those who believe in the reality of a Sacrament believe that God Himself has imparted spiritual efficacy under certain conditions to outward acts and to human words, and they believe this on evidence which is at least as respectable as Dr. Martineau's style of Biblical criticism. Now, magic is confessedly a different thing altogether. If we called Dr. Martineau an infidel it would be a tolerable approximation to the truth; but it would not be civil to use the word, partly because he would object to it, and partly because it carries the stigma of disreputable association.

The writer's very free and unattached commentary on the New Testament brings out one or two features which the prejudice of non-Catholic writers has for the most part obscured. Thus he confesses that "a Divine Incarnation" is taught in the Gospels themselves (p. 561); that St. Paul undoubtedly held sacramental and sacrificial views about the Eucharist (p. 541); that the Fourth

Gospel takes the Holy Communion to imply a "mystic efficacy" which lifts it into "an indispensable means of grace" (p. 543); and that, in fact, unless we reduce the Scriptures to the insipid emptiness of a rationalist interpretation we have in them the well-defined germ of a truly sacramental doctrine, after which the gradual construction of a complete sacerdotal system was only a question of time (p. 544); and he considers that the references in the sixth chapter of St. John to the Bread of Life are undoubtedly intended to apply to the Sacrament of the altar.

His own dreary conception of the religion of Christ is so vague as to be almost incapable of any exact definition. He describes our relation to Jesus as that of personal reverence and historical recognition (p. 356). The religion embodied in His Person he resolves into "an intimate sense of filial, spiritual, responsible relation to a God of righteousness and love; an unreserved recognition of moral fraternity among men; and a reverent estimate of humanity" (p. 358). All this, as we need not say, is found in Catholicism—with a good deal more. It is this something more which the Unitarian and universalist objects to. But he completely misrepresents nearly every one of those elements of Christian belief which he tries to destroy. To him the Sacraments are only mechanical; the sense of sin is abject terror; faith is slavish formalism; the hope of reward is mere selfishness. It would be useless to tell him that no religion can be the religion of humanity which does not include and harmonise worship, repentance, fear, hope, prayer, love of God, love of man and external observance. How many of these Unitarianism leaves out we will not stop to inquire. The rule that you must be "faithful to your higher instincts," even when supplemented by the rider that in recognising such instincts you must bow to God whose light they are, is not enough for the world. Our reason is given us to recognise why we were made. The end or purpose thus made known is safer as a foundation for morality than the intuitional "instincts" of even the most rational of men, for no man's instincts are safe from pride, passion and prejudice. The recognition of the end leads to God; and God must be both rule, authority, and final joy and rest. The hollowness of the Unitarian religious view can be seen in one point alone—their conception of "reward." Dr. Martineau makes our Lord actually contradict Himself when He, on the one hand, exhorts us to love virtue for its own sake, and, on the other, promises that the virtuous shall be rewarded. What sort of an idea of spirituality, of futurity, of the Infinite, can a man have who does not see that, in any rational scheme of human ethics, the "end" which reason points out must also be the "summum bonum" which will satisfy all the ultimate aspirations of human nature? The pursuit of virtue for its own sake has no meaning if it be adopted as an absolute and solitary principle. To be indifferent to temporary and partial gratifications is what reason and virtue dictate; and to pursue even final happiness as a separate and isolated end would be selfishness; but to contem-

plate complete beatitude as the necessary result of rational conduct, and the accompaniment of whatever the real and objective end of life may be, is not only reasonable, but is so absolutely included in our intuitions, that the opposite view—the pseudo-altruism of the hysterical rationalist—is simply a mental confusion, involving an absurdity. And there are plenty of other confusions consequent on the principle that the only “authority” in religion and morality is each man’s inner consciousness.

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*Passiontide, continuation of the Public Life of Our Lord.* By H. T. COLERIDGE, S.J. Part II. London: Burns and Oates. 1890.

WE have here Father Coleridge’s latest volume on the Passion. We have read it through from beginning to end, but the space here available among the Book Notices, would be quite insufficient for that ample account of it which the book deserves, and which alone would do justice to our own appreciation of it. It is, in some sense, the most interesting of the volumes which have appeared, for it deals with the Mysteries of the Cenacle, and undertakes the difficult task of harmonising the synoptical gospels with St. John’s, in the account they give of the Paschal Supper and the events connected with it. The spirit and object of St. John in writing his history, his supplementary history, are exquisitely brought out. Father Coleridge goes quite deeply enough into the long-disputed question between those who hold that the Paschal Supper was eaten on the Thursday night, and those who maintain that it was eaten on the Friday. Though he does not pin himself to any one of the two or three ways of accounting for our Lord eating the Pasch on the Thursday, he evidently holds that He did eat it on that evening before the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, and he brings out with great force, the fact that St. John intended his readers to see that the last Paschal lamb was slain under the old dispensation at the moment that the Lamb of God was slain upon the Cross. Father Coleridge also brings out, we think, quite conclusively, that Judas was never ordained priest, and that he did not receive the Holy Eucharist, but that he went out on receiving the sopped morsel which was eaten before the Paschal Lamb was put upon the table.

Most earnestly do we hope that God may spare the author of these most admirable volumes on the Gospels to accomplish his task. We know nothing in any language equal to these volumes: and we can only marvel that they are not more eagerly looked forward to and bought up.

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*Natural Religion.* From the "Apologie des Christenthums," of FRANZ HETTINGER, D.D. Edited, with an Introduction on "Certainty," by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, of the Oratory. London: Burns and Oates. 1890.

THE excellence of Dr. Hettinger's "Apologie des Christenthums," does not lie in strict science, so much as in common sense. There are few of its arguments in which a clever reviewer could not pick holes; but, take them all together, they are valid and effective. If the human mind really has the means of attaining certainty on fundamental questions, it follows that it is impossible to argue those questions without the right side of the argument coming out with greater or less decisiveness. If the existence of God, and of the immortal soul, are within the grasp of human knowledge, as they are, then the mere exposition of the ideas involved must generate conviction. On the other hand, elaborate reasoning is apt to defeat its own end; not only because it may be false, but almost as effectually because it is long. To get a man to stare at the principles of his own mind—to "intue," speaking in a wide sense, what he has within himself—this is the most effective kind of proof in matters of this kind. And what is wanted, therefore, is exposition, the skilful touch of illustration, and a kind of repetition which shows how an idea has struck many diverse minds. Above all, the Apologist must avoid making mistakes, saying too much, or parading bad logic, and it is almost impossible for him not to succeed.

Father Sebastian Bowden, who "edits" this book, has considerably shortened the text of his author. What he has left out, however, is chiefly quotation, and quotation from German authors, who may have weight with German-speaking readers, but who are neither widely-enough known nor sufficiently effective to make much impression on the rest of the world. The translation is admirable, reading like an original English work.

The first two chapters treat of doubt in religious matters, and of the possibility of attaining Truth. Here we have the usual arguments against scepticism, materialism, and rationalism, enforced with a large variety of striking citations from every quarter, ancient and modern. The third chapter is on the existence of God, and contains the proof from history, or the universal consent of mankind, the proof from causality, the proof from design, and the proof from the intelligence and morality of man. The argument from causality suffers to a certain extent from its not directly meeting the view which is now by far the most universal among scientific men, that matter is merely force, and all force is ultimately homogeneous. Similarly, the argument from design does not sufficiently allow for the evolution theory, although that theory is treated at length in the following chapter, the fourth of the work, entitled Materialism. Here the author attacks the Atomic theory, and "continuity" views in general, demonstrating the impossibility of matter's generating motion, or organism, and of the organic becoming spontaneously

sensitive. The difficulties of the Darwinian evolution are given under twelve heads, and with considerable effect. The next chapter deals with Pantheism. He shows how all Pantheistic theories contradict themselves, and explain nothing; destroying God, they put nothing in His place; abolishing free will, they lead to necessitarianism and immorality. In the sixth chapter, which bears the heading, "Soulless Man," we have discussed the relations between the brain and thought, the writer explaining how the brain is the instrument of thought, yet cannot be its adequate source or cause. This is followed by another chapter on Man, wherein it is proved that he has a soul, and is therefore more than matter, that he has a rational soul, and is therefore above the brute, and that his soul is immortal. We extract the following exposition of the resurrection of the flesh:

By the re-union of the soul with the body, we do not mean that the second body will be composed of all the same material elements as the first, since these are during this life in a constant state of change, and (as it were) merely pass through the body, and are constantly renewed. For these elements only constituted one body so long as they were interpenetrated and informed by the soul. As, therefore, in this life the identity of the soul determines the identity of the body, so is it after death, for the separated soul remains essentially the same. Its vegetative and sensitive faculties, the forces of the bodily life, are only dormant, not destroyed; as in the profound simile of the Apostle, the whole plant, blade and ears, slumbers in the seed. Thus the risen body will be essentially the same with that which died, because of the sameness of the soul, its form or formative principle. This formative principle, with the bodily faculties of the soul, will be reawakened in the day of Resurrection to make from its material elements the body anew (p. 250).

The two concluding chapters of the volume relate to religion, so far as religion is discovered by the light of natural reason. They show with striking power, if not always with a complete knowledge of the most recent scientific views, that the human race is essentially religious and monotheistic. The relations of religion with morality are clearly stated; though we do not quite like the assertion that "morality implies a lawgiver," as if the dictates of natural reason discovering to man his end, and impelling him to its attainment, had no obligatory force without the recognition of an external legislator. If it were insisted that the recognition of morality leads to the recognition of God, we should quite agree; and, perhaps, this is what is meant by the exposition on pp. 285—6.

Father Bowden's introduction is against Agnosticism, and vindicates the primal laws of thought. He dwells with great care on the narrow and irrational aspects of modern Agnosticism. He concludes thus:

There was one who had long but vainly sought truth and certainty in the contending rituals of philosophy, yet always believed that God would give him light. At length his hope was granted, and when Justin—for it was he—stood upon trial for the faith he had now confessed, "Do you think," said the Prefect, "that by dying you will enter heaven and be rewarded by God?" His life was in the balance. "I do not think," he replied, "I know;"

and he only repeated the Apostle's words, "Scio cui credidi et certus sum"—"I know in whom I have believed, and I am certain" (xxxii.).

The book, which is furnished with an index and with an analysis of each chapter, should be in the hands of the clergy and of all the laity who wish to be provided with sound principles which they can use in the controversies of the day. We are promised a second volume, dealing with revealed religion.

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*Sermons, 1877-1887.* By the Rev. ARTHUR RYAN, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

*St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.* By the Rev. ARTHUR RYAN. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

IT is not often that we meet a volume of Sermons which we can as unreservedly praise for real excellence both of matter and of manner as we can praise these by the accomplished president of Thurles. Too generally—speaking of the mass of published Sermons, and remembering the exceptions—one cannot help wondering at the judgment which considered them deserving of being printed. Orthodox, no doubt, they are—heaven be thanked for one excellence—but they are dull; the moralising is trite; the sentiment hackneyed; the style—well, the style of a third rate sermon-book is its own style—"inanimate" the late Archbishop Ullathorne stigmatised it; there is perhaps nothing else so surprisingly lifeless, when the inspiring nobility of theme is taken into consideration. In the volume before us, however, we happily find sermons that are well worth reading. The author of them gives us his own thoughts: and his thoughts take colour alternately from the faith, the learning, the imagination, or the earnest piety of the writer. Even the old teachings and familiar truths come with a certain newness of view and manner. What subject, for instance, could well be more difficult to treat with originality or even freshness than the subject of St. Patrick, on St. Patrick's day, and to a congregation of Irishmen, and in Ireland itself? We turn therefore with interest to the discourse headed "St. Patrick's Day," and we think the following extract from the opening of it will be enough to show that it is neither commonplace nor hackneyed. The sermon was preached, we are told, in the Cathedral of Thurles.

. . . I was at first inclined, then, to regret that this my first sermon on this great festival should be confined to the minutes between the High Mass that has just ended and the Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament that is to follow. But on reflection, brethren, I see that you have already had a sermon, and a long, eloquent sermon, preached to you, and that I shall only have to add a few words of warning. For what language could tell you with as much power and beauty, of St. Patrick, and of the work he wrought for Faith and Fatherland, as that high and holy ceremonial at which you have just assisted? It opened with a long white-robed procession, moving from

St. Patrick's College and under St. Patrick's banner. You saw those students enter the Sanctuary there—future priests of Ireland, England, Scotland, America and Australia—and you recognised in that throng a glorious proof that St. Patrick's apostolic spirit has remained in his children, and is as young and strong to-day as when, thirteen hundred years ago, it welled up in this land and overflowed into every country in Europe. Was it necessary to speak to you of St. Patrick and what he did for Faith and Fatherland when you saw a successor of his, an Irish archbishop, go up there to his throne—the metropolitan throne of Munster—and assume the mitre of St. Albert and St. Ailbe, the crozier of martyrs, of saints, bishops of Cashel and Emly? . . . . Is not this very church, brethren, eloquent upon St. Patrick's Day? . . . . this vast gathering of the sons and daughters of St. Patrick, this bright cathedral, in its freshness and beauty, all this has been a sermon on St. Patrick, and a splendid one, and has filled your hearts with holy exaltation that the Universal Church should honour thus the Saint whom God has so honoured in our midst and whom we have so loved—our own dear St. Patrick (p. 312).

The remainder of this short address is a vehement denunciation of drunkenness, and the unseemliness of "drowning the Shamrock," the saint's chosen symbol of the Blessed Trinity. "Could St. Patrick," exclaims the preacher, "himself take my place here in this pulpit and preach again to his Irish children, he would preach most certainly against drunkenness; could he come down amongst us again to be the Apostle of our Second Spring he would come to us as an Apostle of Temperance." It is, perhaps, however, only right when thus referring to so unsparing an attack as this to remember the crowded cathedral and the vast numbers who had that morning, as we are told, received Holy Communion.

We turn to other discourses in this volume, but we must be content to note their qualities in general. The subjects treated are very varied:—Heaven, Good and Evil, The Mass, "Consummatum est," The Tears of Jesus, The Mother of Sorrow; these are headings of sermons picked at random out of the thirty which fill the volume. The author has a fluent and elegant pen, and where his theme leads to it he is eloquent. In developing an instruction he gives evidence of a very happy and rare power of lucid exposition—as witness the instruction on Contrition and Attrition—which makes us venture to remark that a volume of doctrinal instructions from him, should he ever be led to write one, would prove a valuable help to priests. We should like to quote from the beginning of his beautiful discourse on the Mother of Sorrow. We must be content to refer to it, as a specimen of the clever use of an actually occurring circumstance to illustrate and enforce the subject in hand. One extract, however, out of many which we had marked, we may be permitted here to add in conclusion; it will exemplify, if we mistake not, some of the characteristics we have noted, and help to justify to the reader's mind the warm praise we give to these Sermons as not beyond their deserts. Preachers know the difficulty of treating the Agony of Our Lord in the Garden intelligently, and at the same time with fidelity to the requirements of a sound Christology.



But I think it will move us more to-day, and it will certainly be more easy to consider rather the *human* character of this prayer of Jesus, and in the prostrate form beneath those olive trees, and in the agonised cry sent up from the blood-stained earth into the night, to recognise the form and the voice of a Son of Man.

Indeed, it would be hard to find any passage in the life of our Divine Master in which He shows Himself more truly human, more touchingly like us in the inherent weakness of our manhood, than in the Prayer in the Garden. . . . For consider what could be more like our own case than the state of mind and body which he deliberately chose as the preparation for that prayer. We read that "He began to grow sorrowful and to be sad," "to fear and to be afraid." Of his own free will He entered into trouble of mind and weariness of body. Strange preparation, brethren, for prayer. He chose it voluntarily because He knew that it would be the involuntary state of many a stricken soul who, sorrowful and fearful, would turn for strength to prayer, and seek in His prayer a model. Saints have come, we know, so to overcome their minds and feelings as to be able to enter on their prayer with a serenity undisturbed by any care of earth. They could say with the Psalmist: *paratus sum, et non sum turbatus*, "I am ready and I am not troubled." And entering thus on their peaceful orisons, they have through long hours communed with God, and have with difficulty torn themselves from this felicity to return to their lowlier duties. When we read of their prayer we may be tempted to say: Ah, were such a tranquil mind and heart mine I too could pray; but when I kneel down my sorrow seems to grow darker round me, my nervous and uneasy spirit to grow more restless and impatient of restraint, and my very body to lose its strength and to cry out for indulgence. Ah, brethren, thanks be to our dear Lord for it, this was the very frame of mind and body that Jesus chose when He knelt down to teach us how to pray. He took us, we might say, at our worst. Those very circumstances which we look on as fatal to prayer, He chose of His own free will, that He might by descending to our extremest misery comfort the miserable amongst us, and teach us that no trouble of mind or body should ever turn us from our prayer (p. 109).

The little Life of St. Patrick named at the head of this notice was written some years ago for the Catholic Truth Society, and has had a large circulation. It is here re-produced on fine paper, in large type, and there is added a Novena of reflections on the Saint's virtues with prayers. The volume, therefore—appropriately bound in green cloth, with a wreath of shamrocks—is admirably adapted for popular distribution.

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*The One Mediator: or, Sacrifice and Sacraments.* By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Soc. Co.

FATHER HUMPHREY has collected into one volume a series of papers, originally contributed to *The Month*, on the Sacraments, the Grace and Knowledge of Christ, &c.—the aim of which has been, as the author tells us, "to set forth Jesus in his perpetual presence here on earth, and in his personal influence on individual souls of men." The chapters on each of the Sacraments in detail, and also those on the place of Sacrifice and of Sacrament in religion

are most likely to be practically useful. Those who know the author's method and style will not need a reviewer's word as to the solidity of the theological matter of these chapters nor as to the closely reasoned analysis of statement in which they abound. There is in these pages little about the history of the sacramental rites, nothing of their liturgiology; yet they are extremely interesting and instructive. They contain a view of the Sacraments chiefly from the high grounds of a Catholic philosophy. They contain, in fact, an *English* theology of the Sacraments; under which aspect the volume will surely serve most useful purposes. Not a few priests, with little leisure even if with the ability for so intellectual an effort as would be necessary for transferring the scholastic reasonings of theological authors from Latin into idiomatic and literary English, will be glad to find a good deal, at least, of what they wish for in these pages. As a specimen of Father Humphrey's doctrinal exposition, we shall choose a passage that we open on by chance. The general subject of the chapter is "The Necessity and place of Sacrifice in Religion," and the particular point under treatment is the truly sacrificial character of the Christian Mass; and having premised, from the universally admitted notion of sacrifice in general, that the destruction of the victim need not be physical, but is sufficiently any change of state which would morally in the esteem of men be equivalent to destruction, the author proceeds :

And now consider the state in which Jesus Christ places Himself beneath the species as a Victim. He the first-born of every creature, the Head of His Church, who in all things holds the primacy, gives Himself to His Church by means of the priests His ministers, to be placed in such a mode of existence beneath the species of bread and wine, that His Most Sacred Body and His Most Precious Blood should be truly in the state of meat and drink. This He does in such wise that every act which is connatural to corporeal life, and which depends on the senses, ceases. His Body and Blood, inasmuch as His presence is bound to the species, are left to the will of His creatures just as if He were an inanimate thing. In such a state and condition does He constitute Himself in order that He, the Great High Priest, may for that whole Church of which He is Head—and that that Church may through Him—express in His Most Sacred Body and Blood the supreme dominion of God, and the absolute dependence of every creature, and may at the same time express and exhibit the satisfaction completed on the Cross by the delivery of His Body, and by the shedding of His Blood. He who "emptied" Himself in His Incarnation—not by laying aside the form and majesty of His Divinity, but by taking to Himself, as says the Apostle, "the form of a servant"—empties Himself yet more in the Sacrifice of the Mass as regards His Sacred Humanity. This He does not by laying aside of any perfection or glory, but by, while remaining in all the fulness and perfection of His Glory at the Right Hand of the Father, at the same time putting on this sacramental state of existence which is the lowest state that is compatible with real corporeal existence at all. It is a state of existence that trembles on the very borders of annihilation. In His Incarnation He clothed Himself with the garment of man's mortal flesh. In His Sacrifice on the Cross, that garment was rent and "marred more than any." In the Sacrifice of the Mass His Risen and Glorified Body is no longer mortal, yet It is wrapped in the swaddling clothes of the sacred species. It lies helpless and speechless as a

child, nay, more! It is motionless and as if dead, and as if those species were Its shroud. Such an exinanition, or "emptying" of Himself by Jesus Christ is not only truly and properly sacrificial, but, with the single exception of His bloody Sacrifice of Himself on the Cross, we cannot conceive any more sublime, any more profound idea of a true and proper sacrifice than that which we find in the Holy Mass (p. 32-3).

Not only to the clergy, however, but to any intelligent man or woman this sort of dogmatic study ought to prove useful and also interesting. Some may judge it to be heavy reading; we have read the book through and should decidedly demur to such an epithet. Serious it is; but the author's application of his wide scriptural knowledge, his keen logical power, and a pervading tone of intense faith certainly give interest and even attraction to a serious study. Father Humphrey does not (rightly, we think, for the permanent value of his volume) spend time in dealing with the special difficulties raised, or assertions hazarded, in controversies of the present time—but it is inevitable that anything like adequate analysis and exposition of Catholic dogmatic teaching should indicate sufficiently the method and character of defence suited to present polemics. Thus a Catholic who may have been interested in the recent correspondence in the pages of the *Spectator*, chiefly between the editor on one hand and Canon Liddon on the other, as to the nature of our Lord's human knowledge and the proper interpretation of the phrase, "Jesus grew in wisdom and in knowledge before God and man," will find a most useful statement of Catholic teaching as to Christ's human knowledge in chapter xi. of the present volume. We must be content to have referred him to this carefully written and valuable chapter. Besides this defensive adaptability of the book in general, the author has some passages on the general results of Protestant teaching that are not without practical value.

We have probably said quite enough to indicate our high opinion of Father Humphrey's volume: we feel confident that the reading of it will both instruct, and also charm the instructed by opening up new aspects of the magnificence and wide-reaching significance of those seven divinely instituted fountains of Grace of which the Catholic Church alone has been, and is, the faithful custodian.

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*Notes on Electric Lighting.* By the Rev. GERARD MOLLOY, D.D., D.Sc. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THIS lucid pamphlet deals with some of the main principles involved in Electric Lighting, and will be welcome to a large section of the public who wish for information about one of the most promising industries of the day. There have been many short treatises published explaining the nature of the instruments used in electric lighting, but few of these have attempted to deal in any detail with the practical question of the supply of electrical energy over large areas. The present pamphlet supplies a want; and it is

only to be regretted that some of the chapters have not been expanded. Notwithstanding the progress made during the last few years in the application of the electric light the general public often show their complete ignorance of its *modus operandi* by raising "scares" as to its dangers. Those who hesitate to adopt the light from ill-founded fears, may with profit read the chapter on the "Conversion of High Pressure into Low Pressure currents," where they will be told that even when the electric current is supplied from a central station at such an enormous pressure as 10,000 volts, on reaching the houses it can be converted into the harmless pressure of 100 volts by means of "Transformers." The chapter on the cost of the new illuminant will be read with interest, and the figures quoted in illustration are certainly the result of experience and no fancy estimate such as has appeared at times in print. The author aptly explains that even though the electric light must now be said to be rather more expensive than gas, its advantages are such as to counterbalance the increase in actual cost. He points out what is most important to remember that the electric light is a new industry, and that if we compare its present cost with that of gas at an equal stage of advance, we may expect a considerable reduction in cost in the future. "It would seem, then, that by the year 1815, the use of gas, for public and private illumination, had reached a stage about as far advanced as that now reached by electricity. Yet Mr. Preece tells us that the price of gas in London, as late as the year 1823, was fifteen shillings per 1000 cubic feet. It is now only two and six pence. If the progress of invention should lead to a similar reduction in the cost of the electric light, it need have little fear of any rival."

In most cases the author seems to have fulfilled the promise of the preface, that the facts have been brought up to date. We must however, make one exception. In chapter two we find the following statement: "We call it electricity, and we know that its intrinsic nature has hitherto eluded the closest investigations of Science." This might have been written before the year 1887, but it is scarcely appropriate to the present period, when the magnificent researches of Dr. Hertz proving the identity of electricity and light are fresh in our minds. When the physicist is busy reflecting, refracting and even measuring the electric wave, it may justly be said that the era of profound ignorance has been passed.

1. *Why no Good Catholic can be a Socialist.* By the Rev. KENELM DIGBY BEST, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.
2. *The Catholic Church and Socialism.* By CONDÉ B. PALLEN, Ph., D. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. 1890.

THESE two pamphlets are signs of the times. Liberalism is getting old and feeble, while Socialism, its offspring, disowned indeed but still its offspring, is getting strong and active. Both parent and child have long ago been condemned by the Church, but



the way in which the two condemnations have been received by the European world is curious and instructive. Roughly speaking, up to the Vatican Council, the condemnation of Socialism was considered superfluous, while that of Liberalism was considered an affront to reason, and as making the Church the ally of tyranny and ignorance. The problem in those days for the teachers of our faith was to show to their hearers, first, how the condemnation of Liberalism did not mean a great many things it was absurdly said to mean, and secondly, how foolish and contradictory were those teachings that, in fact, did fall under the condemnation of the Church. Now all has changed. Half the propositions in the Syllabus are now condemned as heartily by the Cabinets and the Press of Europe as by the Pope, and our generous and enthusiastic young men have quite another kind of difficulty before them from that which confronted the Montalemberts and Lacordaires. They, in their zeal against political oppression had to avoid being ensnared by a specious but false system of political science; whereas our young men in their zeal against economic oppression have to avoid being ensnared by a specious but false system of economic science. This system is Socialism; and we are in great need of the true doctrines of Christian Social Science being made familiar to all our students, lest in their laudable disgust with the contradictory and immoral Political Economy they are taught, often out of public funds, they turn to Socialism, as if it were the only alternative. Father Best's excellent little pamphlet is a confirmation of what we have said. It is the reprint of two lectures delivered to the Brothers of the Oratory and conclusively answers the question of its title, "Why no good Catholic can be a Socialist." But the answer is from authority; and thus, though complete and excellent for its purpose and its audience, does not satisfy, but rather excites the appetite for an Apologia that will show how, in this matter of Socialism as in all others, Revelation is the help and support of human reason and temporal well-being. Dr. Pallen's pamphlet is a contribution to such an apologia; he justly emphasises that between Socialism on one side, making society its own end, and Individualism, on the other, making the individual his own end, stands Christianity which declares that in society the individual is to find a means to his own end, which end is not himself, but God. And he justly urges the immense effect of Christian charity on social life. But this is not enough in dealing with modern Socialism. They say that human nature is in process of evolution, that the application of science to industry has brought on a new era, at present the (dismal) capitalistic era, which is only the introduction to the (bright) socialistic era; and that they want justice and not charity. What we have to show is that the industrial revolution, which is a fact, does, indeed, require new laws and institutions, if it is to be a blessing, not a curse, but yet has not altered the essential character of the relations of rich and poor, masters and servants. We must show also that the evolution of human nature and progressive ethics are not facts but fancies; and that charity is

no mere feeble palliative of injustice, but the natural and beautiful fruit of inevitable and providential inequality.

Two practical points of controversy should be noticed in conclusion. Let us frankly recognise that we need in our combat with the Socialists the support of revelation, and that we do not profess to confute them, unless Christian ethics are taken for granted. Were this done, such a confused ethical jumble as the periodical known as "The Christian Socialist" could not find writers or readers; and the antagonism to Christianity shown in some of the "Fabian Essays on Socialism" would be understood to be essential to the Socialistic cause, not accidental. Secondly, whenever we appeal to the declarations of the Holy See condemning Socialism, it would be well to add the strong pronouncements of the same authority in favour of remedial and protective legislation for the weaker and poorer members of the State, that all may have the means and the leisure to lead a decent life according to their station. In truth, the clear atmosphere of St. Peters is as unfavourable to Lord Wemyss and the other leaders of the Liberty and Property Defence League as to Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Bernard Shaw, and the other champions of Socialism.

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"*Continuity*" or *Collapse*? By Canon McCAYE, D.D., and Rev. J. D. BREEN, B.A., O.S.B. Edited by Rev. J. B. MACKINLAY, O.S.B. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1890.

THIS little volume of a hundred pages is really an admirable popular manual, dealing with the pet Anglican pretension of "Continuity" with the old British, Saxon and Norman Churches. It is published at the very reasonable price of a shilling, and should, therefore, attain a large circulation. The reading of it is sure to be beneficial. The editor tells in his introduction how it came into existence. A new Catholic mission and school at Alcester, Warwickshire, called forth the zeal of the "Church Defence" Society, who sent down a lecturer with addresses, and magic-lantern views to illustrate them. This gentleman proved in the usual confident way that the Establishment was the old church of the country. The four lectures here published were the Catholic answer to the historical inaccuracies of the Church Defence representative. Two lectures were delivered by Canon McCave, the one on the British, the other on the Saxon Church; and two others by Father Breen, already well known for his clever little work on Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction, one lecture on the Church in Norman and Tudor times, the other on Elizabeth and the Establishment. The editor states that when delivered they were a success, and we feel sure their distribution in printed form will continue and increase the good effect. Canon McCave's lectures are particularly valuable for their effective style, and because they most cleverly and completely demolish Anglican assertions and theories. The most ancient British testi-

monies are made to show the esteem in which Rome and St. Peter were held, and the testimony of a Syriac text, of which he gives Dr. Cureton's translation, is so used as to confirm the impression that a disciple of St. Peter was the earliest evangelist of Britain. The story of the conversion of King Lucius we have seen referred to in some Anglican work as a "later invention," and Dr. McCave does well to repel this contention of Mr. Haddon's as vigorously and successfully as he does. Appeals to the Pope, the Papal Confirmation of decrees, Pilgrimages to Rome, and the solemn embassy to Rome to secure the sanction of the Pope on the Laws of Howell the Good, are all in turn used as telling arguments. The Conference of St. Augustine with the British Bishops is retold with more semblance of reality, and the forgery of Abbot Dinoth, or Dunawd, and his Protestant speech is again unmasked.\* Father Breen's first lecture, the third in the book, treats of Norman and Tudor times; and in the last lecture he puts the case against Anglican Orders very forcibly, and with abundant argument. This useful little book has a good index.

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*Four Hymns to the English Martyrs.* By a SISTER of NOTRE DAME, with Preface by the Reverend JOHN MORRIS, S.J. Leamington: Art and Book Company (and 23, King Edward Street, London, E.C.).

THREE different copies of these Hymns have been sent to us. There is first a little half-penny copy that will go into a prayer book, containing the words of the hymns only (and not Father Morris's preface, though the title page announces it); the second is a penny copy, in rather larger type and with the preface; and the third is a quarto, and contains music for the hymns. The words of the four hymns are by a Sister of Notre Dame, and the music by another Sister of the same Order; and both as to music and words they ought to take their place among our most popular hymns. The air of the fourth hymn is, we think, very much the happiest musical effort. It is a taking air, with marked emphasis and good swing, and needs only to be tried in procession to be remembered. Father Morris in his preface has some interesting remarks on the devotions permitted to the fifty-four Beatified Martyrs. They tempt us to reproduce them here:

No public act of veneration is permitted towards the Martyrs who are not declared Blessed, even though the Holy See may have admitted them to the list of the Venerable Servants of God; but for those who are entitled Blessed, most of the acts of veneration are permitted that are usually paid to the

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\* A fuller account of the Dinoth forgery and of other points in connection with the British Church may be found in the article "Anglicanism and Early British Christianity," DUBLIN REVIEW, January 1890.

Saints. They may not have altars erected in their honour, nor may churches be dedicated to them, nor, again, may their relics be carried in procession; but those relics may be placed on our altars, their pictures may be painted in our churches, and the Holy See has already granted several festivals in their honour, either to the whole country or to particular localities. Prayers may be said to them in public services, they may be publicly invoked, and hymns in their honour may be sung. The Catholics of England have welcomed this permission with joy, and the devotion to the English Martyrs is steadily and widely spreading.

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*My Time, and What I've Done With It.* An Autobiography. By F. C. BURNAND. New and revised edition. London and New York: Burns & Oates.

THIS is a novel, written in Mr. Burnand's youth, and revised in his maturer age. It shows signs of the influence of Charles Dickens in its style, as for instance:—

The dignified Bale entered with candles, and finding us all thus sprawling about, as if we had fallen on to the sofas and chairs through the ceiling, expressed facially no astonishment, but, guarding himself carefully, and in the best-bred style possible, against treading on any other people, who might be strewn about at haphazard on the carpet, he placed his lights, while his attendant drew the curtains with a sharp click, as though there were spectators outside, who hadn't paid their money for the show, and having, officially and distantly, answered some questions as to "time" and "his master," withdrew (p. 129).

There is plenty of this kind of writing in the book, which is a lively record of the hero's adventures from birth to marriage. He is the son of a baronet, who is also a City man, and who makes a very ordinary sort of father. He goes to a private school, which is described, and to a public school (Eton?), which is also described. There is an element of romance in the tale. If the hand of the humorist is somewhat heavy in comparison with the admirable lightness and certainty of touch displayed in "Happy Thoughts," yet the book will repay reading. We must not omit to say that there are some pages here and there of serious and polemical writing, and a most amusing sketch of what we easily recognise as Cuddesdon College and the late Bishop Wilberforce. A characteristic portrait of the author faces the title-page.

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*General Metaphysics.* By JOHN RICKABY, S. J. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

THIS new volume of the "Catholic Manuals of Philosophy" treats of Being, Essence, Existence, Unity, Truth, Goodness, Substance and Accident, Personality, Causality, Relation, Space and Time. Father Rickaby says:

There are two opposite extremes to be avoided: one is to suppose that the notions with which (metaphysics have) to deal are so simple as to require no



study, and that they can be confused only by a preposterous attempt to force them into a long scientific system, such as a text-book on metaphysics displays; and the other is to imagine that the notions are so minute, so fluxional and evanescent, as to defy anything like fixity of signification. The fact is, the ideas are simple, and carry along with their simplicity some of its greatest difficulties (p. 8).

This volume is not intended, as, in any sense, a "popular" hand-book of metaphysics. There is nothing in it of that short, summary and unhesitating method which the popular guide to science is accustomed to present to the public who read as they run. The treatise does not cover every point, or follow scholastic disputants into the luxuriant wilderness of their speculations. But it presents the problems fairly and fully, points out the difficulties and lays down the true doctrine with a sufficient degree of development to give adequate scientific knowledge. It cannot be read hastily, for it is not very easy reading. At the same time, the style is clear, simple, and unaffected; the method is carefully adapted to avoid needless abstruseness; and the illustrations are gathered from a wide reading of authors ancient and modern. The citations from St. Thomas might perhaps have been more numerous; it is the experience of every teacher of metaphysics that a passage from St. Thomas, if he can find one, invariably lights up the subject as if (to use a homely metaphor) some one had drawn up the blinds. Father Rickaby's use of Aristotle is admirably calculated to give the student an intelligent interest in that prime authority, for he quotes his best and most noted sayings in the original Greek—translating and commenting them, of course; and as the ordinary text-books usually quote him in Latin, this practice gives those celebrated *dicta* a vividness and reality which are too often wanting. Among English philosophers, Hume and Locke are most frequently cited, seeing that there are no names in the language which have been more intimately connected with metaphysical discussion. One very important result of this manual will be that the scepticism of Hume, which is very influential throughout English speculation and theology, even in our day, will be most thoroughly discredited. It is a little curious to see how Reid comes to the front. He has been justly looked down upon since the revival of scholasticism, though there are many who can remember what respect was paid him in more than one Catholic college less than a quarter of a century ago. His admirable common sense, however, is true and real as far as it goes, and as metaphysics never contradict common sense, he frequently says the right thing, and says it extremely well.

The subjects treated in this volume are important in themselves, and in their connections. The general result of the discussion is to confirm and strengthen sound realism, and to confute scepticism and phenomenalism. We are here taught to see, in metaphysical notions, the action of the mind, but of the mind at work on realities. God and the world, substance and accident, personality and causality, are distinguished and refined upon, yet not destroyed. The shadowy

kingdom of Being is proved to be not all shadow; nay, the very shadows are seen to be thrown by a strong and real light falling upon unmistakable realities. Catholic young men have in the work an admirable manual of training, whether for theology or for general philosophical speculation, and we cannot doubt that it will by degrees supersede those Latin text-books which, if they can boast of being written in a more exact language, yet are apt to leave the students' conceptions petrified in that language, doing little to fuse them into practical thought, or to make them a part of one's mental equipment.

There is a very complete Index.

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*The Century Dictionary: an Encyclopædic Lexicon of the English Language.* Prepared under the superintendence of WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit in Yale University. In six vols. Vols. I. (A—Cono) and II. (Cono—Fz.) New York: The Century Co. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

“THE CENTURY DICTIONARY” when completed will form a monumental work. It will mark the condition of etymological science and comparative philology in the last decade of the nineteenth century, will show the range of our English vocabulary, and it will, at the same time, remain as a highly creditable specimen of printing and engraving. It is of ponderous dimensions; each volume (of eleven inches by nine and a half inches in size) contains some 1200 pages of three columns each; yet with two volumes already out this year the fortunate purchaser of it may reasonably hope to live to its completion,—and long after to use and bless it! Dr. Whitney, whose name appears on the title page, has been assisted by a large staff of collaborators—American specialists, each restricted to his own particular subject, as, *e.g.*, law, legal institution, theology, liturgy, commerce, zoology, &c., &c. The names of thirty-two such special contributors appear on a fly-leaf, together with the names of seven editorial assistants and a managing editor, besides the editor in chief. This array of talent—for most of the names if not always of scholars well known in England, are names generally of University degree men—is a sufficient indication of the scientific character of the undertaking. We need only say here that so far as we have been able to investigate (and this has been to a very large extent) the execution of the work is scholarly and complete; the derivation of words, in particular, being treated in an exhaustive manner according to the latest philological theories. As to the spelling of words, the editors have given, in most cases, side by side the forms in use on both sides of the Atlantic: a point which will reconcile advocates of our own spelling to the work. Another point deserving of remark is the care that has been given to technical terms, now so numerous in current English. The preface states

that in explaining technical terms they have aimed at giving definitions "so precise as to be of service to the specialist," whilst, at the same time, "simple and popular enough to be intelligible to the layman."

What has chiefly interested us in examining the volume has been the remarkable accuracy of the theological and specifically Catholic terms. Absence of bigotry was what we anticipated in a work of scholars intended for the American public; but the absence of the Protestant stock phrases and terminology is what we gladly note and the correctness of description of things peculiarly Catholic and generally misunderstood. Turning to the preface we find to our further satisfaction that the department of theological and ecclesiastical terms has received very special attention: that whilst avoiding all partisanship the editors have endeavoured that the meanings of special terms should be so worded as to convey to the reader "the actual intent of those who accept" the doctrines, &c. implied; and that as a help to this, representative divines of various bodies have been consulted (by Dr. Lyman, the editor of this department) as to their own particular definitions; and that as to Catholic matters a very competent authority, indeed, has been thus consulted, viz., the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thos. S. Preston of New York—who, we may add, is not unknown on this side of the Atlantic through his writings in the cause of religion. If we turn to such words as Ablution, Agnus Dei, Alb, Baptism, Banns, Cardinal, Canon, Canonical Hours, Chrism, we find exceptionally correct definitions, sometimes more amply stated than one could expect. Under Baptism, for example, will be found among other subordinate headings explanations of Baptism of Blood, of Desire and of Fire, the correct meaning of "Baptism of Bells," &c., and a full statement of the essential Catholic belief as to Baptism and the tenets of Greeks, Anglicans, Baptists, Friends, &c. Under "Banns" we have the precise information that in the Roman Catholic Church a marriage celebrated without previous proclamation of banns (except with dispensation from such publication) is illicit, but not invalid. We gladly note also the general fairness and the adequacy of the long article of nearly two columns devoted to the word "Catholic," including such subordinate headings as Catholic Emancipation and Old Catholics. In the second volume similar commendation is deserved for several special articles. The one on "Cross" occupies four columns; in that on "Deacon," our present usage of calling a deacon any assistant to the officiant bishop or priest, who assists in dalmatic, even when he is a priest or only a subdeacon, is correctly noted. A word of special praise ought to be given to the numerous illustrations which are not only artistically wonderful in delicacy of line and perfection of printing—the "Century" artists have accustomed us to this—but they are well selected, really illustrative, chosen by the special editors, and generally original, drawn and engraved for the work. In the architectural articles they have, however, often been selected from Viollet le Duc's great work, and nothing could be better (see—*e.g.*, under Abbey,

Apparel of Albs, Basilica, Bénitier, &c.). We must restrain ourselves from further specification of details; suffice it to say that the various types used, the paper, and the printing are all admirable. The weak point we notice is the cloth binding—unequal to the weight of so heavy a volume—but the remedy is to buy the half-bound copy, or to take the work in the half-volumes. Certainly this great work deserves to be considered, so far as the English language is concerned, and for its size, not only the Century Dictionary, but the Dictionary of the Century.

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*The Ave Maria.* A Catholic Family Magazine, Devoted to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by a Priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Vol xxix. July-December. 1889. Notre Dame, Indiana (U.S.A.): *Ave Maria* Office. 1889.

WE have more than once expressed our high estimation of the *Ave Maria* as a family magazine; indeed, it seems to us to be an ideal weekly for a Catholic household, it is so successful a combination of entertaining and useful Catholic matter. Some of the best American and English writers contribute to it, its instructive pieces are solid, its tales are worth reading as tales; and the magazine has none of that flimsiness or exaggeration too often the characteristic of a religious popular journal. If we note from the Index a few items:—"The Alleged Ante-Mortem Funeral of Charles V.," by Rev. Reuben Parsons, D.D.; "Bruno and Campanella," and "Could Charlemagne Write?" by the same author; "The Origin and History of the Angelus," by Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL.D.; "Fair Verona," "The Martyrs of Molokai," "A Poetic Pilgrimage in Italy," by Charles Warren Stoddard; "Footprints of Heroines," an excellent series for girls by the Comtesse de Courson, and add also the names of Mrs. Anna T. Sadlier, Dr. John Gilmary Shea, Miss Clara Mulholland, Dr. Henry F. Brownson, Maurice F. Egan, and Miss Catherine Tynan, from amongst the authors of other articles, whose titles would occupy too much space, we shall have indicated sufficiently the kind of contributors who help the editor to keep the *Ave Maria* up to the high mark of excellence for which it has so often been praised. All our libraries, and any home that can afford to do so, ought to take it.

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*Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations.* By Sir G. F. DUCKETT, Bart. London: 1890.

CONSIDERABLE attention has lately been paid to the ancient English monasteries. What is of special interest to most inquirers into this great field of research is the new light that is shed upon the domestic life of monks and nuns by documents recently published. The world is just beginning to understand that about this phase of social life in the middle ages it knows hardly anything. We in England have long been contented to take our



mental pictures of conventual existence from the descriptions of those, who from ignorance or wilfulness, have at best presented a caricature of the reality. Now, however, students of our social manners and customs have discovered that this almost unworked field presents much that is of interest to the inquirer, and a knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for any true estimate of mediæval England.

Putting on one side the monastic consuetudinaries, or the written law by which the religious communities lived and their superiors governed, there are no documents which reveal the inner life of the cloister like the records of visitations. These private documents, recording the examinations into discipline and daily life, the personal opinions and prejudices of individuals, their difficulties, dislikes and fancies, together with the mature judgment of the visitor on the matters grave and trivial presented to him, are most valuable indications of the general character of conventual life. Those who would read them rightly, however, must remember that this outpouring of hearts was never meant to reach any ear but that of the father who had come to comfort and correct, and that the recorded judgment was not intended to be weighed and criticised by a generation of men, to whom the very method of life is little more than an antiquarian curiosity.

Some two years ago, considerable interest was evoked by the publication by the Camden Society of a set of Episcopal visitations of the religious houses in the diocese of Norwich with a charming introduction by Dr. Jessop. The small volume now printed by Sir George Duckett deals with another class of visitations, which we may say at once will not be of very general interest. As a compliment to Sir George's work on the records and charter of the Cluny houses the student of monastic records will certainly welcome the volume before us, but there is really not much light thrown upon the daily life of the houses concerned by the documents here given. The visitations were for the most part made in the thirteenth century, and portions of two others in the two subsequent centuries are added. The question with which the visitors sent by the Abbey of Cluny was chiefly concerned appears to have been the financial condition of the dependent priory. Speaking generally their report was decidedly unfavourable in this respect. Of the rest, the editor says: "There is an absence of detail in all, as to some domestic concerns of the convent, which we believe to have been narrowly looked into, and where such is wanting, it is fair to assume that silence was deemed more prudent than publicity" (p. 10). We must confess that we do not think this a fair assumption at all, firstly because it is reasonable to suppose in the absence of proof to the contrary that the visitors would do their duty in sending in a true and faithful report, and secondly, because these reports were never intended even for the "publicity," which after so many centuries Sir G. Duckett gives them. Moreover, if we rightly read what is written the visitors in almost every case gave high praise to the general discipline and

observance of the houses visited, and there is consequently no ground for the suggestion that the real state of "the domestic concerns of the convent" was covered up in silence.

Unfortunately, we are not given the documents themselves; but only "a *literal* translation, in respect of purport and sense, but one as *free* and unrestrained as is compatible with the original." (p. 10.) Not even Sir George Duckett's defence of this method of translation, which he attempts in a note, prevents us from recording our regret that neither the actual text, nor an exact translation is given us. If the Latin documents had been printed, we should have forgiven the editor his *free* translation; but there are indications that lead us to distrust the translation which Sir George has adopted as his own. We will take one example: What can possibly be the meaning of calling a Cluniac monk a *canon*, and translating the term *conventualis ecclesia* by a "church of regular canons?" Still, we are in these matters thankful for small mercies, and must conclude with a regret that Sir George Duckett has found no more to give us of Cluniac Visitations than the fifty pages of large print.

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*Loreto, the New Nazareth; or, the History of the Holy House.* By  
WILLIAM GARRATT, M.A. London: Burns & Oates.

IN a small volume, beautifully printed and enriched with numerous illustrations, Mr. W. Garratt gives all the historical facts connected with the transference of the Holy House from Nazareth, first to Dalmatia, and thence to its present position at Loreto. Beginning his task with an interesting and devoutly written description of the present state of the city and of the basilica, he minutely describes the Holy House itself, its foundations (or rather, its lack of all foundation), its dimensions, stones, mortar, timber, and frescoes—all of which, as he points out, bear witness to its being what it is claimed to be. The thirty following pages narrate the facts of the translation itself, with the mission of the delegates, who went to Nazareth under great difficulties to investigate the report of its disappearance. Part III. of the work inquires into the preservation of the Santa Casa at Nazareth, before the translation; and here the writer makes considerable use of the "Dissertation of Benedict XIV.," though the absence of exact references makes it doubtful, whether he quotes from the *De Canonizatione* or the *De Festis*. It is rather too much to say that the Sovereign Pontiffs "have taken all necessary means to be assured," that the Santa Casa is really the dwelling of Mary and Joseph; none of them, as far as we are aware, have done more than state it to be a pious belief. That Loreto is a most favoured sanctuary, where Almighty God, through the intercession of His Blessed Mother, has bestowed, and bestows, innumerable graces, is quite certain. What happened there to St. Francis de Sales would alone suffice to prove this.

*Father Perry, F.R.S., the Jesuit Astronomer.* By A. L. CORTIE, S.J.  
London: The Catholic Truth Society. 1890.

THIS is a concise and interesting memoir of the great astronomer, sympathetically written, and which is sure to be widely acceptable. The first chapter is devoted to a sketch of Father Perry's life and virtues. Three following chapters portray Father Perry as a lecturer; with a Summary of his Meteorological, Magnetic, and Astronomical Work; and give an account of his Scientific Voyages. The concluding chapters describe his last journey and death. One lays down the little book with regret, recognising how profound a loss to science and religion was the untimely death of this distinguished Jesuit.

The book is embellished with a portrait of Father Perry, a sketch-map showing the places visited by him in his scientific journeys, and other illustrations, some of which are from photographs by Father Perry himself, including one of "The Solar Corona," of Dec. 22, 1889. A valuable Appendix gives a "List of Father Perry's Scientific Papers," notes on his observations on "Faculæ," and "Veiled Spots;" and a "Sonnet" from the *Demerara Catholic Calendar*, which deserves quotation:—

#### TRUE SCIENCE.

"Lo! one," saith Christ, "who took Me for his guide,  
Walked by My light, clung to My wounded hand,  
Knowing one only fear, lest in the land  
Of death and sin, through weakness or through pride,  
He should be severed from his Saviour's side;  
For he was numbered of that chosen band,  
Who lead their fellows, and in knowledge stand,  
Like Saul among his warriors, glorified.  
A Saul in stature, but a child in heart,  
Nor proud, nor jealous, nor presumptuous he.  
Whate'er he learnt from heaven's luminous chart,  
Yon flame-wreathed orb, you starred immensity,  
Made him more loyal and more dear to Me.  
God was his science, God's love was all his art."

*Principles of Religious Life.* By the Very Rev. FRANCIS CUTHBERT DOYLE, O. S. B. Second Edition. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.

IT is seven years since the first edition of Father Doyle's "Principles" appeared, and it is gratifying to find that a second has now been called for. The writer has gone through the work with great care, and made numerous corrections and amendments. One or two of the definitions have been altered for the better. The substance and form of the treatise is as it was. The Religious Life, Perfection, Charity, Humility, Prayer, and Meditation, are first treated; then we have a useful essay on Grace and Merit, intended, it would

appear, chiefly for those religious of the female sex who have but a short novitiate and much hard work in teaching and ministration. A clearly written chapter on Docility to the Holy Spirit leads to the Imitation of Christ, Mortification, and the vows of religion. There is a very full analytical Appendix, for the use of preachers, and for learners. An Index concludes the volume.

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*The Liturgical Year.* By DOM PROSPER GUÉRANGER, Abbot of Solesmes. Translated from the French. (Time after Pentecost, vol. iii.) Dublin: James Duffy. 1890.

THIS is the twelfth volume of Dom Guéranger's "Année Liturgique" in English. There is no need to tell our readers that it is not by the hand of the great Benedictine himself. Dying before he could complete his work, he left it to his brethren and disciples to finish what he had begun, and to work up as well as they could the numerous notes which he had prepared. The French edition of this volume has been delayed, the writer tells us, by the persecution which the Solesmes Fathers, in common with other religions in France, have had to undergo. The translation, too, is by a fresh hand. Dom Lawrence Shepherd only lived to finish the tenth volume. The present one is by a member of the community of Our Lady of Consolation, Stanbrook. As far as we have been able to examine, it is extremely well done. Dom Guéranger's style is a little difficult to imitate—and the French continuer has evidently tried to imitate it. Perhaps we miss the devout felicity of his phrase, and find a little too much strain and effort to say what is striking. But the volume is wonderfully like its predecessors—with its liturgical wealth, its reverence for the Church, and its gleanings of prayer and praise from saints and ecclesiastical poets. The translator has had to follow the French, and she has found the sentences in many places somewhat stiff and pedantic. In spite of this, the work as a whole reads easily, and will be found, like its predecessors, to be a valuable assistance to devotion and to the understanding of the spirit of the Church. This volume contains the saints for June, and the beginning of July. There are some very full and interesting chapters—such as those on St. Clotilde, St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Basil, St. Alban, St. Irenæus, St. Peter, and St. Paul.

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*Church and State under the Tudors.* By GILBERT W. CHILD, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford. London and New York: Longmans Green & Co. 1890.

THERE is much ability manifest in this volume, and the author writes with considerable terseness and power. There is much in it, however, in matters of detail from which we should vehemently dissent, whilst as to its drift and endeavour we are unable to learn what exactly the author thinks is the true nature of the functions of



“Church” and of “State” respectively, and what relations of harmony and subordination ought to exist between them. At the late hour at which the volume reaches us we cannot find time or space to discuss his principles and more important judgments. But we feel interested to note with what emphasis and reiteration he dwells on the historical fact that the Church in England, from earliest times to Henry VIII., was the Church of Rome pure and simple. The value of this testimony is not lessened by the absence of any recognition of or even sympathy with either Pope or Papal claims. In numerous places Mr. Child condemns in very unsparing language where we cannot follow him and cannot but consider him mistaken. In the negotiations with Rome for the divorce from Katherine of Arragon, Clement VII., he says, was “troubled by no scruple whatever . . . even regarding the most elementary considerations of right and wrong.” And he gives as his deliberate estimate of Clement that, “of the many odious characters which meet us in the history of the sixteenth century, that of Clement VII. is the most despicable by far.” Again, not only would he once more stigmatise Queen Mary with the “bloody” which more enlightened history has of late removed from her name, but by one bold stroke he undertakes to show the illegitimacy of Mary and the legitimacy of Elizabeth. “I confess,” he says, “that to my own mind it appears perfectly clear that great as may be the sympathy which is naturally called up in our minds by the hard measure dealt out to Queen Katherine, yet that in fact, and in law, she never was the lawful wife of Henry, and the Princess Mary was *ab initio* illegitimate.” Poor Queen Katherine comes in for this hard judgment apparently because Mr. Child considers there was sufficient evidence that the marriage between Katherine and Prince Arthur was a consummated one. These judgments notwithstanding, the author recognises that the question between Henry and Rome was purely a personal one, an act of rebellion, in fact, on the part of an unscrupulous and self-willed despot, and not any desire of his to desert even the most special of Roman tenets. In some introductory pages the author shows the unmistakable *Roman* Catholicism of both Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches: neither of which was a “national church” in the modern sense. “Bishop Stubbs,” he writes, “states repeatedly and expressly that the Church of England was not, even in Anglo-Saxon times, merely the religious organisation of the nation, *but a portion of a much greater organisation.*” The Norman Conquest, placed the English Church in closer connection with the Churches of the Continent, and introduced ecclesiastical as separate courts, and “a system of appeals ultimately to the courts of Rome.” Much has been made of the controversial point that Roman Canon-law was not admitted in England, but as Mr. Child shows, the judge very often decided less by book than by his own knowledge and experience, and he was either a bishop or his nominee, and “an error of judgment could be corrected at the Supreme Court of Church Judicature at Rome.”

All these taken together [he writes] make it a difficult matter to resist the conclusion that Roman Canon-law became practically the Church law of England, except in the few cases in which local custom held its own because it was worth no one's while to upset, or in those in which it came into actual conflict with the statute law of the State. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the procedure in the new ecclesiastical courts, which at first appears to have had a tendency to retain its præ-Norman form, was, after a brief period, "adapted to the customary procedure of the Roman law," and that a regular system of appeals to Rome was established, which Henry II. and other sovereigns were able to restrain and modify only to a very limited extent, and that *only by pleading a privilege* [it is we who italicise] *specially granted by the Apostolic See*, which excused English subjects from the liability of personal attendance at Rome (p. 6).

It is well to say that here Mr. Child is following the Report of the late Commission on the constitution, &c., of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and especially the Appendix thereto contributed by Bishop Stubbs. The Western Church up to the Reformation was one and indivisible, and England was only a part of the great whole, subject like the rest to the Pope of Rome. This Mr. Child emphatically maintains in the interests of historical fact and truth, and not because it appeals to his taste or his sympathy—apparently quite otherwise; for he thus reflects:

Had the Church in England been in truth the Church of England, a Becket, or even a Dunstan, would have been impossible; it was just because they could fall back upon a foreign power independent of and formidable to the government of their own country, that those prelates were enabled to treat with their own sovereigns as on equal terms (p. 11).

Whether or not this sentence sufficiently proclaims the Erastianism of Mr. Child; it and many similar indications of estrangement from Catholic sympathies and principles makes his testimony to the absolute historical impossibility of the "continuity" theory the more valuable. Through forty pages of introduction this is the "burthen of his song," that throughout the pre-Reformation period, the relation between England and Rome "was constant and close," and moreover "was one of dependence and deference on the part of England, and of authority on that of Rome." He then enters into the consideration of the changes which began in the relations between Church and State during the reigns of Henry and Edward, of Mary and Elizabeth. Into these chapters, which form the substance of his book, we cannot enter, at least at this moment, but the prevailing reflection we make from his clearly written pages is his own. Prior to Henry VIII., England was Roman Catholic. "From the time of Henry VIII.'s Acts of Supremacy and of Submission of the Clergy, the Church of England was as its whole history shows, simply a department of the State." Was this "Continuity or Collapse?" to quote the title of the excellent little book elsewhere noticed by us this quarter. Whether Mr. Child would call the latter alternative "collapse," his book certainly has been written for nothing so much as to insist that it is not and cannot be "Continuity." A last

extract will be pardoned, both for its matter and as a specimen of the author's manner.

It is difficult to study the actual facts of sixteenth century history, putting apart pre-conceived ecclesiastical theories, without arriving at the conclusion that the English national Church was as completely the creation of Henry VIII., Edward's Council, and Elizabeth, as Saxon Protestantism was of Luther, or Swiss of Calvin or of Zwingli. . . . The history of the Church in England was continuous from the mission of Augustine—or, if we prefer it, from the Synod of Whitby—to the time when Henry VIII., upon a disagreement with the Pope about his divorce, cast off his allegiance to the Papacy. From that time to the present, with the short interval between the reconciliation under Mary and Elizabeth's first Parliament, it has been severed from and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church; and as the latter was before precisely that which it has continued since, it is clear that the former must have been something not the same; and it is not the mere retention of a few names and titles, used in a kind of "second intention," and a few more or less maimed and amputated rites, which will ever make persons intelligently instructed believe that an establishment which obviously is the mere creature of a single State, is the legitimate and adequate representative of that imposing and magnificent Western Church, which is older than any existing State in Europe and grander than anything that the world has ever seen, and which has been picturesquely described by an old writer as "the ghost of the old Roman Empire sitting robed and crowned on the grave thereof." A fair consideration of the actual facts of the Tudor history serves further to show that a theory like that which prevails so widely at present which represents the English Church in any other light than that of one (though it may, perhaps, be admitted, the greatest and most dignified) of the many Protestant Churches which arose in the sixteenth century, is a novelty which took its very earliest rise some half century or more after the separation from Rome, as a direct consequence of Elizabeth's determination to give no quarter to the earlier Puritans, and which made little or no progress for another half century still. The evidence is simply overwhelming which shows that, during the whole period from 1552 onwards, the English Church was considered, by friends and foes alike, to be for all intents and purposes one with the Swiss churches of Zurich and Geneva (pp. 272-4).

We have only to add that the body of the volume is followed by a bulky Appendix containing some fifty pages of various *pièces justificatives*, and a hundred pages of parliamentary statutes given *in extenso*; they illustrate the changes made by Parliament from the 23rd of Henry VIII. to Elizabeth's reign. One of these is chap. viii. of 1 & 2 of Philip and Mary, the Act, "repealing all articles and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome," &c., and confirming ecclesiastical possessions to their lay possessors. The documents of this lengthy Appendix will be of real value to students.

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*The Word.* By the Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

THIS is not meant to be, and is not, a profound book. The title—*The Word*—is indeed taken in its theological sense for the second person of the Holy Trinity, yet the book is written in a simple and interesting style, and, as the author tells us, is meant

for the unlearned. It is both doctrinal and ethical, and may convey a great deal of instruction to the readers, for whom it is intended. The writer is, of course, a Protestant, but we note that he frequently reminds the reader, the term *Word* refers to the Divine Son of God. He gives plain, popular proofs of God's existence, and answers, in a simple way, some of the ordinary objections of the day on this point. He shows that all things were made by the "Word," that He is present everywhere in His own creation, that He is the great "Idea" of all thought, and the standard of all law and truth.

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1. *Little Dick's Christmas Carols, and other Tales.* By AMY FOWLER. London: R. Washbourne.
  2. *The Jolly Harper Man and his Good Fortune, and other Amusing Tales.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.
  3. *Irish Fairy Tales.* By EDMUND LEAMY, M.P. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
  4. *Marie and Paul: a Fragment.* By "Our Little Woman." London: Burns & Oates.

1. **T**HE authoress of the first book on the above list, Miss Amy Fowler, is now better known as "Sister Rose Gertrude," the volunteer nurse to the lepers of Molokai. Her little volume of tales for the young was published some four years ago, and was noticed at the time in our pages, but there are probably not a few persons who would now like to procure it for the sake of the writer, and we therefore mention it again. The stories themselves, six in number, are simply told, but with some pathos: they set forth the struggles of certain uneducated boys and girls to become good, and show the good that lurks within rough and unlikely exteriors, the waifs and strays of our city streets—the young ones in whose welfare the self-sacrificing authoress took much interest. The narratives bring out, too, the elevating power of the Sacraments over such natures. "Little Dick's Carol," the title story, is pathetic, but "Tom White's Repentance" is the best of the tales; poor Tom is so very natural a boy.

2. "The Jolly Harper Man" is only one (and not the first on the list) of no less than 37 stories which fill 280 pages. Some of the stories are improbable, some impossible, and some of them most amusing where most impossible; and they are all short. They have been gathered, apparently, from a variety of sources; but the American element, represented by the Peterkins, who have a picnic and a dinner, and resolve to keep a cow, in different parts of the volume, is the least satisfactory. The book is nicely printed and bound: boys will appreciate it.

3. Mr. Edmund Leamy, the Member for South Sligo, has produced a little volume of "Irish Fairy Tales," which will delight his young boy and girl readers; for they abound in wonders and transforma-



tions in the most approved old-fashioned fairy style. The princes and princesses, under whatever strange disguises, are helped invariably by the fairy queen; and finally, either over the golden bridge, which appears as a matter of course, or floating through space to fairy music, they are released, and restored to happiness and to each other. These tales, however, will also have an interest for older lovers of folk-lore, as they are either founded, or their main incidents are founded, on legends and romances of ancient Ireland, very erudite references to which are given in a series of notes at the end of the volume.

4. "Marie and Paul" are brother and sister, whom we meet in the opening chapter making their first Communion in a French village, and whom we leave at the close, the one happily married, and the other starting for a life of self-sacrifice on the foreign missions. The sad incidents of war form the main and most spirited portion of what is an unfinished, and somewhat sad, yet attractive story.

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*The Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber, D.D.* By JOHN EDWARD BOWDEN. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS is a reprint of the first edition; through there is nothing to indicate it, not even a date on the title page. Our readers do not need to be told who Father Faber was; he yet lives in his spiritual writings. His works are still the delight of a large circle of readers in English speaking countries; and in translations, are held abroad even in greater esteem than at home; at least, we believe this is true of the French clergy and the French edition. Many, however, of Father Faber's admirers may very likely not have read his "Life and Letters;" we earnestly recommend them to do so, we can promise them a veritable treat. In it, Father Faber yet charms and edifies us by the gentleness of his manner, the holiness of his life, and the burning zeal that filled his heart. We have not forgotten the time when this book first fascinated us by the picture which it revealed of the great Oratorian, and it is a pleasure to see that there is still a demand for one of our most delightful Catholic biographies.

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1. *Un Corsair Malouin: Robert Surcouf.* Par ROBERT SURCOUF. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et C<sup>ie</sup>.

2. *Les Anglais et les Hollandais dans les mers polaires et dans la mer des Indes.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1890.

1 EVERY Englishman is familiar with the story of the glorious naval battles during the Napoleonic wars. But few are aware that during these same wars the French captured 20,000 of our merchant vessels. While their ships of war dared not stir from port, numbers of privateers of a few hundred tons burden and manned by hardy

Breton seamen, stole out and played havoc with British commerce. These little craft, admirably constructed and skilfully handled, could race away from the line-of-battle ships and frigates, and could easily overhaul the heavily-laden Indiamen. The boldest and most successful of the maritime guerillas was Robert Surcouf. Sprung from an Irish family settled in France, he was born at St. Malo in 1773. His career at school was a short one. He was always at the bottom of his class, and the ringleader in mischief. When barely twelve years old, he ran away from school and took to the sea. In 1794 he took part in driving off the English vessels blockading the Mauritius. The bravery and ability which he displayed on this occasion, gained him the command of a small vessel plying between the island and the mainland of Africa. In 1795 he was appointed to the *Emilie*, and entered on his career of privateers man. His plan was to cruise about the track of the shipping engaged in the Indian trade, to pounce on every merchantman and give the war-ships a wide berth. In those days merchant-vessels were often heavily armed, and consequently Surcouf had many a tough fight for his prizes. The story of these combats gives ample proof of the bravery and skill of the French seamen. Surcouf's greatest exploit was the capture of the *Kent*, a large vessel of 1200 tons burden, belonging to the East India Company, armed with 38 guns, and having 437 men on board. His own ship, the *Confiance*, mounted only 26 guns and was manned by 130 Frenchmen and some mulattos. As usual, he quickly ran his vessel alongside the enemy and boarded. A fierce and prolonged struggle ensued. More than once the English nearly succeeded in driving back the boarding-party, but at length Surcouf himself came to the aid of his men. Just then a hand-grenade hurled from the main-top of the *Confiance*, struck the English captain, Rivington. This disaster decided the combat. The magnificent Indiaman with her rich cargo was carried in triumph to Port Maurice. The hero of this glorious contest had not completed his twenty-seventh year! We may judge of the terror which his name inspired when we read that the East India Company offered a reward of £10,000 for his capture.

At the renewal of the war in 1803, Napoleon sent for Surcouf and offered him the command of two ships of war. The privateer refused, much to Napoleon's surprise. "If I had the honour of being like you at the head of the government," said Surcouf, "I would leave all my ships of the line in port. I would never fight against the British fleets. I would put on every sea a multitude of light vessels, which would soon destroy the shipping of England, and then she would be at your mercy. Without her trade she cannot live." The First Consul was much struck with this speech, but he pointed out that he could not abolish the French navy. Perhaps he was thinking about his descent upon England. At any rate, the Breton privateer's advice was not taken, and Trafalgar was the result. Surcouf remained faithful to Napoleon, and eventually died at St. Servan in 1827.

It is evident that the hero's grand-nephew, M. Surcouf, has had a most interesting subject to write upon. He has given us a book which is full of thrilling incidents, and is at the same time most instructive. The English reader cannot be expected to find the same delight in it as Surcouf's own compatriots, but the story of a brave foe is ever welcome to a generous mind. It is a pity that the English expressions and quotations given in the work are very inaccurately printed. And surely Surcouf speaking to Napoleon when First Consul, could not have mentioned Trafalgar (p. 281).

2. Time does not seem to diminish the literary activity of the veteran Vice-Admiral de la Gravière. His latest volumes, on the discoveries made at the end of the sixteenth and at the opening of the seventeenth centuries, are written with perhaps greater picturesqueness than any of their predecessors. No doubt this is to some extent due to the variety of the scenes of the events which he records. He contrives with admirable art to carry us "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand." The heroes of the great discoveries, too, are drawn with that consummate skill which has already given us lifelike portraits of Doria, Barbarossa and Don John of Austria. Half pirates and half merchants, ready to trade or to rob, according to the strength or weakness of the natives, living from day to day on the barest necessities of life, a prey to attacks of savages and of the scurvy, they ventured in frail barks with only rude instruments, and with hardly any maps or plans, into seas which superstition represented as the homes of gorgons and chimeras. When we read of the daring deeds of Frobisher and Cavendish, Barentz and Houtman, Baffin and Davis, we feel proud of them and think lowly of ourselves. But the reader will be especially interested in the account of Henry Hudson, the noblest of them all—against whom no accusation of violence or even of mercantile avidity can be brought—who was guided only by a desire to extend the sphere of man's knowledge of the earth and his dominion over it. Few stories are more pathetic than that of the great discoverer cut adrift with his young son and a few sick sailors to perish of cold and hunger in the bay which bears his name.

T. B. S.

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*Letters of Horace Walpole.* Selected and Edited by CHARLES DUKE YONGE, M.A. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two volumes. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

THERE is no need now-a-days to speak in praise of Walpole's Letters: They have taken their place as a storehouse of information and as the classic model of higher correspondence. A complete edition, however, is too expensive for the purse of most book-buyers, and too voluminous for the time of most readers. Mr. Yonge deserves our thanks for giving us a fairly ample selection. His introduction and notes, however, by no means call for our gratitude. Whatever may be his merits as an author, and he is careful

to refer over and over again to his writings, he is singularly unfitted for the post of editor. Any one who undertakes to edit a work must bear in mind that he is only a servant in attendance on the author. It is his business to usher in the great man. He must then keep in the background and hold his tongue until he is asked to speak. No one cares for his opinions, although, of course, his information as to fact may be of great value. What he has to say should be said briefly and simply. Now this office is too menial for Mr. Yonge. Jack is as good as his master. He is continually putting forward himself and his opinions; he speaks when he is not wanted to do so; what he says is often extremely inaccurate; and he cannot tell us the merest fact except in pompous and involved language. That this estimate of Mr. Yonge's labours is not too severe may be seen from the following quotations. Accuracy is the first requisite in notes. What then is to be thought of "Vandreuel" for Vaudreuil, "Campau" for Campan, "Maupéon" for Maupéou, "De Barri" for Du Barri, "Chandemagore" for Chandernagore? Who is "Tassom" (ii. p. 269)? And, oh! shades of Macaulay, why is Richardson's masterpiece named "*Clarissa Harbour*" (ii. p. 236)? Mr. Yonge may reply that these are misprints, and that he ought to have read the proofs more carefully. But this will not account for the errors which are now to be mentioned. Mr. Yonge takes care to tell us that he has written a Constitutional History of England from 1760-1860. He ought, therefore, to know that the sinecure conferred by Pitt upon Colonel Barré was not called the clerkship of the Rolls (ii. p. 179), but of the Pells, and that the court in which election petitions are tried is not "the High Court of Law" (ii. p. 159), but a division of the High Court of Justice. Perhaps it is too much to expect an editor to have some knowledge of Church history. Walpole mentions Borgia. Mr. Yonge informs us that Pope Sextus VI. is referred to (i. p. 233)! Walpole was a bigoted opponent of the Jesuits. Mr. Yonge, not to be behindhand, has penned this note: "The Duke of Aveiro was offended with the King of Portugal for interfering to prevent his son's marriage, and in revenge he plotted his assassination. He procured the co-operation . . . of some of the chief Jesuits in the country, who promised absolution to any assassin. The attempt was made on September 3, when the king was fired at and severely wounded. The conspirators were all convicted and executed, and the Jesuits were expelled from the country" (i. p. 158). Even when Mr. Yonge's information is correct it is often quite needless. Thus Walpole speaks of Crew, Bishop of Durham. Mr. Yonge tells us in a note "Crew was Bishop of Durham" (i. p. 156). There is a silly note of eighteen lines on Lord Bacon (i. p. 103). Who cares for Mr. Yonge's estimate of Turgot's finance or of Pitt's statesmanship, or of Fox's oratory? Twice we are told that there was no foundation for the scandalous reports about the Princess of Wales (George III.'s mother) and Bute (i. p. 137 and ii. p. 7). Madame Du Deffand's career is also described twice (Intro. xxii. and vol. ii. 38). The comparison between the letters of Madame de



Sévigné, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and Walpole is given no less than three times (Introd. xxvi. vol. i. 226, vol. ii. 263). It may be observed in passing that these blemishes have not been detected by means of an index. Mr. Yonge takes care to give none, although it is most requisite in a book of memoirs.

Mr. Yonge's style is a worthy vehicle of the matter contained in his introduction and notes. Here are some choice specimens :

Frederick the Great was saved from the worst consequences of the blow by jealousies which sprang up between the Austrian and Russian commanders, and preventing them from profiting by their victory as they might have done (i. 173).

Walpole being fond of society, and, from his position as the Minister's son, naturally courted by many of the chief men in the different cities which they visited ; while Gray was of a reserved character, shunning the notice of strangers and fixing his attention on more serious subjects than Walpole found attractive (Introd. xv).

. . . . The "Castle of Otranto" which, as he explains it in one of his letters, owed its origin to a dream (Introd. xix).

Mr. Pinkerton was a Scotch lawyer, who published a volume entitled "Letters on Literature," under the name of Heron ; which, however, he afterwards suppressed as full of ill-considered ideas, which was not strange, as he was only twenty-five (ii. p. 260).

In spite of Mr. Yonge's efforts, these handsome volumes deserve to be widely circulated. They are well printed on good paper, and are adorned with a number of excellent portraits and illustrations.

T. B. S.

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*The Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary.* By EDWARD COX, author of "The Wanderers : " a Drama, &c. &c. London : R. Washbourne. 18

THIS is a new volume of "The Catholic Premium Book-Library," containing two tales for the young, which are both interesting and instructive.

From Messrs. Burns & Oates we have also two short and simple stories for young folks. "Little Nell," by FRANCIS NOBLE ; and a new edition of "Among the Fairies," by the author of "Alice Leighton."

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*Thomæ à Kempis, De Imitatione Christi.* Libri quatuor. Textum edidit, considerationes ad cujusque libri singula capita ex ceteris ejusdem Thomæ à Kempis opusculis collegit et adjecit HERMANNUS GERLACH, Canonicus Limburgens. Opus posthumum. Friburgi : Herder.

THE late Canon Gerlach, of Limburg, set himself to prepare an edition of the "Imitation" enriched by appropriate considerations gathered from the other genuine works of à Kempis. We congratulate the editor, a friend of the late Canon, who has prepared

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OCTOBER, 1890.

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ART. I.—PETER NOT CÆSAR; OR, MR. ALLIES'  
"PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM."

WHEN the late Cardinal Newman was asked, towards the end of his life, to name "the strongest book he knew in exposition, first, of the *idea* of the Catholic Church, and next, of the position and aspect of the Anglican Communion relatively to that idea," he selected Mr. Allies' "Per Crucem ad Lucem."\*

It would be impossible to bestow higher praise on Mr. Allies' book. It may well be a source of satisfaction to him that he has been spared to present to the Church a work consisting of six volumes, for which he has received the blessing of Leo XIII., and which has been the instrument of not a few conversions. The particular volumes to which Cardinal Newman referred are the first and second; but we happen to know that he looked upon the succeeding volumes as also deserving the highest praise. They are really the historical proof in greater detail of the positive portion of the two first volumes. "The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son," and "The Holy See, and the Wandering of the Nations," contain, indeed, some of the most fascinating pages it has ever been our lot to read. The whole set is unique in its adaptation to the peculiarities of the Anglican position. Written by an Eton and Oxford scholar, once an English clergyman, who was considered by many of us in the Church of England to have written its best defence, Mr. Allies, after experiencing the grace of conversion, and acting as professor in a Catholic University,

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\* "Per Crucem ad Lucem." By T. W. Allies, M.A. 2 vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. "Church and State," "The Throne of the Fisherman," and "The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations." London: Messrs. Burns & Oates.

has had advantages for his work which few have enjoyed. If we add to this, that he appears to have continued his studies uninterruptedly for the last forty years, we need not be surprised that he should have had the happiness of writing a series of volumes which commended themselves to our late Cardinal, as the best *detailed* exposition of the controversy between Rome and England.

At a time, therefore, like the present, when there are signs of a return on the part of many good Anglicans to the bosom of the Church, it may be of use to give some account of the argument which so commended itself to the great Cardinal's mind.

His Eminence tells us in the same letter from which we have quoted, that the argument on which he himself relied, in dealing with inquirers was, that the Church is not simply a family, "as Anglicans make it," and that Apostolical succession is not sufficient. "The Church," he says, "is a state or kingdom, which has jurisdiction, which a mere patriarchal body has not. An Apostolical succession does not constitute a *state* (*i.e.*, a kingdom), which is the Scriptural 'idea' of the Church." Words worth their weight in gold, coming, as they do, with the power of a saintly life, on which death, alas ! has now set its seal.

Now this argument of the Cardinal's is precisely the burden of Mr. Allies' writings.\* Jurisdiction, he says, is the keynote of the question between Rome and England. What is it, and whence is it derived by divine right, if so derived at all ?

What is the Anglican reply to these questions? Bishop Stubbs says that "the Bishop has jurisdiction in himself." †

But he is evidently using the word in a limited sense, for he cannot mean that the Bishop gives mission to himself; nor can he mean that there is no appeal beyond a Bishop. And yet actual jurisdiction must at least, according to any definition, include this. Bishop Stubbs would hardly maintain that all conceivable causes in spiritual matters can be settled by the Bishop of the Diocese. He tells us indeed, in the same paper, that the question of jurisdiction, "belongs to the general subject of the supremacy claimed by the See of Rome, and the *independence of National Churches.*" ‡

\* In this article, we do not enter upon the question of the validity of Anglican orders. The argument is addressed to those who believe in their validity. It convicts the Catholic Bishops of Henry VIII.'s time of sinful compliance with a rebellious act, and the Elizabethan Bishops of the sin of schism, even supposing their orders to be valid.

† "Eastern Church Association Papers," No. I.

‡ A sample of the extraordinary manipulation of history which is resorted to in order to prove the existence of an "independent National Church" in pre-Reformation times, is to be found in the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It speaks (p. 18) of "the Canons passed in Legatine Councils under

Jurisdiction, according to this view of it, lies with the National Church, and appeals cannot be carried outside the province or provinces which are coterminous with the nation. In England, it is clear that the ultimate appeal would be either to the Episcopate of the province or provinces which are included in the nation, or to the Crown. But the Episcopate to which Bishop Stubbs belongs, owns allegiance to some form of supremacy in the Crown. This is, according to the teaching of the Church of England in her Articles of Religion, (which every clergyman has to read aloud on taking spiritual charge of a district or parish) a supremacy which is not unscriptural. Only such powers are (it is there stated) permitted to the Crown as were given to certain "godly princes" by Almighty God in the Scriptural record. Who these "godly princes" were we do not know; but we are sure that the powers given to the Crown, in the days of Elizabeth, and ever since, by the Church of England, are in violation of the laws which the Divine Head of the Church enacted for His kingdom, as related in the Holy Gospels. And this is what Mr. Allies sets himself to prove. He shows \* that the Church is a kingdom, complete in itself, and therefore possessed of its own jurisdiction; that the Church's form of unity, as a kingdom or state, was determined by our Lord Himself in His appointment of St. Peter to be over the rest of the Church, Apostles included; that the Church of England is built on a supremacy which is not that of St. Peter's See, but of the civil power, and that whatever amount of true doctrine it might at any time teach, it still would not be part of the Catholic Church, because not sharing that form of unity which our Lord impressed on her ere He ascended into heaven. And this he shows with a wealth of illustration which is perfectly overwhelming. We proceed to extract some of the ore from this fruitful mine.

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Otho and Othobon," as having been "ratified by the National Church under Archbishop Peckham." Dr. Stubbs, in his Oxford Lectures (p. 25), uses the same expression—"these Canons which might possibly be treated as in themselves wanting the sanction of the National Church, were ratified in Councils held by Peckham"; and again (p. 308)—"the constitutions of Othobon, which were confirmed by Peckham at Lambeth, and which, with those of Otho, were the first codified and glossed portions of the National Church law."

In point of fact, when we refer to the constitutions of Othobon, we find no idea of any assertion of independence, but of obedience to a precept. "Præcipimus . . . ut omnia statuta hæc, quæ in hoc nostro concilio sunt promulgata, in scriptis habeant, et ipsi archiepiscopi et episcopi eadem in synodis suis annis singulis de verbo ad verbum perlegi faciant diligenter." Peckham, according to Wilkins (Conc. ii. p. 42), only "promulgatas innovavit." It was Peckham who said, that whatever oaths he might have taken, he should feel himself absolved from them if they interfered with his duty to the Pope. How can there be an "independent National Church" here?

\* See especially his volume called "Church and State," p. 109, &c.



The Church of England initiated a change of some kind at the so-called Reformation. This is admitted on all sides. And it should be admitted that where she elected to stand then, she stands to-day. "Every sort of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification," says Tertullian, in his "De Præscriptione Hæreticorum." It is not possible to be too persistent in pressing home this obvious truth on those who have been brought up under non-Catholic teaching. Nothing is more difficult than to persuade the man who has "Catholic sympathies" that in this matter the originating cause of the separation is a critical element of the whole question. No amount of apparent or real amendment in the way of teaching Catholic truth, or adopting Catholic practices, or using Catholic ritual, can atone for an originally Erastian settlement, if it be Erastian. The improvement appealed to, the good being done, the area of Catholic truth taught, is not in the least depreciated when the movers in this busy scene are entreated to look well to themselves, to see whether all this is in its true home. Nestorianism could show all this, on a larger scale, and for a longer time, and yet the Nestorian body was not the Catholic Church. Sacraments it had, ritual, devotion to our Lady, missionary energy, considerable expansion, and yet it would have been better for any individual Nestorian, at any time in its history, to have submitted to what Anglicans admit was, after all, the Catholic Church, whilst they, the Nestorians, were not.

The common reply, therefore, with which we meet from those who desire to be called Catholics in the Establishment is in defiance of Tertullian's principle, and of the course which, according to St. Augustine, such questions should follow. It is said: "We have the Apostolic succession, by which we have sufficiently inherited the right of teaching possessed by our forefathers, from the first establishment of Christianity here down to the present time. In God's providence we have been appointed to administer the Sacraments to the people. We passed through a terrible crisis in the sixteenth century, but we have come out of it, not without our losses, but still with our personal identity entire, and, as such, we are the true Church in England. We ought to be in a different relationship with yourselves abroad; there ought to be union, but it is *in posse* though not *in esse*. It is but suspended, dormant, ready to emerge, it may be, in that happy future in which, by the reconciliation of mutual differences in a general council, we shall show the world as a whole that our Lord's prayer was not in vain, and that He is indeed the Only Begotten Son." But the Catholic Church persists in putting to all such the pertinent question which St. Augustine was continually pressing on the Donatists. "Do not suffer yourself," he says to one

of their bishops, "to be turned aside to other questions; for this is the point from which the most regularly constituted inquiry must start, Why the schism was made."\* In other words, there is a separation. Why was it made? You stand accused of schism. Why was the new form of jurisdiction introduced?

The answer given by a Catholic might indeed take the form of an appeal to something besides mere intellectual considerations. As the real state of things, the low morality of the chief agents in the so-called Reformation, the fearful persecution by which the old religion was driven out and the new established, the fearful state of things (which must be admitted by any High Churchman) at once inaugurated with regard to Sacraments, and to all that is called Church doctrine, the low state of morality to which, by the confession of some of the chief actors, the new state of things led amongst the people at large—as these facts come to be seriously weighed, they form of themselves sufficient proof that the movement was not of God, and that if it made itself good by means of might, it cannot claim the virtue of that more glorious honour which we know by the name of right.

But Mr. Allies passes over these considerations, and thereby, we think, enhances the value of his book. It proves one point, and that the one point which, to a mind at all accustomed to historical considerations, includes all others.

He shows that the gist of the settlement in Henry the Eighth's and Elizabeth's reign consisted in one simple change, which included all the rest—viz., the transfer of the Papal supremacy to the English Crown.

Every effort has been made of late to obscure this distinct issue. The attempt has been made even to show that the English Church never owned the Papal Supremacy. This position might be conclusively refuted by adducing the protest made by the Catholic Bishops to Queen Elizabeth on her accession to the throne—by Henry VIII's direct assertions before his fall—by the oaths uniformly taken by the Bishops before the sixteenth century—by the acceptance all along of the Pallium on the part of the Archbishops of Canterbury—by the terms of the petition of the Chapter of Canterbury on the election of an Archbishop—by the words of the Synod of London in A.D. 1411—by the handbooks of the English clergy in the fourteenth century—by the express statement of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century—by the whole history of St. Thomas à Becket in the twelfth century—and by the teaching of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century.† But we need no more

\* St. Aug., tom. ii. p. 209g, 2116.

† Cf. "Continuity or Collapse?" London: Catholic Truth Society.

explicit statements than the terms themselves in which the Supremacy of the See of St. Peter was annexed to the English Crown.

Here is Lord Campbell's account of the original transaction :

"In the following year (1534) Henry, finding that there was no chance of succeeding with his divorce suit with the sanction of the Pope, and being impatient to marry Anne Boleyn, resolved to break with Rome altogether, and preserving\* all the tenets of the Roman Catholic Faith, to vest in himself the jurisdiction which the Pope had hitherto exercised in England. Sir Thomas More had now resigned the Great Seal ; and it was held by the pliant Lord Audley, who was ready to adopt the new doctrines in religion, or to adhere to the old, as suited his interests."

He proceeds to say that this assumption of the Papal jurisdiction was effected by the Statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, by which "instead of allowing the decision of the Archbishops to be final," as it was by Statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, the Legislature now enacted that :

"For lack of justice at or in any of the Courts of the Archbishop, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery, where delegates are to be appointed under the Great Seal, who are to adjudicate upon the appeal. This appeal is given in all causes in the Courts of the Archbishops of this realm, *as well in the causes of a purely spiritual nature, which might hitherto have been carried to Rome,* as in the classes of causes of a temporal nature, enumerated in Statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12."

And here are the terms, in which the seizure of Papal jurisdiction was re-enacted by Elizabeth, which forms the basis of jurisdiction in the Anglican Establishment to this day. The Statute of Elizabeth, c. i. sec. 17, says it has :

"For ever, by authority of Parliament, united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm, such jurisdictions, privileges, powers, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised, or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and person, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities."

And from the day when that statute was enacted (in the teeth of a protest from the Episcopate) until the present hour, the Crown has not merely appointed Bishops, without any reference

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\* Of course, he could not do this, for the Supremacy of St. Peter's See is one of her fundamental tenets.

to so much as a Patriarch, but has determined the circumscription of bishoprics, has divided them, and re-arranged them according to its pleasure. The Supremacy of the Pope consisted mainly in two points—he instituted all Bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Of course, he could empower any one to institute and to judge in his stead, but that was not the case here. The Queen seized upon these two powers, not merely in defiance of the Pope, but of protests from the Episcopate, Convocation, and the two Universities. And here is an instance of the actual and legitimate issue, in this century, of the mode of Ecclesiastical Government then inaugurated.

"The Queen has been pleased by letters patent, under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise, &c. . . . Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal to be a Bishop's See and diocese, &c."\* All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give episcopal consecration to a person designated by the Queen, on pain of having his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned; *but he does not assign the diocese or give the mission.* He gives Order, if he can, but he does not assign subjects; the Queen does that; in other words, the Queen gives jurisdiction. A great many Anglicans seem to imagine that by the act of consecration the Archbishop's intervention secures spiritual jurisdiction, whilst the Queen only consents to enforce the jurisdiction with temporal penalties within a certain area. But the Crown initiated, and the Crown determines the area; and it is precisely in this that jurisdiction consists. It is precisely this that originally belonged to the Archbishop, as delegated by the Pope, or was exercised by the Pope, when no one was so delegated; and it was precisely this, amongst other things, that was annexed to the Crown. It is precisely this transfer that contradicts the first fundamental characteristic of that spiritual kingdom called the Church; this was the sword that severed England from the rest of Christendom; it was by this fatal blow that the Church of England became in a perfectly new sense a National Church. From that time its Bishops have knelt down, *after their consecration*, and said to King or Queen,

"I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the same temporalities, I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God. God save Queen Victoria."

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\* This, too, was some two hundred years after the hierarchy depending on the See of St. Peter had been at work in that self-same area!



What declaration could be plainer? A distinction is drawn between spiritualities and temporalities; it is for the latter that the bishop does homage; but the former are "held only of her Majesty."

Elizabeth was not so simple as to arrogate to herself the power of conferring Orders or administering Sacraments. But neither did the supremacy of the Pope consist in this. It consisted in giving mission and jurisdiction, so that the spiritualities were "held of him only," whoever might be deputed to act for him. This was transferred to the Crown. The spiritualities are held now "of her Majesty only." And this is the pith of the Erastian position. Whether the Crown acts through the Episcopate, or without it, does not affect the essential Erastianism of the arrangement. It is still the Crown that acts, the Crown that settles on appeal, *the Crown that takes the place of the See of St. Peter*. It is not in the least the case of a civil ruler acting through an Episcopate, in communion with the See of St. Peter, *and by its permission*; in this case the Crown, *proprio motu*, and by the exercise of the royal prerogative, under protest from the Episcopate (which under Elizabeth went to the Tower), simply annexed that prerogative which had hitherto been exercised by the See of St. Peter, and which was part of the panoply of the Christian Church.

It is true that great, and sometimes successful attempts are made nowadays to forestall the action of the Crown, so that initiation might seem to rest with the Episcopate and not with the Crown; but the Erastian principle remains. The position is the same. The origin of it all was vicious; and time cannot cure the vice of the original tenure.

Indeed, in spite of some noble—we had almost said heroic—efforts to breathe freely in an Erastian atmosphere, the lungs of the Anglican system seem too choked with the air it has breathed for more than three hundred years, to admit of its most advanced spirits speaking with the tones of the Catholic Church on this subject, so long as they persist in defending their present situation. We could not have better proof of this than is contained in the recently published life of Mr. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborn. A chapter in that life, by Dr. Littledale, deals with the difficulties attendant on work such as Mr. Mackonochie's. In attempting to produce a closer imitation of Catholic life, the Church party, as it is called, have met with the formidable difficulty of finding authority against their revival. Authority has stepped in, and declared itself opposed in turn to any definite binding belief on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, on Eternal Punishment, or on the Holy Eucharist. No one of the representatives of the Anglican ministry can be ousted from

his position as teacher for adopting Protestant or Catholic doctrines, whichever he may choose. On these several heads, not to mention others, he can choose which he will.

But the ritual embodiment of high Sacramental teaching has been visited with the severest penalties, and Mr. Mackonochie eventually accepted a compromise suggested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, whilst admiring his earnestness and sincerity, expressly repudiated his Catholic teaching as expressive of the mind of the "Church and nation."

To meet this difficulty, and to secure, not, be it observed, that Catholic doctrine should be taught under anathema, but that it may be taught *with impunity* side by side with heresy, which the archbishops and bishops are to be *free* to teach, Dr. Littledale, at the end of this chapter in the life of Mr. Mackonochie, sketches a proposed reform.

He speaks of inducing the Sovereign to act towards the Church "in the same manner as towards the State." He is not speaking of supplying temporal accidents, for of these, he says, "Parliament can unquestionably make laws affecting" them. He supposes that there are other powers that can legitimately be exercised by the Crown over the Church. He admits the Erastian character of the settlement in the sixteenth century. And his remedy consists in the overthrow of that settlement, but in favour of an arrangement which would be still Erastian. It is to be such as "that the Crown may not act despotically, nor through any alien instrumentality" (*i.e.*, alien to the religious body politic) "but *must govern* through ministers belonging themselves to the body politic which they administer, and responsible to that body for any malversation in office." He does not see that this will not mend the matter. No wonder that Mr. Mackonochie\* was driven to say in 1869, "we shall *begin*, I trust, to feel as a body, and not merely as individuals, that we belong to the kingdom which is not of this world." Those who have had the inestimable privilege of having been in the Church since their childhood will wonder how a man of Mr. Mackonochie's earnestness could feel at home in a body which had not *begun* to feel that it belonged to the kingdom which is not of this world. But they little know the tremendous force of early association and inherited prejudices. Imagine a religious body which does not possess the consciousness of belonging to the kingdom which our Lord founded, being called the Church! Yet what Mr. Mackonochie says is only a sample of its history for centuries. For instance, Mr. Allies notices the way in which the bishops met the reintroduction of a Catholic hierarchy into England. The bishops' charges were

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\* "Life of A. H. Mackonochie," p. 180.

full of it. The late Mr. Sergeant Bellasis collected together the epithets applied by them in these charges to the action of the Holy Father in restoring to us a Catholic Episcopate. Not one bishop in the whole of the Anglican ministry grounded his objection on his own possession of spiritual jurisdiction. Not one bishop showed any consciousness of the novel idea that jurisdiction was inherent in his See. Not a bishop in the whole number appealed to anything but the invasion of that jurisdiction *which they had received from the Crown*. It was not Canterbury and York against the Bishop of Rome that posed in these charges, but the appeal was to the national will as expressed in the oath of homage. The chorus of indignation which arose from the Bench has been so exquisitely described by a master hand that we cannot forbear transcribing the passage, which occurs in Cardinal Newman's lecture on "The present position of Catholics,"—lectures which contain the finest specimens of his powers to be found throughout his works. All the epithets he uses actually occur in the episcopal charges. One seems to hear the very sound of bells, as he describes them in such melodious language.

Speaking of the Establishment, he says :

"It agrees to differ with its children on a thousand points. On one dogma it may rest without any mistake—'that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm.' Here is sunshine amid the darkness, sense amid confusion, an intelligible strain amid a Babel of sounds. . . . Heresy, and scepticism, and infidelity, and fanaticism may challenge it in vain ; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and it recognises by instinct the presence of its con-natural foe. Forthwith, as during last year" [when the Catholic hierachy was introduced into England], "the atmosphere is tremulous with agitation, and discharges its vibrations far and wide. A movement is in birth which has no natural crisis or resolution. Spontaneously the bells of the steeples begin to sound, not by an act of volition, but by a sort of mechanical impulse, Bishop and Dean, Archdeacon and Canon, Rector and Curate, one after another, each on his high tower, off they set, swinging and booming, tolling and chiming, with various intensesness, and thickening emotion, and deepening volume, the whole ding-dong which has scared town and country this weary time—tolling and chiming away, jingling and clamouring, and ringing the changes on their poor half-dozen notes, all about 'the Popish aggression,' 'insolent and insidious,' 'insidious and insolent,' 'insolent and atrocious,' 'atrocious and insolent,' 'atrocious and insolent and ungrateful,' 'ungrateful, insolent, and atrocious,' 'foul and offensive,' 'pestilent and horrid,' 'audacious and revolting,' 'contemptible and shameless,' 'malignant,' 'frightful,' 'mad,' 'meretricious,' bobs, I think the ringers call them, and bob-royals, and triple-bob majors, grand-sires, to the extent of their compass and the full ring of their metal, in honour

of Queen Bess and to the confusion of the Pope and the Princes of the Church."

It was a curious coincidence, which Mr. Allies notices, that during this hubbub, the Anglican Legislature passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, as a measure of reprisals for what it considered an invasion of its spiritual jurisdiction, on the 1st of August, the Feast of St. Peter's chains. The voice of Peter, providing the children of the Church with fresh ecclesiastical organisation, had power to stir the greatest empire in the world to this mad act of legislative rancour; but the chains fell off, the Act was repealed, and the Catholic religion only stood on firmer ground, from a civil point of view, than before. Meanwhile, the entire Anglican Episcopate had spoken—and spoken for once with one voice; and that voice proclaimed its adhesion to the Elizabethan settlement, whereby the spiritual jurisdiction, which belonged to the See of St. Peter, had been transferred, so the law asserted, to the English Crown. The bells of the steeples throughout the land had rung out one wrathful protest—"the rights of the English Crown in danger, in danger—unite to defend the Crown, and its spiritual jurisdiction (for no other was affected) which is invaded by this act of the Pope." "But Peter slept between two soldiers,"—"securus judicat orbis terrarum."

Thus, three hundred years had done their work. There was no idea then that jurisdiction was inherent in the See; there was no thought of the province falling back on the rest of Christendom, for where was any province on which to fall back? It was the Crown that was attacked, its jurisdiction that was wounded, and it was the Crown that came to their aid.

Now let us take another period in the history of the establishment—the era of Laud's revival. Archbishop Laud endeavours to extract from St. Augustine's writings some shelter for his own position; but the feat is accomplished only by attributing to St. Augustine himself what St. Augustine was, as a matter of fact, blaming in others. The Donatists appealed to the Emperor; the Emperor and St. Augustine agreed that they ought to have appealed to the Pope. The Donatists would like to have rested content with their Synod, presided over by the Primate; they said that the Pope *ought not* to interfere. Laud writes that this was what St. Augustine said: it was really what St. Augustine *blamed them for saying*. He himself appealed to the Pope, again and again, and blamed the Donatists for not doing the same.\*

Laud's position was in thorough accordance with what we have pointed out as the only natural interpretation of Henry Eighth's and Elizabeth's settlement. He says in an official letter, signed

\* Cf. Rivington's "Dependence," pp. 214-17.



by himself and the Bishops of Rochester and Oxford, to the Duke of Buckingham, that "when the clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry VIII., the submission was so made that, *if any difference, doctrinal or other, fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be judges of it in a national Synod, or Convocation;*"—and so Archbishop Bancroft, speaking with his whole province, says, "forasmuch as both the ecclesiastical and temporal be *now* united in his Majesty," contrasting this new union of jurisdiction with their separation before the sixteenth century; and Bishop Van Mildert, quoting Bishop Horsley as an authority, and as having expressed the mind of the Anglican Episcopate in happy phrase, says, "Spiritual jurisdiction belongs to the State, as allied to the Church, and although exercised by the Church, is derived from the State."\*

But to return for a moment to the Laudian period. It was under his guidance that the King dealt with Archbishop Abbot's case. The Bishop of Lincoln reports to the King the fact that the Archbishop, when out hunting, had killed a man, and informs the Duke of Buckingham officially, that "his Grace, upon this accident, is by the common law of England, to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty; and by the canon law, which is in force with us (he is) irregular *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, until he be again restored by his superior; which, I take it, is the King's Majesty, in the rank and order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions." And the royal decree accordingly runs: "Of our special grace, and of our supreme royal and ecclesiastical authority, &c."

Now it was precisely this point with which Dr. Pusey failed to deal in his book on the Royal Supremacy. His point, which he sufficiently proves, is that the power conferred on the Crown is not an arbitrary one, but is meant to be exercised according to law and canon; but the vital point is the preliminary question, What right had the Crown to act at all? In a word, to repeat the words of St. Augustine: "Why was the schism made?"

To conclude. All Catholics must feel sympathy with those in the Establishment who are conscious of the Erastian atmosphere they breathe, and who long for a state of things in which, as they say, "the Church would be free." It is something to feel an evil; it argues spiritual sensibilities not utterly dead to the fundamental feature of the Church, as a kingdom, and as therefore possessed of a jurisdiction of her own. But Catholics cannot help wondering at the extent to which the principle is set at nought which we have quoted from Tertullian, that "every kind of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification;" they

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\* Rivington's "Dependence," p. 117.

cannot help wondering that any candid mind that has dipped ever so little into the history of the sixteenth century, as it has had to be rewritten since the facilities of access to contemporary documents have so increased, should not see that it was not the wish of the nation at large, much less of the Church, that transferred the powers of the See of St. Peter to the Crown; and still more do they wonder how any one who has grasped the idea of the Church as a Kingdom, not of earth, but from Heaven, can fail to see that the whole history of the Establishment from its first inception under Henry VIII. to the present hour, has exhibited one leading trait, viz., a continuous dependence in the matter of Mission and Jurisdiction on the Supremacy of the Crown.

Nor is it less surprising that Bishop Stubbs should so summarily set at nought the verdict of history, when he comes to the statement of his own position. How is it that he can speak of the Book of Common Prayer as "the legal and formal expression of the mind of the English Church *and nation*,"\* when we have such glimpses of the true state of things in, for instance, Paget's letter to Somerset (Strype ii. Record 110) and the attitude of the Bishops towards the oath of Supremacy? "Eleven-twelfths of the kingdom are opposed to the new fangled teaching," says Paget. No single Bishop in possession of a Diocese can be proved to have signed the oath of Supremacy, which was necessary to bring the Prayer Book into birth. It is not certain that Kitchen signed: † it is certain that the rest refused. Can Bishop Stubbs have allowed himself to be misled by the representation of history on this subject which passed muster a few years ago, but which now is out of date? According to the admission of Dr. Littledale, made before he entered upon his rôle of vilifying the Catholic Church:

"Two mendacious partisans, the infamous Foxe, and the not much more respectable Burnet, have so overlaid all the history of the Reformation with falsehoods, that it is well nigh impossible for ordinary readers to get at the facts;"

but at least Dr. Littledale himself admits that

"the number of peasants massacred for refusing to accept Protestantism, in one year of Edward VI., by foreign mercenaries under Lord John Russell, in Devonshire, was four thousand: and five thousand more were slain in Norfolk by the Earl of Warwick, irrespective of subsequent headings and hangings."

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\* Cf. Bishop of Oxford's Visitation Charge, June 1890.

† See Rivington's "Dependence," p. 147.

And to use again Dr. Littledale's words :

"The infamous Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter . . . . preached a thanksgiving sermon amidst the unburied corpses of the Devonshire Catholics murdered by Lord Russell's foreign brigands"—and again—"Bishop Bonner, whose evil reputation rests solely on the testimony of these two matchless liars, Bale and Foxe, was brought to trial for omitting the last clause in a sermon written for him by Cranmer, which he was ordered to preach. Clause 1 was that the Devonshire and Norfolk insurgents, who rose in defence of their ancestral religion" (as the Doctor expresses it), "were not only lawfully and righteously hanged, but eternally damned also." Again, "the number who died at Elizabeth's own hands for clinging to the religion of their fathers (and that more painfully than by burning) was, at the lowest computation, three hundred and seventeen,"

whilst, lastly—

"the Catholics saw everything which to them was most precious and hallowed, and which had come down to them with the sanction and traditions of more than a thousand years, insulted and trampled under foot."

We do not bind ourselves to every statement of Dr. Littledale's, but we do assert that every fresh discovery in the shape of documents and contemporary records has gone to confirm the estimate given above, of the process by which the transfer of jurisdiction from the See of St. Peter to the English Crown was originally made. And there is nothing to counterbalance the assertions made by men like Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, as to the tremendous moral declension that followed in the wake of this imaginary Reformation. But with this we have little to do in our present argument. Our point is, that the people of England were dragged into a course of schism, from the day when the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the country was taken over by the civil power. So that even if valid Orders had been retained under Elizabeth, there would have remained only a family of Bishops without a father—not a spiritual Kingdom, or part of such, unless it be held that Episcopal jurisdiction could flow from the head of the temporal order, which, as we shall see, is contrary to our Lord's own determination of the nature of His Kingdom. But before proceeding to show this, we will follow the fortunes of that Eastern Church which separated from the See of St. Peter, after having acknowledged it in a General Council as the divinely appointed guardian of the Faith. Its history assists in proving what is natural to a religious body which separates from the See of St. Peter, and that Holy See receives a fresh evidence of its supernatural position from a comparison of all the bodies that have left the shelter of its communion.

From the day of Pentecost to the peace of Constantine (A.D. 312) the Church had grown as a kingdom of souls with her own jurisdiction, independent of all civil power. She had passed through every form of persecution, and was now emerging with a complete hierarchy, containing certain centres of jurisdiction of Apostolic origin, with laws of her own, and sanctions peculiar to herself. She had no earthly dowry, and no help from State or Crown.

After the peace of Constantine all was changed. That glorious martyrdom of 300 years had won for her a new position. Her laws were henceforth to be enforced with the penalties of time. The Christian kingdoms of the West as they came into existence, one and all of them, acknowledged the spiritual jurisdiction of the occupant of St. Peter's See over the whole Christian world, and invested it with temporal effects. But never did the Church hand over to the Imperial power the keys which she had received in Peter. We may take as summary proof of this the testimony of the greatest legislator of these first few centuries. Justinian, in his laws, recognised with the utmost distinctness the supreme authority of the successor of St. Peter; and in the year 536 he signed the formulary which the Greek Church presented with its signature to Pope Agapetus, containing the words: "Wherefore following in all things the Apostolic See, we set forth what has been ordained by it. And we profess that these things shall be kept without fail, and will order that all bishops shall do according to the tenor of that formulary: the Patriarchs to your Holiness, and the Metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and the rest to their own Metropolitans: that in all things our Holy Catholic Church may have its proper solidity."

Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, the Apostolic See, such, according to Justinian and the Greek Church in that age, was the ascending scale of the hierarchy of the Church and the cause of its solidity. And the Apostolic See was such, in their belief, because it was the See of St. Peter.

This is the form of unity that obtains to this day in the Catholic Roman Church. What was the origin of such a wholly different state of things as exists at the present moment in the East? It was this:

An empire had arisen in the West, which received its consecration from the See of St. Peter. It was *after* the creation of this Holy Roman Empire that the East became the theatre of the schismatic spirit—*i.e.*, it was not until the Byzantine monarchs had felt the greatness of the empire of the West that the fell spirit of jealousy, which led to man's original ruin, entered with all its malignity upon the scene. The Holy Roman Empire was the contradiction of the Byzantine dream of a world-wide



dominion. The schism of the East became possible, and was enacted under the miserable Photius.

But the Eastern Roman Emperors never dreamt of submitting the Church to their own jurisdiction. They made, indeed, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as the city of their residence, to be superior to the elder Sees of Alexandria and Antioch ; they deposed and slew and insulted them at times ; but they stopped short, until after the schism, of the claim to initiate their jurisdiction. But after the schism all things were possible to them ; and (did space permit) it would be of peculiar interest, in view of the "attrait" which High Churchmen in England evince towards the East, to note the steps by which the Photian schismatics descended to their present position of ecclesiastical slavery.

Our Lord's Prayer was for Peter and his brethren, that he might, in the exercise of his gift of infallibility, strengthen them. History reveals the weakness of the East as soon as it left the source of its strength, the Holy Apostolic See, in which, according to their own avowal, "religion had ever been kept inviolate."

The later Greeks lost the very consciousness of the extent to which they, who were constantly accusing the Latins of falling away from the tradition of the Fathers had themselves seceded, in this matter of ecclesiastical independence, from the doctrine handed down by the old Church, and from the spirit of their great Fathers. Balsamon states the literal truth, when he gives as the principle of their ecclesiastical life, "the Imperial Supremacy can do anything"—anything except actually administer the Sacraments. Probably, no Greek ever went to the same excess of subserviency as Cranmer and Barlow, when they informed the King that his election was sufficient to make a Bishop without consecration. The fact is, the Greeks preserved their hierarchy ; and, with it, as a consequence, they retained a respect for sacraments (including that of Order) which we lost in England. But short of the actual administration of sacraments, there was soon nothing which the Emperor could not do in the way of Ecclesiastical authority. To the Emperor belonged the right of legislation, and the right of judging, the division and circumscription of ecclesiastical provinces, the determining the rank of individual churches. No contest about investiture was possible in the Greek Empire ; the faintest trace of ecclesiastical independence disappeared ; and the Emperor, as later the Sultan also, gave to the new Patriarch the pastoral staff as sign of the dignity conferred upon him by God through the Imperial hand. The words he used were : "The Holy Trinity promotes thee to be Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch, *through the Royal Power given to us by Him.*" When three ecclesiastics

had been selected by the twelve bishops, resident in the city, one was named by the Emperor, and was brought before him, to receive institution from him, after which he was enthroned and consecrated by the Archbishop of Heraclea. Ecclesiastical freedom ceased even to be an aspiration; and the Church, increasingly dishonoured and scourged by Imperial despotism, came to regard its present condition as part of its original institution.

It was not, however, without incessant warning from the Pastor of the Universal Church, that the Church in the East thus sank to its grave. For five hundred years, the Pope warned the Greeks, but in vain. Gregory IX. wrote in 1232 to Germanus II. :

"When the Church of the Greeks separated herself from the unity of the Roman chair, she lost at once the privilege of Ecclesiastical freedom. She, who was once free, became the handmaid of the temporal power, so that, by the just judgment of God, she who refused to recognise the Divine Primacy in Peter fell, against her will, under secular dominion."

At length, the Scimitar of Mahomet came, and the Ecumenical Patriarch received his pastoral staff from the Khalif of the False Prophet. Mahomet II. :

"Selected Gennadios as the new orthodox Patriarch, and made use of him as an instrument to obtain for himself, though a Mohammedan Prince, the ancient personal position of the Byzantine Sovereigns as Protector of the Orthodox Church, and Master of the Greek Hierarchy. . . . The rescript of the Sultan has since then always been necessary to authorise a bishop to exercise his ecclesiastical functions in the See to which he has been elected. Waddington says the words of the *berat* of the Sultan were : 'I command you to go and reside as Bishop at . . . according to the ancient custom and to the vain ceremonies of the inhabitants.' The Mohammedan sovereign, as master of the Orthodox Church, retained in his own hands the unlimited power of deposing both Patriarchs and Bishops. The absolute power of condemning every Greek ecclesiastic, whether Patriarch, Monk, or Parish Priest, to exile or death was a prerogative of the Sultan, which was never doubted."\*

But the Church of Constantinople has had a daughter Church whose history is equally instructive. It consists of one continuous decline in the matter of ecclesiastical independence. Equally with the history of Constantinople it shows the impotence of an Episcopate unsupported by its corner stone, the See of St. Peter, to exhibit the fundamental feature of the Kingdom of God—viz., self-government, according to its own laws.

It began in dependence on Constantinople, and derived its jurisdiction from the Patriarch of New Rome. The Russian Bishops

\* Finlay, "Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination," pp. 136-138.

sent three names to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who selected one for their Metropolitan, or he confirmed and consecrated one already elected. The Metropolitans were for at least two centuries and a half mostly Greeks. And it was mainly through them that all Eastern Russia was gradually united into one Empire, and the power concentrated in a single autocratic ruler. In the fifteenth century a change took place. Moscow had taken the place of Vladimir, and the Metropolitan of Moscow was elected by a local Synod, and received the symbol of spiritual authority from the Grand Prince. He was still dependent on the chair of Constantinople *de jure*, but no longer so *de facto*. He now, too, became more and more of a lord over the rest of the Bishops, coincidently with the increase of secular absolutism in the Grand Princes of Moscow. Synods became less frequent, as the dioceses increased in extent, and the government of the Church thus grew more and more monarchical. This isolation of the Metropolitan from his Bishops was at once the cause of his increasing grandeur and the occasion of his fall. He became Patriarch, not by the motion of the Church, but by the arrangement of the Grand Prince, with a titular hierarchy of Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops—titles, which Mr. Palmer well calls “the garlands and trappings of a victim already destined to be sacrificed.” And now, if we go on to the seventeenth century, we find, as a result, the whole Empire governed by two men, the Tsar and the Patriarch. The Tsar did nothing in the government of the Church without the Patriarch, and the Patriarch was as a rule the willing agent of all that was done. But it was in the nature of things that friction should ensue occasionally at first, but gradually growing to be customary, till the Tsar began to nominate directly to spiritual dignities and offices, and to assume an increasing control over ecclesiastical matters, which provoked little real antagonism until the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1652, a remarkable man called Nikon was appointed Patriarch. His spirit could not brook the Erastianism of the Tsar, and he commenced a struggle, heroic indeed, but foredoomed to be fruitless, with the civil power. He was fighting the battle which St. Thomas of Canterbury fought in England, but with this difference. St. Thomas was under the shelter of our Lord’s prayer for Peter. He was amongst the “brethren” whom Peter could strengthen; he was in the great brotherhood of Bishops bound together by the bond of Catholic unity, united to the Apostolic See. But Nikon was fighting the battle against Erastianism in a “national Church” out of communion with the See of Peter, and was, therefore, bound to fail. His theories were true; his perception of the spiritual nature of Christ’s Kingdom, and of the impossibility of her coming under the Imperial supremacy without forfeiting her very essence,

entitles him to our respect and sympathy. But they were theories which could not be applied to the circumstances in which he found himself. There was a fact in Russian history which compromised his position, and which he could not undo. The religious body in which he found himself had long ago become in reality, though not in name, a department of the civil rule, which in spiritual matters was bound to govern *through* the Episcopate, but which was the real origin of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Empire. Nikon was out of place and out of date; he fought a heroic fight; but in vain. The Tsar appointed some one in his place willing to be the vicar and instrument of his supremacy; and the Muscovite Church thus became more than ever "national," and a slave. Her spirit was broken. Forty years after Nikon's heroic death, after he had suffered deposition and imprisonment for fifteen years, the subjugation of the Muscovite Episcopacy was completed by the son of Alexis. The renunciation of the divinely instituted government of St. Peter was followed by the most complete subordination to Peter, the Tsar.

The fundamental conception of Peter, which moved the admiration of Voltaire, was the government of the two orders, spiritual and temporal, each through their own College—so that whilst his temporal supremacy was exercised through a Senate, or civil College, his spiritual supremacy was exercised by means of the College of Bishops. This was what he called "the reformation of the spiritual order." He is said to have jocosely called this College his "Patriarch." It contained, of course, the nominal Patriarch and the other Bishops by representation. And the "example of former religious kings both in the Old and New Testament" was quoted as supplying it with a Scriptural type, much as the Article of the Church of England alludes to certain "godly Princes in Holy Scripture" in defence of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's settlement of religion. Who these "religious kings" alluded to in the "spiritual regulation" of Peter the first, or those "godly Princes in Holy Scripture" alluded to in the 37th Article, were, we are not informed. The Old Testament regulations would be a curious precedent to select for the new covenant; and as for the New Testament, the only kings one could select from would be Herod the Great, Herod the Fox, or Herod who slew St. James and cast St. Peter into prison—or Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero.

But Peter the Tsar did not do his work by halves. The oath taken by the College of the Church, as it was called in contradistinction to that of the State, ran thus: "I acknowledge upon oath that our most gracious Sovereign, the monarch of all Russia himself, is the supreme judge of the Spiritual College."



But one step more was wanting. The governing Senate had some one attached to it who was called the "Tsar's Eye"; and a similar functionary was attached to the Spiritual College, and was called the "Ober-Prokurator of the most Holy Governing Synod." The captivity of the Church could not be more complete. Even if the Church of Russia had not come into the world with the ban of schism upon it through its slave-mother the Church of Constantinople, it would have forfeited its place in the kingdom of God on earth by the renunciation of its jurisdiction into the hands of the Tsar in the year of our Lord 1721. Two years before this the Tsar Peter had placed himself on a similar pedestal of infamy with our own Henry VIII.; he had murdered his son and heir after a mock trial, in which he had frightened his clergy and nobles into pronouncing Alexis guilty of death.

Such has been the fate of Constantinople's worldly ambition to be the New Rome, not the Rome of St. Peter and St. Paul, but the Rome of Imperial rank. It has ended with receiving its jurisdiction from the Sultan, whilst its daughter Church in Russia lies in the shame of being governed by a Tsar.

The lesson that history thus teaches is this: a Christian episcopate left to itself, separated from the sheltering strength of the Apostolic See, is no fit champion of that intrinsic freedom which is the most precious inheritance of the Church; it cannot resist the great world power which, beyond all other aims, has this as its primary, dominant object, viz., to subdue to itself the Body of Christ, allowing her indeed to administer her Sacraments if she will only accept mission so to do from itself.

And now, what of the Episcopate in communion with the See of St. Peter? It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a kingdom complete in itself, of another order beside the temporal, entering from time to time into relations, some more some less satisfactory, with the civil power, always in aim, and theory, and practice, independent of it in regard to its essential laws and supreme sanctions—a monarchy, whose monarch traces his lineage to a Galilæan fisherman, who heard from the lips of a carpenter's Son, the short creative words, "Feed My sheep." It consists at this moment in a power which radiates from the See of Rome, and affects the entire world, receiving the homage of some 200,000,000 of the human race.

It was already in existence, when the "Devise for the alteration of religion" was being concocted by a secret council, whose members afterwards completed their labours in the issue of a new Prayer-book, under the most irreligious Queen that has yet occupied the throne of England. The Elizabethan, or, as they were commonly called, the Parliamentary bishops, had not yet been

called into existence. As yet the See of St. Peter held sway over the English Episcopate; they held their Sees, according to their own assertion, of the Bishop of Rome, not "of her Majesty only." Listen to the Bishops of England as they record their faith and testify to the faith of their ancestors in the See of St. Peter. In February, 1559, the clergy with the bishops at their head, draw up a protest against the threatened change of religion, containing five articles, to which they signify their adherence. The fourth is, "that Peter and Peter's successors are Christ's vicars, and supreme rulers in the Church."

Listen again to Henry VIII. in the earlier part of his reign, as he declares the faith of the English Church, and includes in it the supremacy of St. Peter's See, upbraiding Luther for allowing his "wonted pride" to blind him to the necessity of obedience to the Pope from every Christian man. A religion whose bishops held the "spiritualities," as well as the "temporalities" of their Sees, of "his Majesty only" did not yet exist. The power of the Pope did.

Go back one thousand and forty years, and lo! Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, nay, the Roman Empire of the East, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and their subject bishops and people, have united in a common confession of faith, which places the See of St. Peter at the head of the Christian Church, by the appointment of its Divine Lord. Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of the Romans before St. Peter's shrine, by the hands of St. Peter's successor, and Alfred was just about to receive his first education at Rome under St. Leo the Fourth. Europe was, at least in part, constituted; and the power of St. Peter's See was owned and felt from end to end of the new nations that were rising out of the ruins of the old civilisations.

And now once more, go back yet another 500 years, when the faith of the Church as to the very nature of her Divine Head is being defined for all succeeding ages. Through whom does He preserve His Church in the purity of her original faith, and develop her knowledge as to the full meaning of that faith? One figure, that of the saintly Patriarch of Alexandria, stands out in strong relief; but that figure stands upon a rock. St. Athanasius has recourse to St. Julius, the occupant of St. Peter's See; St. Julius supports him. The great Eastern Sees, each in their turn, fail in those troublous times; St. Peter's See alone stands firm. At Sardica a Council assembles, at which British bishops sit; it assembles *apropos* of St. Julius' action in support of St. Athanasius; and its canons, though lost in the East, are forthwith reckoned worthy of being numbered amongst the Nicene, as an appendix to them. The Council decides that all bishops should,

in case of sufficient necessity, “refer to the Head, that is, “the See of the Apostle Peter.”\* Rome is, then, St. Peter’s See. St. Augustine is held to the Catholic Church by that succession of bishops, as he tells us, which traces itself up to St. Peter; and the See of Rome, he tells us, is that “wherein the headship of the Apostolic See has always been in force.”

But further still. It is the first general council of the Christian Church, and lo! the doctrine is there. The heading of the sixth canon in the Western version runs thus:—“The Roman Church always had the primacy.” The Easterns do not dispute the fact. The Archdeacon of Constantinople seems to have remarked that that was not the heading of the canon in the Eastern version; but no discussion followed. So far as the records go, the fact contained in the Western version was not disputed. But the great Patriarchates of the East were bidden to follow the norm of Roman organisation in regard to the bishops of their rule. They had met, according to St. Damasus’ account, under the direction of St. Sylvester; they were presided over by his representative and legates, and the decrees were sent to him.

Go back a little further, and the great St. Irenæus is entreating the occupant of St. Peter’s See not to cut off from the “common unity,” as the latter expressed it, those who did not promptly accept the ruling of Rome as to their observance of Easter. The Saint betrays no consciousness of a usurpation of power on the part of the See of Rome; he only mediates for its clement exercise.

And now once more. At the very birth of Christian literature the subject of those priceless Clementine Epistles, which have been preserved out of the wreck for more than eighteen centuries, concerns the organisation of this new kingdom. The monarch himself speaks. He, † with his local Council, the “Church of the Romans,” settles a dispute that has arisen at Corinth concerning the deprivation of certain members of the Episcopate. He decides that certain persons should not be degraded from their high and holy office. “These we judge it not consonant with justice to deprive of their office. For it will be no light sin in us to deprive of the Episcopate those who offer the gifts blamelessly and holily.” He tells them in the same letter that “you will give us great joy and gladness if you render obedience to the things written by us through the Holy Spirit,” whilst he has already said that, “if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us, let them understand

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\* The Canons of Sardica were inserted in his collection by John Scholasticus, and by Photius in his *Nomocanon*.

† St. Clement.

that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression." Compare these words, their tone of authority, the certain consciousness which they evince of the possession of supernatural assistance, with the Rescripts of Popes for 1800 years and the simple and majestic words of the Vatican decree, and the conclusion would seem to be inevitable that from the age of St. Clement to the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Peter is of one jet—a continuous power, one harmonious whole.

The kingdom of Peter—for with him it began, under Christ, the King of Eternal Glory. It began after Pentecost with miracle; another Moses, as Peter was represented in earliest Christian art, drawing the streams of grace from the Rock of Ages, and alone of men, with the exception of the first Moses, invested by early art with the emblem of power, the rod in hand, Peter appears on the platform of sacred history singled out from the rest by the halo of unparalleled miracle. His shadow, his mere shadow, is invested with supernatural power, and his alone. And the Apostolic College is described as "Peter and the eleven," "Peter with the rest."

And now we shall pass into the inner sanctuary of divine truth and life, to our Lord Himself, as He singles out one in promise, and finally invests him with his sacred office.

There are three texts in the Gospels which form the central scriptural proof of the Supremacy of St. Peter. They occur severally in St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. St. Mark alone is silent, as was natural, seeing that his Gospel was a summary of the oral teaching of the Apostle Peter himself.

And these three texts are the complement of others that reveal the common authority of the Apostolic body. The mistake into which non-Catholic interpreters of Holy Scripture invariably fall in dealing with the Petrine texts, consists in their not fairly discriminating between two classes of passages, concerning the powers of the Apostolic College. These together form an exact picture of the organisation of the Catholic Church at this moment, prescinding always those charismata which were peculiar to the Apostles, and clearly not to be of permanent inheritance. Apart from these, the College of the Apostles is exactly reproduced in the Church by the College of Bishops. In this College there are, at this hour, first, the body of Bishops; and secondly, the supreme or head Bishop, each being, according to Catholic doctrine, of divine institution. The head Bishop or supreme pastor cannot dispense with the rest of the Episcopate, and permanently govern the Church by vicars, not in Episcopal orders. The Episcopate is a divine ordinance. Neither can the Episcopate without its head govern the Church; for its head is part of itself and equally of divine institution. In a word, the



College of Bishops includes one, who, by Divine right, is the sovereign, though not the only, authority.

Such is the constitution of the Church. And it exactly corresponds with two sets of passages in Holy Scripture, in which our Lord spoke to the Apostles of powers, in the way of promise, or in the act of bestowal. One set of passages contains words addressed to the Apostles collectively; the other, words addressed to St. Peter singly. Bossuet's happy expression concerning Matt. xvi. gives the key to their interpretation: "The sequel does not reverse the commencement."

What is given to St. Peter singly, is not deprived of its singular force, by its being bestowed also on the Apostles collectively. Its proper force must be given to each class of passages. Any interpretation which gives no meaning to either one of the two sets of passages fails to do justice to the words of Him who never spoke in vain. Now the Catholic interpretation combines and harmonises the two. Taking the words addressed to the Apostles collectively (viz., Matt. xxviii. 18-20, Mark xvi. 15-20, Luke xxiv. 46-49, Acts i. 3-9, John xiv., &c., xx. 21-23), we have a supernatural power conveyed to the Apostles as a body, co-extensive with that body, and as permanent as the body itself.\*

Taking the words addressed to St. Peter singly (Matt. xvi. 17-19, Luke xxii. 31, 32, John xxi. 15-17), we have a power of headship superadded to the former power which was conveyed to the Apostles as a college. This headship is conveyed in various terms, each of them indicating sovereignty, together expressing it with cumulative evidence, and each indicating not collective sovereignty given to a college of men, but the sovereignty proper to a single person. They are—the rock—the keys—power to bind and loose given singly, thus already ranging under his power others who were to share it in subordination—confirmer of the brethren—shepherd of the flock. So that, comparing what is said to the Apostles as a body with what is said to St. Peter singly, we find that while they received nothing without him, he received a power including and crowning theirs. The terms of conveyance in the two cases are indeed of similar majesty and simplicity, being the language of God in the sovereign disposition of His gifts; but in the case of St. Peter there is greater definiteness,† and to him our Lord constantly employs the form of parable. The rock, the key-bearer, the confirmer (an architectural image), the shepherd, are parabolic expressions. Such imagery is capable of wider application than any other form of speaking, and contains in it an amount of instruction which direct language can only convey at a much greater length. None of it is given to

\* Allies' "Church and State," pp. 154-60.

† *Ibid.* p. 160.

any Apostle by himself, except Peter; what the rest receive of it together, as in the case of the power of binding and loosing, first promised and then given to them collectively, is greatly exceeded by what he receives alone. And their commission, and his, throw light upon each other. The Papacy and the Episcopate are their joint result; give its full force to the Apostolic commission, and Christ is with the one universal Episcopate all days to the consummation of the world. Give the same full force to the words addressed to Peter, and he feeds the flock of Christ until the second coming of the Great Shepherd. Perpetuity enters equally into both.

By the Vatican decree, each of these three passages referring to St. Peter singly, is quoted. But we shall confine our attention here to two only passages, for the simple reason that they have been neglected by non-Catholic interpreters, and yet, but for the overpowering influence of a tradition which dates only from the sixteenth century, they would, as plain as words could do so, indicate the appointment of St. Peter to a Divine Primacy, which was to be a feature of the Church for all time.

The first of these texts to which we allude occurs in St. Luke, chap. 22. It is that evangelist's single contribution to the history of the Petrine privilege. A contest had arisen as to the person who should be the greater in the Apostolic College. Our Lord does not put aside the contest, but proceeds to determine it. He draws the strongest contrast between heathen domination, as it was then, and had been in past time, and the government of His kingdom, as it was yet to be. There was to be "a greater" and "a leader," but he was to resemble our Lord Himself. "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." So was their superior, their leader (*ὁ ἡγούμενους*), to be in the future. He was to exercise, not a domination which had become the mark of Gentile kings, but a service for the good of the governed, such as Christ in all His ministry had shown. Our Lord proceeds to speak positively of the kingdom which He was setting up, and of the place in it which the Apostles should hold. "You are they who have continued with Me in My temptations, and I appoint to you, as My Father hath appointed to Me, a kingdom; that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Here, then, our Lord tells them that there should be not only one superior who was to resemble Himself in character as in place, "the greater and the leader" (v. 26), but the college of twelve, sitting on thrones, and judging the whole people of God. The kingdom and its rulers are correlative and co-enduring. And the rulers had reference to the Sacred Feast and Sacrifice, the Feast upon the Sacrifice, in His kingdom; and to the tribunal which is so closely connected with

the Sacred Feast, which our Lord was then instituting. What is this but the description of the heirs of the Apostles in their work at the Altar and in the tribunal of Penance?

And then our Lord speaks of the attack on the rulers of His kingdom, which it would seem was to be both in the future and continuous. He turns to the one whom He had surnamed Peter, and to whom He had promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "And the Lord said, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you (plural) that he may sift you (plural) as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou in turn \* confirm thy brethren.'" "

The safety of the Apostolic College was to lie in the infallibility of one; and the safety of that one was to lie in the power of our Lord's intercession. St. Peter seems to have thought that our Lord was speaking only of the present moment, but our Lord corrects him, and tells him that in the present he will fail; but that a new era is coming, in which things will be different.

This, then, is the divine description of the future—the kingdom with its Sacrificial Feast, and the rulers of the kingdom superintending that Feast upon a Sacrifice, and exercising the office of judges in the tribunals of the Church—one amongst the rulers to be superior, the leader, following in the steps of the Divine Teacher and Lord—the rulers ceaselessly attacked by the foe of our nature, and sifted by the trial, but strengthened and upheld in their sifting by one who should be in the matter of faith infallible, and that in consequence of the intercession of their Divine Head. What is this but the Order of the Church, according to Catholic teaching, at this hour?

Bossuet says of the text, *Thou art Peter, &c.:*

"Say not, think not, that this ministry of St. Peter terminates with him; that which is to serve for support to an eternal Church can never have an end. Peter will always live in his successors; Peter will always speak in his chair. This is what the Fathers say."

And of this text in St. Luke he says, with his inimitable felicity of expression:

"St. Peter received the charge to confirm his brethren. Who were these brethren? The Apostles, the pillars of the Church. Who much more the centuries that followed?"

And of this interpretation also we may say, "This is what the Fathers say."

Were we, indeed, to believe Janus, we should imagine that "not a single doctor of the Church, down to the end of the

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\* This is probably the correct rendering. But the translation "When thou art converted," will suit the argument just as well.

seventh century, has given the interpretation of this text," which we have seen above to be the plain natural meaning, and which has received the stamp of authority in the Vatican decree. But here, as elsewhere, Janus is at fault in his facts. His remark, too, with its supposed conclusion, is sophistical. No doctor of the Church has given a conflicting interpretation, and what Janus assumes as a fact—viz., that none has given the Catholic interpretation, would be reduced to the smallest possible value, when we consider that it can only mean that no doctor had touched at all on the question of its bearing on the successors of St. Peter. It is important to bear this in mind. At a time when there was no dispute as to the infallibility of the Holy See, a commentator would not necessarily go out of his way to speak of the bearing of a text on an error which had not been broached. He would explain the passage as it bore on St. Peter personally; its bearing on the successors of St. Peter would, on the Catholic supposition, be obvious. If, for instance, St. Ambrose dealt with a passage such as this, and explained it simply in its relation to St. Peter himself, it would be clearly inadmissible to argue that he excluded all reference to his successors. For we know from another passage that St. Ambrose applied the privileges of Peter to the Bishops of Rome. Such a line of argument as Janus adopted would be fatal to many an evidence of our Lord's Divinity.

But what if, in the end of the seventh century, to which Janus alludes, the interpretation of the text is publicly assumed as the normal one, universally admitted? Such is actually the case. St. Agatho applied the words "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not," &c. to the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome. He assigns the actual inerrancy of that See during the preceding centuries as the fulfilment of our Lord's intercession for the infallibility of His Apostle Peter, in a letter to the Sixth General Council. The General Council heard the interpretation, placed the letter among its archives, and made the remark concerning it "Peter has spoken by Agatho." Is it possible to conceive a more emphatic asseveration of the inerrancy of the Holy See? Pope and Council, or, as we should prefer to say, the entire General Council, which includes its own head, set their seal to that interpretation of the words, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," which applied them to the See of St. Peter. Amongst the privileges of that See they reckoned that of infallibility, and the See of Rome was, in their judgment, the See of that Apostle. A successor of St. Peter might, of course, for a moment fail to *exercise* his gift of infallibility, as Honorius had; and on that account he would be justly blamed for neglect, as Honorius was; but if he taught the Church at all in the solemn exercise of his high office, he would be secure of divine assistance. There is no con-



tradition in the condemnation of Honorius, after his death, for neglecting to stamp out the first sparks of a heresy which grew beyond all calculation, and the assertion that the See of St. Peter was secure of divine assistance in its public exposition of the faith to the whole Church. A private letter to a wily heretic, not known to be a heretic through his studiously concealing his heresy—a letter first published, not by the Pope, but by some one else after his death—might be sufficient proof that the said Pope had been entrapped for the moment by the untruthfulness of an Eastern Patriarch—but it could be nothing more. And this is the case of Honorius. As a matter of fact, the particular heresy was crushed by the determined action of the Holy See. So that, taking the history of that heresy as a whole, it is true that Peter's faith did not fail, and that Peter did, in that matter, strengthen his brethren.

And as to the actual faith of the particular Pope, we have the witness of St. Maximus, contemporary confessor for the very truth in question, and martyr, that Honorius was personally orthodox ; and let us say it emphatically, the witness of St. Maximus is worth a thousand so-called "scientific" interpretations by any German professor in the nineteenth century.

It remains, then, that the Church of God did, in fullest possible representation, set its seal on that interpretation of the text, which is but repeated and endorsed in the Vatican decree. Pope and Council, that is, the entire Council (for the bishops without their head are not, strictly speaking, the Council), did interpret the words of our Lord, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," of the infallibility of the See of Rome, when St. Agatho quoted them as the ground of its inerrancy, and the assembled bishops exclaimed of his letter, "Peter hath spoken by Agatho."

But is Janus correct in saying that "not a single doctor of the Church" had previously given to the text this same interpretation ? The assertion is absolutely untrue. To say nothing of Bishop Stephen of Dora, the envoy of St. Saphronius of Jerusalem, the interpretation had been given by Pope Gelasius and by St. Gregory the Great, but—and here we must express our astonishment at Janus's misstatement—it had also been given by St. Leo the Great more than two centuries before ! Can a writer be considered trustworthy who, on such a point, ignores, or is ignorant of, a passage occurring in such a well-known letter as that in which St. Leo interprets this text of the See of St. Peter, and its unfailing strength ? \*

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\* It is strange to what an extent Anglicans have allowed themselves to be misled by Janus. To our certain knowledge it has been continually recommended by Oxford divines to those who are wavering in their allegiance to the "Church of England," as a convenient summary of the case as against

The third great text is the "Pasce ovas Meas" of St. John's Gospel.

The usual Anglican interpretation of this is, that it was the occasion of deepening St. Peter's repentance, or of restoring him to his Apostolate. Mr. Allies is quite at his best in the exposition of the whole passage, which he calls "The investiture of Peter." He shows, *en passant*, that if St. Peter had needed any restoration to his Apostolate, he had received it on Easter evening, when our Lord said to all the Apostles, "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven," &c. And he shows that the meaning of the text cannot be exhausted by the supposition that our Lord wished to deepen His Apostle's repentance. The command, "Feed" (or, as in the second instance, "shepherd, *i.e.*, govern, rule, provide for, superintend") "My sheep," must contain something special, whatever may have been the import of the threefold repetition of the question, "Lovest thou Me?" The words are plain, and nothing, again, but a sixteenth century tradition, which has taken hold of the minds of Anglicans, can explain their inability to see the force of the command. What must that charge be, the preliminary condition for which is a greater love for Jesus than that of the beloved disciple? What could be a fitting sequel to "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these?" What, again, the importance of that office in bestowing which our Lord thrice repeats the condition, and thrice inculcates the charge? The words of God are not spoken at random, nor His repetitions without effect. What, again, are the subjects of the charge? They are "My lambs," and "My sheep." That is the fold itself, the entire fold of the Great Shepherd. As before the Resurrection our Lord had promised the Apostles powers in common, and also spoken of powers peculiar to Peter; so also the fulfilment divides itself into two. There was something given after the Resurrection to all in common; and there was something here given to Peter alone. Thus, St. Ambrose, in the West, commenting on the passage says, "He (Peter) is preferred to all." "On the point of ascending into heaven, He was leaving as it were the Vicar of His love," "that he who was the more perfect might have the government;" and St. Chrysostom in the East, says: "He puts into his hands the

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Rome; and Mr. Gore, in the last edition of his "Roman Catholic Claims," has singled it out for special commendation. One would suppose that they had never read Hergenröther's crushing reply, which he concludes with the following words:

"I enter a solemn protest against this book of Janus, in the interests of science, which has been utterly abused, as well as in the interests of the Church, which has been shamefully outraged; while, at the same time, mankind at large are but ill served by sophistries and misrepresentations."

presidency over the brethren"; "he elected "Peter not to be the teacher of this throne," *i.e.*, of Jerusalem, as James was, "but of the whole world," and he calls those purchased by the blood of Christ "the sheep which He committed to Peter and those after him." And Theophylact, seven hundred years later, gives the tradition of the East, saying: "He puts into Peter's hands the headship over the sheep of the whole world, and to no other but him gives He this."

This was the interpretation of the text given by East and West in the Council of Florence, which was accepted by the English Church. Indeed, if we wished for a *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim to continuity with the old Church of England, so frequently made nowadays by members of the Establishment, we have it to perfection in the modern Anglican interpretation of these words, "Feed My sheep." The Church of England was represented at and received the second Council of Lyons. Could contradiction be more complete than between the pronouncements of that Council as to the government of Christ's flock and the position of the Establishment at this present moment? The infallibility of the Holy See was accepted at that Council. The Anglican Establishment is built on the denial of any divinely appointed supremacy of one See over another. The Church of England accepted the Council of Florence; that Council interpreted the text "Feed My sheep" of a Primacy divinely bestowed on the Apostolic See. Again, St. Anselm says: "It is certain that he who does not obey the ordinances of the Roman Pontiff . . . is disobedient to the Apostle Peter . . . nor is he of that flock which was given to him by God," alluding to the *Pasce oves Meas*. Now, St. Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury. But the present legal holder of that title belongs to a religion whose very essence consists in a repudiation of the ordinances of the Roman Pontiff. St. Anselm applies "Feed My lambs" to St. Peter's See; the present legal Archbishop of Canterbury must resign his position if he agreed with St. Anselm as to the very foundation of the Church as laid by our Lord.

Mr. Allies produces a passage from one writer of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, whose witness being that of one who had been in contact with various parts of the Church, has a special value. Cassian was by birth a Scythian, was educated in a monastery at Bethlehem, travelled through Egypt, and made himself acquainted with its most distinguished religious races; went to Constantinople, and was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom, and afterwards priest at Rome by Innocent I. On the capture of Rome by Alaric, he settled at Marseilles, about the year 410, and there founded two monasteries. In Cassian we

have piety, acquaintance with East and West, and undoubted intelligence. In his work on the Incarnation, he says,

"Let us ask him, who is supreme, both as disciple among disciples, and as a teacher among teachers, who, steering the course of the Roman Church, held the supremacy as well of the faith as of the priesthood. Tell us, therefore, tell us, we pray, O Peter, Prince of the Apostles, tell us how the Churches ought to believe . . . . because it is certain that no one shall be able to enter the door of the Kingdom, save he to whom the key placed by thee in the Church shall open it."

Compare with this St. Anselm's allusion to the "Feed My sheep," given above. St. Anselm and Cassian are at one—the present Archbishop of Canterbury holds an entirely different faith. Compare once more what his Grace holds with the faith of St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, from 598 to 636, the very highest of the ancient Spanish doctors, who writes to Eugenius of Toledo :

"But as to the question of the equality of the Apostles, Peter is pre-eminent over the rest . . . to whom also after the resurrection of the Son of God, was said: 'Feed My lambs,' noting by the name of lambs the prelates of the Churches. And, although the dignity of this power is derived to all Catholic Bishops, yet in a more special manner it remains for ever in the Roman Bishop, who is by a certain singular privilege set as the head over the other limbs. Whoso, therefore, renders not reverently to him due obedience, involves himself, as being severed from the head, in the schism of the Acephali."

To this schism of the Acephali belong the legal Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln, who are at present in public disagreement as to how to perform the highest act of Christian worship. And according to St. Anselm, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, they neither of them "belong to that flock which was given to Peter by our Lord." It is part of their position to maintain, indeed, *with* St. Isidore, "that the dignity of their power is derived to all Catholic Bishops;" but they are in conflict with St. Isidore, who teaches that this power does "in a more special manner remain for ever in the Roman Bishop." It is part of their position to maintain *with* Bossuet, that power to bind and loose was to pass on from the Apostles to Catholic Bishops, and *against* Bossuet, that the sequel reversed the commencement, and, though our Lord gave first and singly to Peter, what He afterwards, in a manner gave to the Apostles in common, yet Peter either had no singular power himself, or at any rate had no privilege to hand on to others after him. Whereas Bossuet, after saying that with reason greater love is asked of him, forasmuch as he has a greater dignity with a



greater charge, alluding to the words, "Feed My sheep," says "the ecclesiastical authority, first established in the person of one alone, has only been diffused on the condition of being always brought back to the principle of its unity, and that all those who shall have to exercise it ought to hold themselves inseparably united to the same chair."

We would gladly linger on this subject of the scriptural evidence of St. Peter's primacy—a primacy, let it be observed, which does not interfere with an equality of order in the rest, but does involve jurisdictional superiority. But we must refer our readers to the very powerful pages in which Mr. Allies sums up the whole scriptural argument, and content ourselves with noticing one point which has always played a prominent part in what, alas! we must call the controversy on this subject; and that is, the scene at Antioch. In an article on "the Church," in "*Lux Mundi*," the name Peter occurs once (with which we may compare St. Ambrose, saying *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*) and that one mention is an allusion to the scene at Antioch, about which all that this new exhibition of Oxford Biblical criticism has to say is that Peter played the part of a separatist. He was not sufficiently comprehensive. In point of fact, as Archdeacon Wilberforce noticed—"In the brief chronicle of the Apostolic Church, which has been left us in twelve chapters in the Book of Acts, St. Peter's figure is not only in the foreground, but so conspicuous that his position might almost be compared to that which Christ himself had so recently occupied towards His disciples." But although Oxford divinity once did much in the way of introducing the study of the Fathers, it did not succeed in destroying the Protestant tradition on this subject, and introducing any one of the Patristic interpretations of Galatians, ii., 14.

It was a favourite text with the Gnostics and Marcionites, quoted to accuse the Apostles of ignorance. Porphyry who, as St. Jerome says, "raged against Christ like a mad dog," tried by this passage to weaken the authority of the Apostles. Julian, the Apostate, used it to bring discredit on the Christian religion. It was the *pièce de resistance* of those who, in the 16th century, assailed the prerogatives of St. Peter.

Amongst the Fathers there were three lines of interpretation, each of them in emphatic contradiction to the teaching of that 16th century and to that of modern Anglicans. The earliest interpretation, that of the first three centuries, saw someone else, not the Apostle, in "Cephas," on the ground, as St. Jerome narrates, that "occasion would be given to Porphyry's blasphemies, if we could believe either that Peter had erred, or that Paul had impertinently censured the Prince of the Apostles,"—

an important evidence as the universal belief as to St. Peter's position.

The second line, adopted by St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, and, for a while, by St. Jerome himself, was to the effect that there was no actual dissension, but that the scene was pre-arranged. Peter, out of fear of the Judaisers, *i.e.*, fearing lest they should apostatise, had withdrawn in kindly feeling, from certain social intercourse with the Gentile converts. He saw this to be a mistake, and, agreeing of course with St. Paul as to the doctrine (for he was as infallible as the rest of the Apostles), he decided that St. Paul should reprehend his care for the weak brethren, and that he would openly adopt that Apostle's recommendation. In every commentary that adopts this line of interpretation, St. Peter's primacy is taken for granted.

The third interpretation, that of the Latin Fathers, consists in the admission that there was real difference, but it carefully points out that it was a matter of conduct, not of doctrine. And they lay stress on the courage of the one Apostle, and the humility of the other. But the humility of St. Peter consisted according to them, not in the mere fact of his accepting reproof, but in his accepting it although he was St. Paul's superior. He did not press his high position, nor resent the action of the subordinate apostle.

This is the gist of St. Cyprian's explanation, in a passage which is often pressed into the service of Protestantism.

"Not even Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church . . . claimed aught *proudly* or assumed aught *arrogantly* to himself, saying that he held the primacy, and that obedience rather was done to him by those younger and later."

That is to say, he might have pressed the superior position he held, given to him by our Lord, but out of humility he refrained. He did not say, *true as it was*, that he held the primacy. And so St. Augustine, who gives it as a warrant for inferiors on occasion resisting their superiors. "Paul then has the praise of just liberty; and Peter of holy humility."

And they insist upon it, that the whole matter was one of conduct, not of doctrine. St. Peter had long ago admitted the Gentiles into the Church, and declared that they were not bound by the law. He had laid down the dogmatic principle at the Council at Jerusalem. But out of regard for the feelings of others, and fearing their apostacy, as St. Chrysostom explains the expression "fearing the Jews," *i.e.*, fearing for them, he adopted a line of conduct which they mistook for approval of their Judaising tendencies, and which needed therefore to be cleared up.

It must always be remembered that all the Apostles were infallible in matters of faith, and that, according to Catholic teaching, all the Apostles were equal in point of order, of spiritual rank, of all that comes under the head of the sacerdotium, but that Peter, without being above the rest in all that was essential to the Apostolate, was the "greater," of whom our Lord spoke—the "leader" (ὁ ἡγούμενος) who was to be like his Lord in character, in humility, whilst he was to take his place in the matter of jurisdiction. So in this very Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul "went up to see Peter," and only Peter—not even St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, but St. Peter only—"of the rest saw I none." The Greek and Latin writers alike see in this a recognition of St. Peter's authority. "Not needing doctrines from man, as having received it from the God of all, he gives the fitting honour to the chief," says Theodoret, of St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem. "After so many deeds," says St. Chrysostom, "needing nothing of Peter nor of his instruction, but being his equal in rank, for I will say no more here, still he goes up to him as to the greater and elder"—his equal in the Apostolic dignity and the immediate reception of his authority from Christ, but yet his inferior in the range of his jurisdiction, Peter being "greater and elder." And elsewhere St. Chrysostom, commenting on the charge, Feed My sheep, asks "Why then, passing by the rest, does He converse with him (Peter) on these things?" And he replies, Peter "was the one preferred among the Apostles, and the mouthpiece of the disciples and the leader of the band; therefore, too, Paul then went up to visit him rather than the rest." And so Tertullian speaks of St. Paul going up to see Peter "according to duty"—and Ambrosiaster, "because he (Peter) was first among the Apostles, to whom the Saviour had committed the care of the Churches"—and St. Jerome, rejecting various other motives for the Apostle's visit, ends with saying it was "to show honour to the first Apostle."

But enough. If any one were to consider the sort of proofs which he is in the habit of adducing from Holy Scripture for the divinity of our Lord, and compare them with the abundance and directness of the proof for the primacy of St. Peter, he will, we think, find it difficult to deny this much, viz., that if any form of unity was meant to be impressed on the Church by our Lord; if any type of the Church's organisation is to be sought within Holy Scripture, it can only be that, which as a matter of fact, exists in the Catholic Roman Church. The Catholic teaching is that Jesus Christ conferred the Episcopate on St. Peter in all its fulness and sovereignty, and that He conferred it also on all the Apostolic College, presided over by St. Peter; each Apostle had a full and universal power in the whole Church, but with sub-

ordination to St. Peter. In other words, the Church came from our Lord's hands, with the articulation of its organic life settled by His own institution; the kingdom was left with its essential features sketched by Him for all time; the household started with its organisation arranged by His own words, ere He ascended into Heaven to fill all things, and, beyond all, His own Mystical Body with the life of the Holy Ghost. That kingdom has spread itself through the ages and through the world, and with its expanding life has exhibited with increasing plainness indeed and developing proportions, and more defined accentuation of the original lines, the features impressed on it from the first. "Peter and the rest," "Peter and those with him," Peter and his brethren, the Holy Apostolic See, and the divinely appointed Episcopate, such is the organisation of the kingdom, such the form of its government, such the body which with its own source of life, and that life independent in its essence of the kingdoms of the earth, has lived, survived all else, and with a history of nineteen centuries, proclaims its identity to-day with the little band which began its career on the day of Pentecost. It began on that day with the teaching of Peter, and with the discipline of Apostolic obedience, and the three thousand souls are succeeded to-day by more than 200,000,000, whose homage circulates round the fisherman's throne, which is that throne of David that is to last whilst sun and moon endure.

It follows from all that has been said, that it was no more competent to Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, Thomas Barlow, Scory, Hodgkins and Coverdale, to place Parker in possession of the See of Canterbury, without reference to, and the sanction of, the occupant of the See of St. Peter, than it would be for Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Dillon, to place Mr. Parnell on the throne of Ireland, without reference to, or the sanction of, her gracious Majesty. Indeed, far less so; for the existence of the British Empire is, after all, not of divine institution; the See of St. Peter is. One *can* conceive circumstances in which Home Rule would be justified without arrangement with the English Throne; but ecclesiastical Home Rule, secured by simple violence, or the decision of the interested parties alone, can only be ecclesiastical rebellion. The Church is a kingdom which cannot be dismembered; it may be reduced in its area, it may be shorn of a province, but it remains complete in itself, though impoverished in the number of its subjects. When the transfer of supremacy from the Holy See to the Crown was effected in the sixteenth century, the constitution which our Lord settled for His Church, was invaded, and a new religion was *ipso facto* set on foot.

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.



## ART. II.—THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

IT has been observed, with no small show of reason, that the greatest event that ever happened in the history of trade and commerce, was the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope. When Vasco de Gama found the long sea route to India, to Ceylon, and the Golden Chersonese, he wrote the epitaph and sealed up the record of Venice and Genoa, transferring, though he guessed it not, the sceptre of commerce, the traffic in all waters, from the Catholic South to Holland, England, and Protestantism. The determining events of history seem to come about in a sequence and grouping, which have a strange dramatic connection; there are third and fifth acts in the great world-chronicle; nor would any thoughtful person deny that the opening of the gates of the sea by Portuguese explorers, the discovery of America, the Renaissance, and the Reformation belong to a cycle of their own, are intimately connected as causes and effects, have created modern Europe, and are still leading on to consequences of the weightiest moment. But for my present purpose, as will be seen before I have finished these remarks, the most notable of all sequences has been that by which commerce, from the end of the sixteenth century, has followed the Protestant flag.

Thereupon ensued the decay of Venice, and the heroic uprising of Holland. But, as the event proved, it was England, not Holland, with which was to remain the Empire of the seas. Between the subjects of Elizabeth and those of Philip II., as soon as they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts at home, there was for a long term of years incessant warfare, and the Northern power waxed as the Southern and devotedly Catholic waned.

With a sense that it was the mission of a Protestant Englishman [says Mr. Froude] to spoil the Amalekites (in other words the gold ships from Panama, or the richly-laden Flemish traders), the merchants at the seaports, the gentlemen whose estates touched upon the creeks and rivers, and to whom the sea from childhood had been a natural home, fitted out their vessels under the name of traders, and sent them forth armed to the teeth, with vague commissions, to take their chance of what the gods might send.\*

By such methods was made a beginning of the British colonial Empire, which, though now broken into two great pieces, the

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\* "History of England," vol. viii. ch. 47, p. 17.

English and the American, remains in its ideal one, and is even now laying the broad foundations of industry, law, government, and social existence on which the world of the next century, and the century after that, seems likely to be set up. The permanent conquests of trade belong to English-speaking races. The motive-powers of machinery, steam, coal, and electricity have fallen to them by a sort of natural inheritance. Adam Smith has risen up among them as a prophet; Arkwright, Watt, Stephenson, Faraday, Edison, are their heroes. London is the centre of the world's business; and New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, the depôts of the American Continent, speak the English language, *parce detorta*, instead of the French or the Spanish that might have fallen to their lot.

Now the outcome of these three hundred years spent in maritime adventures, in stern and bloody uprootings of savage, or ancient, or helpless tribes, in adding invention to invention, in digging out great docks, and building larger and larger vessels, in subduing the forces of nature, and using up brain and heart in the pursuit of "wealth"—that is to say, of money and what money will purchase—is commonly known as "modern civilisation." It has necessarily an intellectual side, concerning which I will inquire by-and-by. But first of all it means the conquest of matter, "Replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over it." Never since the world was, have mankind possessed such an abundance of the things that minister to physical life and comfort. The basket and the store which science fills are overflowing with all that is good for food and pleasant to the eyes. Thanks to steam and the telegraph, the whole earth has become one garden, in which if a part is blighted the rest will furnish sustenance to make up the loss. And while in the most crowded and busy nations the population may be increasing threefold, the means of feeding, clothing, and sheltering them increase fivefold; so that, until the present day, Malthus, if not refuted in the abstract, is at any rate dumbfounded by statistics.\* How to produce wealth in an ever multiplying ratio is no longer a problem; for it has been solved. The sign, if not the cause of commercial panics, which one would imagine ought to have been a scarcity of things to buy and consume, is actually the superabundance of commodities. Were this told now in some whimsical tale of Swift's, we should laugh and applaud his inventiveness. But when it is announced in the morning papers, we do not dream of laughing. We admit the fact, and draw long faces. There are, it appears, in such a case, so many more consumable goods than are wanted, that charitable persons at once set about

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\* See *Contemporary Review*, December 1883, p. 858.

forming relief committees, in order to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, who will be thrown upon the world by an overstocked market. As George Eliot somewhere observes, "The harvest was a splendid one, and the farmers were ruined."

Perhaps this unlooked-for tragedy of abundance may suggest that the methods even of producing wealth require to be overhauled. But, anyhow, the laws of production for the market are simplicity itself compared with those of distribution. It is quite easy to go on creating a given article till the warehouses overflow; the question imperiously raised by Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is how to divide among the members of society what has been in this manner produced, so that every one shall have a just and reasonable share of it. And here we enter upon a dense thicket of inquiries, all ramifying into one another, with a thousand cross-branchings and entanglements, out of which who can point to an issue? Suppose, however, that, mindful of the curious phenomena of "over-production," we are led to ask the previous question—viz., What is the purpose of wealth?—may we not find, in endeavouring to answer it, the clue of which we are in quest? The science of political economy, like every other, is determined by its object; and being a practical science, its object is the end to be realised. That end, as is known even to Mr. Vanderbilt, cannot be money-making, for money is but the medium or instrument of exchange. Nor can it be simply the manufacture of commodities for the market, since those things only are bought and sold for which there is a demand, and the demand comes from human beings, and human beings judge of what is useful and pleasant according to a standard which varies with their religion, civilisation, moral instincts, and the motives of every sort by which they may be influenced. Supply and demand, in short, are regulated by the kind of life which men desire to live. So that, in framing a true science of political economy, we find ourselves compelled to inquire what that is which makes the life of mankind human in the proper sense of the word, or what is the ideal of society as determined by reason.

But no sooner have we put this question than we are thrown back, necessarily, from the present era of gambling on 'Change, and killing swine at Chicago, to the days of that mighty quarrel between Catholicism and the Reformed Churches, to which I made allusion in my opening paragraph. Quite true it is that from the year 1500 onwards, "the choice of the ways was offered to the nations"; and we may even grant (with the due explanation of terms) that on the one side was "liberty, with the untried possibilities of anarchy and social dissolution; on the other, the reinvigoration of the creeds and customs of ten centuries, in which

Christendom had grown to its present stature."\* It has been repeatedly urged, indeed, that Luther, Knox, and Calvin, with their Puritan followers, inaugurated a strait asceticism, which was far less indulgent to human nature than the Catholic Church had shown herself to be. Upon which I will merely observe that if the revolt of the Puritans from art and science (which is an ascertained fact) was due to religious-seeming motives, its great and ever-growing result has been a hard love of gain, a secular money-grasping spirit, and a "covetousness which is the serving of idols." Mammon, let us never forget, is "the least erected spirit that fell." And the civilisation which he has created, though it were made out of the golden floor of heaven itself, is essentially base and mechanical. Thanks to him, "liberty" in the long run has meant Individualism, *Chacun pour soi, chacun chez soi*. To make a private fortune has been everything; and the man would have been thought insane who should sincerely declare that he was laying up wealth for the benefit of the State or of others. The Reformed religion, unpeopling heaven of its saints and angels, breaking the communion with the Unseen, and substituting for the familiar Paradise which Fra Angelico has depicted, the illimitable azure (with or without an abstract God and a legal atonement), left only the material world as a solid, palpable reality. Its disciples were set loose from the old superstitions, as they deemed them; but the oldest of all, that which believes in what the senses handle and enjoy, they clave to more firmly than ever. They did not care for art. Their lives were in no sense beautiful; on the contrary, they were unspeakably dull and wearisome, abounding in "immense ennui." Their God was a severe taskmaster; their worship of Him a routine of flattery, in which they can have hardly expected Him to believe. And their love for the brethren was founded on the law of supply and demand, corrected by the poor-rate, and by philanthropy "increasing as the square of the distance"; while poverty, no longer a counsel of perfection, appeared, as in the days of Juvenal, to be ridiculous.

Such, by development and success in trading, did the Protestant Gospel become in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It contained a first and a second commandment, which, to borrow a happy phrase from Leigh Hunt, consisted in "worldliness and other-worldliness," the sum of them being, "Thou shalt save money here, and thine own particular soul hereafter." "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another," said the dying Christ. "I read not so," the commercial Christian nourished on Puritanism replied, "not so, but that ye overreach one another." Overreach in the making, in the

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\* Froude, vol. viii. p. 4.



selling, in the buying, in the advertising of goods; overreach in number, weight, and measure; overreach in colour and texture, substance and look; overreach, more than all, in the wages counted out to him that produces by him (the fortunate man) that is the owner, though not the maker, of the thing produced. All these marvels have come to pass, for the reason that it is not Christ who sits in the market-place to rule the exchanges, or in the manufactory to judge between master and man, but the "lawless one" set free at the Reformation to grind the faces of the poor, who, while he relegated the Eight Beatitudes within the covers of a book that no one heeded, or while he set up a dreary Sabbatarian covenant for one day in the week, was careful to take to himself the other six. Instead of the "vinculum charitatis" among Christians, was recognised only the cash-nexus. They were to be brethren and dearly-beloved in the circle of the pulpit; but in mart and workshop they became deadly enemies, whose exact and unalterable relation Mr. Darwin was at last enabled to formulate as a struggle for existence, in which the weakest went to the wall. As Mr. Herbert Spencer contemplates these "evidences of Protestantism," he cannot forbear remarking on the iniquity of an arrangement by which those who enjoy do not produce, and those who produce do not enjoy. But we shall be wise if we remember that the enjoyment is, to a large extent, as vain and futile as the production is wasteful and irrational. The ten thousand shops filled with objects which no sane man or woman can usefully employ, bear witness to the degrading toil of a vast multitude, and to the frivolity, bad taste, and criminal idleness of the classes to which they minister. Here is a law of reciprocity which only the blind cannot see. The West End creates the East; but East and West alike are in one condemnation. For it is the standard of life which determines, as I said, what things shall be made or not made—and the best things are as little known or considered in Belgravia as in Whitechapel.

Commerce and industry, then, have followed the Protestant flag with these results. But an army of captives, who get little good from either, have been compelled to march along in their train. Of these a large proportion are Catholics, unskilled in the arts which during times of persecution they were practically forbidden to exercise; till lately uneducated; and in the eyes of the criminal magistrate and the Poor Law guardians, very often uncivilised. They count among the "waste products" of the modern system. When Catholicism was trampled down in Northern countries by the advancing car of the Reformation, *they* fell under the wheels. *They*, in the flame and smoke begirt contest of the last three centuries, suffered more than any others the agony of defeat, were bereft of all things except their reli-

gion, and were condemned to ignorance, to the vices and despair of vanquished races, to fruitless toil, and to the scorn which insults what it has maimed and broken. The consequences, however, are singularly unlike what their conquerors anticipated, and prove once more, to the astonishment of an unbelieving century, that "surely there is a God that judgeth the earth." I will endeavour to make my meaning clear.

It was in 1648 that the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, which put an end to the disastrous Thirty Years' War. That treaty announced, in unmistakable terms, that the progressive nations of Europe had revolted from the Catholic standard of civilisation and government. The peoples of the South had already entered upon a stage of decay; and although they did not reject the Papacy, nothing would be easier than to show that the spirit and the ideal which had created the Christendom of the ages of faith were no longer to be found in the Spain of Philip IV., or in the Italy which had become a geographical expression. Lower and lower the so-called Catholic nations sank during a hundred and fifty years. It was simply a question of time how long the institutions of the *ancien régime*, from which most of the meaning and all the vitality had departed, should cumber the ground. Not even the "doom's blast" of the French Revolution, though reverberated from a hundred battle-fields, could recall the life which had once been in them, but was now utterly and hopelessly extinct. The Holy Roman Empire was a phantom, and, ghostlike, retreated into the past when Napoleon challenged it to abide his tremendous strokes. With it fell the mediæval system. And I shall not be misunderstood when I say that those who beheld, as I did the white flag waving over St. Peter's on September 20, 1870, might mark the very hour at which Catholicism, for well nigh a thousand years conservative in the political order, and bound to the old state of things by innumerable ties, would cease to build on a past of which not one stone was left standing on another. From henceforth the Catholic policy must needs be, not conservative, but constructive. "*Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*" That which had been accomplished in the Protestant North, the almost complete dissolution of a social hierarchy founded upon "status" in favour of a democracy tending more and more to found itself upon contract, was to be repeated on the shores of the Mediterranean, and even in the Eternal City. It was not the triumph of orthodox Protestantism, a vapoury creed without heart or substance. The strong secular aspirations which Protestantism had fostered will alone account for modern Italy. And so the old order had passed away, with its good and its evil. But the Church remained, though in a world so different.

The break up of a polity which even its friends would allow to have been Erastian, Febronian, or, in other words, anti-Papal—such as was the Legitimist *régime* from Louis XIV. onwards—was, in my opinion, necessary to the free growth of Catholicism. The age of democracy was sure to come. What would have been the position of the Holy See had it to consult at every step a Government like that of old Versailles, or the Aulic Council at Vienna; or to manage the susceptibilities of a high-born clergy, nobles before they were priests, to whom their privileges in the State were the first consideration? It may be truly and thankfully said that we have been spared these difficulties by the French Revolution. Whatever could be lost, except in remote countries like Hungary, has been taken from us—unjustly, no doubt, and yet, as the event is proving, to our ultimate advantage. “I do not intend,” said Count Cavour, “to disestablish the Church, for I have seen what an ultramontane clergy is in Ireland and Belgium.”\* The main consequence of despoiling the sanctuary has been to unite priests and people as they never were united before. It is, as the Piedmontese statesman knew, the same story everywhere; for the principle always holds good, that a voluntary system means a popular and even a democratic clergy.

But more remains behind. It is in the highest degree remarkable that, as a direct outcome of the political overthrow of what some would call the Catholic, and I prefer to describe as the feudal system, the dividing line between North and South established at the Reformation has been hopelessly confused. Great multitudes of our people have been projected across it; and if the modern spirit is in Rome, the Catholic Church has taken deep root in England and in America. At the cost of great and often renewed calamities, Providence has decreed that, as in the Roman Empire so in the movement of Democracy, the Christian and Catholic name shall be spread in the centres of civilisation. Since 1848 a continuous stream of emigrants from Ireland, from Poland, and the Catholic Rhine, have poured into the United States. Five and thirty years ago Cardinal Newman, in a memorable sentence, declared that “the English language and the Irish race are overrunning the world.” But New York, which is the first of Irish cities, yields only to Berlin and Vienna in the number of its German population. The Argentine Republic has given shelter to a large Italian exodus. Chile, again, is prosperously governed by descendants of Irish emigrants. And Australia, as is not unlikely, will contain more than one Catholic state within its ample circuit. But amid the growth of churches, congregations, and hierarchies, the colonising of new

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\* “Vie de Cavour,” by M. de Mazade, pp. 93-97.

sites, and taking into culture of desert lands, the one point to which I would call the reader's most earnest attention is, that these millions, for whom Catholicism is the only true religion, are men and women whose capital is their labour, or what labour has brought them. Some few may be employers on a large scale; but the immense majority remain wage-earners, and have little or no stake in the land on which they dwell, or the cities into which they crowd as tenement lodgers. Political power they often have and exercise; but their social status leaves them at the bottom of the ladder. It is not surprising, indeed, that men who have been dispossessed and thrust out of the Old World should fail very often to make their way in the New. "He who would bring back the wealth of the Indies," it has been said, "must take out the wealth of the Indies." And our people have landed on the shores of Australia and America without leaders, without money, and without organisation. Where is the marvel if they became hewers of wood and drawers of water, mere Gibeonites serving the temple of national prosperity day and night, but fed on scraps and leavings? But these things did not happen without a reason. The Catholic Church of the last century was in a marked degree aristocratic; to-day, as in the Apostolic times, it is the Church of the poor. And to solve the economic problem is with the Catholic people of these countries a matter of life and death.

Now the system into which our disinherited millions have been thus unexpectedly thrown, dates from yesterday. We are apt to suppose that, great as are the political changes that have taken place since the American Declaration of Independence, the relations of "labour and capital," being fixed by the nature of things, remain exactly as they were. English economists like Ricardo and Fawcett have dealt with their subject in the main as though it were abstract and not historical, governed by the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be altered. In many even of the late discussions regarding the rights of property, the ownership of land or of natural resources at large, peasant proprietorship, lease-holding, and the like, it has been too often the fashion to suppose that all these terms have a meaning which everybody understands, and which never has changed, nor will change. Whereas the whole method of capitalist production is new, and the conception of property is always changing with the institutions which govern it. "At the middle of the last century," as I read in the "Fabian Essays on Socialism," "Western Europe was still organised on a system of which the basis was virtually a surviving feudalism. The nexus between man and man was essentially a relation of superiority and inferiority. Social power still rested with the monarch, or with the owners of large landed estates. Some inroads had already been made in the perfect symmetry of



the organisation, notably by the growth of towns, and the rise of the still comparatively small trading class; but the bulk of the population was arranged in an hierarchical series of classes, linked to one another by the bond of Power.\* But within a couple of generations, as the writer goes on to say, a great change, the most profound and far-reaching that had taken place for ten centuries, came to pass. Coal, steam, and machinery made an end of the feudal *régime* in economics, as the French Revolution had made an end of it in politics. "The squire faded away before the mill-owner." Peers developed into capitalists in picturesque attire; and Dukes or Earls kept their footing among the rulers of mankind only by the steady grasp they retained of certain commodities (Cleveland pig-iron to wit), or by still exercising the rights and receiving the dues of ground landlords, market-owners, toll-takers, dock-proprietors, or promoters of companies. In newly-settled countries, where Dukes and Earls were not, an aristocracy has grown up by accumulating the same sort of monopolist rights in the hands of ground-rent holders, like the Astors of New York, and of railway, ranche, and mining "kings." Class after class has been politically enfranchised on this side of the Atlantic; while, on the other, it is imagined that Republican institutions make all men equal and independent. But the economic enfranchisement lags behind. In all countries, bond or free, there is still a wide "margin of misery," composed of the unemployed, the pauper, and the criminal residuum, which, since it is not annihilated by starvation, must needs be a tax on the producers, who have to support themselves and the "margin" as well. But a fringe of unemployed, and a pretty wide one too, is requisite to keep down the wages of the workers, or to cut the ground from under strikes, so long as competition between the labourers themselves is allowed to determine what share of the product they shall receive. The houseless and propertyless millions whom French economists term the proletariat, have been produced by the industrial system which came in with machinery. In the sense of "freedom to appropriate the means of production, liberty," as Mr. Sidney Webb observes, "reached its maximum at the commencement of the century;" and, in spite of the Factory Acts, it still has "ample room and verge enough" to create the dark cities, fetid courts, and choking dens of misery which are the homes of the urban working class. Some eighteen months ago, I published the following words in the *New York Forum*; and since they represent in plain terms what I believe to be the true state of the case, I will set them down here, challenging comment or criticism at the hands of those who are better

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\* "Fabian Essays," ii. p. 55.

informed, or who can prove to me that I have overcharged the picture :

We have before us [I remark] an amazing spectacle. We see a great multitude ploughing the fields, raising the harvest, digging mines, smelting ores, building great factories and filling them with machinery, weaving and fashioning all manner of beautiful and useful things by means of the machinery they have made, running the railways, launching the ships, carrying the produce of their toil to the world's end, and bringing thence in exchange what other multitudes have in like manner created. And then, note the magic transformation. The banquet of civilisation is spread and the company sit down. Are they the toilers of sea and land whom we beheld so busy? Do these eat the fruit of their hands? By no manner of means. They have withdrawn out of sight to their dog-kennels, otherwise called hired tenements, and to their festering scraps, too often raked out of the refuse, in the strength of which they are free to live, to propagate, and to create fresh capital. "Homeless, landless, moneyless"—such is literally their condition. They are not even supposed to get a fair share of the commodities their hands and their brains have produced. The monopolist bids them compete, not with him, but with one another; and he stands by to accept, in the name of equity, the lowest tender. That is the true law of supply and demand. Supply, the number of those who must work for wages or starve; and demand, the least amount on which they can contrive, whilst working and breeding workers, not to starve till their average tale of life has been told. Here is an ethical system, indeed, that confiscates for the benefit of a few the land of whole continents; that monopolises the cotton industry, the iron industry, the coal industry; that snatches the corn he has grown from the hands of the Russian peasant on the Volga in order to send down prices in Mark Lane; that depopulates Italy, and is filling its hospitals with men and women suffering from *pellagra*—who are, in plainer words, hunger-bitten and famine-infected; that, in the paradise of "peasant-proprietors," France, has left eighteen millions without a foot of land to call their own; and that in the rich, democratic, and educated States of the American Union is repeating these marvels of the old world, laying its dead hand upon millions of acres, and raising up a proletariat not only on the shores of the Atlantic, but in Chicago, and at the Golden Gate. No wonder that Prince Bismarck, whose strong hand my friend was praising, has filched his programme from Lassalle and turned State Socialist. The *reductio ad absurdum* of Industrialism can go but one step further—to commercial ruin; and thither it is hastening.\*

English readers are so accustomed to dull language, when there is question of the "dismal science," that I doubt not they will suspect this rhetoric as a little too vehement, and therefore not

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\* *The Forum*, June 1889, pp. 440-441.

likely to be founded on a careful examination of the facts which it brings together. I can only say that the evidence for every line there written is, in my opinion, overwhelming. But far better than taking my word it would be, if those who are anxious to understand in what kind of world we are living, and to whom the Gospel must now be preached, would study Blue Books and tables of statistics for themselves. The swing of the pendulum from the regulation of economics by law and government has been so violent that, in the language of Professor Huxley the "Administrative Nihilism," received as an axiom by philosophic Radicals, has been only partially checked by Lord Shaftesbury and his successors. Nor is it yet comprehensible to the brain nourished on Bentham and Fawcett how the "liberty of the working man to contract" (which includes that of his wife and children to compete against him) can be restricted by Parliament, without relegating Political Economy to Jupiter and Saturn. But the great mass of the wage-earners knew that they were not fighting against the nature of things in demanding that "free competition" should be subordinated to humane and moral considerations. As Cardinal Manning pointed out not long ago, in a most striking and suggestive letter to the International Congress at Liège, there are sacred contracts, of which marriage is one, that carry with them rights and obligations prior to any "contract of interest" in the marketplace.\* Or to enunciate the general principle, economic science cannot cease to be a branch of ethics without violating the nature of man, who is not first a money-making and then a rational animal, but precisely the reverse. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice" remains as truly an axiom of right conduct in the production and distribution of material commodities, as it is allowed to be in every other department of life. To establish "freedom of contract" upon this foundation is the one great problem with which economists have now to deal from their point of view, and teachers of religion from theirs, which latter, though formally distinct from it, is not only not opposed to sound science, but must be kept steadily before the modern world if it would not make shipwreck of labour and capital together.

The late Mr. Carlyle was accustomed, like King David, to say many things in his haste. But he never uttered a more disastrous saying than when he bestowed on Political Economy that nickname of "the Dismal Science." Such truly it may have been in the minds which were then busy about it. Thomas Carlyle's feeling for the workers of the world, as opposed to the "exploiters" of their work, was keen and passionate. His faith in the prophet McCrowdy, *alias* McCulloch, was small. And he

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\* See the *Tablet*, Sept. 13, 1890.

believed that by violent denunciation and piled up metaphor, he could awaken Plugson the monopolist, Sir Jabez Windbag the politician, and their allies the game-preserving landowners, to a sense, if not of their duty, at least of their danger. Did he succeed? The answer, which may be studied in the condition of England to-day, is surely not in the affirmative. There is a little less sleep, a little less folding of the hands in slumber among the classes to which this shaggy Lowland seer prophesied. But the superstition lives on which made even Mr. Carlyle's fiery message but so much tinder, blazing into vivid flame, and then dying down into ashes. I mean that Political Economy is still treated, in nearly all the utterances which profess to guide our social and political actions, apart from the history of mankind, in a sort of mathematical fashion, and is so argued about in daily speech. But the question of supply and demand for the market has yet to be controlled and elucidated by considerations of how the market is itself formed, and what can be done to raise and humanise it. For the market, as we saw, is the commercial expression of a standard according to which men desire to live. And Political Economy is but, as logicians say, an instrumental science, a branch of that which seeks to realize material civilisation as it ought to be. An organised social life, or the perfect accomplishment of what Aristotle had in mind when he declared man to be a political animal, the member of a state in which everyone shall have his due place and work, must therefore be the governing idea of whatever economics are not merely of the marauding kind. Not the "struggle for existence," but evolution as the scope of all struggling; the realisation by united effort of that human ideal which is alone competent to guide us towards a sound theory of the production and distribution of wealth. The federation of capital which is daily growing before our eyes, may serve as a proof that one at least of the parties to this problem is beginning so to comprehend it. Employers of labour find it more profitable to combine than to carry on an internecine warfare among themselves. In like manner, the impetus given to Trades Unions, now gathering in the unskilled and holding out a hand to the very Antipodes, will demonstrate that the producers, no less than the captains of industry, perceive that competition is their bane. When the organisation on both sides is something like complete, will the "freedom of contract" thence resulting, at all resemble that which existed in the bad old days of unrestricted labour in the ranks, and unlimited profits among the drivers? There will be contract; but will not capitalist "trusts," and workmen's unions have brought in a new kind of "status"? At all events, "administrative Nihilism" will be a thing of the past. And then it will appear that Political Economy was not



a dismal science, but that the generalisations of its early professors were faulty and inadequate.

We may now estimate the nature and magnitude of the task which is laid upon the Church of to-day, in its public function of upholding the moral law and applying to material civilisation the principles of Christianity. If economics are to be governed simply by the "struggle for existence," it is superfluous to talk of the rights whether of labour or of capital. In that hurly-burly, the will of the stronger must prevail; nor can either side justly complain if it is vanquished by brute force. But with the admission of rights, which implies corresponding duties, there is room for the Christian teacher, not as an expert in details of which he may know very little, but as expounding principles and testing results by the truths of which he is a guardian. Nor is it a valid objection to his entrance on the scene that competition will have its way, and that the rate of wages cannot be regulated by sentiment; that, in the language of Karl Marx, there is an "iron law," which cannot be broken by master or man, and which determines the price of labour. Since that law, even if it were universal in its operation, is always formulated as "the lowest recompense on which workers will consent to work and propagate." Again, therefore, it is a question of the standard, and we escape from mere tables of statistics into the wide and impalpable ether of human thought, feeling, and desire. An English operative will not consent to labour on the food which satisfies a Hindoo, or a Polish refugee just landed at St. Katharine's Docks. Is not the real problem, then, to create in our labouring classes a right notion of what is indispensable to a Christian home, and in our leisured classes the sense of something better than luxury and self-indulgence as their ideal of life? I am not in any way called upon to disparage one section of society at the expense of another, nor to assert that virtue is the monopoly whether of rich or poor. But if there is a Christian type of existence, for men and women not bound by monastic vows, it is surely possible to judge by means of it the extravagant follies of wealth which owns no responsibilities, and the just demands of labour toiling, so often in vain, to secure food and shelter in exchange for life-long exertion.

Doubtless, the moment we put this judgment to the touch, there will be a great outcry. Or rather, to speak the truth, it has already begun. The canker of lawlessness—anarchy in the non-scientific sense of the word, which Englishmen persistently read into foreign treatises—has eaten into the hearts of multitudes, high and low. Laurence Gronland has said excellently well that we must substitute for the "independence" of individuals their "interdependence." And what a revolution would follow, were

it done in fact! But this is the very meaning of the name Catholic. Its nearest modern equivalent—sadly enough defaced and corrupted—is “Fraternity.” Were it admitted as a real and sovereign idea, we should see the standard of luxury to which men live up at one end of our great cities, and the standard of misery to which they sink down at the other, giving place to the simpler and healthier notion that has not yet died out among the less degraded sections of both classes. A truly Christian civilisation, of which there were such remarkable beginnings in mediæval communities, would not tolerate the aimless, do-nothing lives of so many rich people, who, as Mr. Carlyle said, are looking round in a purblind manner for the God they have lost, because, to start with, they have ceased to believe in and practise almost the whole of their duties to man. It would seem intolerable that any one, either prince or pauper, should have no task except to eat and drink at the cost of society. The old Greek and Italian city has still a lesson to teach us. But far more effective would be the teaching of the Catholic Church, if men cared to listen. Christianity is not Puritan, not iconoclast; it promises to redeem the body as well as the soul, the State which accepts Revelation as well as the individual who is to be everlastingly saved by it. And, although in the minds of various fanatics, science, art, literature, and commerce have appeared to be incompatible with the New Testament (which they have resolved into sheer mysticism), no one who has read the story of the Catholic Church can pretend that such is her doctrine. She does not, indeed, lay down a minute unchangeable code of rules whereby to cultivate any one of these human goods; but it is the Christian spirit which gives and renews life better than a thousand rules. Only we must not shrink from applying it to the facts of every day, or from manfully condemning whatever is opposed to it. Examples may be taken almost at random in any of the provinces I have mentioned, from the mendacious advertisements which fill our newspapers and add to the vulgarity of our railway-stations, to the coffin-ships which are outward bound under heavy insurance; or from the shoddy clothes, adulterated food, and drugged beer supplied to the working millions, all the way up to the poisonous novels and society journals, to the meretricious painting, acting, and music that contribute to the gratification of a world wherein money has taken the place of honour, and the doors of royal palaces are flung open before it.

“The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labour,” says Dr. J. K. Ingram. “We have been suffering for a century,” adds Professor Foxwell, “from an acute outbreak of Individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction.” “No

one," concludes even the cautious and conservative Mr. R. Giffen, in words which have raised unceasing echoes, "can contemplate the present condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better." And certainly if, as is stated, the present Individualist methods of holding capital, purchasing labour, and distributing the results, have ended in failing to create "a decent social life for four-fifths of the people," it must be evident to the most formal capacity that it will not long endure, provided that the majority are made conscious of their power to alter it. Even now, "the steady increase of the Government regulation of private enterprise, the growth of municipal administration, and the rapid shifting of the burden of taxation directly to rent and interest, mark in treble lines the statesman's unconscious abandonment of the old Individualism."\* Yes, and they point the way to a condition of society much more resembling that which the Catholic Church upheld and fostered in her palmy days, than any we have seen since the Reformation. It is the incongruous mixture of a "socialised form of production" with the "individual form of exchange," that divides an ostensibly free and united Kingdom into Lord Beaconsfield's "two nations"—the "classes and the masses"—of which one enjoys much more than is good for it, while the other has all but lost the very sense of enjoyment, and is condemned to a sad monotony of fruitless toil. Honest work and healthy leisure have thus become to an incredible extent impossible in modern society. But when it is perceived that the root of all evil is covetousness, digested into a pseudo-science, and bent merely on gratifying itself, whether by work or enjoyment, without regard to the organism of which all are members, surely the axe will be laid to the system and the tree will fall. Not, as many foolishly dread, the tree of productive industry, whose fruits are now spoiled and wasted in the gathering, but the tree of luxury, in the shade of which only venomous fungi spring up and flourish. "The existence of the lower classes," observes a German professor of economic science, is "without joy and without justice." A pregnant sentence! And suppose the message of the Old Testament were justice, as that of the New Testament is joy; and furthermore, that the science itself of wealth were undergoing a transformation in the divine light which falls out of these windows in heaven upon its pages, can we believe that the Catholic priest or layman has no part assigned to him in bringing about the change by that Providence which is manifestly directing it all?

It may be objected, with no little surprise and indignation, that Catholics have long since been attending on this very thing, and

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\* "Fabian Essays," p. 60.

that it is rather late in the day to preach lessons of fraternity to them. But, in the first place, I wish to disclaim all thought of preaching. My purpose is to exchange ideas with those who take an interest, as so many of us now do, in the corporate action of the Creed we have inherited upon the society we live in. And, in the next, whilst I recognise a sort of "indirect adaptation" of our methods and resources to the conditions of the time, it seems to me highly desirable that we should cast off the shreds and tatters of legal disabilities still hanging about us, and instead of looking on ourselves as mere "resident aliens" in the nineteenth century, should contribute a direct and deliberate share to the establishment of a social ethics in harmony with our beliefs. Let us begin at the beginning. How ought men to live in this England of ours, and in the Greater Britain across the sea, if Christ were acknowledged as their king? It is a question that must needs be asked, and that incessantly demands an answer, unless we hold that the present order of things is utterly beyond the care of the Heavenly Father, and that He means His reign to begin when the world has been burnt with fire on the Day of Judgment, but not a moment sooner.

I cannot but imagine that some thought of this kind is deeply seated in the hearts of many Christians—social Quietists, as I may term them—to whose apprehension the Gospel is for individuals, not for states and peoples, and who apply to the baptized millions rules or sayings that held good in the days when believers were but "a little flock," without public consequence or any power of influencing legislation. Such rules still apply when the circumstances are the same. But how if they have ceased to be the same? Catholics find themselves on an equality with their fellow-citizens, free to take their seats in Parliament, in the County Council, and on Boards of Education. They must either legislate in union with men of various creeds and parties, for the common good, or stand aside and see the power which they decline to exercise passing into more vigorous hands. It is reassuring to observe that hitherto they have not dreamt of shirking their responsibility. If, however, they must vote and govern, there is implied in any successful and generally beneficent action they may resolve upon, nothing less than a public code of ethics, which will take into its purview the whole extent of social phenomena and their laws. An exceedingly great enterprise, as I need not remark. And how is it to be attempted if, in our lay education, the true account of the genesis and distribution of property and wealth is nowhere given; if our conception of society, far from having caught up even with the eighteenth century, lingers about the worn-out ideals of Toryism, Whiggism, Legitimism, and such like disembodied spectres? It



has been appositely laid down by Marx and Engels that "in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis on which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." Not, indeed, that other forces besides the economic condition do not exert their sway; but that here is the *basis* upon which all changes whatsoever go forward. Well, in which of our great schools has history been taught from this point of view? We all remember Mr. Carlyle's famous definition of the modern state, "Anarchy plus the policeman." In what degree have we so much as thought of contrasting it, for the purpose of training our young men to effective action, with Catholic social ideas applicable to the times we live in? The social organism, so far as I remember, had not even a name in English education when I was at school, although some of us read about it in Aristotle, and perhaps wondered that cities like Athens and Sparta were no longer to be found. The cause of the omission lay near at hand. For two centuries and more, Catholics in these countries had been what I have called them, "resident aliens." Since 1789 their brethren had succumbed to a not unlike fate on the Continent. Statesmen no longer heeded the voice of the Church's rulers; and the Catholic working population not accustomed to exercise or appreciate the power which enfranchisement had put into their hands, went on enduring what they fancied it was impossible for them to amend, acquiesced in a policy of "abstention," and lay at the mercy of a few energetic individuals, who seized the reins of power, which the "well-disposed" would not grasp. It is a melancholy story, but the lesson it conveys should not be lost upon men who have no intention of sinking into the passive helplessness which, during long years, has been the chief characteristic of Catholic France and Italy. The English-speaking races are neither effete nor indolent; they do not suffer, as M. Weiss lately declared that France is suffering, from "cerebral anæmia;" and they have enjoyed a political training which has taught them the value of compromise in matters where it is constantly the one solution. Their experience in the machinery of economic production is unrivalled. And the very height of Individualism to which they have ascended is some guarantee, that they will take less hurt than nations which have been enfeebled by centralisation, in passing from "administrative Nihilism" to the organised distribution of products which is slowly emerging from our present disorders.

I have employed the word "Individualism," because it denotes a manifest evil from which all are suffering, and has a plain and palpable sense, namely, the method of producing or consum-

ing without regard to the common welfare. But I have not spoken of "Socialism" as likely to supersede it; for one thing, because to define Socialism is far from easy, and, at this stage, not of any pressing importance. And for another, because I agree with Mr. Olivier, that "the opposition commonly assumed in contrasting the two," that is to say, the ideal Individualism—not the base species just described—and ideal Socialism, "is an accident of the now habitual confusion between personality and personalty, between a man's life and the abundance of the things that he has."\* It would be absurd to argue that the individual, as such, stands opposed to the organism in and by which alone he exists; or that measures can benefit society without doing good to those who make it up. Sufficient for my purpose it is to remark with the late Professor Cairns, "on moral no less than on economic grounds," as he declared, "that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class;" that "the wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry;" but that "what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives."† Again, whenever, and in so far as, it is scientifically demonstrated that the capitalist, ceasing to be a real "captain of industry," and managing nothing except to maintain himself as one of the idle rich, does not return an equivalent to the industry which supports him, but has become useless and obstructive, I think his days in the land are numbered. Whatever society can do without him, it will do without him. And the "ring" and the "trust," which seem to be the very triumph of "capitalism," will but have shown the way to absorbing it in the higher synthesis which we call the State. That is by no means the same thing as affirming that skilled labour is worth no more to the community than unskilled; or that we are entering upon an era of barbarous Communism. It merely asserts that "if a man will not work, neither let him eat." Every one is bound to return the value of what he receives to those by whose labour he benefits. And again, if the rate of production and the scale of prices are to be fixed, as the combinations of capitalists do fix them in America, and have begun to fix them in England, it is better that this should be done by public authority, for the good of the whole State, and not merely that individuals may wallow in riches and in self-indulgence while inflicting distress upon thousands. I am quite content to go as far as these arguments will carry me, before attempting to sketch

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\* "Fabian Essays," p. 105.

† "Some Leading Principles of Political Economy," p. 32.

the rest of the journey. And I am warranted in going thus far by the principles which have been laid down in the Catholic school of ethics, and which by their very nature never can become obsolete. I would, in fact, undertake to find a valid justification for what has been advanced in this paragraph, under the title of Usury in the Canon Law.

But now to look at the matter from another point in this never-ending circle of unrighteousness.

For more than a century (says Mr. Graham Wallas) the proletarians of Europe have been challenged by their masters to do as little work as they can. They have been taught by the practical economists of the Trades Unions, and have learnt for themselves by bitter experience, that every time anyone of them in a moment of ambition or good will does one stroke of work which is not in his bond, he is increasing the future unpaid labour of himself and his fellows.

I may pause to remark on the side light this sentence throws upon the laziness attributed to the Irish peasant, well taught by *his* experience also that if he improves his farm he thereby increases his rent. But to continue my quotation :

At the same time (adds Mr. Wallas), every circumstance of monotony, ugliness, and anxiety has made the work as wearisome and disgusting as possible. All, almost without exception, now look upon the working day as a period of slavery, and find such happiness as they can get only in the few hours or minutes that intervene between work and sleep.\*

We have here gone down to the solid rock, and need not ask why so many who are compelled to be dishonest in every work of their hands, or to pay for honesty with increase of toil, should spend what leisure they may have in drunkenness and rioting, and have forgotten, if they ever knew, the meaning of religion. Bad work ruins body and soul alike. A nation that has entered upon this path, if it will not repent and honestly do the things which by contract and law it has bound itself to do, can but go down to the nether deeps. Its trade will be its damnation. There was a time when English goods fetched the highest price in the market, because they were to be depended upon. That time is swiftly passing away. And mark, it is not, as the advocates *laissez-faire* tell us, that the demand has slackened, and the price of sound commodities fallen off in consequence. The demand continues ; but as, in the language of Mr. John Bright's principle, "adulteration is a form of competition," so it has been acted upon here to cheapen the cost of production, and the price of the Lancashire millowner, who stiffens his cottons and

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\* "Fabian Essays," p. 145.

calicoes with glazing to mask their rottenness, has begun to find him out. Nevertheless, the "consumer," especially if he belongs to the labouring class, will in a majority of instances have no choice but to purchase what he knows to be unsound if not unsightly. From first to last it would seem as though the capitalist method of production rested upon injustice, and brought forth lies. And it is, as it ought to be, "the disappearance at the base and at the summit of society of the conditions of social morality" that "rouses those whose mere material interests remain unaffected," to conceive of a better order of things, in which producer and consumer shall have their due equally, and from which the monopolist who stands between them, taxing both, and forcing the one to make and the other to buy his cheating wares, shall be eliminated.

Meanwhile, can there be any more cheering token for Catholics than the repeated and hearty confession on the lips of men like Mr. William Morris, Mr. Hyndman, and the Fabian Essayists, who do but echo what M. Littré and Auguste Comte asserted in their time, that the Church from which Northern Europe broke away three hundred and seventy years ago, has, to quote Mr. Olivier once again, "done more for social morality than any religion in the world"; and that to it was owing "the widest and freest system of education established before the present day"? True, indeed, that it is described in one sentence as a "socialistic institution." But a few lines lower down it appears as substituting for the hideous superstition of what has since been termed Calvinism, "faith in the perfectibility of each individual soul."\* We are not to look for the precision of theological language in these to whom the Catholic creed is obviously unfamiliar. Yet we shall find our account in listening to their report, strongly confirming, as it does, the testimony which Mr. Carlyle gave in the sight of his own generation when he published his "Past and Present." According to the same unsuspected witnesses, it was "Protestant Individualism" that "in England shattered the Catholic Church, founded the modern land system upon its confiscated estates," and "destroyed the mediæval machinery of charity and education." Truly the whirligig of time brings round its revenge, when history is written in this remarkable manner. Even Mr. Froude, in dealing with the system under which mediæval England was governed, cannot but allow that it was "an attempt, more or less successful," to "bring the production and distribution of wealth under the moral rule of right and wrong;" and that it introduced a state of things "where those laws of supply and demand which we are now taught to regard as immutable

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\* "Fabian Essays," pp. 124-125.



ordinances of nature, were absorbed or superseded by a higher code.\* Since the writing of that chapter, now more than thirty years ago, men have examined these so-called "immutable ordinances" in the light of a better informed political economy. The restrictions put upon free competition in the shape of mere sanitary Acts would fill a large volume, and every session of Parliament adds to their number.† But, over and above the conscious modifications of the former system thus introduced, it has been made abundantly evident that all "individuals who are dependent on their exertions of body or mind for a living, are becoming more and more parts of an industrial social machine," as the "Journal of the Knights of Labour" not long since observed. Now, to conduct a machine on the principle that all its parts are in permanent antagonism, is probably the most explosive method of controlling it yet invented, and pretty sure to land the conductor as well as the machine in chaos. It is to "more perfect social adjustments," corresponding in simplicity as in efficacy to the mechanical powers which have created the present era, that we must look for the deliverance of one class from a degrading serfdom, and of the other from self-centred enjoyment. The society which does not by reasonable methods control the machinery will become its slave, bound hand and foot to the small number who manipulate and guide it. But a higher degree of social perfection means a higher morality, and from what source can it be derived except the living mind of Christ, incarnate in the Catholic Church?

The process of change, though beginning in the thoughts of men as all great changes have done, will show itself outwardly, not at first by restoring the religion of old time to its sovereign place, but by a long-continued strenuous endeavour to lift up the fallen multitude till they live a true human life again. And a necessary condition will be to improve their daily surroundings, to regulate the hours of toil, to take measures for preventing the growth of that unhappy residuum which is the despair of priests and magistrates, to make education a real training of rich and poor for the world wherein both find themselves "increasingly dependent on conditions and circumstances," and to break down the wall of division which Protestantism, developed into "capitalism," has set up between them. Whether we look at the problem of the school or the workshop, at "the selfish isolation of the English family," the holiday amusements of the many, or the make-believe occupations of the few, we shall perceive that there

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\* "History," vol. i. pp. 89-90.

† See Mr. Spencer's "The Man and the State," *passim*, and "Fabian Essays," pp. 50-54.

is no lack of material for Catholic thinkers and reformers, if they will have the courage, not of their opinions, but of their Creed. There is neither man nor woman among us that cannot do something towards hastening the better time, were it only by endeavouring to lead a more rational existence than custom, inherited from those whom Mr. Matthew Arnold has justly satirised as "Barbarians" and "Philistine," now prescribes to them. This may be called, according as we view the aim or the method, either Christianising or civilising the present generation; and assuredly I shall not stickle for a word. It is, however, as I contend, the duty of believers to inform with a moral and Christian spirit, the civilisation which has indeed subdued matter, but which is itself unwilling to be subdued *in obsequium fidei*, to the service of the Unseen and the Eternal. *Respice finem*, we may say to the founders and the inhabitants of our multitudinous yet mean cities: "What is the purpose of the incessant movement filling your streets and thundering over your iron roads, choking the warehouses with goods, and driving round and round the countless wheels of your industry?" If it is not moral, but only material, it must fall under the Gospel anathema, *Vae vobis divitibus!* But, on the other hand, there are thousands upon thousands of baptised Catholics to whom Christianity has not meant civilisation and who simply do not see the bearing of the Catechism or the Commandments on their place in the commonweal. From these, I have said, the "residuum" gains its recruits. They are the third or fourth generation of an emigrant people who brought only their religion with them, but who were otherwise singularly unfitted for the anarchical existence forced upon them in modern New York or London. A religious census would set them down perforce as Catholics, because they are nothing else. But as time goes on they will cease to be anything whatever except the breeding-ground of lawless poverty and crime, of violence and disorder. An education which turns them adrift on the world at fourteen, without training their hands or their hearts, assigning them no place among their fellows but that of the casual "hob-jobber," runner of errands, or loafer about the streets, is confessedly not Christian, but will any one dream that it is civilising? Such are the inner barbarians whom the prevailing absurd belief in "the moralising effects of intellectual culture" as taught in elementary schools, have fostered and will continue to multiply, unless the conditions of life outside the school-house be radically transformed.

How is this to be done? Many excellent people will tell me, by the direct and reiterated preaching of the great Christian truths. And they will be so far justified, as I have previously

insisted at some length, inasmuch as no moral revolution can take place for the better which is not instinct with the spirit of the New Testament. But to offer the New Testament, nay, to hold up the crucifix to those whom I consider to be little else than savages in their way of life, would be, or rather has been, for the most part, ineffective and unprofitable. "They do not want to be civilised," it has been lately remarked. Of course they do not. What conception can they form of a state in which they have never existed? One of two things, however, will surely come to pass. Either these degraded classes will be civilised in spite of themselves, by a series of great public measures, carried out energetically and with steady perseverance, or they will add to the instability of the present system, and hasten its overthrow. That, in the second alternative, they will be lost to religion is self-evident, unless we should look upon them as already lost. Immense numbers, indeed, are too far gone on the downward road to be now, except by miracle, recalled from destruction. They are in the condition of races on the fringe of civilisation, unable to fulfil its requirements, and, like the native Australians or red Indians, are doomed to disappear. But others, if the general system of labour and wages were established on a rational basis, would be capable of sharing in its advantages. And the process applied in lifting them to a human level deserves the name of civilisation, even though, as we hope and trust, it will not stop until, besides binding man with man in "wealthy rest," it reconciles by the grace of Christianity His children to their Heavenly Father. As I have written elsewhere, economic justice is not the summit, but it is the foundation of a well-ordered society. If we desire a strong argument upon which to labour for it, let us consider what economic *injustice*, under its various shapes of land-confiscation, rack-rents, forced emigration, free competition, tenement-holdings, and regulation of wages by Dutch auction of the lowest bidder, has made of the Poles, the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, and the Germans who have fallen beneath its weight. Will a single one of these defeated races, when it has been compelled to surrender its fair share of the product of labour, continue to practise its religion, as a living ethical code, in the dingy quarters where it slaves in captivity? Human nature has in it wonderful possibilities of good; but surely the tender mercies of those who would expose it to such a temptation are cruel.

"If a great change is to be made," exclaimed Edmund Burke, in the rush and whirlwind of the French Revolution, "the minds of men will be fitted to it, the general opinions and feelings will draw that way. Every fear, every hope, will forward it; and then they who persist in opposing this mighty current, will

appear rather to resist the decrees of Providence itself than the mere designs of men. They will not be resolute and firm, but perverse and obstinate."\* The age of Democracy which has followed even in Tory England, has proved him a true, albeit a reluctant prophet. And now, not in England alone, but everywhere in the civilised world, the economic revolution has begun which was its inevitable consequence. And "the minds of men are fitted to it." Under the most contradictory names, as Socialism, Anarchy, Co-operation, the Single Tax, Nationalisation of Land, State Regulation of Labour, and I know not how many more, the new system is emerging from the ruins of the old. Feudalism has had its day; free competition is expiring under the blows of "rings and trusts," of trades unions, and of the sweating system, which makes it a horror as well as an absurdity. The Eight Hours Bill means, in its issue, organisation where chaos reigned supreme. And it is to such an era, convinced, in this marvellous fashion, that men are not jarring atoms but every one destined to fulfil his office in society, that the Catholic Church must now deliver her message. "L'État c'est moi," said Louis XIV. The workers of the world answer, "L'État c'est nous." But when they have discovered that industry must be organised, cannot the Church lead them on to acknowledge that religion, which they will now have leisure to understand and practice, must be organised too? The Christian organism, binding the ages together, and luminously proved by History in its turn, is that which has its centre at Rome and its circumference everywhere. When the tyrannous and anarchic right of unlimited private capital has gone its way, will the no less anarchic "right of private judgment" survive it? The Catholic idea of Fraternity is born into the world again. Surely we have but to claim our own, and the ages of Faith may begin under happier auspices, on a planet which science has subdued to man's dominion, while religion has thrown a light upon its origin and destiny. Such things would a believer in all the revelations of Providence augur for the Catholic Church, when the reign of base Individualism has come to an end. *Faxit Deus!*

WILLIAM BARRY.

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\* "Thoughts on French Affairs," Works, vol. iii. p. 933.



## ART. III.—A ROYAL ELOPEMENT.

THAT royal marriages have been too frequently affairs of State, agreed to because of certain mutual advantages, will be generally conceded, yet some royal marriages, including that of King Cophetua, have not been wanting in romance. Never, indeed, was fairy tale fuller of interest and excitement than the narrative of the courtship, elopement, and espousals of Marie Casimire Clémentine Sobieski, grandchild of the famous Pole who, in 1683, saved Vienna from the Turks, and whose grateful contemporaries declared him to be “a man sent from God, whose name was John.” None of the elements are wanting—a captive princess of rare beauty, a gallant suitor, a cruel king, faithful friends to aid the lovers, spies to watch them, hairbreadth escapes! What more can be desired? The tale is told by one of the principal actors, in two quaint volumes. The first, in English, was published only three years after the events it records, and bears this ponderous title :

FEMALE FORTITUDE  
 exemplify'd in an important  
 NARRATIVE  
 of the  
 SEIZURE, ESCAPE, AND MARRIAGE  
 of the Princess

CLEMENTINE SOBIESKY,

As it was particularly set down by Mr. Charles Wogan  
 (formerly one of the Preston Prisoners) who was  
 a chief manager in the whole affair.

Now published for the entertainment of the curious.

Quo ducent fata sequamur.—Virg. *Æn.*

London :  
 Printed in the year 1722.

It will be observed that the name of the publisher is not given ; the undertaking involved too much risk for his identity to be revealed. The second edition, written in French, and containing many amusing details omitted in the first, appeared several years later, when the son of the marriage brought about by the writer had grown to manhood. It was, doubtless, intended to interest the public in the Young Chevalier, the child of romance, and to prepare men's minds for his subsequent descent on the Scottish coast to pursue the claims of his father. The

little book, was, however, dedicated to Marie Leczinska, queen of Louis XV., and was ostensibly intended for her information, as she had inquired about the escape from Innsbruck. All copies, but one retained by the author, were presented to her. Many of the details given in the present account of the Old Chevalier's romantic marriage are drawn from the French edition, of which not a copy is to be found in the British Museum.\*

The heroine of both narratives, the Princess Clémentine, was born July 17, 1702, at Ohlau, in Silesia, where her father, Prince James Louis Sobieski, an unsuccessful candidate for the crown of Poland, lived at the time, and kept up royal state on a comparatively limited income. Her mother, Edwige Elizabeth Amelia, of Neuburg, was aunt to the Emperor Charles VI. of Austria, and the Sobieskis were likewise connected with the reigning houses of Spain and Bavaria. Clémentine, their third daughter, grew up lovely, sweet-natured and accomplished, and when she was sixteen years of age was sought in marriage by the unfortunate son of James II.—“the Old Chevalier.” This alliance was first proposed to the Chevalier by Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Wogan, a poet, a courtier, and a gentleman, in later years the friend and correspondent of Swift, and the subject of complimentary verses from the Duke of Wharton. Wogan was descended from an ancient family in Kildare, and devoted to the cause of the Stuarts. He had given proofs of his fidelity during the disastrous expedition of 1715, had shared his royal master's wanderings, and, on the defeat of his hopes, had entered the French service. When the question of an alliance was raised, Wogan visited Ohlau, apparently for pleasure, but really to observe the characters and dispositions of the Polish princesses. The eldest, Casimire, had been brought up in Rome by her grandmother, the Queen Dowager of Poland; he reported her to be somewhat stiff and formal, and the slave of etiquette. Charlotte, the second girl (afterwards Duchesse de Bouillon), he considered wanting in dignity. For little Clémentine he had nothing but praise, and, acting on his advice, the Chevalier proposed for her. The Prince and Princess Sobieski looked favourably on this chance of establishing their daughter in life. The latter hoped that her imperial nephew would, for her sake, espouse the quarrel of her son-in-law elect, the Jacobites had a strong party in the British islands, George I. was un-English and unpopular, and there was every reason to expect that a counter revolution might before many years place the young couple on the throne. All was progressing favourably, though the affair was kept a profound secret, when it was suddenly represented to the Chevalier that,

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\* The writer is indebted to Mrs. Atkinson, the gifted authoress of “The Life of Mary Aikenhead,” for the loan of a transcript of this version made by herself from the original.

situated as he was, it was impolitic to entrust an affair of such importance to one who was an Irish Catholic, and that this course of action was likely to prejudice public opinion against him in his native country. Wogan was accordingly recalled, the matter was taken out of his hands, and placed in those of the Hon. James Murray, and his brother-in-law, the Hon. John Hay. Within a short time information as to it reached the English Court. The wonder is that it was not known before, when we learn that Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, private secretary to the Chevalier, was in the pay of Sir Robert Walpole, and received from him the handsome stipend of £2000 a year for his services. George I. was enraged at the prospect of an alliance which would connect the Stuarts with so many reigning families. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Austrian Emperor. The King threatened to break the Quadruple Alliance, and send forces by land and sea to enable the King of Spain to seize on Sicily and Italy, while the Princess Clémentine was told that the sum of £100,000 would be added to her dowry if she consented to wed the Prince of Baden. In the meantime Mr. Hay had set out to fetch the bride, and, under the care of her mother, the Princess had already travelled a considerable distance through her cousin's dominions, on her way to meet her *fiancé* at Bologna, when the English Ambassador at Vienna became so urgent, and uttered so many thinly veiled menaces, that Charles, after wavering for a time, submitted, and gave orders for the arrest of his aunt and her daughter. The Empress mother was indignant at this weakness, and, possibly with her son's connivance, contrived to delay the execution of the order. The courier was detained three days on the road, and put up at an inn, pretending to have been injured by a fall from his horse, so that if despatch had been used, the Sobieskis might have left Innsbruck before he arrived. This plan was frustrated by Hay's negligence, and by the carelessness of the Princess Sobieski, who could not forego the pleasure of passing some time with her brother, the Bishop of Augsburg, and actually spent a week in the episcopal city having her jewels reset. It was no use trying to aid such people. Though the courier was six days on the road instead of three, he arrived at Innsbruck the day before the Princess Sobieski and her daughter, who were immediately arrested and lodged in the Castle, under the guardianship of General Heister. Hay was set at liberty, and arrived in a sorry plight at Bologna to tell of his failure. The matter had been rendered much more difficult by this misadventure, and the Prince, who now regretted his action, had no choice but to apologise to Wogan, and beg of him to attempt the rescue of his betrothed.

That faithful friend consented, and all appeals, all representa-

tions to the timorous Emperor having failed, it was agreed that their only chance was to persuade Princess Clémentine and her parents to consent to an elopement. Wogan asked his royal master for a letter to show Prince Sobieski, inducing him to urge his daughter to have full confidence in the envoy, and was armed by the Chevalier with authority to do whatever he judged best to attain the desired end. On his way through Bologna, he had an interview with the Cardinal Legate Orego, who, alone with the Pope and the principals, knew the secret.

He arrived safely at Innsbruck, saw the Princess Sobieski, showed her his credentials, delivered letters from his royal master and obtained her conditional assent to the plan he proposed. She insisted, however, before putting it into execution, that her husband should be consulted, and send some token of his approval. M. Châteaudeau, her gentleman usher, promised Wogan to keep him informed as to events at Innsbruck, and was directed to address his letters in care of a banker at Strasburg.

Our adventurer next journeyed to Ohlau to find Prince Sobieski; but here a new difficulty presented itself. So persuaded was the latter that his daughter's escape was impossible, that for a long time he refused to put pen to paper. He was angry with the Emperor, but unwilling to move farther in the matter, declaring the enterprise to be Quixotic, impossible of execution, and, to quote Wogan, "talked much good sense." True, Wogan was sumptuously lodged and treated with every consideration, so much so that rumours and speculations as to his business excited the curiosity of the courtiers, but he made no progress. New Year's Day came, and Prince Sobieski's treasurer presented the envoy, as a mark of his master's good will, with a magnificent snuff-box, formed of a single turquoise set in gold, found amongst other jewels in the famous scarlet pavilion of Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier, at his defeat by John Sobieski. Wogan refused the splendid gift, and when Prince Sobieski pressed him for the reason, he replied that he was deeply grateful for the honour shown him, but protested that "devoted as he was to his Highness, he could not think of returning to Italy with a refusal for his master and a present for himself." Touched by this reply, Prince Sobieski at last consented to give the requisite instructions to his wife and daughter, invited Wogan to a *tête-à-tête* dinner, and bestowed the snuff-box on him as they walked up and down together afterwards. All the facilities that he desired were granted, and it was settled that the Starost and the Staroscina Clebouski were to join him at Vienna, and assist him to establish secret communications with the imprisoned Princess.

We have already alluded to the curiosity as to Wogan and his mission which prevailed at the Polish Court. He kept his secret



well, and by wit and prudence succeeded for long in baffling all inquiries without exciting mistrust, but Prince Sobieski was not as prudent. In a burst of confidence he revealed how matters stood to a certain German baron—and it was with much difficulty and considerable expenditure that Wogan succeeded in gaining over that gentleman to his side. Startled by the result of his communicativeness, Prince Sobieski held his peace thenceforth; but the danger was not over—woman's guile was now to be employed against the Irishman's mission. Amongst the noted beauties at Ohlau was the Countess de Berg, a handsome intriguing woman, and a spy in the Austrian service. The honour shown to Wogan puzzled her; who or what he was she could not divine, and moreover no one could give her the information she desired, so she and her agents watched the stranger night and day, only to be outwitted by a vigilance still keener than their suspicions; yet, without proofs of any danger to Austria threatened by him, the wily Countess, while expressing her regret at Wogan's announcement of his speedy departure, sent secretly a message to her brother, the Governor of Breslau, to have the stranger arrested at Prague, whither he ostentatiously announced his intention of going. He set out in February in a splendid coach, belonging to Prince Sobieski, drawn by six Polish horses, and all went smoothly till they reached Strahlen (Strakonitz?), where he pretended to fall ill, and remained for twenty-four hours confined at an inn there. When he found it convenient to recover, he made a sudden detour to the left, and then posted to Vienna without venturing near Prague, arriving safely in two or three days with the satisfaction of having completely outwitted the Austrian spy. At Vienna he called on the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor George Spinola, and endeavoured to enlist his good offices with the Emperor in favour of releasing Princess Clémentine, but he "soon found that the English had more power at Court than the Pope." Meanwhile the Starosta Clebouski and his wife, who were to have followed him immediately, had not arrived, and what was his consternation on receiving a despatch from Prince Sobieski saying that, frightened at the dangers to be encountered, the pair had withdrawn from their solemn engagement. Prince Sobieski himself, depressed by failure and desertion, cancelled all the extraordinary powers conferred on Wogan.

Baffled but not defeated, the indomitable envoy set about forming a new plan, and made up his mind to seek for fresh credentials from Prince Sobieski that would empower him to choose such persons as he should consider proper to aid him; but being afraid, after his narrow escape from the fascinating Countess and her brother, to return himself to Ohlau, he resolved to write to the Chevalier, telling his story, and begging him to send him some trustworthy

person who could be sent to Silesia. He remained at Augsburg in disguise until the arrival of the Chevalier's confidential valet, Michael Vezzosi, a Florentine of proved fidelity. This man was at once despatched to Ohlau, with instructions to remind the Prince that though failure might cost the lives of Wogan and his friends, it could only mean a somewhat longer imprisonment for the captive princess. Having arranged with Vezzosi where they were to meet, and speeded him on his journey, the indefatigable Wogan now set out himself for Strasburg, where he found a letter from Châteaudeau awaited him. From this communication, he learned that the Chevalier had left Rome, and, as it was rumoured his object was to carry off his *fiancée*, guards had been doubled at the Castle of Innsbruck. Next day came a second and more alarming epistle. The Chevalier had been seized at Voghera by the Imperial troops, and conducted to the Castle of Milan! Still another day passed, and a letter was delivered from Mr. Murray, a Scotch gentleman in the service of the Chevalier at Rome, which set all fears at rest. James had indeed gone, but to Spain, on the pressing invitation of King Philip V., and the better to conceal his real movements, let it be understood he was going to meet the Princess, who had found means to escape from her captors. Mr. Murray added that the Earls of Mar and Perth had been stopped by the Emperor's soldiers between Voghera and Milan, which probably gave rise to the rumour of the Chevalier's imprisonment. Before his departure, that prince had left commands for Wogan to follow up the enterprise, and had provided the Sieur Conalsky with a procuration, or licence, enabling him to espouse the Princess Clémentine as proxy for her lover, if the project succeeded.

So far all had gone well, Wogan therefore busied himself in making his final preparations. He ordered a roomy travelling carriage to be made with springs of unusual strength, double traces, ropes, and extra tackle of all sorts for use in case of accident. This was to be drawn by six horses and accompanied by three armed outriders. Help, of course, was necessary in such a dangerous enterprise, and Wogan chose as his associates three countrymen of his own—namely, Major Richard Gaydon of Irishtown, Captain Luke Toole, or O'Toole of Victoria, and Captain John Misset of Kildare, all officers in the regiment of Wogan's near relative, General Count Arthur Dillon, then stationed at Schelestat, not far from Strasburg. These, with Wogan himself and Michael Vezzosi, who had been instrumental in contriving the escape of Lord Nithsdale from the Tower, were to comprise the men of the party. That the Princess Clémentine might not lack the society of one of her

own sex, the wife of Captain Misset, a young gentlewoman of Irish extraction, but educated in France, pretty, warm-hearted, and winning, was asked to share in the expedition. She was by nature timid, and, moreover, about to become a mother, so that caution was used in broaching the subject to her, but as soon as she knew of it, she said with spirit that she would "gladly venture all for the sake of the husband she loved and of her rightful sovereign." When in Rome, Wogan had taken the precaution of obtaining from Count Galass, the Austrian Ambassador, a passport made out in the name of Count de Cernes, supposed to be a Flemish gentleman journeying with his family to the Shrine of Loretto in fulfilment of a vow. Major Gaydon and Madame Misset were to represent the Count and Countess de Cernes, Wogan that lady's brother, O'Toole, Misset, and Vezzi were to act as armed attendants. Madame Misset's maid, Jenny, was to accompany the party to wait on her mistress, and Wogan suggested that she should change clothes with the Princess Clémentine and endeavour to personate her for as long as possible after her escape. They did not venture to tell Jenny the true nature of the enterprise on which they were engaged. She was informed that Captain Toole had fallen in love with a beautiful heiress whose friends opposed the match, and that he was now about to carry off the lady. Some one has said that human nature is very prevalent among women, especially among servant-maids, and Jenny was no exception to her class. She entered *con amore* into the plot, delighted in picturing the dismay of the cruel relatives of the Captain's sweetheart, and readily consented to take her place for a day or two, vowing it was "as good as a play."

While all these preparations were being conducted with the utmost secrecy, a grand ball was given by the mayor of Schelestat, and amongst the guests was Major Gaydon. Wogan, who had remained at home in conversation with Lieutenant-General Lally, the father of the celebrated and unfortunate Lally Tolendal, was much alarmed at seeing his friend return hastily soon after midnight, with consternation depicted on his countenance. On inquiring the reason, he learned that it was currently reported at the ball that the Princess Clémentine had been carried off from Innsbruck, on the 30th of the previous month, by an Irish gentleman named Wogan, on hearing which Gaydon hurried off to tell his colleagues all was lost. Wogan, though alarmed, retained his presence of mind. The falseness of the report, he said, was in their favour. Its inaccuracy would soon be discovered, and people would be less likely to believe other and possibly better founded rumours on the same subject. Still, the knowledge that something with regard to their expedition must have leaked out

filled him with uneasiness, and made him anxious to leave as soon as he could. All was at last in readiness. Vezzosi arrived from Ohlau with the necessary powers, and on the 8th of April, 1719, the little party set out for Strasburg. Count Dillon, commander of the regiment to which O'Toole, Misset, and Gaydon belonged was at the time in Paris, but Wogan, mistrusting the posts, did not venture to write to him asking leave of absence for his officers, taking it for granted that the Count would sanction anything for the good of their sovereign, James III.

No sooner had our travellers arrived at Strasburg than Wogan was arrested by order of the Regent Orleans, who had given strict injunctions that the Earls of Mar and Perth, subjects of King James, should be seized did they attempt to enter France. As our friend did not answer to the description of one or other of these noblemen he was set at liberty, "the magistrates," to quote Wogan, "little suspecting they had just freed a person much more dangerous to the Quadruple Alliance than either."

On the 17th of April, 1719, they left Strasburg, and despite the badness of the roads, reached the frontiers of Bavaria and Tyrol on the 21st of the same month. Misset and Michael Vezzosi now rode on to inform Châteaudeau that the others would wait instructions at a village called Nazareth, two posts from Innsbruck, and that he was to communicate with them through the medium of Konski, the Polish page of the Princess Sobieski. On the 23rd of April the rest of the party reached Nazareth, and soon after Konski arrived to say it had been decided by his august mistress that the attempted escape should take place on the night of the 27th. That was still four days off, and delay was fraught with danger. The arrival of strangers was likely to excite comment in the village, and might reach the ears of the authorities; moreover, to the great alarm of our friends, the landlord of the little inn where they stopped recognised Konski as an attendant of the Princess Sobieski. To divert his suspicions, Toole, who spoke German like a native, made friendly overtures to him, asked questions about Augsburg, and inquired the address of a certain Herr Canvar, a banker there, known to the innkeeper, thus allowing him to understand that that town was their destination. Meanwhile, another trouble had arisen. According to the English version, Jenny, the maid, so bold and fearless at Strasburg, felt her courage ooze away as the time drew near when she was to personate an unknown lady, and remain behind among strangers, nor was she to be comforted and consoled until her mistress presented her with a rich suit of damask, and the whole party solemnly swore no harm should come to her. The later French edition adds that their difficulties with Jenny were not yet over. True, she was now decided to aid in



carrying out the scheme, but a fresh obstacle had to be overcome, more serious to her mind than all the risks to be run, since, as the daughter of an Irish dragoon, she did not want spirit. The facts were these. The lassie was no beauty; that was admitted by her best friends, but, like many plain women, she was inordinately vain of her good points, which, besides her fine figure, were, in her own eyes, her uncommon height and her pretty feet. To increase the one and show off the other of these advantages, she was accustomed to wear the daintiest shoes possible in her position, with heels nearly five inches high, vowing she could walk in no others, and was fond of contrasting herself with Captain Toole, the tallest, and, according to many, the handsomest man in his regiment, who stood about six feet three. When it was explained to her that unless she wore shoes without heels the difference in stature between herself and "the heiress" would be too marked, she flew into a rage, and declared that though she was prepared to face any danger, if need be, she would wear ugly, low shoes for no one in the world. The shoes were insisted on, however, and a shoemaker was called in to measure her, when, in a towering passion, Jenny struck the man such a blow on his nose that it bled profusely. Her sweet-tempered little mistress, frightened almost out of her senses at this storm in a teacup, absolutely went down on her knees to beg of her to be quiet. Miss Jenny then had the grace to grow somewhat ashamed of her conduct, relented, apologised, and suffered herself to be measured in silence for the obnoxious foot-gear.

On the 27th of April our friends left the inn at Nazareth, taking the Augsburg road, but having gone a little way they drove across and got safely to Innsbruck, putting up at the *Aigle Noir*, where they stabled their horses, got all in readiness, and waited for nightfall. Now that Princess Sobieski has been so long dead, I hope it is not treason to say she must have been rather a tiresome person to deal with. Every arrangement had been made to carry out their scheme at once, but not content with the results of her former delay at Augsburg, she now sent a message asking the rescuers to defer their departure for a day or two, as the weather was bad, and she did not like her daughter to brave it. Wogan, however, was firmer than Hay, and replied that all arrangements had been made for that night, that the storm was to their advantage, and that so good an opportunity might never recur. The lady consequently yielded.

Princess Clémentine had been previously instructed to feign illness for two or three days before her intended flight, and Jenny was desired when she replaced her to confine herself to bed for a day or two, saying she was worse, and refusing to see any one but her supposed mother. So well was the secret kept

that even the Countess Gabriel, the governess of the princess and her intimate friend, was not told of their approaching separation, lest her grief should rouse suspicion. Châteaudeau had promised Wogan to be at hand about midnight to introduce Jenny into the princess's chamber, clad in "a shabby riding-hood, and female surtout of the English fashion," which Clémentine was to put on. The latter was then to be escorted by the gentleman usher down a back stair, through a side-door, and across the street to a corner where Wogan and Toole would await her and convoy her to the inn, where the rest of the party were assembled. Wogan and Toole, with Jenny, proceeded to the *rendezvous* at the appointed time, the last-named grumbling audibly at the discomforts she endured paddling along through the rain in her new shoes without heels. Not much notice, however, was taken of her complaints, but as the men talked in whispers to each other, the girl's sharp ears caught something about "the princess," and stopping short she cried, "Surely Captain Toole is not foolish enough to think of carrying off a princess?" They reassured her with difficulty, being "oblig'd to stop her mouth with fresh Protestations, and some Pieces of Gold," and at midnight she tapped as directed at the postern-door, which was opened immediately by Châteaudeau, who led the girl upstairs. The Princess Clémentine, in accordance with her assumed character of invalid, had retired early, but, when left alone, rose, dressed herself, and spent the short time that remained to her in affectionate conversation with her weeping mother. That the Princess Sobieski should not be blamed for her daughter's flight, Clémentine wrote a letter asking pardon for what she was about to do, and excusing herself on the plea that all laws, human and divine, compelled a woman to follow her husband. Too soon it seemed to the afflicted women, Châteaudeau knocked softly to tell them Jenny had come, and Clémentine took the elder princess tenderly in her arms. "My dear mother," she said, "I am just a-going, and must ask your blessing; the maid is come who is to take my place."

While she was putting on her travelling dress the pert Jenny was watching every movement of "the heiress," and at last broke in, "You little think, madam, how many people you have made languish with desire to see you." Then having minutely surveyed her from head to foot, she added, "I can't but say you are very handsome, and well worth the pains they have taken about you." Clémentine smiled, and Jenny having helped her on with hood and cloak, gave her a hearty kiss, which was warmly returned. With one last close embrace to her mother, the fugitive followed Châteaudeau down the winding stair.

All day the storm had been increasing in violence, and now a

furious tempest raged over the town of Innsbruck. The wind swept the narrow streets like cavalry charges, driving the sleet before it; the sleet crept back during the lulls, like scattered troops re-forming, drops coming down sharp, straight and pitiless as musketry fire, splashing the swishing water from every pool, as bullets rip the earth. The night was not one for a Christian to be abroad, thought the shivering sentry who paced up and down by the dark walls of the *schloss*, and grumbled that his commanding officers, now safely housed in barracks, had provided no sentry-box into which he might creep. Very tempting to the shivering man was the red light gleaming, despite the lateness of the hour, from the window of the little *gasthof* opposite, whispering of a cosy hearth, cheerful society, and a glass or two of *schnapps*. Should he cross the street, and for one moment enjoy these comforts? Why not? There was no danger, no special need for watchfulness—above all, not a soul was in sight. Who indeed except a poor sentry would be abroad on such a night? While the man deliberated, he was unconscious that his movements were anxiously scrutinised, and that close to where he stood the princess he was set to guard but waited for him to turn his back to make a rush for liberty. At last his meditations ended as might have been expected. No sooner had he entered the little inn than the trembling Clémentine ventured forth, and swiftly but noiselessly gained the corner, where stood Wogan and Toole in a fever of impatience and anxiety at the delay.

After a hasty but respectful greeting, they made their way as best they could to the inn, battling with the wind, stopping now and then to turn their backs to it, and breathe more freely, keeping to the middle of the narrow thoroughfares to escape the drenching torrents vomited by every gutter, down-pipe, and hopper-head, till they reached the Black Eagle, where the rest of the party were assembled. One slight adventure they had. Wogan had given Clémentine his arm, and though scarcely a word passed between them in their anxiety, he did all that he could for her comfort. She hesitated on the brink of an overflowing channel, and he, seeing something in the centre that he took for a log, desired her step there. She obeyed, but the supposed log proved to be a floating wisp of hay, and down went the poor little princess over her ankles in wet and mud. Wogan was aghast at his mistake, but there was no time for apologies; he hurried her on, and soon they found themselves in the cheerful sitting-room with Captain and Madame Misset, Gaydon and Michael. Madame Misset removed Jenny's old cloak from the shoulders of the dripping princess, helped her on with a dress of her own she had aired in readiness, pulled off her shoes and stockings, and warmed

her frozen feet by thrusting them into Wogan's and Gaydon's muffs. Clémentine hastily swallowed some hot spiced wine and put on dry foot-gear while the carriage was being brought round. Konski, her mother's page, had followed her, bearing a parcel containing a few articles of inside clothing and a casket with her own jewels and those of the Stuarts, brought to her two months previously by the Marquis de Magny, and valued at the lowest computation at 150,000 pistoles. The narrative goes on to say that when Konski saw his young mistress delivered over to such a band of strangers, he was either so grief-stricken or so frightened that he laid down his packet and ran away. On account of the delay caused by the sentry, it was two in the morning before they fairly started, Captain Misset, who had gone on to see if the coast was clear—to act, in fact, as pilot-engine—was to wait for them at the top of the Brenner, five leagues from Innsbruck. Every one in the inn, except the landlady, had retired when the carriage drove out of the courtyard. They passed through the faubourg not far from the schloss, tears gathered in Clémentine's eyes as she thought of her mother; a moment later she remembered the jewels—if they were found, all Innsbruck would be upon their track. There was nothing for it but to fetch them. Toole rode hastily back, and the others waited “in silence and alarm.” Arrived at the Black Eagle, he found the weary landlady had gone to bed, first closing the gateway, which was secured by a bolt. Exerting his prodigious strength, Toole absolutely raised it off its hinges, made his way to the room they had left, felt about in the dark till he found the casket, seized it, groped his way out, and galloped off without being seen or heard by one of the inmates. By sunrise the party were fifteen miles from Innsbruck. At Brenner they came up with Misset, and here the Princess Clémentine fainted from grief, fatigue, and want of food. Fortunately, however, Madame Misset had in her pocket a tiny bottle of Eau de Carmes, and a teaspoonful revived the poor girl, who, when she had partaken of food, soon recovered her spirits. She delighted her companions by her cheerfulness. They wanted to place a cushion under her head that she might sleep, but she would not hear of it, and took the greatest interest in asking questions about England, the chief families there, the manners, dress, and customs of the people, and so on. She learned several English phrases, and made Wogan tell her all about the Preston prisoners, of whom he himself had been one, and the adventures of the Chevalier in Scotland. “After this,” says the narrative, “Major Gaydon entertain'd her with the many Sieges and Battles that General Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade had been engaged in, particularly the Battle of Cremona; and the Pleasure she took in hearing these Martial Stories showed her to



be the 'genuine Spring of the great Sobiesky.'" They galloped down hill to Brixen at the foot of the Brenner, beguiling the time by singing and telling stories; but gradually the conversation ceased, for the party were tired out, and by degrees they all dropped off to sleep except Wogan, who only kept his eyes open by taking huge pinches of snuff as was then the custom. At last, towards evening, he too dozed, and suddenly let the packet of snuff drop on the curly head of Clémentine, who had fallen asleep at the bottom of the carriage, resting against his knees. She awoke with a start and a little cry of alarm, and poor Wogan was so taken aback that he could only stammer, "Highness, it will not occur again." Nor did it; for by a wonderful effort of will he did not once close his eyes till they reached Verona, after a further journey of forty-six hours. Much annoyance was caused the fugitives by the difficulty of obtaining post-horses. They found that the Princess of Baden and her son, whom Clémentine had been bribed to marry, were preceding them on their way to Rome, and as they travelled with great pomp and circumstance, they secured everywhere the best animals, so that when Wogan and his party followed an hour or two later, he could only find screws that had been rejected, or tired beasts smoking from the traces. Once the coachman and postillion proved to be either drunk or stupid, and a fatal accident was averted almost by a miracle. It happened thus: the road wound along a precipice that stood sheer above the Adige, and, as usual, the horses were galloping down hill, when suddenly a heavy German waggon, laden with goods, rounded a corner and appeared right in their path. The men, instead of drawing up to let it pass, drove on as if mad. The waggon taking the inside of the road, they took the outside, and might have gone over the precipice, but that the wheel came in contact with the trunk of a tree on the edge of the abyss, so that the carriage was violently capsized into the middle of the road. Wogan, the only one awake inside, jumped out to find O'Toole, white with rage, lashing the coachman with his riding whip. Every one wanted to know how the accident had happened, but O'Toole, fearing to terrify the princess and the delicate Madame Misset, refused to give any explanation of the danger they had run.

They were not yet out of the Emperor's territory, and the fear of being pursued and overtaken before they passed the frontiers of the Venetian States was ever present with them. To guard against unpleasant possibilities, it was decided that O'Toole and Misset should now remain behind to guard the retreat, while Michael rode forward to secure horses.

On the 29th of April, at a village eight leagues from Trent, O'Toole had just ordered supper, when who should arrive in hot

haste but a courier, barely two hours after Clémentine had departed. The poor fellow was tired to death, having ridden day and night, and gladly accepted an invitation to share their meal. In answer to his inquiries, they represented themselves as merchants, bound for the fair of Trent; O'Toole, who, as we have mentioned, spoke German like a native, passing for a fellow-countryman, and Misset, his "partner," professing to be a Savoyard. The courier soon grew communicative under the influence of good-fellowship, told them the object of his journey was to have "the bandits" captured who had carried off the princess, and showed his despatches to that effect. One can fancy how sympathetic he found O'Toole and Misset as he went on to say how hard he had ridden, to convey General Heister's message to the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, Governor of the Trentine Provinces, and how he hoped they "would soon seize the rascals." Never were men kinder, but they told him they thought he might as well spare himself trouble, for a party answering to his description had passed through a long time before, and were probably at the moment beyond reach of pursuit. Meanwhile, they urged him to eat and drink, O'Toole plying him with liquor, while Misset, a capital actor, pantomimed pity and dismay. The last-named conspirator had slyly filled a jug with the strongest Strasburg brandy, and telling the courier that the wine of the country was uncommonly strong, advised him to add plenty of water to it. He agreed, seized the jug and diluted (!) his draught with the contents, swallowing the fiery mixture at a gulp, to reappear from the depths of his drinking-vessel with a very flushed countenance, crying that it was indeed "infernally strong," when they immediately poured in more "water." Gradually, his speech grew thicker, he wandered from the subject, mingled praise of his jovial companions with execrations of the fugitives, and tossed off glass after glass of the fortified wine. When at last he subsided into stupor, they helped him to bed, disembarrassed him of his documents, and leaving him to sleep for twenty-four hours without stirring, rode on to rejoin their party.

By this time the others had reached Trent, and were much annoyed by the conduct of the Governor, who seemed to delight in putting obstacles in their way out of pure perversity. Alas for them, if General Heister's courier had reached him before they were well out of the town! The Princess of Baden and her suite had, moreover, established themselves at all the inns, and there was consequently no room for our poor travellers; besides this, Clémentine, whose appearance was well known to the Princess of Baden and her chief attendants, was in mortal terror of being recognised, and so, afraid to stir out, she sat from 9

A.M. till 1 P.M. in a corner of her carriage in the grand square of Trent, carefully veiling her face, before they were able to conciliate the Governor, secure fresh horses, and pursue their journey. Between Trent and Roveredo, the road wound along the verge of a frightful precipice, which greatly alarmed Madame Misset, but the princess sweetly cheered and encouraged her, until they had passed it by. At Roveredo no horses were to be had, and they were forced to proceed with those they had already used. During the halt, Clémentine expressed a wish for tea, which by some accident was handed her in a can that had contained oil. She made no complaint, but drank it, and it was only when she handed back the vessel that its condition was discovered. They had gone about six miles farther with their tired steeds when the axle broke. This was mended with the assistance of some peasants, but broke again within half a mile of the next post; the carriage, however, fell so gently, being supported by two countrymen, as not to waken the princess, who had fallen into a sound sleep. Wogan carefully lifted her out; but, owing to the darkness, did not see a pool of water, into which her foot dipped. She woke with a start, calling on her mother, then remembering where she was, said merrily, "What say you to this Wogan, who always finds stepping-stones to wet me? This was a little unlucky, for I never slept better in my life." At Allo, too, they could find no lodgings, all the inns being again occupied by the Princess of Baden and her train. They roused a smith, who promised to have the broken axle mended by seven in the morning, so Michael with two of the party remained to look after the coach, while the Princess Clémentine and Madame Misset were accommodated with a small country cart, on which they sat crouched up, leaning against each other, and soon fell asleep once more. Wogan and Gaydon walked one on each side, as escort. After a drive of about three miles the sleepers awoke, to see before them a great white wall, the boundary between the Emperor of Austria's dominions and the Venetian States. One can fancy with what joy and mutual congratulations they passed into safety.

On Sunday, the 13th of April, they arrived at Sery about five A.M. and heard Mass. Here the horses got time to rest, and on leaving Sery our travellers did not halt till they reached Verona. When nearing Chivoa, the first garrison town of the Venetians, they had to pass a third precipice on the bank of the Adige. The narrow road was cut in the solid rock, and dated from Roman times. Here again Madame Misset's courage was put to the test and her nerves sadly shaken, but the cheerful little princess led her across by the hand, going first herself, would not suffer her to look down, and comforted her as before. At

Chivoa, for the first time, our wearied travellers undressed and lay down in peace.

On Monday, May 1st, the journey was resumed. They rested at Stellate, Michael being sent on to Ferrara to inquire for the Sieur de Conalski, whom the Chevalier promised should represent him at the marriage.

On the 2nd of May they put up at the Hotel de Selarin at Bologna, and the princess sent a message to the Archbishop, Cardinal Origo, a friend of her family, and, as before mentioned, an acquaintance of Wogan's, announcing her arrival, but desiring it should not be made public. Next day the Cardinal came on foot, to pay her Highness a private visit, and on the 4th he sent her a present of "a toylet, artificial flowers, and other little things." He also offered her a box at the Opera, where she could see without being seen, and the services of an officer to show her the curiosities of the town. On the 8th of May came an express from Mr. Murray, the Chevalier's agent, saying he would be that night in Bologna, so a second messenger was despatched to Ferrara for Conalski. Murray arrived as promised, bringing with him Mr. Maas, an English priest, but Conalski did not appear.

On the morning of the 9th of May the princess rose early, went to Mass, and received the Holy Communion. Conalski had not arrived, so the Marquis of Monti-Boularois, a man of high rank and a friend to the Stuart cause, was asked to represent Prince James Charles. When Mass was over, and the witnesses had assembled, the Chevalier's proxy delivered the powers left him, which were publicly read. The prince signified therein his readiness to marry the Princess Clémentine, and in accordance with his wish the ceremony took place immediately after, a ring being used which he had left for the purpose. The Chevalier quitted Spain for Rome as soon as he heard of his wife's safe arrival at Bologna. On the 15th of May, 1719, Clémentine entered the capital in state, amidst general rejoicings, the only exceptions being the Austrian and Hanoverian ambassadors; and on the 2nd of September she was publicly wedded to the Stuart Prince.

Not without reason do romance writers let the curtain fall on the happy marriage of the heroine; did they chronicle further they might have many a disillusionment, many a trial, many a profound regret to record; and so we prefer to leave the fair Clémentine in the pride of her youth and beauty, beloved by rich and poor, and still the idol of a devoted husband, rather than lift the veil that hangs over her short life.

The reader may be interested in some of the persons men-



tioned in the narrative, and so we will add that the Austrian emperor was bitterly reproached by the English king for his supposed connivance at his cousin's escape. To rebut the charge, and to prove his fidelity to his ally, that potentate promptly deprived his uncle, Prince Sobieski, of the duchies of Ohlau and Brieg in Silesia, though held by him as security for a large sum of money lent in 1683 to the Emperor Leopold, by John Sobieski, to pay expenses incurred in the war against the Turks, wherein the Poles had delivered the capital. Prince Sobieski was exiled to Passau, his wife was worried into a fever, and Charles VI. sent an account of all this to the English Court as a proof of his fidelity. At Rome, Wogan and his companions were created Roman senators by Pope Clement XI., the god-father of Princess Clémentine, the dignity being first offered to the former alone, and refused by him, unless his friends shared it. He was publicly thanked for his services by the Chevalier after his meeting with his bride, was created a baronet—an empty title under the circumstances—and promised a more substantial reward when his royal master succeeded to the throne of England.

Soon after his accession of dignity, Wogan was accused by the Anglo-Hanoverian ambassador at Genoa of having murdered five or six couriers on the road between Innsbruck and Trent! This was, however, if one may be pardoned the Americanism, "a little too steep," and he was allowed to embark in safety with his friend Misset, for Spain, where Philip VI. received them with much honour. They were at once appointed colonels in his service. Wogan devoted his leisure to poetry, which merited the encomiums of Swift, to whom he sent a copy of his verses "in a bag of green velvet, embroidered in gold." He died about 1747. Misset was created Governor of Oran in Barbary, where he ended his days in 1733. His widow thenceforth resided at Barcelona; we last hear authentic news of her in 1745. Jenny, her maid, died in her service. Gaydon and O'Toole returned to their regiments; the former died very old in 1745, the latter fell in battle against the Austrians, under Leckendorf, on the Moselle, and with his death we end our history of a Royal Elopement.

C. O'CONNOR ECCLES.

#### ART. IV.—THE LABOUR PROBLEM: PAST AND PRESENT.

THE Social question—and the labour difficulty with which this paper is alone concerned is more than half the Social question—has been called a new question; it is not any more new than the moon. Like the latter it has its phases; and all that is novel about it is, that its present aspect is new to this generation. The Social problem has been often formulated, but never so completely or forcibly as in the Divine Parable of Dives and Lazarus. In thrilling and terrible contrast are there placed the poor man and the rich, both here “upon this bank and shoal of time,” and on that ocean unbounded and soundless—the dread Hereafter. Various are the devices proposed in our age for assuaging or healing the sores of Lazarus; the Trade Unionist proposes organisation of labour; the Socialist, the emancipation of the land and capital of Dives to be henceforward managed by the community in the interests of all; while the Nihilist fiercely suggests that in order to improve the health of Lazarus, the constitution of Dives must be shattered with a dynamite bomb. The Christian invites Lazarus to be patient, and entreats Dives to make to himself friends of the Mammon of iniquity by taking his wounded brother to his bosom. From the four cardinal points rise these four voices on the world in this last decade of our dying century. To which of them will this cavernous, old world listen? In the answer to this question lies the solution of the problem.

The song of the labourer no longer accompanies the sound of his tools; hoarse murmurs, hoarser than the groaning of machinery, rise funereally on the murky air—the murmurs of discontent. Strikes have taken place all over the world during the last thirty months; formerly they occurred in isolated groups—they were not even national—now they are international. It would be impossible to say in which country this last great strike movement began. In America in 1886, no less than 9861 strikes and lock-outs took place, accompanied by riots and the loss of many lives. In 1887 the number of strikes was only about one-half of those in 1886, and the decline continued until this year, when, following a movement begun in Europe, an epidemic of strikes again broke out in the United States. In whatever country, however, the present movement began I cannot help connecting the germs of the social discontent which led to it with Germany. There the movement has developed so much importance as to engross recently the attention of the Emperor

and Parliament, and even to lead to the meeting of a great International Congress. But in Germany, it must be observed, the progress of amelioration in the condition of the workman is far in arrear of England, as is the case generally upon the Continent. It is only now that the Continent has commenced really to follow the example of England in labour organisation, factory legislation, the protection of women and children, the observance of the Sunday's rest, and the liability of the employer for accidents. From Germany the strikes spread to Belgium, France, Austria, England, America, finally becoming universal. In Belgium, Bohemia, and France, they were accompanied by outbreaks against persons or property, from which they were happily entirely free in England. On the Continent of Europe the men were led by Anarchists, Socialists, and revolutionary politicians generally; in England the political element did not show itself, although some leaders are avowed Socialists. In America, notwithstanding its imported and engrafted Socialism, no noteworthy revolutionary feature has characterised recent strikes; the memory of the terrible Chicago riots in 1886, put down by a no less terrible hand, may have had its chastening effect, and stemmed the daring of aggressive anarchy, which generally makes the workman, with his just grievances, the innocent tool for accomplishing nefarious designs. The great Republic that shows itself extremely tolerant to all opinions, has taught Europe many lessons in freedom. She showed at Chicago that she knows how to protect freedom when menaced by licence. It may seem strange that the United States should have been the theatre of such a drama as that of Chicago; but it must be remembered that the Republic of Washington opens its gates wide to all political refugees. Thither fled the French Communists after 1871, thither also went the German Socialists, expatriated by the law of 1878. The hollowness of the cry for freedom of these infatuated men is shown by their conduct when, liberated from European despotism, they obtained for the asking, the glorious privilege of American citizenship. They conspired beneath the stars and stripes as they had conspired under the gloomy shadow of the Imperial German Eagle, or the "bourgeois" tricolor. The contagion spread, but received a full, prompt, and salutary, if severe, check at Chicago.

English workmen are pressing home their demands for better pay and shorter hours, but as yet abstain from violence. This presents a contrast from former strikes. There are also other and remarkable contrasts. In former years strikes took place when trade declined, and the workmen sought to prevent reduction of wages. They were seldom successful. This time they began with a revival of trade, and are aggressive, so to speak, in so far as the

strikers demand better wages and shorter hours. Contrary to former experience, the modern strikes have been generally successful, but not until they have inflicted loss on the capitalist, hardship on the strikers and their families, inconvenience upon the community, and filled the minds of all with a gloomy foreboding never experienced before, that if persisted in, this country will lose her commercial greatness, and consequently her power.

I propose in what follows to treat chiefly of the cause of this great perturbation of labour, particularly in our own country. No effective remedy can be applied in any disease until the cause of that disease is laid bare. I will lay bare the cause of labour revolt, and whoever chooses to follow what I write, will see that there is but one main cause of labour difficulties, and so consequently there is but one efficient salve. I will point out what that is, and not concern myself with considering any of the innumerable makeshift remedies on which modern intellect is squandering its ingenuity. They all lack the principle of vitality; they cannot live, and hence cannot work. Co-operation, boards of conciliation, and the rest are mere expedients begotten of deadly pessimistic selfishness. Their roots are dried up, as we shall see.

I ascribe the revolt of labour to one great remote cause, which some have called the historical cause; it is more correct to call it the traditional or hereditary cause. In opposition to this view, some may say: there can be no continuity in the actions of workmen; they were ignorant for ages; they seldom read even now, have no reflective powers, and are guided by impulse. It wants no books to transmit a feud; books could not transmit it any more than a man's portrait could reproduce that man's likeness in his grandson. Continuity is produced by heredity: the Past is never dead, only working invisibly in the Present.

The history of labour is not writ large; chroniclers shared the general contempt and disregard of the humble toiler, except when he caused by revolt some commotion in the State, and hence it is a matter of no small difficulty to weld the detached episodes regarding him into a whole. As it is impossible to understand the labour problem without tracing its history, I feel that it is absolutely requisite to do this, but in such compendious form as the limits of this paper necessarily prescribe.

The history of labour commences with the day when Adam was expelled from Paradise. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return" (Gen. iii. 19). The practice of employing hired labour became in process of time prevalent among the Hebrews. Labourers were paid by the day, and each day received their wages. "The wages of him



that hath been hired by thee shall not abide with thee until the morning" (Lev. xix. 13). The hireling was engaged apparently for a fixed period, probably three years, as would appear from passages in the 7th and 14th chapters of Job, but particularly Isaiah xvi. 14. The Divine vengeance was denounced against those who oppressed the hireling.

But besides hired labour, the Hebrews took advantage also of the slave labour of their bondmen. No Hebrew could be sold into slavery outside his own nation, doubtless because that would give him over to idolatry; but sometimes, as a punishment, the Hebrews were led into forcible captivity. The 15th chapter of Deuteronomy lays down very clearly the duty of the master towards his bondman, and fixes the time and manner also of the manumission of the latter. The master could not send him adrift penniless. "But [thou] shalt give him for his way out of thy flocks and out of thy barn floor, and out of thy wine-press, wherewith the Lord thy God shall bless thee" (Deut. xv. 14). After six years' service the bondman was free, if he chose to go; if, on the other hand, finding he was well off, he chose to remain, then his ear was bored, and he became a bondman for ever. In the same chapter will be found an injunction to the Hebrew people to succour all who fell into poverty, so that no beggar should be found in the land. Very different, therefore, was the treatment of the slave among the Jews from what it was in Pagan nations. He was provided for, both in body and soul, for he worshipped with his master; he had the hope of freedom, and he could not be harshly treated; neither could he be sold out of his own country. Even foreign slaves were well treated among the Hebrews, who permitted, it is commonly believed, the Hivite inhabitants of Gibeon, whom they made "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to follow their own customs in a colony apart from the Jews.

No record has preserved to us any account whatever of the fate of those millions of toilers who built up the great palaces and monuments of Assyria and Chaldæa. From the Scripture references, however, we may reasonably conclude the bulk of the work was extorted tyrannically from slaves. This slavery was the burden of Babylon when by her waters the children of Israel sat down and wept; it was one of the crimes that brought about that desolation that swept her fortunes into darkest night for ever, that made her streets a howling wilderness, and her fields a desert place, where the Arabian pitched no more his tent, and where the shepherd abode no longer. From Egypt comes the same dreadful story. The proud and pompous dynasties that have projected their pyramidal greatness into all time were slaveholders of the most abominable type. On their own monuments

we can to-day behold the representation of the scourging task-master brutally flogging his slaves, and actually one of their hieroglyphics is the figure of a slave. We know, too, what the Pharaohs made Israel suffer, until, for the freedom of worship, the captive Hebrew people struck work, and this is the first strike of which we have record.

The gloomiest page of ancient Roman history is that which records the wide prevalence of slavery under that mighty and polished people, and the heartless brutality with which slaves were treated. The slave was a chattel; he was bought and sold like a horse, but was treated with much more cruel usage, and less respect. In common with the *plebs*, and the *liberti*, or manumitted slaves, he carried on all the work of commerce, the mechanical arts, and every servile occupation. No high-born Roman would stoop to trade. Frequent revolts testify to combination amongst these three classes, but we have a stronger proof than this that, under the Romans, labour had become organised. There were the *collegia opificum*—i.e., mechanics' guilds—resembling in their arrangements for mutual protection the mediæval guilds.

Nor were the barbarous nations that overthrew the western Roman Empire a whit better than the great power they demolished as regarded slavery. They had their own slaves, chiefly Slavonian captives, from which appellative the word *slave* is derived. The Anglo-Saxons had their slaves or serfs, and these numbered about 25,000, or one-eleventh of the registered population at the time of the Norman Conquest. Under the Normans, these, with many of the churls, became the *villeins* of the conquerors, ultimately destined to develop into the English peasantry.

A new power had made itself felt on the destruction of the Roman Empire, and for some time before. This was Christianity. By a process of evolution, first reforming and then obliterating, Christianity washed out the plague-stain of slavery from Europe, and is still pursuing the same holy work for every continent of the world. Irresistibly, silently, slowly, like a mighty river carving out its rugged bed, Catholicism made its way, reforming and transforming as it went. Were it not for causes which shall be exhibited later on, under the action of the Church villeinage would have been extinct in the fourteenth century. In this work of freedom the much hated confessional had probably the larger part. When the lord lay extended on his death-bed, the confessor, crucifix in hand, urged him to free his serfs, and the appeal was seldom ignored. By the fourteenth century, villeinage was on its death-bed, when an Act of the Legislature restored it.

The serf then was the progenitor of the peasant: for this

reason, if for none other, we cannot reject the historical cause of labour troubles. But there are others, the nature of man and the principle of heredity. In Pagan times and nations, when man was left to himself, the horrible traffic in the souls and bodies of men and women was carried on by their own species. This arose from the greed of homage, the greed of money, and the darker carnal lust. Are these passions extinct? Do not the nations still inherit the taint which long centuries of slave-holding among their forebears has transmitted? Yes; and if Christianity could collapse the slave-trader would flourish in every land. I have but shown a few of the links glinting out from the dust of the past that connect our labour problem of to-day with an almost forgotten time. I will now trace that chain from the thirteenth century to the present time, a period during which its links can be numbered and touched. And in order to do this rapidly and briefly I will confine my attention to England alone.

In order to arrive at an approximate idea of the wages paid in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I have consulted the Fabric Roll of Westminster Abbey for 1253, the Pipe Rolls of Henry III., and some building accounts relating to the Abbey. I have translated several of the entries, and arrived at the conclusion that, in the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth, the wages of artisans employed on the Abbey were on the average 2s. per week, and the labourers from 1s. to 1s. 2d. per week. It may interest the curious to see an example of one of these accounts. I give the account for wages for the sixth week after Easter in 1253.

“Ebd’ vj sine festo. In stipend’ xlj albor’ cissor’ xvj marmor’  
 “xxxv cubit’ xxxij carpent’ Pet<sup>o</sup> Pictor’ xv poll’ xvij fabror’ xiiij  
 “vit<sup>i</sup> ar cum vj plumb’ xix<sup>li</sup>, et xix<sup>d</sup>. In stip’ cc et xiiij minutor’ op’  
 “ar’ cū custod’ et cl’icis et ij bigis diurn’ xiiij<sup>li</sup> et j<sup>d</sup>”  
 “Sm<sup>a</sup> total’ stipend’ xxij<sup>li</sup>, et xx den’”

The following is, I think, a fair translation :

Sixth week no holiday. In wages, 41 white-stone cutters, 16 marble masons, 35 stone-bidders, 33 carpenters, Peter the painter, 15 polishers, 18 smiths, 13 glaziers, with 6 plumbers, £19 1s. 7d. In wages, 213 common labourers, with gangers and clerks, and two wains\* daily, £14 0s. 1d.

Total amount of wages £23 1s. 8d.

The error in the total will be noticed, but I have copied the transcript exactly as it is given.† As it is of great importance

\* *Ij bigis*, translated as *two wains* may be disputed. The phrase refers to two carts drawn either by two oxen or two horses, probably the latter.

† *Vide* Sir Gilbert Scott’s “Gleanings from Westminster Abbey,” with notes by Professor Willis.

to fix the wages of this period, I will refer to the account of Brother John de Mordone one hundred years later (1350-1353). The wages of two masons for twenty-one weeks from Michaelmas to the 23rd of February are 70s., when a new agreement was made with them on account of "flesh time," whereby they had each 4*d.* a week more—viz., 2s. a week from February 23 to Michaelmas; the wages of Adam de Wytheneye, a bedder of stone, for 34 weeks are 66s. 8*d.*, and his servant 48s. In 1342 I find the wages of a mason 2s. 6*d.* per week. I adhere, therefore, to my conclusion regarding wages given above. Multiply these figures by fifteen and you have the wages of that period converted into money of our time. Take off one-third and you will get the average rate then paid throughout England, for the men engaged on the Abbey were paid by the King, who was at that period the best paymaster in the realm.

Let us now turn and see what the prices of provisions were, as far as it may be possible to determine. This can only be done in a very general way. The year 1259 is described by Rishanger as "frugibus et fructibus destitutus," the floods were something unprecedented; the rains were so great that Bristol was inundated, thousands died throughout the land from famine, and at the feast of All Saints the crops in many parts were still on the ground. This was followed however by many fruitful years—even "opulently" fruitful, to use Rishanger's expression, until we reach 1288, when there was such abundance of corn that a quarter was sold at from 12 to 20 pence.\* The year 1293 was unfruitful, and 1294 is described as "destitutus," during which many perished of hunger. The year 1296 was another bad year; 1297 was a year of penury, and 1298 was not abundant. A few mediocre years follow until 1303 which is described as hard, and 1305 seems to have been the first good year with which England had been blessed since 1288. Thorold Rogers puts the price of a quarter of wheat in 1287 at 2s. 10½*d.*, and at 16s. in 1316,† but this latter was a famine year. From the general description I have extracted from Rishanger of the years from 1259 to 1303, the statement of Professor Rogers, and my previous observations regarding wages, the reader will probably now have enough data to guide him in drawing conclusions as to how far wages went in purchasing provisions in the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century. An artisan and a labourer putting their

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\* . . . quarterium frumenti alicubi pro viginti, alicubi pro sexdecim, alicubi pro duodecim denariis venderetur. Wil. Rishanger: *Chronica*, p. 117, Rolls Series.

† Capgrave states that in 1363, wheat was sold at 15s. per quarter. Capgrave hardly ever remarks on the price of provisions, therefore this must have been exceptionally high.



week's earnings together could buy a quarter of wheat in 1287, while in 1316 an artisan would have to work eight weeks to purchase the same quantity. The other years were intermediate, but upon the whole the workman's lot was not so bad, as may be seen from the lament of Capgrave, in 1353, when there was a drought from March to July and grass and corn were dried up, "So Ynglond," he says, "that was wone to fede other londis, was fayn to be fed with other londis." If previous to 1353 England could feed other nations, then her condition on the whole was prosperous.

In 1349 a disaster fell upon England of a grave and far-reaching character, and one which had an effect in engendering legislation which hindered for centuries the progress of England. This was the great pestilence called the Black Death. I will allow Capgrave, who was born in 1393, and who could have heard, and probably did hear, the doleful recital from some survivors, to tell the tale in his own words:

"In the XXIII Year (Edward III), was the Grete Pestilens of puple. First it began in the north cuntre; than in the south; and so forth throwoute the reme. After this pestilens followed a moreyn of bestis, which had nevir be seyn. For as it was supposed there left not in Ingylond the ten part\* of the puple. Than cesed lordes rentis, prestis tithes. Because there were so fewe tylmen, the erde lay untilled. So mech misery was in the lond that the prosperite wech was before was nevir recured."

This pestilence came from China, like most great epidemics, and was accompanied by various terrestrial and celestial phenomena. It still lingers in the East, modern sanitation having erected its barriers against it in the West. Mists and earthquakes accompanied its progress in the fourteenth century on its way hither from Asia. Many died on the instant the epidemic seized them. After its disappearance two singular physiological phenomena were noted: double and triple births became frequent, and there was a diminution by four in the number of teeth. In relation to our subject, however, it had an unquestioned and powerful effect—labour became scarce. The few remaining labourers made use of their survival; whether they were the fittest or not, they, at all events, were the only ones, and they made large demands in respect of wages. The King issued a proclamation imposing fines upon any who paid more than the wages which were paid before the Plague. His proclamation went void. Necessity, a greater king, annulled it. It was reduced by Parliament into the great Statute of Labourers, destined to remain the law of England

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\* This has been generally considered as an exaggeration. More than half, some historians say two-thirds, of the population were destroyed.‡

until the fifth year of Elizabeth. Its main provisions were that all under sixty should labour at farm work at the wages of 1347 or go to gaol, unless they were nobles, merchants, priests or artisans. They would be also sent to gaol if they quitted service before the expiration of their agreements. A lord of the manor who paid wages above the rate of 1347 was liable to pay three times the amount in damages. Artificers were put under the law as to wages, food was ordered to be sold at reasonable prices, alms were forbidden to be given to able-bodied beggars, and, as a final set-off against every injustice, all excess in wages, when discovered, went to the King. Several times this Statute was re-enacted with renewed and increased penalties, but was evaded frequently by both employers and workmen. It propagated however the strife between classes, sown by the slaveholder, which unfortunately has continued down to this very day.

If the Statute of Labourers, however, had little effect upon the rate of wages paid, it was followed by an Act in 1353 which practically brought down the rural labourers to a state of servitude—reduced them, in fact, to villeins *adscripti glebæ*, by forbidding them to quit their native parishes under severe penalties. It was a cardinal error to bring back to serfage classes that had tasted freedom ; it led to combination and revolt, which had their culminating point in Wat Tyler's rebellion. True, the imposition of taxes had something to do with this rebellion, which, but for the inexcusable and outrageous violence of its leaders, would have accomplished a social revolution in the days of Richard II. ; but any careful student of the pages of Froissart will see at a glance that the abolition of serfage was the main impelling force that brought this army of 60,000 peasants to the gates of London. With this rebellion the fourteenth century, pregnant with the germs of historical movement, closes as regards the labour struggle. The labourers were vanquished, but so nearly won that the lords, who were victorious, even in the height of feudal power, thought it wise voluntarily to concede some of the demands made upon them, so that the fifteenth century opened, and remains, the golden age of labour in England.

We cannot, however, enter upon the consideration of wages in the fifteenth century without dwelling for an instant on some characteristic features of the two preceding centuries, which bore very largely on the labour question. The first of these is that many, if not all the leaders in Wat Tyler's rebellion were Socialists. John Ball, the degraded priest, who was accustomed after Mass to harangue the congregation in the village churchyard, spoke, according to the faithful report of Froissart, as follows :—" Good people, things cannot go well, and never will

go well in England, until all goods are held in common, until there are neither villeins nor nobles, but all equal." John Ball would evidently be quite at home to-day in Hyde Park, Chicago, or Belleville. Another powerful movement, but one of a salutary and elevating character, was the establishment and wide-spread influence of the Religious Order instituted by St. Francis of Assisi in the twelfth century. This Order ennobled poverty, and in the thirteenth century its effect was all-pervading, and worked untold good in moderating peasant revolt in Europe and correcting the excesses of the upper class. A third influence was that of the guilds; but these require separate consideration. I do not propose in this necessarily rapid review to treat upon the whole question of guilds; for my purpose a glance at the trade guilds is all that is required.

Was a trade guild a trade union? Not quite, but so marvelously similar to the modern trade union in some of its developments, that it is of paramount importance to any student of the present engrossing question of labour settlement to consider the constitution and working of a trade guild in mediæval days. The trade guild, it is true, differed in soul and body, in matter and form, from the trade union; but its later tendencies were so shaped in the direction of the trade union, as I shall show, that I can only compare them to two different machines, each suited to its period, for performing similar work. There are, it must be understood, two sorts of trade unionism. I will explain what each is in its proper place. By trade unionism here, I mean the elder, legitimate, stable trade unionism. The soul of the trade guild was the Christian ferment that leavened it; in its body it differed from trade unionism, it was composite, containing both master and workman, while the trade union includes the latter only. The end sought was much the same, however, and hence the practical man will not differentiate too closely the methods adopted by each respectively, when he finds both sought, each in its own way, a common end.

The trade guilds were associations of men of the same craft, who imposed recognised and often arbitrary rules upon associates, and bound themselves to the performance of religious duties at certain times, in the churches of their patron saints. The capitalist was unknown in early times, and few masters employed more than one or two journeymen each, with certain apprentices. The heads of the guild were the searchers, who looked up delinquents, and received all fines. When the guild had municipal sanction, which was almost invariably the case, half the fines went into the municipal coffers. These fines were imposed for disobedience to the searchers, for the offence of drawing off custom from a member, for doing work for a customer who owed

money to a member, for refusing to consult with a member who required advice, for setting up as a "master" without the approval of the searchers, and for taking on apprentices for less than seven years. The guilds possessed large funds, very benevolently bestowed, which I shall refer to when I come to their unjust suppression.

I will now direct attention for a moment to the Bristol trade-guilds. Let it be remembered once for all that Bristol was the commercial and trade capital of England in those ages. London was the metropolis then as now, but in mediæval times Bristol was Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham in one. In her narrow streets, built on low marshes, the Black Death made itself terribly felt. If it destroyed the servant, it also destroyed the master, and as we have seen that a dearth of labour in the rural districts ensued upon the cessation of the Plague of 1349, so also in Bristol, and in a minor degree in other towns, the same dearth was felt, accompanied by a dearth also in the purveyors of manufactured articles, that is the master-craftsmen. The master-craftsmen, who remained, made the most of their position. They extorted high prices for their wares, and as the demand was great, they reduced the quality of their goods. Fortunes were made rapidly, the master-craftsman became a large employer of labour, and labour flocked towards him from the country districts and from foreign parts. The reign of Capital had begun; and to Bristol all candid readers of History must ascribe the origin of Capital and the Capitalist. Thomas Blanket, a burgess of Bristol, at this time set up a loom in his house, introduced improvements in weaving, and in opposition to his trade guild employed foreign labour. Blanket was fined and boycotted by the guilds; the mayor promptly applied to the King, and a writ was sent down ordaining that he and others should employ what workmen they pleased. Here the guilds developed the spirit of trade unionism, by their ordinances they sought to put down the employment of *aliens*, and the employment of men who belonging to no guild flocked from the country districts into Bristol. But Blanket\* and men like him persevered, became wealthy and powerful, and made in time those merchant princes that caused the renown of mediæval Bristol, and handed down to her citizens that inheritance of prosperity which makes Bristol still great, although her importance as a port, compared with her modern rivals, is at the point of insignificance. What took place in Bristol, took place in other

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\* The word *blanket* is said to be derived from the name of this successful merchant. This is not so, *blanket* and *blanchet* are old French for this word long before Thomas Blanket's time.



towns on a smaller scale, and at the opening of the fifteenth century we find Capital appearing, and Labour standing sullenly against it, as it stands to day. This is a remarkable and incontestable fact that, from the first, Labour the elder force, has been antagonistic to Capital, and Capital has returned the antagonism by opposing in every way the establishment of labour organisations as long as it was possible, and then fighting these organisations when formed. The reconciliation of Labour with Capital is the world-wide problem of to-day, and the great anxiety of the upright citizens of every State in the civilised world. How difficult it will be to effect this, if ever it can be effected, is seen at once by a consideration of the birth-sin of antagonism existing between the two.

I have said that the fifteenth century was the golden age of labour; and this is so universally admitted, that I need not dwell upon this period, but will content myself by offering a few general observations. Wages were much higher than before the Great Plague, and food was more abundant and cheaper. Beef was sold at a farthing the pound. Neither had the workman to fear the misfortunes of accident, sickness, or old age; the monasteries and the guilds provided for all his wants in full and overflowing measure, to which these institutions, the offspring of Christian charity, added the inexpressible comfort of personal loving kindness, which made the recipient of their bounty feel that a brother was caring for a brother, not a harsh official sternly doling out to a vagabond, an extorted benefaction. This latter degradation of charity and the poor alike, was reserved for the enlightened age of the Reformation and that "Tudor settlement" in religion which unsettled all things. Two contradictory charges have been made against monastic relief of the poor, which are mutually destructive. The one is, that by the indiscriminate charity of the monks and nuns they propagated a system of wholesale begging, and the other is, that it is a fallacy to suppose that before the Reformation the monasteries could have possibly relieved all the poor, so far apart were these great asylums of the indigent. Manifestly if they were too far apart to relieve incidental poverty, *a fortiori* it must have been impossible for them to have created a surplus mendicancy, and then relieved it. The facts are all the other way, however. The monasteries were not indiscriminate in their charity in the sense ascribed to them; they bestowed their alms, it is true, upon all the needy, but when they found the recipients able-bodied and healthy, the monks either gave or found work for them. The distance of the monasteries apart was no let to Christian charity. The spirit of Christianity was abroad in the land. The well-to-do laity were assiduous in relief of the indigent, almsgiving was a sacred duty,

as sacred as going to church ; the parish priest had to consecrate a third of his tithes to the poor, and if he failed in his duty, he was condemned by the Church as being more guilty than if he had committed simony or sorcery ; indeed, later on, in Mary's reign, to neglect almsgiving was considered as a proof of heresy ; and finally there were the guilds in every village, who looked after their indigent members, and made provision for the widow and the orphan. Then the golden sunlight of peace and plenty beamed upon the land, subdued and solemn, even as the sunshine of the visible heaven's radiance itself streamed through the multicoloured panes into those grand old gothic temples reared and cherished by the same hands that founded England's greatness, where every ray that penetrated passed through the memorial of some heroic achievement of saint and martyr in the storied glass. Heart and hand give, heart and hand alike received, and blessed was he who accepted, more blessed he who bestowed. But this happiness was soon to cease, a woful change was at hand, a devil came into Eden, Harry Tudor gibbeted in history as the Eighth Henry, in an evil day for England, sat in the seat made sanctified by the Confessor, illustrious by the long line of the Plantagenets.

The evil wrought by Henry VIII. in the plunder of his subjects is irremediable. To him and to his courtiers alike may be applied the lines of Virgil :

*Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla  
Pestis et ira Deùm Stygiis sese extulit undis.*

He circled the whole orbit of rapine and was a greater scourge to England than the Black Death. Not content with destroying the monasteries, taking thus from the helpless poor their chief support, he debased the coinage and undermined the guilds. Between 1543 and 1546 he issued base money three times, the last issue containing eight ounces of alloy in twelve ounces of metal. Wages remained the same, while the prices of commodities were in most cases trebled. Edward's guardians continued Henry's work, until the shilling in 1551 contained silver to the value of only  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$  This base coinage was issued too, only a few years after the rich treasures of monastic plate had fallen to the Crown, showing how rapidly Henry and the knaves about him had squandered their sacrilegious spoils. Sir William Sharrington, the Controller of the Bristol Mint, had the plate of the Bristol and Somerset churches brought in, and issued it in base coinage ; the silver money coined for England was two-thirds alloy ; that for poor luckless Ireland was still worse, having three-fourths alloy. From 1543 to 1560 this debased money remained in use, then Elizabeth reformed the coinage ;

but issued base money herself for the Irish during Tyrone's rebellion. But neither the plunder of churches nor the profits of false coinage could fill the insatiable maw of Henry's exchequer; he cast about in the thirty-seventh year of his reign for a fresh source of plunder, and sank his beak promptly in the guild coffers. What he began Somerset finished, and the guild revenues and lands in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. were confiscated with the exception of a few too powerful to touch. The poor people sank wholly under this last blow. The guilds were their benefit societies; from them came old-age relief, sick pay, legacies to widows, apprenticeship for the orphan boy, a marriage portion for the orphan girl. Now all was gone, the monastery was roofless, the hospital closed, the guild plundered, prices high, and pauperism, a thing and a word hitherto unknown in England, spread like a deluge over the face of the land. The peasantry rose many times, and in many places: they were savagely put down, and under Edward VI. were branded like hogs, and put to work in chains. But branding and beating and chaining did not feed them; so before the end of Edward's reign collectors were appointed in every parish to gather subscriptions for the relief of the poor. As for the lower classes themselves, they had become so callous and brutalised during the reigns of Henry and his son, that when Mary came to the throne they were wholly corrupt, degraded, and immoral. There was a tendency during Mary's reign to return to the old order of things, and she and her counsellors might have done better in achieving what they desired, if they had begun where Henry left off, and restored the guilds. Combinations of workmen to raise wages were frequent in Mary's reign and that of Edward. Edward's Parliament passed very severe Acts for their repression, and the seasons during Mary's reign were so bad that discontent was deepened. No monarch ever kept a less expensive court than Mary, or imposed less taxes; her provision of an hospital for invalid soldiers, her commercial treaty with Russia, and her revocation of the privileges of the Hanse Town merchants in favour of her own subjects, were all measures distinctly beneficial and enlightened, which have called forth encomiums even from Protestant historians who have spoken in severe language of the Smithfield fires. But, generally speaking, Mary's reign left the labour question in the same condition at the end as it was in at the beginning.

In Elizabeth's reign two most important measures were passed, the first was the law giving power to magistrates in quarter sessions to fix the rate of wages in accordance with the rise or fall of prices in food. It is generally admitted that little regard was paid to the latter proviso; wages were kept miserably low in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were frequently

supplemented by relief from the rates. This was decidedly wrong, as it drew from the ratepayer what should have come from the pocket of the private employer. The other great measure was the Poor Law, that wretched substitute for Christian charity, passed in her 43rd year. The laws against combination remained, were often re-enacted, and always enforced against the working-classes, who repeatedly sought to evade them down to their repeal in 1824 when trade unionism really began and the labour problem put on its modern garb.

I have now traced link by link the long chain of vicissitude in the position of the working-class, which in its continuity I claim to be the historical cause of our labour troubles. Under slavery man was brutalised ; from this the Church liberated him, but, at the first opportunity, the powerful and the wealthy, aided by the Governments of each successive period, sought unconsciously, but incessantly, to return to the hateful system, or the closest approximation to it. Under the Tudors and down to 1824, labour was really enslaved and degraded ; the natural reaction has arrived in the revolt of labour which we witness.

I will now look at a few of the proximate causes of present strikes. Competition amongst producers—that is amongst capitalists—and competition amongst the workmen, have undoubtedly tended to reduce wages. The workmen seek by combination to overcome the effects of competition, and to maintain wages at the maximum. The trade union is their instrument, and by it they seek to compel the capitalist to give the wages they themselves fix, and to limit the number of working hours, in order by employing more hands, to destroy the effect of competition. The result of over-competition was made apparent to all in the great strike of London Dockers last year. The Docks were habitually overcrowded with men looking for work. Artisans, agricultural labourers, the costermongers, and various others, had all, from over-competition in their own trades and callings, flocked to the Docks as a last resource. The infamous system by which a devouring crowd of middlemen, standing between the Dock Companies and their workmen, exploited the necessities of the poor to make labour cheap, was the main cause of this strike. In bringing about a settlement, His Eminence Cardinal Manning took the most prominent part. His action attracted the attention of the world ; he had the sympathy of nearly all classes, but some who did not understand the facts of the case were inclined to disapprove of his intervention. Anybody who reads the Report of the Committee on Sweating can no longer doubt that the work he did was beneficial to all, and equally becoming an apostle and a statesman.

The success of the Dock Strike and the revelations made



before the above-named Committee became a great incentive to extended combination all over the kingdom, resulting in fresh strikes nearly everywhere and in all trades; and with this short glance at the proximate causes of the modern prevalence of strikes I will leave this subject.

The machinery of a strike is of course the trade union and the federation of trade unions. Of trade unions there are two distinct classes, the old and the new; the old unionism bestows friendly benefits, and trade—*i.e.*, strike benefits on its members; the new unionism abjures friendly benefits as being calculated to render workmen peaceable and disinclined to strike, and will confer none but strike benefits. In the old system, care is taken that the members by health, conduct, and skill, are fit and proper persons for the association, and generally this system requires substantial contributions; the new system admits all-comers who are ready to pay to the funds a contribution, generally fixed at 2*d.* per week. In the old trade unions, of which very many exist, there is a practical guarantee to the employer of labour that he is getting a good man, owing to the self-protective rules of the union; there is no such guarantee with the new trade unions. It will be seen on reflection that the latter kind of unionism starts with a false principle, and therefore, whatever its temporary success, it must in the end produce evil.

The establishment by legislation of an eight hours day seems to be the chief object of modern labour agitators. There are heavy classes of industries, such as mining, puddling, gas-stoking, and probably others, where an eight hours day is long enough. No good can come to employer or employed, in my opinion, by keeping men engaged at these operations for a longer day than eight hours. I think this question ought to be settled, and can be settled, without the interference of the Legislature, and without strikes. The danger of legislating upon this matter appears to me to be this: there is no finality in it. An agitation may be begun in the textile trades, in the engineering trades, in all trades, in fine, for an eight hours day, and then Parliament will have no resource but to make a compulsory eight hours day for all of them. This done, the miners will agitate for a six hours day. Is Parliament to enforce its eight hours day, or confess itself beaten and legislate afresh? If Parliament failed, as we have seen, in fixing a minimum rate of wage, it will hardly succeed in fixing a maximum or minimum day.

The annual loss to Great Britain from a compulsory eight hours day for all wage-earners would be £50,000,000. How could it be enforced unless Parliament adopted the reactionary course of suppressing all piece-work? In any case, who is to compensate the nation for an annual loss of £50,000,000? The

advocates of the eight hours system dwell upon the fact that we now, with shorter hours, beat every other nation. This is true ; much of our success is owing to the great superiority of our working-men and our temperate climate ; more is owing to our unrivalled carrying power by land and sea, which alone can be maintained by great capitalists. But if other nations refuse to shorten their hours of work, are we going to burden our already hard-run industries with an annual tax of £50,000,000 and still hope to distance foreign competition ? Whatever agitators may say, the foreign workman, no more than the foreign master, wants an eight hours day. The latter does not want it for obvious reasons ; and only a few months ago, the French Parliamentary *Commission du Travail* issued 100,000 circulars to the working-men of Paris, inviting them to say if they wished an eight hours day. No more than 7454 answers were returned ; of these only 1767 answers were in favour of an eight hours day ; 1850 objected to Parliamentary interference ; and the remaining 3837 fixed a day varying from ten to twelve hours.

The great and pressing business of the hour is how strikes are to be avoided. A strike is such a leakage of force, and consequently of wealth, that it is a sacred obligation upon all to seek some means to bring striking to an end. Let a man strike but for one day, and that day's labour and consequent profit are lost for ever. Endless nostrums have been proposed by the economist, the politician, the capitalist, and the philanthropist, but all want the principle of vitality, because the rich lack the confidence of the poor. The working-man knows nothing about the economist, and takes as much interest in him as he does in the great condor. The politician he only sees when that sleek poser comes vote-hunting ; and he has begun to despise him. The capitalist he only knows as one who wants to keep wages low and raise rents, while the philanthropist too often, but not always, puts on an air of patronage which disgusts him. The truth is that as a nation we have lost the respect for poverty which was a cardinal virtue in the middle ages. The rich man then was the poor man's brother ; when he beheld his poverty he saw in him the likeness of Jesus Christ, and raised his hat. When he found him by the wayside perishing, he took him to his bosom and warmed him there, poured oil into his wounds, comforted him, and sent him on his way rejoicing. We must go back to the old beaten road of Christian justice and Christian charity first, before we essay any plan for stopping strikes. That charity does not mean giving money. It means something more. It means that we must abandon our favourite doctrine of leaving the working-man to what we grandly call the operation of the natural law—the pagan policy of *laissez-faire*. We must win his confidence by treating

him as we would wish, were we in his case, to be treated ourselves; by commencing to respect instead of despising him; by making his acquaintance at other times than when we want to strip him in his poverty of something, or rush him out to vote. But he is drunken, improvident, and habitually impossible to satisfy, for God has not implanted in him the faculty of contentment, so nothing can be done, replies the cynical spirit, one of the evils of our time. This is the foundation of the policy of *laissez-faire*, which is hurrying us on to revolution; because a man is feeble we will not try to help him, and because he is unhappy we throw the fault on his Creator. Meantime, the Socialist is gaining ground, and by the Socialist I mean the Revolutionary Socialist, not the Evolutionary Socialist or Social Reformer. He is obtaining the confidence of the poorer classes, while at the same time he is leading them on to their destruction and ours. To talk of Revolution I know may be derided as if one should speak of storm when the night is calm, while moonbeams dance, and "Orion and the Pleiades glitter down serene." Well, Waterloo followed a dance, and the sun shone on fair green fields enough in France in 1792, and on blood-red ones in 1793. But it is not from fear of revolution I urge conciliation between all classes; I urge it on the ground that we should do what is right, because it is right. Labour is the nation's inheritance, therefore let the labourer be respected. The wealthier classes should make the first advance, because they are powerful and can afford to do it; because their fathers have left them, from the unwise legislation which I have endeavoured to describe, along with their estates and fortunes, the sad bequest of labour revolt. When once again the wealthy have won the confidence of the poor, then plans may be essayed for stopping strikes, co-operation may be tried, or what you will. But the fact is, no further plan need be sought, for whenever confidence is restored, the problem of reconciling Labour with Capital will have been solved.

THOMAS CANNING, M.A., Inst.C.E.

## ART. V.—CELEBRATION OF MASS IN ANTE-NICENE TIMES.

I AM only too conscious that the details on which I have been obliged to dwell have obscured the main point which I desired to bring out in this series of papers; and it therefore seems to me necessary to sum up the results at which I have arrived, in a description of the Mass as it must have been celebrated in Ante-Nicene times.

Let the reader then imagine that the bishop, with his attendant, twenty-four presbyters, and seven deacons, has made his preparation privately, either in the church, or more probably before entering. The service began by the reading of one or two lessons, a psalm being sung between each; after these came the Gospel. This was followed by the sermon—a practical exposition of the portions of Scripture which had just been read. As long as the early discipline of the Church prevailed the catechumens, penitents, and all who were not privileged to assist at the holy mysteries, were next excluded. The principal deacon now bade the faithful rise, and called on them to pray for the intentions which he successively announced: for the whole Church, for the Pope and all its ministers, for the sovereign, for all necessities, for catechumens, heretics, Jews, and heathen, the faithful kneeling after each bidding-prayer, and praying for a while in secret. Then the celebrant saluted the congregation, and said the “*Sursum corda*,” which was answered as now, by “*Habemus ad Dominum*” (St. Cyprian, *de Or. Dom.* 31). He sang the Eucharistic Preface—the “*super panem gratiarum actio*,” ending with the Sanctus, in which the whole congregation, at any rate as early as the middle of the second century,\* joined.

The Canon which followed must, as I have shown, have been, to a great extent, identical with that now used. The faithful joined silently (“*sine monitore*,” Tert. *Apol.* 30) and with outstretched hands in the intercession of the celebrant, the silence being broken by the deacon’s publishing before the consecration the names of those offering; † and probably after the consecration the names of the departed who were specially com-

\* See Tertullian *de Orat.* iii., and St. Satorus’ vision of heaven in Ruinart, *Pass. SS. Perp. et Felicit.* xii. We may suppose that the word “*Hosanna*” had passed into liturgical use by the time St. Mark wrote his Gospel, since, contrary to his usual custom, he does not translate it.

† St. Jerome has preserved for us an account which shows how readily abuses must have grown out of this custom:—“*Tantum offert. illa; tantum ille pollicitus est . . . placent sibi ad plausum populi*” (in *Ezech.* 16).



memorated. The Canon ended then as now with the "Amen," signifying the union of the faithful with the celebrant, which is particularly referred to by St. Paul, St. Justin, and Tertullian.\* Until St. Gregory's revision, the fraction of the Host and the commixture followed the Canon immediately, as is still the case in the Ambrosian rite. The Lord's Prayer was preceded by the same prefatory sentence as now, as we may conclude from St. Cyprian and St. Jerome; † and was followed by the "Embolismus," or prayer against all evil, into which the last clause expands. There must have been a prayer in immediate preparation for communion, corresponding to the "oratio inclinationis" of all the early Liturgies, and represented by the "Perceptio corporis tui" of our Mass. The celebrant then received himself and gave communion to the ministers and congregation, the thirty-third psalm being meanwhile sung. This was apparently followed by a post-communion, like the "Quod ore sumpsimus," and the Mass ended with the celebrant's benediction.

It may be interesting to note some details connected with the administration of Holy Communion. The deacons assisted in the distribution of both the Body and Blood of our Lord; and they set apart the particles needed for the absent and for the faithful to receive in their own homes, as well as those reserved for the sick. The faithful stood to receive, the sacred particle being placed in the right hand of the men; women received it on the "dominicale," a linen cloth. Minute directions are given by the Fathers for its reception, ‡ and the utmost care enjoined lest any portion should fall. At the end of the fourth century, in Italy and Africa, the celebrant said, in giving Communion, "Corpus Christi," and "Sanguis Christi," to which the communicant answered "Amen." § By St. Gregory's day the form had become almost the same as now: "Corpus Domini nostri conservet animam tuam." || Eusebius has fortunately preserved a passage in one of St. Cornelius' letters denouncing Novatian, which I quote in full, not merely because it shows how Communion was administered in the middle of the third century, but also because it testifies to the intense belief in the Real Presence which caused Novatian to act as he did. It reads more like an episode in some mediæval history than one from the church of the catacombs:—

After he has made the oblation, and divided a part for each, when he gives it to the communicants, instead of the usual blessing, he

\* 1 Cor. xiv. 16; 1 Apol. 67; de Spectac. 25.

† "Inter sua salutaria monita et præcepta divina . . . etiam orandi formam ipse dedit" (de Or. Dom. 2).

‡ See especially St. Cyril Jer.: Cat. Myst. xxiii. 5, and Dom Toutté's notes.

§ Pseudo-Ambrose IV. de Sacram. 5; S. Aug. Serm. 272, and contra Faust, 12. In Alexandria the corresponding phrase was *σῶμα ἁγίον*.

|| Vita S. Gregorii a Joan. Diac.

constrains the unfortunate men, holding with both his hands the hands of the communicant, and releasing them not until the communicants have sworn as follows (for I will use his own words): "Swear to me, on the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will never leave me, and turn to Cornelius." And the wretched man does not receive until he has first cursed himself thus, And he who takes this bread, instead of saying the "Amen," says. "I will never more return to Cornelius."\*

Communicants were carefully instructed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem how they were to hold out their hands, "making the left hand a throne for the right, which is about to receive the King, and hollowing the palm, receive the body of Christ while answering the Amen." The piety of the faithful led to various devout practises, such as applying the Sacred Host to their eyes before receiving, and signing their lips with the sign of the cross immediately after taking the precious Blood,† practises which were commended by the Greek Fathers from Origen to Theodoret, but which were liable to abuses that led to their prohibition in the West.

The amount of ceremony with which the Holy Sacrifice was offered must have varied from a very early period according to opportunity. The few scattered references which bear on this subject in Origen show that the pomp and ceremonial with which a High Mass was celebrated in his day must have been considerable. And we have a more detailed account of a High Mass in Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century, in the works of the so-called Areopagite, which with very few modifications might serve as a description of a Pontifical High Mass at the present day. On the other hand, it will be remembered, I quoted an opinion of the older liturgiologists that, under stress of persecution, the Holy Sacrifice was offered in the early ages with merely the words of Institution and the Lord's Prayer. This view was based upon several passages in the Fathers which at least show that a form of the Liturgy with less ceremonial, corresponding to our Low Mass, must have existed; and there are others which imply the same, such as Tertullian's belief that St. Paul (Acts xxvii. 35) said Mass on board ship.

There is, at any rate, good ground for supposing that the ordinary Sunday Liturgy differed at a very early time from that used on other occasions. The Didache gives two accounts of the Liturgy; one apparently referring to the first Communion of a convert, and the other being the Sunday Mass. St. Justin follows the lines of this treatise in this matter as in so many

\* Hist. Eccl. vi. 43.

† See other instances in Dom Toutté's Admon. Præv. to St. Cyr. Jer.: Cat. Myst. xxxiii.

others; and his description is the more valuable, because it is the sole instance when a Christian writer broke through the "discipline of reserve," and endeavoured to give an account of the great act of Christian worship to the heathen. In the sixty-fifth chapter of the Apology which he addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, before the middle of the second century, he describes the Sacrament of Baptism, and then says that the newly-baptised Christian is led to the assembly of the brethren. In the account which follows we can distinctly recognise the prayer of the faithful, the kiss of peace, the oblation by the bishop (*ὁ προεστώς*) of the bread and wine mixed with water. Then came the Preface, in which the celebrant "sends up praise and glory to the Father of all things in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes thanksgiving at length for having been deemed worthy to receive these things from Him." The faithful responded Amen at the end of the Eucharistic prayer (Canon); after which the deacons distributed to all present the bread and wine and water, over which thanks had been given, and took away a portion for the absent. In the next chapter St. Justin explains that the word "Eucharist" was already used for the consecrated elements; and that none were allowed to receive them, save those who had been baptised and lived according to our Lord's precepts. For it was not received as common bread and wine, but as the Body and Blood of Jesus incarnate, changed by the words of prayer which came from Him, as He took on Himself flesh and blood by the word of God.\* The words used in consecration are next given, as the words of Institution: "Do this in my remembrance; this is my Body;" and, "This is my Blood."

In chapter sixty-seven, St. Justin describes the Sunday Mass as follows:—

On the day which is called the Sun's there is an assembly of all, whether they live in the towns or the country. As much is read of the memoirs of the Apostles, or writings of the Prophets, as time will allow. When the reader has finished the president (*ὁ προεστώς*) exhorts and urges us by a discourse to imitate the excellent things (that have just been read). Next we all stand up together and offer prayers. And, as we have said before (cap. 65), bread and wine and water are brought forward, and the president offers up both prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power, to which the people testify their assent by saying the Amen. The elements for which thanks have been given (*τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων*) are distributed to all and partaken of by them, and sent by the deacons to the absent.

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\* The sentence in which this is expressed is long and involved; but there can be no doubt as to its meaning.

The chief points in the early Mass, as I have described it above, will be easily recognised in this account. The reading of Scripture, the sermon, the prayers of the faithful, the Eucharistic and intercessory Preface and Canon, and the Communion, are very distinct. In two respects, however, it differs from the Roman Mass as we have hitherto dealt with it, so as to lead us to believe that either St. Justin is describing some other rite, or the Liturgy of Rome must have been altered after his time. There are plausible reasons for choosing the former of these alternatives. St. Justin was a native of Syria, and it is therefore not improbable that he may have frequented some church of his own nation where the Syrian rite was followed, such peculiar uses having been always permitted and even encouraged in Rome. This is the more likely, because there are so many coincidences in his works with the language and thoughts of the Clementine Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions, as to show he must have been familiar with the early form of the Syrian rite from which that Liturgy is derived.

On the other hand, Cardinal Wiseman, amid that wealth of learning which may be found in "Fabiola," points out that St. Justin, in his Acts, is made to say that he only knew one Christian assembly in Rome, "the house of one Martiu at the Timothine bath." This appears to have been the house of Pudens, and if so the rite used must have been the Roman, and the *προεστῶς* was the Bishop of Rome.\* If this alternative is accepted, two changes must apparently have been made in the Mass since St. Justin wrote, in the middle of the second century. In the first place, it will be noticed that he speaks of the Preface as a thanksgiving "at great length" (*ἐπὶ πολὺ*); which description, taken with the indication of its contents, seems to correspond with the long Preface of the Clementine Liturgy rather than with the short ordinary Preface of the Roman Mass. I have observed no such evidence of familiarity with the Clementine Preface in other early Roman writers as would decide this point. *A priori*, it seems more probable that a long Preface—itsself derived from the "Great Hallel" of the Jewish Paschal service—should have been shortened, than that a short one should have been expanded into the shape which it now presents.

The position of the "Pax" is one of the points in which the Roman Liturgy differs from all others; and St. Justin only follows the rule in placing it before the Canon of the Mass. It is, however, remarkable, that he does not mention it at all in his account of the ordinary Sunday Mass, and in the description in

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\* Probst remarks, in another connection, that there is some reason to suppose *προεστῶς* was ordinarily used only of the Pope by early Christian writers.



cap. 65, the kiss of peace may be specially connected with the reception of the newly-baptised convert. We are, therefore, not able to conclude decidedly from this passage whether the Pax occupied the same position at St. Justin's day in the Roman Mass as in the others. Even in them its place does not seem to have been at an early period fixed. If anything can be argued from 1 Thess. v. 25, 26, it must originally have preceded the Preface, and followed the prayers of the faithful; and this is its position in the passage before us, in Origen, and in the Clementine Liturgy. On the other hand, the account of the Mass in the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions puts it before the prayer of the faithful, and immediately after the exclusion of the catechumens. Probably such a change may have been made to facilitate that mutual recognition which was relied upon as the surest means of excluding those who had no right to assist at the Holy Sacrifice; and it is possible that a like alteration was made in Rome to keep from Communion the heretics who abounded there in the second century, and who mixed so freely with the faithful. By the fourth century, at any rate, we know from SS. Augustine, Jerome, and Innocent I., that the Pax occupied its present place in the Mass. Tertullian is commonly quoted as proving that it had the same position 200 years earlier; but his rhetorical language is ambiguous.\*

With this contemporary account of the Mass in the second century, I may fitly close this series of papers. They have run to a greater length than I contemplated when I began them; for I found that, to show the antiquity of the Roman Mass, I had to go into details which must have been wearisome. Lest in following these the general purpose should be missed, I may briefly recapitulate what may be considered as established, as distinguished from what is doubtful or unproved.

I believe I have shown that

1. All Liturgies are found to agree more closely the farther they are traced back. Thus our Good Friday service and the Greek St. James are much more alike than their lineal descendants, the Roman Mass and the Liturgy of Constantinople of the present day.

2. The points in which all Liturgies agree must have been derived from some common source, and no other can be suggested than the teaching of the Apostles, who, while allowing much latitude in details, must have prescribed everywhere uniformity in the general structure and character of the service.

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\* De Orat. 14, "Quale sacrificium est a quo sine Pace preceditur?" looks like a Pax at the end of Mass. But "quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit Pax?" suggests rather a kiss of peace in close connection with the prayer of the faithful, and before the Canon. He distinctly proves the Pax was not given on Good Friday.

3. The following are the points in which all early Liturgies are agreed, differing from each other only in their order and in the language in which they are expressed: the reading of Scripture, the prayer of the faithful, the kiss of peace, the Preface preceded by the "Sursum corda" and followed by the "Sanctus," the commemoration by the celebrant of the living and the dead, the recital of the institution of the Holy Eucharist with the words of consecration, the commemoration of our Lord's passion and death, the "Pater noster," the Communion with its preparation and thanksgiving.

4. All but one of these features of the Liturgy are preserved in the Roman Mass of to-day—the prayer of the faithful being found only in the Mass of the Presanctified. As to its contents, therefore, our present Mass is of Apostolic origin.

5. The general arrangement and structure of the Roman Mass, and even some of its language, can be traced with a high degree of probability to St. Clement, and even to St. Peter.

6. The Canon of the Mass must have undergone changes of uncertain extent during the first two centuries after Apostolic times. By the beginning of the fourth century it must have existed in very nearly its present shape (pseudo-Ambrose); and the few alterations which St. Gregory the Great made in it, left it, fourteen hundred years ago, the same as we have it now.

It may appear strange to some of my readers that I have made no attempt to show the decisive bearing of the facts and inferences I have brought forward on the controversies which have been raised concerning the Holy Sacrifice since the sixteenth century. A sentence of the great liturgiologist, Renaudot, which Mr. Hammond has very justly chosen as the motto for his book, will best express my reason for thinking it utterly vain to point a controversial moral: "Hence shines out clearly that likeness of prayers and rites which confirms the ancient doctrine of the whole Church concerning the Eucharist." Those who cannot see for themselves that all ancient Liturgies, orthodox and heretical, are based upon the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist, and our Lord's Real Presence therein, are beyond the reach of arguments from liturgical details. But there is still stronger reason for silence. In studying the history of the Mass, we find ourselves, as it were, in some ancient, vast, cathedral, where the Holy Sacrifice has been offered since the day of Pentecost. It would be unendurable that the discordant murmurs of unbelief and doubt should be allowed to break in upon the hymns of thanksgiving and praise, which the Church has unceasingly offered with that Sacrifice on the altar on high before the throne of God.

## ART. VI.—CATHOLICS AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

1. *L'Église et la Jeunesse Ouvrière*. Par M. L'ABBÉ SECRETAIN. Paris : Chernovitz. 1889.
2. *Thirty-seventh Report of the Department of Science and Art*. H.M. Stationery Office. 1890.

THE universal insubordination of the working classes is undoubtedly the most formidable problem confronting society at the present day. The growing discontent with what must always be the condition of the majority of mankind, tends to assume the dimensions of a general revolt against the primeval curse of Adam. Religion and civilisation are alike threatened by the movement ; the former by the spirit of rationalism which accompanies and promotes it, the latter by the implied obliteration of those finer gradations of the social hierarchy which are at once the cause and result of progress. Education, as heretofore understood, is but a new ferment of disorder, and the mutinous masses, strong in the double power of knowledge and numbers, will soon, in the absence of some powerful counteracting influence, destroy the complex structure of the present order of things.

The dissatisfaction of the working man with his lot is due in great measure to the false direction of popular instruction, in cultivating faculties which find no exercise in his avocations. Partial mental culture is in most cases a curse to a man whose life must be spent in performing the functions of a living automaton, and the stimulus to the brain becomes an incentive to excess in the craving for excitement engendered in the vacant mind. The hundred-handed steam-engine has undoubtedly degraded labour by reducing it to the monotonous imitation of its own mechanical movements. The object of modern educational reform is at once to render his daily task less distasteful to the workman, by giving him a comprehension of the scientific principles that underly it, and to enable him, if sufficiently intelligent, to rise to the higher walks of his calling, assuming the superintendence and direction of others. The disregard of manual training in the educational scheme also tends to bring hand labour into disrepute as worthy only of the illiterate, and leads to the prevalent overcrowding of the trades and professions, and evergrowing concentration of population in the urban centres.

To reform this false view of life and re-invest manual labour with the dignity properly appertaining to it, while reconciling the workman to his task by extending his knowledge of its scien-

tific basis, is the aim of those who now seek to give popular instruction a more practical and less exclusively literary direction. From a purely commercial point of view the change is no less urgent. The wealth of a country can be shown to be directly dependent on the technical skill of its workmen, and in the present cosmopolitan competition for trade none can afford to neglect such an element of success. It is the appreciation of this truth by the Germans which has enabled them, by the superior technical training of their trading and working classes, to counteract England's natural advantages in mineral wealth. The value of raw material is but a small fraction of that of manufactured articles, the increment being solely due to the greater or less degree of skill with which it is manipulated. Beauty of design, delicacy of texture, fineness of surface, are the qualities which tend to enhance price, and these are incommunicable by any purely mechanical process. In such details of ornamental finish French products have been always held so greatly to excel that the bare name is accounted a guarantee of elegance and taste. The foreign policy of this country is mainly directed to securing outlets abroad for its manifold industries, but the like attention bestowed on the practical training of its people at home would be a no less efficacious means to the same end.

The nation [says Mr. Charles Ham, of Chicago] that applies to labour the most thought, the most intelligence (*i.e.*, that best expresses its thought in concrete form), will rise highest in the scale of civilisation, will gain most in wealth, will most survive the shocks of time, will live longest in history.\*

The whole fabric of national prosperity is reared, in fact, on the toil of the masses, and in proportion as the latter is efficient or nugatory so will the former wax or wane. The mental equipment of the workman for his task is therefore no less a question of State policy, from its intimate connection with public well-being, than of philanthropy, from its effect in ameliorating the lot of the individual workman himself.

Industrial education consists of two distinct branches, a lower and a higher. The former, styled Manual Training, consists of the drilling of the rank and file of the army of industry in the use of the hand itself and of its adjuncts, the tools and implements of trade; the latter, Technical Education properly so called, is the form of teaching required for the captains of labour, manufacturers and foremen, designers and superintendents of works. It comprises theory as well as practice, and is defined as art and science applied to industry.

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\* "Manual Training." By Charles H. Ham. London: Blackie & Sons. 1886.



The callings in which such preliminary training is especially required are classified under four headings. (1) Handicrafts, such as carpentering, cabinet making, tailoring, plumbing, boot-making, and others innumerable, requiring the practised use of tools, and more or less of mechanical skill in their manipulation. (2) Manufactures in which machinery is employed, iron or steel works, for example, engine factories, textile industries, and chemical trades. (3) Art industries, comprising wood and stone carving, metal work, jewellery, designing for manufactures, and decorative work generally. (4) Agriculture in all its branches, requiring both practical and scientific knowledge. Many of these classes, however, dovetail into each other, design being necessary for textile fabrics, and mechanical drawing for machine construction. Many handicrafts again are gradually passing into the domain of manufacture, as that of boot-making, in which hand-work is now largely replaced by that of machinery. In all these departments, manual training in drawing and the use of tools is the foundation of the knowledge required.

Two changes in the conditions of industry have revolutionised the workman's position, and rendered his preliminary schooling especially necessary. The first is the gradual disappearance of apprenticeship, the old-fashioned curriculum of skilled labour. Its capabilities as a training system had their most illustrious development in the schools of the great Italian painters, in which a band of intelligent disciples co-operated with the master in the production of his work. Taken altogether, with its homely influences and transmission of traditional method, it came nearer to the ideal of industrial training than anything that seems likely to take its place.

The second change in the aspect of many forms of labour, rendering their habitual performance rather a stultifying than an educational process, is their distribution, or, as the French say, *parcellement*, in minutely sub-divided portions among a number of hands. In the actual factory each workman learns only a small fraction of the entire process he is engaged on, and may never see the article he helps to produce in its completed form. Thus reduced to the functions of a self-acting automaton, in whom the superfluous faculties of brain and mind are kept in abeyance, he can only be awakened to some pleasurable sense of creative usefulness in his work by previously acquired knowledge of its general relation to its fundamental art or science. The restriction of his powers renders him moreover incapable of rising to the higher branches of his career, and employers declare that they are dependent for a supply of intelligent foremen on the technical schools in which they are specially trained. M. Tolain, in reporting to the French Senate on the law for the creation

of normal schools of apprenticeship, known as the law of December 11, 1880, dwelt on this aspect of the question as follows :

The value of the workman's labour in France is diminishing, because the intellectual value of the workman himself tends to decline. Machinery more and more takes the place of the workman. Such workmen as are still employed are more and more specialised and restricted to minute processes, which are no longer a trade, but a fragment of a trade. There are continually fewer artisans and more hand-workers. The remedy is to give to the children of workmen an education capable of awakening in them the feeling which formerly prevailed among artisans : first to develop their intelligence, and then to increase their technical knowledge, so that they may be able to pass at need from one industrial specialty to another, to understand their trade as a whole and in its details, and sometimes even to improve its processes.

Similar views were expressed in reference to the foundation of an industrial school at Riga, in 1873, by the local Gewerbe-Verein or Trade Union. The institution was established, according to the declaration of its promoters, with a view to remedying the gradual lowering of the moral level of artisans, and the falling off in the quality of almost all industrial productions, chiefly due to the abolition of obligatory membership of trade guilds.

We have here a recognition of the fact, underlying all social problems, that the training of the artisan, even for the practical end of his complete technical evolution, is a moral no less than an educational question. Mere manual dexterity, if unaccompanied by any guiding principle of conduct, will be counteracted by defects of character, such as idleness or intemperance, which will destroy his usefulness even as a mere tool in his trade. Secular education, as the experience of the present generation teaches, has no effect in checking evil tendencies. In France and Italy where it is leavened with positive infidelity, it tends rather, as statistics show, to the increase of depravity, and in the United States, is so far from checking it, that the ratio of crime to population has there doubled since 1850. The modern world is making painful experience of the truth that no social problem can be solved without the assistance of religion, and that the godless artisan, however highly trained in other directions, is the stumbling-block rather than the prop of the mercantile community. The present tendency to concentrate all educational administration in the hands of the State argues a misconception of the proper functions of the latter, and if allowed to dominate industrial training, will do much to nullify its benefits. It is essentially a matter for the control of local bodies, and has always prospered best when under the care of religious organisations in Catholic communities.

In England, which has until recently been backward in promoting it, a systematised method is still wanting to the efforts being made on its behalf. Three separate bodies, with intersecting spheres of authority, the Department of Science and Art, the School Board, and the Charity Commissioners, have each a share in its direction. The first of these institutions owes its origin to the Great Exhibition of 1851, when the necessity for technical education in this country was shown by the inferiority of its products in finish and delicacy to those of others. The then existing machinery for art culture consisted of a Government School of Design, opened at Somerset House in 1837, in receipt of an annual grant of £15,000, with seventeen similar schools in the provinces, to which the endowment had been extended four years later. The Council governing this institution was replaced in 1852 by the newly created Department of Practical Art, which, by the addition of a Science Division in the following year, became the combined department of South Kensington. With it were amalgamated the Government School of Mines, the Geological Survey, and various other scientific bodies. The object of the grants was declared to be the extension of "a knowledge of the arts, and of the principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) of this country," and "to extend a system of encouragement to local institutions for Practical Science."

In the sphere of art it has given a great extension to the teaching of drawing throughout the country by a system of subsidies, in the shape of grants and free scholarships, to elementary schools and local classes. The amount of its work in this direction may be estimated by the figures of its growth. The number of students in Schools of Design, amounting before the creation of the Department to but 6997, had increased in 1857 to 12,905, in addition to 43,212 pupils in elementary schools receiving instruction in drawing. In 1888-9, again, the students in schools and classes of art numbered 74,701, besides 11,039 students in science classes sending up art works, and 875,263 learning drawing in elementary schools, making a total of close upon a million receiving some form of artistic teaching. More advanced instruction is given in the National Art Training School at South Kensington, which gives free scholarships with maintenance allowances to students on proof of proficiency. Of these there were in 1887-8, 138, 32 being women, while the number of paying students was 429, and 33 were being allowed half fees.

The Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines, the central scientific institution under the Department, had at first but a very indifferent success. Down to 1862 the average

number of matriculated students had been but 12, and of occasional students only 54, per annum, while the average of those who found subsequent employment in mineral and metal works, or on the Geological Survey, was less than four. After its removal to South Kensington in 1862, however, its popularity largely increased, and since its reorganisation in 1881, the applications for admission have been in excess of the accommodation. It has a three years' course, which in the first year is the same for all; in the second, is divided into two classes for physical and biological science; and in the third into eight—viz., Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, Agriculture, Metallurgy, and Mining. The fees range from £1 to £13 a term for single subjects, the full course costing £75 per annum for the first two years, and £30 to £40 for the third. A limited number of those qualifying for teachers are admitted gratuitously, with maintenance allowances, and there are also free scholarships and studentships. The number of students in 1886-7 was 267, of whom 122 were non-paying. Three courses of evening lectures for working men, on Geology, Mechanics, and Metallurgy, are also delivered during the session, at a nominal fee of 6*d.* the course, and these are attended by hundreds.

Grants to local teaching bodies are given on the demand of a committee of responsible persons, in twenty-five scientific subjects bearing on the arts and manufactures. Payment by results, and assistance towards building or equipment of libraries or laboratories, are the forms in which the grant is bestowed on schools; to individuals it is given as the reward of proficiency, in the shape of prizes, scholarships, or studentships. Money aid, however, is restricted to sons of families with an income of less than £200 a year. The number of subsidised science schools in 1887 was 1634, with 6300 classes and 103,038 students, and in the May examination of that year, 67,620 were examined, with a percentage of 30·86 of failures. The pecuniary aid to science under the Department amounted, in 1887, to £94,450, against £82,470 for the previous year, the corresponding figures for art being £83,059, and £86,665. The total grant to the dual Department for 1890 was £462,957.

Despite the undoubtedly admirable character of the results thus achieved, the efficiency of the teaching under the South Kensington Board has been marred by its adoption, since 1859, of the system of payment by results. This test of efficiency leads to the sacrifice of the pupil's interest to the necessity of grant-earning, as his education, entirely directed to that end, is rendered almost useless to himself. Thus a technical school at the examination in May 1880, sent up one boy who passed in nineteen science subjects, three in eighteen, and several in seventeen and



sixteen. The attention of the pupil is in such cases scattered over a wide range of studies, of which only the most perfunctory knowledge can be acquired, instead of being concentrated on the one or two branches of learning necessary for his future.

Next in importance to the great national machinery for technical education confided to the Science and Art Department, comes that more recently created by the City and Guilds of London Institute. This voluntary association was constituted in 1878 by a number of the principal Livery Companies, with a view to providing practical training in mechanics and science. The teaching apparatus organised by it consists of four institutions: (1) The Central Institution in Exhibition Road, built at a cost of £100,000, and opened in 1885, to form a Technical University with a complete three years' course of practical science, costing £25 a year; (2) The Finsbury Technical College in Leonard Street, an affiliated institution, built at a cost of £36,000, and opened in 1883, to serve as a model trade school for artisans and others entering industrial works; (3) The South London School of Technical Art, started in 1879, in the Kennington Park Road, to give instruction in all forms of decorative art; (4) a system of technological examination, open to students from all parts of the kingdom, with payment to teachers by results.

The first of these schools was attended in 1887-8 by 431 students, and its summer courses on various practical subjects, such as carpentry, masonry, bread-making, held in the month of July, by 175, of whom 81 were teachers. The Finsbury College, with a first-rate teaching staff, has in its day-school about 170 lads of from fifteen to seventeen years of age, of whom the larger number are studying electrical engineering. Its evening classes which, in addition to more scientific subjects, have a department for trade lessons in cabinet-making, plumbing, carpentry, bricklaying, &c., are attended by about 1000 students.

The South London School has about 140 students, attending classes nearly all held in the evening, in modelling, design, house-decoration, china-painting, wood-engraving, and other artistic trades. It is said to have considerable influence on these trades in the neighbourhood, and many of its pupils have gained a high position in artistic handicrafts.

The examining department of the City and Guilds Institute has on its books 505 registered classes, with 11,734 students in 133 towns of the United Kingdom, and at the examinations in May 1888, 6166 candidates presented themselves, of whom 3512 were passed. The civic association has thus, through its various branches, brought excellent scientific training within reach of a considerable section of the working population.

We come next to an institution which, though the creation of

a private individual, takes rank, as regards its work in the metropolis, after the two principal public organisations for practical teaching. The London Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street, founded and maintained by Mr. Quintin Hogg at an annual cost of £6000 to £7000 over receipts, is a combination of a club and a school, comprising both recreative and educational resources. In the former department it has a gymnasium, swimming-bath, well supplied reading-room and library; in the latter, classes for boys and girls, frequented by 3000 students, nearly all engaged in daily toil. The fees to members for attendance vary from 2s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. a quarter, and they are open to outsiders at a somewhat higher rate. Practical instruction is given in various trades, such as carriage-building, cabinet-making, upholstery, wood and stone-carving, printing, watchmaking, and dressmaking, in addition to the more scientific avocations of building, engineering, and electrical engineering.

The Drapers' Company, having transferred its subscription from the City and Guilds Institute to the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, the latter combines classes in practical and technical subjects, with its other beneficent activities. Toynbee Hall, in Whitechapel, one of the many East-end charities organised and maintained by the Universities, also provides lectures and teaching in various practical arts. The Charity Commissioners have now initiated a movement for supplying the outlying districts of London with Polytechnics, combining recreation with instruction, like that in Regent Street, offering a sum of £150,000 to meet a like amount subscribed from local sources. Two such institutions, one in the Borough Road and the other at New Cross, with an endowment from the Goldsmiths' Company, are already in course of establishment in South London, and Kensington and Battersea have taken steps towards the provision of others. In addition to these resources for higher technical instruction, the experiment of workshop training is about to be tried in six of the London Board Schools, three north and three south of the Thames, the cost being defrayed by a grant of £1000 from the Drapers' Company.

The Technical Education Act of 1889, giving powers for levying a local rate towards it on a poll of the ratepayers, has given a great stimulus to the movement throughout the provinces. The Town Council of Manchester has recently (April 1890) appointed a committee for exercising these powers, and Sheffield, Rochdale, Stockport, Macclesfield, the County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Maidstone, Blaenau Festiniog, Rotherham, Wakefield, Bingley, New Mills, Bolton, Nottingham, Leeds, Birmingham, Newcastle, Blackburn, and Reading, are among the places that have taken steps to put the Act in force.

University and King's Colleges in London, as well as many of the provincial colleges and universities, have extensive courses of practical science. Owens College Manchester, Liverpool University College, and the Yorkshire College at Leeds, forming together Victoria University, combine to a certain extent the faculties of a German university with those of a technical school. The former has an extended course of practical science, and the latter a special school of dyeing and weaving. Birmingham, Newcastle, Sheffield, Nottingham, Cardiff, Clifton and Dundee are similarly provided, and Bradford is celebrated for its Technical College. Of the older Universities, Cambridge has always made science its specialty, and Professor Stuart has, at his own expense, within the last twelve or fourteen years added practical workshops to its laboratory system. Here about eighty students, three-fourths of them undergraduates, assist in the actual processes of manufacture, and forging and casting iron, machine construction, and other works are carried on. Another addition to the University, which shows that Cambridge is moving with the times, is Cavendish College, recently opened as a school of exclusively commercial education.

What is chiefly wanted in England, in order to give efficacy to the work of these organisations for advanced technical training, is that they should be co-ordinated and welded on to the general educational system of the country. The primary schools, except in drawing, have no preparation for, nor connecting link with, the higher courses of scientific teaching. The use of tools should if possible be taught in the elementary schools, so as to give practical familiarity with mechanical problems from an early age. This is at present rendered difficult by the regulation that such instruction must be given out of school hours, and efforts are being made by protests and remonstrances to have the rule rescinded.

This form of manual training is carried to the highest perfection, by a system of progressive classes, in the Imperial Technical School for Government engineers at Moscow, where it was introduced by Professor Victor Della-Vos in 1868. The same method has been adopted in Bohemia, and in the Manual Training Colleges, twelve in number, of the United States, notably those of Chicago and St. Louis. Turning and carving, forging and metal work are taught here in graded classes, the attempt to make them self-supporting being abandoned as detrimental to the schooling.

In a manual training school [says Mr. Woodward, director of that of St. Louis] everything is for the benefit of the boy. He is the only article to be put upon the market. We cannot afford to turn out anything else. Time and opportunity for growth are too pre-

cious. The moment a class has learned fairly well to make bolts and nuts, or to cut and solder a tin funnel, the boys must move on to master some new and unknown process, instead of stopping to make bolts and funnels for the market. \*

This, however, is a counsel of perfection which cannot be followed when ways and means have to be too closely considered. One of the arguments against this utilitarian training, that it diverts the mind from book-learning, is negatively answered by the writer. The development of constructiveness rather assists that of the other faculties, and the alternate exercise of the different powers of the brain acts as a stimulus to all. The pleasure the boys take in their manual tasks proves them to be the healthiest form of relaxation from the more purely mental exercises, and the severest punishment for want of diligence in the latter is found to be exclusion from the former. On one occasion when Mr. Woodward's pupils had begged a general holiday, they added the request that it might be spent in the workshop, evidently considering their occupations there the best form of play.

The Swedish method of hand-culture called *slöjd*, consists entirely of turning and carving wood, and the articles produced are intended either for sale or for home use. It is, however, a form of training whose utility in after life would be comparatively limited.

Manual training occupies in France a conspicuous place in the programme of national education, and pupils in the primary schools who show special aptitude, receive more advanced technical instruction gratuitously by means of scholarships in special institutions. Apprenticeship schools for various trades exist, too, in large numbers, the *École Diderot* in Paris being the typical one. This establishment, founded at a cost of £16,000, and maintained at an annual charge of £6000, has 830 pupils, of whom about eighty complete the three years' course, to qualify as mechanics, smiths, joiners, &c. A higher class of teaching is imparted by "the Sorbonne of Industry," as the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, with its lectures, classes, and splendid museum, is called. Five Government schools at Châlons, Lille, Nevers, Aix, and Angers, for training skilled foremen, engineers, and mechanics, have a three years' course, limited to 300 students, of whom half are free, and half pay about £30 a year. The splendid *École Centrale*, in Paris, with its almost unrivalled chemical laboratories, stands on a different footing, as it is self-supporting. Here almost all French engineers not in the service of the Government are

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\* "The Manual Training School." By C. M. Woodward, A.B. Boston: Heath & Co. 1887.



trained. The local industrial centres have also their technical colleges, such as the *École Centrale* at Lyons, *École des Mineurs* at St. Etienne, and *Institut du Nord* at Lille. Many private mercantile establishments, such as the printing house of *Chaix et Cie*, and the *Creuzot Ironworks*, owned by M. Schneider, have training schools for their workmen, and find it commercially advantageous, as they generally remain in their employment. There is thus in France a more completely graduated course of manual and technical training than in England, where the elementary schools give little of this class of instruction, and the gap between them and the higher scientific courses is not bridged by any intermediate stage.

In Germany there is a still more completely organised system, with a gradually ascending course of training. The *Ohne Latein Realschulen* are devoted to practical as opposed to classical and literary education, while trades are taught in the *Gewerbeschulen* and *Fachschulen*, and the higher scientific training is imparted in splendidly equipped polytechnics, which are universities of industrial teaching. Utilitarian education in its earlier stages, is, too, much more highly specialised than in this country, as a boy's future career is decided on at thirteen, and all subsequent teaching given in the trade school of his particular branch. The scientific basis of his profession, if he be intended for its higher walks, he learns at a polytechnic, such as is to be found in every capital, and with which Germany is indeed provided in excess of its population. No expense has been spared in their equipment, and to their chemical laboratories in particular, Sir Philip Magnus says, Germany "owes much of the success of her manufacturing industry." The first cost of [their erection is estimated at not less than three million sterling, and they are maintained at an annual outlay of a quarter of a million.

The Munich Polytechnic represents a capital sum of £200,000, and a yearly expenditure of £20,000, while that of Berlin was completed in 1884 at a cost of £200,000. The specialisation of teaching characteristic of the German system is exemplified in that of the former institution. With a student roll, which in 1887-8 numbered over 700, the programme comprises 196 courses of lectures, assigned to 36 professors and 34 teachers, besides assistants; while in the engineering school alone there are 45 separate courses.

The Bavarian capital is equally well supplied with artistic teaching. Its Art School furnishes means of instruction in every form of decorative industry, and in the ceramic and glass-staining departments students are enabled to work in the materials from their own designs. Art is honoured even in the externals of its habitation, and the *Kunstgewerbeschulen* of Munich, Nurem-

berg, Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna, are lodged in palaces, often decorated by the students themselves. The efficiency of the musical training supplied in Germany is so notorious, that we need only mention the Conservatoires of Leipzig, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, and Vienna, as illustrations of the system of art-culture prevailing there.

On that system as applied to industry, much light is thrown by the valuable Report of Mr. Gilbert Redgrave, appended to that of the Science and Art Department for the current year, and recording his impressions of the exhibition of school work, held in the Gewerbehalle of Stuttgart, in honour of the Silver Jubilee of King Charles of Würtemberg, from July 25 to August 25, 1889. It consisted of the works of what are termed trade continuation schools, and participation in it was compulsory on the part of those receiving State aid, but voluntary on that of others. The works of teachers, and those executed by apprentices as qualifications for an official diploma, were separately classified, and the exhibits were intended in all cases to represent the general average of production, not the result of exceptional pains or time expended for the occasion.

The Trade Continuation Schools, here represented to the number of 183, are intended to supplement the training bestowed in elementary schools, by classes held in the evening and during two hours on Sunday morning. Attendance is voluntary, and a trifling fee is charged. The course is directed to giving such practical development to drawing and modelling as to render them industrially available, but also comprises arithmetic, book-keeping, and other mercantile subjects, classed as science instruction. Three points particularly struck Mr. Redgrave. The first of these was the influence of local industries on the character of the exhibits, which showed a preponderance of mechanical and engineering drawing in those from the manufacturing centres, and of designs for jewellery and pottery from the districts where those arts prevail. The second noticeable feature was the dependence of the quality of the work on the ability of the teacher, the impress of the school being stronger than that of the individual. The third distinctive peculiarity was the immediate connection established between the manufacturer and the art, by the fact that the instructor had almost invariably learned its practical application as draughtsman or designer in a factory. The absence of this species of apprenticeship in England implies a want of touch between the art and industry of the country.

I can scarcely dwell too strongly [says the Report] on this feature of the instruction in art handicrafts in these German trade schools. On looking over the portfolios of designs sent by the

teachers, I found that many were among the leading designers of the country for art work of every kind—architecture, decoration, stained-glass, textiles, metal work, and pottery. Certain of these teachers contributed to the exhibition very fine specimens of their own handiwork in various branches of art, and the drawings, designs, and photographs of executed works contributed by these fifty-eight teachers amounted to many thousands in number, and clearly proved their influence on the art productions of Würtemberg.

The interest taken by local committees in the schools and their management also struck him as much greater than that shown in this country.

They find [he writes] half the cost of maintaining them, and feel that the prosperity of their town and their own local success depend, to a considerable extent, upon the efficiency of the continuation school, where their sons and their best workmen are being trained.

He instances, by way of illustration, Gmünden, a little town at the foot of the Hohenstaufen Mountains, with 15,000 inhabitants, and a thriving trade in jewellery and decorative metal work. The school, which is the nurse of its industry, employs thirteen trained teachers, and has within a few years increased the number of its pupils from 150 to 444, or nearly 3 per 1000 of its population. It possesses, moreover, a good art library and museum, to the latter of which Herr Erhard, a leading manufacturer, intends to add his valuable collection of objects bearing on local history during the last 400 years. These include a splendid series of the works of Hans Baldung Grün, a native of this Suabian town.

In Würtemberg, as elsewhere in Germany, the multiplication of branches of study to suit individual requirements is noticed as a prevailing feature. The central school of Stuttgart, with 1217 students, has as many as 60 teachers, many of them giving classes in several sub-divisions of their subjects, while drawing is so specialised that there are separate courses for gardeners, locksmiths, and sign-board painters. The Art Trade School, with 108 students, and 10 masters, is pre-eminently a school of applied art, and decorative work, chiefly in relief, is the most prominent subject of its three years' course.

The continuation schools for girls are fifteen in number, with 73 teachers, and 676 learners, but there are in addition sixteen women's work schools, with 1594 pupils, under 25 masters and 73 mistresses. Here young ladies often complete their education by a year's course of instruction in fancy work and dress-making.

The Stuttgart Exhibition included in a separate category the work of apprentices subjected for judgment to committees of experts. This voluntary test system is, to some extent, a revival of the old trade usage, requiring every aspirant to the rank of

master-craftsman to produce a diploma work as qualification. Trades to the number of fifty were represented, carpenters most numerous (141), followed by locksmiths (126), shoemakers (74), and tailors (65). Thus the fellowship between the useful and the ornamental handicrafts was maintained within the walls of the exhibition as it is out of doors.

The small cost of the trade continuation schools, and the contribution of one-half by the State, enable even village communities to establish them at a yearly outlay of £10, the use of the elementary school-room being given when otherwise unoccupied, on weekday evenings and Sunday forenoons.

The German organisation of technical training prevails also in Switzerland, and the federal Polytechnic of Zurich ranks as one of the best on the Continent. Here scientific education of a high class can be had for £4 a year, in all branches except chemistry, which costs £12. Italy has three superior technical institutes at Turin, Milan, and Naples; Holland one at Delft, open since 1864, with a three years' course, costing £16 per annum. The tailors' school at Brussels, with a four years' course, attended by an average of thirty pupils, is an example of a high class trade school. It costs £450 per annum, of which the city contributes £120. The funds by which technical schools are supported on the Continent, are generally supplied by municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, trade associations, or other local bodies.

The necessity for their creation, like that for so many other forms of social reconstruction, has arisen in a great measure from the suppression of the monastic orders, the founders and fosterers of the culture of industry. From the monasteries, reviled as abodes of idleness by the modern world, went forth the creative impulse that revived art, and in their peaceful cloisters alone was found an atmosphere sufficiently calm to shelter its infancy and stimulate its progress. The first master-builders of mediæval Europe, were the monks of Como, who covered it during their wanderings with its earliest cathedrals. From architecture, developed by religion, sprang all the other arts as its handmaids and auxiliaries. The monasteries were still their nurseries, and the monks their professors. In the illuminated scrolls and manuscripts wrought by their hands, existed the germ of modern painting, developed in stages traceable in gradual evolution of type. Even the drama, at the present day so paganised, had an ecclesiastical origin in the mysteries and miracle plays introduced as adjuncts to worship. Calligraphy, as an art, became extinct with the monastic spirit, and the rude script now in general use is, in comparison, but like the scribbling of children or savages.

Nor were the monasteries less influential as schools of the more



homely arts, on which so much of the comfort and even of the happiness of daily life depends. So thoroughly was this recognised as part of their functions that Charlemagne made it matter of legislative prescription. He decreed that every monastery should have an industrial school attached, and himself wore garments made in the one attended by his own children. The ground plans of the great abbeys show them, as the Abbé Secretain points out in the Introduction to his work, to have been the technical colleges of their day, in which every branch of practical science then known was taught.

That of St. Gall [he says] dating from 810, may serve as an example. We find there workshops for shoemakers, harness-makers, armourers, shieldmakers, turners, curriers, goldsmiths, locksmiths, fullers; beside these the schools with their dormitories, and further off, nearer to the stables and outhouses, quarters for the grooms and shepherds, the swineherds, coopers, neat herds, &c. Nothing could come up to the solicitude of the Cistercians for the labouring classes, and it is in the abbeys of this order that the most perfect organisation of manual labour is found. In a word, almost all the generations of working men at this epoch were moulded by the religious of Cîteaux. The trade corporations came forth from the monastic professional schools.

With the secularisation of the monasteries their traditions of labour education passed away, for the parish clergy could only partially combine with their spiritual ministry the utilitarian functions fulfilled by the monks. The latter were the great instructors of the working classes, and the effect of their civilising influence in permeating the lower strata of society is only appreciated when the results of its absence are seen. Even in this later age, which boasts that it has outgrown monastic teaching, a new Order has come into existence, whose utility in its special sphere of industrial training is acknowledged by men of all creeds alike. The venerable Abbé de la Salle, the founder of the Schools of the Christian Brothers, was the pioneer of technical education, in which he divined the great want of the coming age. The fundamental axiom, that "the unity of science governs the multiplicity of its applications," was enunciated by him as the basis of the teaching in his central school of arts and manufactures. This maxim, then new, but now of universal acceptance, means that metallurgy, carving or moulding wood, stone, or iron, and the artistic handicrafts generally, have a groundwork of elementary knowledge common to all.

In order to give practical effect to this principle, he opened, first at St. Sulpice, and afterwards at Saint Yon, at Rouen, schools intended as preparatory to apprenticeship to the various trades.

Pupils of twelve, and even eleven years old [writes the Abbé Secretain], learned not alone in books, but in practice, how fire softens metals, how cold water, on the contrary, tempers and hardens them. They were shown in what manner lime is slaked, and how cement hardens. They know what a lathe is, and all that may be done with it, and how a simple tenon and mortice are made. The Abbé de la Salle had thus arrived at demonstrating the further axiom "that the school may be a consecutive and methodical series of stages, rendering it possible by the study of general technology, and by the practice of certain branches of industry, to shorten the term of apprenticeship, and to encounter with more confidence the difficulties of the workshop."

It even becomes rapidly a school of manual perfection. In fact, the locksmith's, sculptor's, and turner's work of the chapel and other constructions erected at Saint Yon were, before 1789, all executed in the establishment. Saint Yon has now been replaced by Saint Nicolas.

The justly celebrated institution of the Rue Vaugirard, in Paris, now under the charge of the Christian Brothers, one of the first apprenticeship schools, if not the very first of our century, was founded in 1827, by the Abbé Bervanger, an ecclesiastic of Lorraine, who transferred to it all his property. It is universally acknowledged to be a model industrial school, with which much more highly endowed secular establishments seek to compete in vain. Its 1200 pupils have open to them a choice of fifteen different trades, and may become bookbinders, lens-grinders, compositors, printers, workers in bronze, metal engravers, makers of wooden and brass musical instruments, joiners, saddlers, trunk-makers, wood carvers, wood engravers, mathematical instrument makers, map engravers, or mechanics.

The admirable training bestowed on them enables them to earn good wages immediately on leaving the institution, seldom less than from four to five francs a day, even when the general standard is low, and often as much as from six to seven. The artistic handicrafts are still more highly paid, and we read of engravers receiving fifteen francs a day within two months of the completion of their course, and of wood engravers whose wages rise as high as twenty-eight francs. The work produced by the school has a high reputation, and a carved mantel-piece exhibited in London was valued at 4000 francs, while a book-case from the Rue Vaugirard was the admiration of visitors to the Parisian Palace of Industry in 1889.

The order is equally successful if tried by the test of competitive examination. Of sixty-seven apprentice mechanics who passed in 1888 for the School of Brest, at the five French naval ports, sixteen were the pupils of the Brothers, and not only were the three highest places gained by their schools at Capestan, Brest,

and Quimper, but with the exception of the fourth, taken by a student of the High School at Mirepoix, all the high numbers up to fourteen were carried off by their schools.\*

These results are achieved, not only by the unwearied personal zeal and devotion of the members of the order, but by traditional methods of teaching handed down by its founders and scrupulously adhered to. They have many establishments in the United Kingdom, and the one at Artane, near Dublin, is not less admirable than that of the Rue Vaugirard, though intended for a lower class of pupils.

Nor is this the only order which gives high-class industrial training. The silent monks of La Trappe, amid the rigours of their penance, are the pioneers of agriculture in the desert, and their patient toil wrings valuable products from wastes too forbidding for the ordinary settler. In Algeria, on the edge of the Sahara, they have introduced flower-farming and the manufacture of perfumes. In the neighbourhood of Rome, they have undertaken the reclamation of the Campagna, and by the introduction of the Australian eucalyptus have rendered portions of its fever-stricken tract habitable and productive. Among the Natal Kaffirs they have established a great industrial colony at Mariannahill, where, on their arrival in 1882, there was neither house nor homestead, and their waggon was their only shelter. This establishment and its dependencies have now 70,000 acres under cultivation in Natal and Griqualand, while sixteen miles of road, ten stone bridges, and a magnificent system of waterworks, comprising five tanks and 7000 feet of pipes, are among the other trophies of their industry. Their various undertakings, described in detail in *Illustrated Catholic Missions* for March 1890, include a great bakery, supplying 600 people on the spot besides the bread sold, a printing-office, in which papers are published in four languages, a photographic studio, forges, mills, and workshops for carpentry and waggon-making. Paper manufactured from native grasses, and bee culture, for which Italian queens have been introduced to improve the African variety, are among their other specialties.

An equally thriving settlement is that of the Benedictines in Western Australia, where their convent of New Nursia has shown the possibility of civilising the intractable savages of the southern continent. The same experiment is being tried with like success in regard to the natives of East Africa by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, at Bagamoyo, south of Zanzibar, where a Christian community, practising a variety of trades and handicrafts, has sprung up under their auspices. It may indeed be said that the problem of the future of Africa can only be grappled with by the

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\* *Journal Officiel*, December 9, 1888.

religious Orders, which we may, at no distant day, see regain there much of the influence and authority withdrawn from them in the older society of Europe.

Even here, however, there is a movement on the part of some Catholics to try and recover for their Church her original position at the head of industrial as of all other education. The Abbé Secretain formulates, for his own country, a complete scheme of manual and technical training, recommending the introduction of the first by instruction in drawing and the use of tools into Catholic primary schools, and proposing to provide machinery for the second, either by the creation of a Conservatory of Arts and Trades, or by the addition of technical courses to the existing Universities. The formation of a Catholic trade school at Lille is already in contemplation, and the experiment might, if successful, form an introduction to the larger scheme.

In England the numerical inferiority of Catholics makes it obviously impossible for them to compete with the great national schools of advanced technical education enumerated above, with costly machinery kept in motion by a large expenditure of public money. But in the elementary schools instruction in drawing, and, where possible, in the use of tools, should undoubtedly be added to the course. In Manchester and Salford, not only has the former branch of training already been introduced into all the Catholic schools, but the promotion of higher artistic education, by the foundation of a special institution under Catholic auspices, is proposed as well. Premises have already been secured for workshops and class-rooms, a library and museum, in the neighbourhood of the Manchester School of Art, and of the proposed Whitworth Museums, so that their resources will be thus rendered available for students. It is also in contemplation to create, in connection with the new institution, a society to be called the Christian Art and Crafts Guild, in order to enlist volunteer assistance, either in the shape of money, from the subscriptions of not less than 5s. a year from honorary members, or of personal co-operation from working members, who may give their services as teachers, lecturers, inspectors, accountants, or librarians.

A special field for Christian art exists in the Church itself, whose requirements must always create a large demand for ecclesiastical decorative work of all kinds. The influence of members might be used to secure the patronage of churches and convents for the schools, and so help to render them self-supporting. At the same time, there is no desire to limit its scope to the supply of this special market alone, or to exclude it from competing for orders from the trade in general. The idea of its promoters is that in addition to its local usefulness, it may serve as an



example of what might be done in other places in the direction of technical education under the guidance of the Church, and in furtherance of this larger aim it would have a claim on the support of the Catholic community at large.

At the present day, when the mass of ignorance and vice around us seems to grow with our added knowledge of it, there can be no nobler work than any attempt to lessen it by elevating the lives of the working classes. For their material sufferings there is no radical cure save in such a system of training as gives increased value to their labour. The cultivation of drawing is, where natural talent exists, a high road to fortune. There are designers of upholstery in New York, who, according to Mr. MacArthur,\* receive larger salaries than cabinet ministers, and the draughtsmen on the staff of Leslie's pictorial magazines receive \$150, or in some cases as much as \$250 per week. What may be done even by private individuals to help working-men forward in this way, may be exemplified by the case of a gentleman, himself a member of an artistic profession, who at one time devoted his evenings to giving gratuitous lessons in drawing to the sons of working men, many of whom came at the lapse of years to tell him how his instruction had helped their success in life.

But the knowledge of an art, apart even from its utilitarian advantages, confers a possibly greater, though less tangible, benefit on a working man, by giving wider horizons of interest and enjoyment to his life of toil. The additional faculties called into activity by the culture of hand and eye, or hand and ear, in the use of the pencil, or the practice of an instrument, react even on the moral nature, and may prove either an actual deterrent from crime, or an antidote to its debasing influences on the character. While only religion is a panacea for all the ills of society, art and industry, in a combination too long dissolved, are at least its most powerful auxiliaries in combating them.

Nor do the benefits derived from technical education cease with those it confers on the individual workman. Not only the nations, but still more markedly the smaller communities in which it thrives, flourish in proportion. Mechanical invention, dependent on practical acquaintance with tools and engines of industry, is among the largest factors of public wealth. Mr. Charles Ham, in his book on "Manual Training" † quotes the dictum of Lord Sheffield uttered more than a century ago, that Cort's improvements in iron (invention of the puddling process) and the steam-

\* "Education in its Relation to Manual Industry." By Arthur MacArthur. New York: 1884.

† "Manual Training." By Charles H. Ham. London: Blackie & Son. 1886.

engine of James Watt, were of more value to Great Britain than the thirteen American colonies. These inventions were calculated in 1862 to have increased the wealth of England by six hundred million sterling.

Taking a lesser area for a similar illustration the writer adduces the advance of Sheffield, which "in 1715 contained 2000 inhabitants, of whom one-third were beggars," to be the chief seat of the steel manufacture of the world, in consequence of Benjamin Huntsman's discovery of the method of casting that metal.

The connection between local prosperity and industrial training is also easily demonstrable. The Power Loom Weaving School at Mulhouse, maintained by the manufacturers of the town, benefited the whole of Alsace, by enabling it to maintain the superiority of its textile fabrics. It has been replaced since 1871 by the Industrial School at Epinal. Limoges, whose name and existence were bound up with its celebrated enamels, fell into decay when this art declined, and only revived when the discovery of Kaolin in 1766 led to the introduction of the porcelain manufacture as a substitute. Such an impetus has recently been given to this industry by the teaching in the Art Schools, founded in 1862 by Adrien Dubouche, that the town has once more become a great centre of artistic production, and poverty and drunkenness are said to be banished from its streets. The school, now under State control, and called the *École Nationale d'Art Décoratif à Limoges*, is open free to boys over thirteen, and girls over twelve years of age.

The converse case of a community impoverished through lack of artistic training in its population, is strikingly exemplified by a single episode in the commercial history of the United States. Here industrial education had been so neglected, that until 1862, when an Act was passed for its extension, there were but four institutions devoted to it, and drawing, especially, may be said to have been, until within the last fifteen years, almost an unknown art. Consequently, when some ten or twelve years ago, a very choice table-service was ordered for the then President, the commission, though given to a New York firm, was executed, not in America, but at their establishment at Limoges, and every one employed in its manufacture was French, with the exception of the English draughtsman who made the design. Thus the countries where the arts are fostered by technical training may be said to lay those, where the reverse is the case, under a heavy annual tribute.

The general diffusion of received canons of taste tends at the present day to facilitate the removal of this inequality. The so-styled æsthetic movement, with its many affectations and absurd-

ities, has had one beneficial effect in creating a reaction against machine-made ornament, and thereby giving a strong impetus to the artistic handicrafts. The prophets of art have at last driven home the truth that, though the steam-giant must always hold the field in purely utilitarian production, it can never replace the trained hand and eye in work intended for ornamental purposes. Mind alone can act upon mind, and the craftsman's creative pleasure in his task is the ultimate source of the perceptive pleasure it transmits to others. Skilled labour is, by the extending recognition of this principle of taste, on the way to restoration to its true position as the handmaid of culture, and to deliverance from its enslavement to the performance of a series of automatic movements, deadening to the human faculties they leave in abeyance.

Mechanical invention at the present day has, on the other hand, tended to promote what may be called the scientific, as opposed to the artistic rehabilitation of labour. Theology, law, and medicine can no longer claim exclusive rank as the learned professions, since the science of the engineer, the electrician, the physicist, and all the modern avocations called into existence by new adaptations of the forces of the universe, require a training no less arduous and special. For this class of training, education on the old lines, the education of books and scholiasts, had no place. A new meaning must be given to the word to signify its new function in equipping the army of specialists now required in all these departments. Technical education, then, must and will be organised in all its stages, from the tool-bench of the elementary school to the university of the natural sciences and their multiform applications. The question for Catholics is, what will be their share in shaping and influencing a movement on which so much of the future depends? "Education," said Froebel, "is the generation of power," and to those who control it the guidance of that power will in a great measure accrue.

In addition to the practical advantages conferred by a general system of technical training on the community and on the individual, it has a third more indirect form of action for the benefit of society, in creating the atmosphere, or *milieu*, in French phrase, required for artistic production. Between artist and craftsman there is no essential distinction, and in the best periods of art their functions have been interchangeable. True art indeed can only exist as the apex of a pyramid broadening down to its foundation in the humblest forms of ornamentation. Nothing is too minute to be made its vehicle of expression; nothing too common to be transformed by the magic wand of its idealisations. The greatest craftsman of the Renaissance could turn from the fashioning of a salt-cellar to the casting of the Perseus; its greatest artist, from the poisoning of his mighty cupola in mid-air.

to the invention of a new design for window-bars. Adaptation to purpose is the life-spring of artistic creation, which has its radical cause in the barbaric instinct of decoration. The frieze of the Parthenon, the frescoes of the Vatican, each crowned a great epoch with its consummate achievement, because designed as part of a scheme of architectural ornamentation. The great Italian altar-pieces were in like fashion designed each for the space it was to occupy, and as part of the scenic effect of its surroundings.

The nadir of art is reached when exhibition becomes the final cause of its existence, and canvases of arbitrary shape, size, and subject, are thrust into frames to form part of the monstrous mosaic of a modern gallery. The process of picture manufacture may be carried on under such conditions; but art, of which it usurps the name, has no share in it.

The prevailing indifference to appropriateness in the placing of studio pictures, is scarcely caricatured in the well-known story of the wealthy American in Florence in search of one to fill a space over the mantel-piece of his dining room. The subject of the only one which fulfilled the requisite conditions of size, "Herodias's daughter bearing the head of St. John," seemed a bar to its selection for such a position; but the discriminating patron of art did not allow himself to be balked by such a trifle. A few strokes of the artist's brush converted the grim trophy into a plum-pudding, and Salome smiled thenceforward on his board as the innocent harbinger of Christmas festivity.

Such incongruities could only be possible where art has no place in ordinary life, and the artistic sense is consequently wanting to the people at large. For the appreciative powers that go to form it cannot be made to grow from the upper stratum of society downwards, nor kept alive by the jargon of a clique that chooses to dub itself æsthetic. Its roots must be struck in the minds of the toiling masses, to whom the perception of beauty, even in nature, requires to be brought home by educating the faculties that take cognisance of it. We may not be able to reproduce such an age as that in which the marriage chest of every Tuscan peasant-bride was such an art treasure as to be an object of competition to modern museums; but we can at least, by widening and extending the sphere of taste, restore among the masses the power of appreciating, if not of imitating, such master-pieces of homely decoration. If we can make art common, we shall do much to make it great, and this result, with all the others attainable by the same means, can only be achieved by the extension of our industrial and technical training.

EDITORIAL.



## ART. VII.—FATHER MATHEW'S CENTENARY.

**J**UST a hundred years ago, and almost to a day, October 10, 1790, Theobald Mathew, the subject of this memoir, was born in Thomastown House, county Tipperary. His father was James Mathew, a close relative of George Mathew, first Earl of Llandaff; his mother was Anne, daughter of James Whyte, of Cappa-Whyte, co. Tipperary. James Whyte had been adopted by his relative, and for a considerable time resided with the Earl at Thomastown House, but a few years after the birth of Theobald, he settled on the large farm of Rathcloheen, close by.

There were twelve children: nine boys and three girls, and Theobald was the fourth son. In disposition he greatly resembled his mother, from whose side he was seldom absent in his early years, and from her he received much of that sweetness of disposition for which, quite as much as for zeal and enthusiasm, he was distinguished in after years. Even at this early age his pleasure consisted in giving pleasure to others, and he was never so happy as when, through his influence with his parents, there was some treat being prepared for his brothers and sisters, or companions, or when he was made the medium for the distribution of his mother's charities to the poor. It was doubtless this amiable disposition which gave him such sway over those of his own standing; indeed, though three of his brothers were his seniors in age, yet Theobald exercised over all the influence and power of the eldest son, but as this power was always used gently and for a good purpose, and as Theobald was ever ready to help his brothers and sisters in their plans, and constantly procuring for them some unexpected pleasure, his influence was felt and submitted to without the slightest jealousy on the part of his elder brothers.

In his ninth year he had already expressed his intention of becoming a priest, and as he persevered in this resolution, he was sent, when twelve years of age, to a good school at Kilkenny, through the kindness of his relative, Lady Elizabeth Mathew. In this school, by constant application, he made great progress in his studies, and gained the esteem of his masters. One of his schoolfellows at Kilkenny, writing in these pages at a time when Theobald Mathew's name was well known through the three kingdoms, describes him at this period of his life as follows:

Incapable of anger or resentment, utterly free from selfishness, always anxious to share with others whatever he possessed, jealous of the affections of those to whom he was particularly attached, remarkably gentle in his manners, fond of expressing himself in smiles rather than in language, averse from the boisterous amusements to

which boys in general are prone, and preferring to them quiet walks by the banks of a river, by the side of green hedges, in company with two or three select associates, and yet very far from being of a pensive disposition—on the contrary, so cheerful that the slightest ludicrous occurrence turned the smile he generally wore into hearty laughter—he grew up esteemed by everybody who knew him. Even in his boyhood he seemed never to live for himself; and yet by not seeking it he exercised an influence upon those around him, which they never thought of questioning. Such was his character in his early days.

From Kilkenny he went to the seminary of Maynooth, but he remained there only a few months, for, yielding to his inclination of affording pleasure to those around him, he gave, one evening, a party in his room to his fellow-students, thereby committing a grave violation of the rules. It came to the notice of his superiors, and Theobald was put under censure; then, fearing that the matter might end in his being expelled, he resigned his place at once, and left the college. This was in 1808. He then came under the influence of Father Celestine Corcoran, Superior of the Capuchins, from whom, on joining the Capuchin Order, he received his ecclesiastical training preparatory to his ordination, and on Holy Saturday, 1814, he was raised to the priesthood by the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin.

After spending a short time with his parents at Rathcloheen, he was sent by his superior to serve the Capuchin mission at Kilkenny. But owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding with the bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Marum, whereby his faculties were for a time withdrawn, he resolved to leave Kilkenny. Explanations were given and received, and the bishop entirely recalled his prohibition; nevertheless, Father Mathew thought it best to adhere to his resolution.

He was then sent to the "Little Friary" at Cork, and this was, for the remainder of his life, his home and the centre of his labours. When Father Mathew came to Cork in 1814, fifteen years before Emancipation, the state of religion was not flourishing. There were but few schools in the city, and children wandered about the streets, idle, ignorant, and exposed to many temptations. There were no societies such as exist in our own days for visiting or relieving the poor. The people were, indeed, sincerely attached to the faith, yet priests were few, and resources greatly restricted; ignorance and poverty were great, the churches were of poor structure and poorly furnished, and the services conducted with little solemnity. Here then, in the city of Cork, was a great field for a young priest with the zeal and the spiritual and physical strength of Father Mathew. With the fervour of his ordination, and the counsels of Father Corcoran

fresh in his mind, he threw himself into his work, and soon he had gathered around him crowds of the poor, not only from all parts of the city, but also from the surrounding country. As a director he was famed, and no confessional was so besieged as his. And in the performance of this duty was shown that remarkable power of endurance which was observed later on during his temperance campaigns; for while on several days of the week he was in the confessional from five in the morning till close on mid-day, with an interval for Mass and breakfast, on Saturdays, vigils of festivals, and fair days, he was often in the box for fifteen hours. His penitents comprised a great number of workers in the chandlery, buttermen, salt-fish dealers, lamplighters, and others of an equally unsavory class, and it may be easily imagined that his labourers were doubly trying. With all this, he was most assiduous in attending the poor in their own homes, visiting them in their sickness, comforting them in their troubles, and caring for their bodies as well as for their souls. The young Capuchin friar soon won his way to the hearts of the poor, and the poor of Cork looked upon Father Mathew in a special way as their own.

As a preacher, too, Father Mathew had a great reputation, and after awhile the chapel of the "Little Friary" was too small to contain the number of worshippers. His style was not the most elegant, nor could his sermons at any period of his ministry be read as models of pulpit oratory, but if eloquence be the power of persuading, Father Mathew was eloquent to a very high degree. He was *earnest*—earnest not with the assumed earnestness of one who looks upon it as a means to an end, but earnest because he himself was deeply impressed with the truth of the principles which he would impart to his hearers. And from this earnestness was generated in his audience a sympathy which arrested attention and carried conviction. His sermons on the Sacred Passion were his most successful efforts, and in these was shown his talent of describing the various incidents in their minute details, and of appealing to the pathetic feelings of his hearers. The warm, affectionate nature of his Irish audience was deeply moved by these descriptions; they could almost see Our Saviour suffering for them, they could almost hear the lash of the scourges, the blows of the hammer driving in the nails, the utterance of the sacred words from the Cross, and their feelings gave way in loud sobs and cries. Father Mathew's preaching is thus described by the Ven. Archdeacon O'Shea,\* in his "Sketches of the Cork Catholic Pulpit":—

We have ourselves more than once gone to hear this preacher, with the express intent of duly and fairly estimating his powers as

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\* Apud Maguire.

a speaker, and have summoned to our aid as much of our critical bitterness as we conceived sufficient to preserve our judgment uninfluenced by the previous charm of his character. We were not listening to his affectionate, earnest, and pathetic exhortation more than ten minutes, when our criticism—our bitterness—our self-importance—left us; all within us of unkind and harsh was softened down—our heart beat only to kindlier emotions—we sympathised with our fellow-Christians around us. We defy the sternness and severity of criticism to stand unmoved, though it may remain unawakened, while Mr. Mathew is preaching; and this surely is no mean criterion of the excellence of his character, and the efficiency of his ministry in the pulpit. . . . His principal talent lies in the disposal of the persuasive topics. He is fond of appealing—and in truth he does it with success—to the warm devotional feelings that have their fixed and natural seat in the Catholic bosom; to the devotional recollections and associations that alternately soothe and alarm the Catholic mind. To all these he appeals; matters so full of thrilling interest, and of inherent eloquence, that they burst on the soul with an all-subduing, instantaneous and electric force, purifying and ennobling the commonest phraseology that happens to be selected as their vehicle. Thus has this excellent young man gone on, notwithstanding many imperfections, which may yet be removed by ordinary study and attention, preaching earnestly and successfully, and enforcing truth and illustrating the beauty of the doctrine of his religion, by the noblest, the fairest, and most convincing comment—the undeviating rectitude, the unspotted purity, the extensive and indefatigable beneficence of his life. *O, si sic omnes!*

His personal appearance was no doubt of great advantage to him. Though rather short of stature and of full figure, slightly inclined to corpulence, there was a grace and dignity in every movement. His face was round, his features singularly beautiful, his nose, though somewhat large, was yet not out of proportion and was well shaped; his head, adorned with a profusion of wavy black hair, was so set upon his shoulders as to give him a noble bearing; his bright dark eyes gave an air of intelligence and animation, and his mouth, harmonising with the nose and chin, seemed to indicate at once benevolence and strength of will. In addition to this, the modesty of his demeanour and the gentleness and affability of his manner were such as to gain over all hearts to himself and to give him an immense power both in public and in private.

Opportunities for improving the condition of the poor came with the large congregation that now attended the Little Friary, and Father Mathew was not slow to make use of them. His first care was for the education of the children. With the assistance of some ladies he opened a girls' school in a barn close to the chapel of the Friary, and in a few years there was an attend-



ance of five hundred. Soon after, a boys' school was started, the scholars being recruited chiefly from the gutters; and these street arabs, wild, ragged, and ignorant in the extreme when first admitted, received a good education, both religious and secular, and were, moreover, clothed and turned into respectable members of society. This school furnished the altar boys and the choir, and the chapel of the Little Friary was soon distinguished among the churches of Cork for the solemnity of the services. As the boys grew up they were not lost sight of, but were still kept around the sanctuary, and many of them were employed as catechists and assistant teachers. Father Mathew also formed a society for visiting the poor and the sick, much on the lines of the society of Saint Vincent de Paul; he founded a good lending library, and in 1830 he took on a long lease the Botanic Gardens of Cork and laid them out as a Catholic cemetery, by this means not only relieving the poor from the excessive fees to which they had been subjected on the occasion of funerals—for in Father Mathew's cemetery the poor were buried gratis—but also freeing them from a not unusual interference of bigotry.

In 1832 Cork was visited by the Asiatic cholera, which raged with fearful intensity in all parts of the city, but especially among the dwellings of the poor. The people were appalled and dismayed as each hour brought news of the plague having spread in a fresh direction, or of another victim having succumbed to its attack. The hospitals were crowded, temporary ones were opened and they were soon filled; numbers were stricken and were dying in their houses. Illness and death were of course attended by poverty and want. At this critical time Father Mathew was amongst those who took a conspicuous part, not only in the unwearied attendance at the bedside of the plague-stricken, even before his own district was attacked, but also in suggesting and practically carrying out measures for relief in the dwellings of the poor and in the hospitals. And when his own parish was visited Father Mathew was most assiduous in his care of the sick. He was also a constant attendant at the large hospital which was opened in Cove Street, close to his dwelling, himself taking the heaviest share of the nightwork, and carefully supervising the nurses and servants to ensure the strict performance of their duties.

The following incident, though published long ago in Mr. Maguire's "*Life of Father Mathew*," is so interesting that we shall be forgiven for reproducing it:

He had administered the last rites of religion to a young man in whom he had a special interest, and having received a summons to another part of the hospital, he hurriedly quitted the ward, from which he was absent but a short time. On his return he approached the

bed in which he had left the young man alive ; but the bed was now unoccupied. "Nurse, nurse! what has become of the young man who lay in this bed?" asked Father Mathew. "Dead, sir," was the laconic answer. "Dead?—it cannot be—where is he?" "The corpse is taken to the dead-house, sir." "I can't believe he is dead—I must go myself and see," said Father Mathew; and he at once proceeded to the ghastly chamber to which the dead were borne, previous to being taken out for interment. It presented an awful spectacle indeed. At one end was a pile of miserable coffins, the merest shells, made of thin boards and knocked together with a few nails. Some of these wretched receptacles were on the floor, either with their lids fastened down, or open and awaiting their future occupants. On tables, and also on the floor, lay a number of bodies, in each of which a heart throbbed and a soul dwelt a few hours before. Some lay, blue and distorted, in the sheet in which they had been snatched from the bed on which they had died; more were wrapped, like mummies, in similar sheets, which had been covered with pitch or tar, liberally laid on to prevent contagion. Amidst that scene of death in its most appalling aspect, there was a horrid bustle of life; coffins being nailed down with noisy clatter—sheets being rapidly covered with a black seething substance—bodies being moved from place to place, and tumbled into their last receptacle with the haste and indifference which a terrible familiarity with death engenders in the minds of a certain class—orders hoarsely given—figures moving or reeling to and fro; for it was necessary that those who performed the horrid and revolting duties of that chamber should be well plied with whisky: it was the custom of the time and the necessity of the moment. Into this scene of horrors, which was partly lighted by a few coarse flickering candles, Father Mathew hurriedly entered. Even the strongest might have recoiled at the spectacle that met his sight: but he only thought of the object of his mission. There lay the body, and near it were two men preparing the tarred sheet in which they were to wrap it. "Stop, stop!" said Father Mathew, "sure the young man can't be dead!" "Dead, your reverence! God forbid you or me would be as dead as that poor fellow—the Lord have mercy on his sowl!" said one of the men. "No, no, I can't believe it—I was speaking to him a moment before I left the ward—let me try." "Wisha, try, if you plaze, your reverence; but he's as dead a door-nail; and sure it doesn't take long to carry a man off in these times—God be between us and harm!" There was a momentary suspension of the loathsome work as Father Mathew knelt down beside the body and pressed his hand lightly over the region of the heart. A group, such as few, save perhaps those who love to paint the terrible and the hideous, would desire to see near them, clustered round the devoted priest; and not a sound was heard for a time in that chamber of death. There was a suspense of a moment—it seemed an age—when Father Mathew cried out exultantly—"Thank God! he is alive!—I feel his heart beat—thank God! thank God!" It was true—life was not extinct; and restora-

tives having been applied, the young man was removed to another part of the hospital—and in a few days after he was able to pour forth his gratitude to him who, through God's mercy, had rescued him from inevitable death; for had but another minute elapsed, he was lost to this world for ever. As may be supposed, this incident had a salutary effect in the hospital, though it was little wanted to render as untiring as ever the sleepless vigilance of Father Mathew.

Father Mathew's untiring energy during the cholera, and his generosity and self-sacrifice greatly increased his reputation, and by the year 1838, when we enter upon another phase in his career, Theobald Mathew was, perhaps, the most respected, the most beloved, and the most influential priest in the south of Ireland. He was now in his forty-seventh year, he had had over twenty years of great experience, and had thus obtained an intimate knowledge of the life and ways of the poor of all classes; and this knowledge, together with his influence, eminently fitted him for the new sphere of work upon which he was now to enter.

The Temperance movement, which had been started in America a few years previously, had found its way into Ireland, and at the time of which we are speaking there were some sixty temperance societies in the country, though the number of adherents was but small. In Cork there was a small temperance society founded on the total abstinence principles, which had been initiated by John Livesey, and some others, at Preston, in 1832. The most prominent member of this society was Mr. William Martin—more commonly styled "Billy" Martin—a Quaker; a man of no great parts, but enthusiastic in the cause of temperance. Father Mathew and Martin were both Governors of the Cork Workhouse, and the Quaker lost no opportunity as they went through the wards, or took into their consideration the various cases of distress that were brought to their notice, of impressing upon the priest the evils of intemperance and its influence upon the cases before them. "O, Theobald Mathew," he would say, time after time, "if *thou* wouldst take the cause in hand, thou couldst do such good to these poor creatures!" Martin was supported by a certain Mr. Olden, who repeatedly said to Father Mathew: "Mr. Mathew, you have a mission; do not reject it." Their continued appeals were not lost upon Father Mathew. He knew well that Martin spoke the truth, that intemperance *was* the cause of much of the misery and poverty of the people whom he loved so well; he knew also that if he were to take the cause in hand that a great number would be sure to follow him. Yet there were great difficulties. The temperance movement had made but little progress in Ireland; it had met with a considerable amount of ridicule, and as it had been taken up entirely by those outside

the Church, it is not unlikely that it would be received with grave suspicion and disfavour by a Catholic people. For a long time he took no steps, but Martin's words haunted him, "O, Theobald Mathew, if *thou* wouldst but take the cause in hand." And at last, after long and fervent prayer, he sent for Mr. Martin, and it was arranged that a temperance meeting should be held under Father Mathew's auspices, and on April 10, 1838, was held the first Catholic temperance meeting. They met in the school-room of the Little Friary. Father Mathew presided, and was supported by Mr. Martin, Mr. Olden, and others. There was a fair attendance of respectable people, but of the intemperate, for whose benefit the meeting was chiefly held—there was not one. Father Mathew, in his address, stated the object of the meeting, and referred to the applications which had frequently been made to him to start a temperance society for Catholics :

These gentlemen [he continued] are good enough to say that I could be useful in promoting the great virtue of temperance, and arresting the spread of drunkenness. I am quite alive to the evils which this vice brings with it, especially to the humbler classes, who are naturally most exposed to its temptation, and liable to yield to its seductive influences. I have always endeavoured, as a minister of religion, to discourage drunkenness, not with the success I desired, it is true; but I yield to no one in my wish to see our working classes sober and self-respecting. I could not refuse to listen to the many appeals made to me. Your respected friend Mr. Martin, has often asked me to do what I am about to do this night—and Mr. Olden, whom you well know, has told me that "the mission was from God, and that I should not reject it." My dear friends, I much fear that your kind partiality has made you overlook my many defects, and attribute to me merits which I am very far from possessing: but if, through any humble instrumentality of mine, I can do good to my fellow-creatures, and give glory to God, I feel I am bound, as a minister of the Gospel, to throw all personal considerations aside, and try to give a helping hand to gentlemen who have afforded me so excellent an example. Indeed, if only one poor soul could be rescued from destruction by what we are now attempting, it would be giving glory to God, and well worth all the trouble we could take. No person in health has any need of intoxicating drinks. My dear friends, you don't require them, nor do I require them—neither do I take them. Many of you here have proved that they can be done without, for you are strong in health, and in the possession of all your faculties. After much reflection on the subject, I have come to the conviction that there is no necessity for them for any one in good health; and I advise you all to follow my example. I will be the first to sign my name in the book which is on the table, and I hope we shall soon have it full.

Then taking the pen, he said aloud, "Here goes in the name



of God!" and wrote in the large book lying on the table, "Rev. Theobald Mathew, C.C., 1 Cove Street, Cork." About sixty of those who were present followed his example and signed after him. Thus was born the "Cork Total Abstinence Society."

Meetings were then held on Friday and Saturday evenings each week, and after Mass on Sundays. At each meeting a good number signed the book, and all doubt as to the success of the movement was speedily at an end. The word was spread abroad, "Father Mathew has got a society of his own," and people from far and near came flocking to the meetings. The school-room had to be abandoned, and the Horse Bazaar, a covered space capable of holding some four thousand people, was placed at Father Mathew's disposal by the owner, Mrs. O'Connor, one of his most devoted friends. Meetings were now held nightly, the Bazaar being densely crowded each night. In three months from the day of the first gathering in the school-room twenty-five thousand persons had taken the pledge; in five months the number was increased to one hundred and thirty thousand; and before the close of the year one hundred and fifty-six thousand persons had enrolled themselves as total abstainers. These were not all from the city of Cork alone. The news travelled along the banks of the Shannon; first came the men of Kilrush, then some hundreds from Kerry, then numbers from Limerick, and in a few months people were coming from all parts of Ireland on the "pilgrimage to Cork"—to take the pledge from Father Mathew, and receive his blessing.

And not only was the Horse Bazaar filled to overflowing, but during the daytime Father Mathew's parlour was besieged, while outside in the streets batches of ten, twenty, thirty, were constantly to be seen waiting for the "Apostle of Temperance," that they might kneel before him and make their solemn promise to abstain from strong drink for the rest of their life.

It was not long before the big book which lay on the table at the meeting in the school-room—with Father Mathew's own name on the top of the first page—was filled, but the *signing* of the pledge was found to be too slow a process where the number of postulants was so great, and the expedient was resorted to of repeating the pledge in "batches"—small groups kneeling before the platform repeated the words after the Apostle, who then came down to them, laid his hand on the head of each, giving his blessing and a few words of encouragement. The formula of the pledge was at first as follows: "I promise, with the divine assistance, as long as I will (*sic*) continue a member of the Teetotal Temperance Society, to abstain from all intoxi-

cating drinks, except for medicinal purposes;\* and to prevent as much as possible, by advice and example, drunkenness in others." But in 1841 the pledge was given without any saving clause, and the formula was: "I promise with the divine assistance to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, and to prevent as much as possible, by word and example, drunkenness in others." Father Mathew found by experience that the saving clauses left too easy a loophole for escape, and he had made up his mind that the success of the movement depended on the pledge being kept in its entirety. On several occasions he refused point blank to administer the pledge for a limited period.

In December 1839 Father Mathew was invited to Limerick to preach a charity sermon, and though he intended to make use of the opportunity to spread the temperance movement, yet it was not expected that many pledges would be taken, for several of the people of Limerick had already taken part in the pilgrimage to Cork. But the crowds that poured in were so numerous that the authorities threw open the public buildings in order that the strangers might find shelter for the night, and the food supply ran short. The iron railings in front of the house where Father Mathew was staying were carried away by the pressure of the multitude, and a number of people fell into the river, fortunately without any casualty. Indeed the description of the scene given by Father James Birmingham, then parish priest of Borrisokane, places a severe strain on the reader's credulity. He says:

I have been told by those who were spectators of the scene that some of the horses, with their riders, of the Scots Greys, who were there to keep order, were occasionally lifted from the ground and carried away for a short distance by the rushing multitude; and so densely were the people crowded, that several in their eagerness to approach Mr. Mathew, ran along to their destination quietly and securely on the heads and shoulders of the vast assemblage!

Father Mathew remained four days at Limerick, preaching, exhorting, and administering the pledge, with the result that a hundred and fifty thousand were added to the number of his followers.

A few days after this he went to Waterford, where he met with as enthusiastic a reception as he had received at Limerick. The three days' mission gained eighty thousand to the cause. Parsonstown was the next place visited, and the scene is thus described by Father James Birmingham, who was present:

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\* When the pledge was administered to the clergy this clause ran: "for medicinal or sacramental purposes." I have also seen the form; "except for medicinal purposes, with the certificate of a physician."

In front of the chapel was stationed a large body of police, presenting a very fine and well disciplined force; outside these were the rifles on bended knee, with bayonets fixed and pointed, forming a barrier to oppose the rushing multitudes, whilst within and without this barrier to keep the passage clear, the cavalry in all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, with flags waving to the wind—moved up and down in slow and measured pace. Beyond and as far as the eye could reach were the congregated masses waving to and fro with every new impulse, and by their united voices producing a deep indistinct sound like the murmur of the ruffled waters of the sea. Within the vicarial residence, and in strong contrast to the stirring scene without, sat the mild, unassuming, but extraordinary man, round whom had collected this display of martial and numerical force. He seemed perfectly unconscious of the excitement he had produced, and spoke and acted as if he regarded himself as the least remarkable man of the age.

Dublin was visited in March; meetings were held both in halls and in the open air, and in two days seventy thousand pledges had been administered. Not the least important of these meetings was the one held for ladies in the Royal Exchange, at which five hundred of those present took the pledge.

In 1808 he had left Maynooth in disgrace; in June 1840 he re-entered its walls in triumph. After a series of addresses to the members of the College, whereby he gained over to the cause of temperance two hundred and fifty of the students and eight of the professors, he gave a mission to the people of the town and neighbourhood, and administered thirty-five thousand pledges. Carlow, Nenagh—where twenty thousand took the pledge in one day—Galway—where a hundred thousand pledges were the harvest of a two days' mission—Newry, Lurgan, Belfast, Downpatrick, Derry, Ennis, Clonmel, Thurles, Cashel, Templemore, Castleconner, Rathdowney, had their turn. Indeed by the time that his work was over, and the incessant labour, the fatigue, and the tremendous strain of mind had shattered his once splendid constitution, there was scarcely a parish in the whole of Ireland which Father Mathew had not visited, and in which he had not numerous adherents. The roll of sixty pledges which had been obtained on the night of April 10, 1838, had grown by the summer of 1843 to the number of five millions.

A few further quotations from Father Birmingham, who frequently accompanied Father Mathew on his missions, may be interesting to the reader. The following is the account he gives of the visit to his own parish, Borrisokane:

Mr. Mathew arrived late at night (at Borrisokane) and unexpectedly. Only a few had been aware of his arrival; and in the morning when I waited on him, the postulants were but thinly

scattered up and down the street. I asked Mr. Mathew to do me the honour of spending the day with me. He expressed his regret that time did not permit him, and declared that he should be off the moment he had received into the Society the few who presented themselves. Fame, however, was busy in trumpeting the reverend gentleman's visit to our neighbourhood; and I became indebted to the number and enthusiasm of those who poured in to be enrolled, for the honour of receiving at my board the distinguished guest, it had appeared I should for that day be obliged to forego. Each moment Mr. Mathew was on the point of moving away, but each moment brought numbers from the surrounding parishes, who, having heard that the reverend gentleman had been at Borrisokane, threw aside their various implements of industry, and hurried in to enlist themselves under the standard of temperance and receive the good man's blessing. Fatigued and breathless, men, women, and children rushed forward indiscriminately to take the pledge. Mr. Mathew could not bring himself to disappoint such eagerness, or damp such ardour. He was consequently obliged to remain; and standing on a stone seat under a venerable ash tree—now more venerable than ever—he received in this small town, without any previous notice having been given, seven or eight thousand souls.

Very characteristic of Father Mathew was his reception at Borrisokane of Paddy Hayes, a notorious drunkard of that parish. It is thus described by Father Birmingham:

This man had been almost proverbially intemperate; his sober moments had been far more few than his moments of drunkenness. Still on that memorable day—Shrove Tuesday, 1840—he presented himself as a postulant, though reeling on the very confines of intoxication. I intimated this man's approach to Father Mathew. In a moment the advocate of temperance ordered a passage to be cleared and Paddy Hayes to be admitted. With a smile, in which benignity and confidence were mingled, he extended his hand to the penitent drunkard, saying: "Come forward, my poor fellow, you are worth waiting for." The postulant cast himself on his knees with "Heaven bless *you*, Father Mathew," took the pledge, and received the blessing. This man is now an industrious and exemplary character; and he often speaks with pride of the honour done him by the Apostle of Temperance.

The visit to Loughrea is thus described:

Long before I approached Loughrea, the numbers of people whom I met momentarily after having taken the pledge assured me that the reverend gentleman had not yet finished his labours. On my entrance Loughrea presented a scene which it is impossible to describe. The town was full to overflowing; yet there was not the slightest appearance of disorder or excitement; but what might be termed a thrilling quiet reigned throughout. Any money was given for bread, strong coffee, and hot soups; but the whisky-shops were



shunned as if pestilence issued from the doors. With the greatest difficulty I made my way, step by step, to the Artillery Barrack Yard, where thousands were pledging themselves to abandon for ever their seductive and degrading habits. No place could be better adapted to the purpose of administering the pledge than the yard. There were two gates guarded by the police, through one of which the people entered and departed by the other. It was capable of containing from eight to ten thousand persons; and for the greater part of the two days that Mr. Mathew was occupied, each batch completely filled the yard. On Wednesday, the first day, there were about thirty thousand admitted members of the Teetotal Temperance Society, and about fifty thousand on the second day, making in all about eighty thousand souls. Amongst these were persons of different religious persuasions and many ladies of respectability. . . . Early in the morning Father Mathew, accompanied by several of the local clergy, set out for Portumna, but their progress was very slow, as they had to stop at each village and, indeed, frequently along the road to admit fresh postulants. Between Galway, Loughrea, and the road to Portumna close on two hundred thousand persons took the pledge.

We now turn to Father Mathew's missions in the sister island. At the pressing invitation of Dr. Murdoch, bishop of Glasgow, Father Mathew passed over to that city on August 13, 1842, and gave a week's mission there, receiving a hearty public welcome, not only from the Catholic clergy and laity, but also from the various non-Catholic Temperance Associations, representatives of which came from all parts of the country. Father Mathew said Mass each morning at St. Mary's, Clyde Street, where he preached on the Sunday to a large congregation. On the Tuesday, which was the day of the great public procession to celebrate his arrival in Scotland, some twelve thousand persons took the pledge, but on the following day the number was still greater, and the attempt to count them was abandoned. No wonder we read that "at the end of the day's proceedings Father Mathew seemed quite exhausted."

The following year Father Mathew visited England. He left Ireland on June 30, and arrived in Liverpool on the following day. He spent a fortnight in Liverpool, during which he held meetings, and visited all the Catholic schools and several factories. On the Sundays he preached to large congregations in the principal Catholic churches, and afterwards administered the pledge; and not a day passed that he did not spend several hours in advancing the cause of temperance. It is worthy of note that during his stay at Liverpool he was assisted by Father Ingatius Spencer, himself an ardent promoter of total abstinence.

From Liverpool he went to Manchester. He had arranged to arrive there on the afternoon of July 18, and a procession, formed

by the Catholic clergy, a large number of the laity, together with several members of the non-Catholic Temperance Societies of Manchester and Salford, went to the station to meet him; but they were twice disappointed, for Father Mathew, detained at Liverpool on account of the arrival of a number of fresh applicants for the pledge, did not leave Liverpool till the following morning. On the 21st he was entertained at a temperance tea party in the Free Trade Hall, at which the mayor, Mr. Thomas Kershaw, presided, and gave an address of welcome to the Apostle. He remained at Manchester a week. In four days nearly eighteen thousand persons had taken the pledge, of whom about one half were children; but between 9 P.M. on Monday 24th, till 9 A.M. the following morning, when he left the town, some ten thousand persons had been before him and given their promise. His hotel was besieged; many persons even forced their way into his bedroom; till at last he descended into the hall of the hotel and there received all-comers. During his stay in Manchester the number of cases brought before the magistrates diminished to one-third the usual number, and the absence of drunkenness in the streets was very marked.

After visiting the chief towns of Lancashire, Father Mathew went into Yorkshire, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm in York, Leeds, Wakefield, and other places. So gratifying was the success which attended his missions in this county—two hundred thousand persons took the pledge in the course of some ten days—that he frequently alluded to it, later on, in his speeches, and held up the people of Yorkshire as a contrast to the comparative apathy which he encountered in the south. His reception at York was on a very grand scale, and was perhaps the most important of any accorded to him during his stay in England. At Wakefield, also, he was very well received, and Mr. Maguire tells us of a very ingenious device whereby a certain Quaker admirer secured the honour of giving hospitality to the apostle of temperance. The good Quaker invited Father Mathew to stay with him; but the Father invariably declined such invitations, preferring to put up at an hotel, so that he might be more at liberty in his movements and in the reception of those who wished to see him. A reply to this effect was sent to the would-be host, who then wrote insinuating that his house was an hotel; Father Mathew thereupon agreed to stay there during his visit to Wakefield. On Father Mathew's arrival there was indeed a board, with "Hotel" in large characters upon it, on the front of the house, and Father Mathew was without the least restraint in going in or out and in receiving whom he pleased and when he pleased; but the so-called hotel differed very materially from other houses of this class, and it was only at the close of his stay

that his kindly host acquainted him with the *ruse* by which he had been enticed into accepting the proffered hospitality.

From Yorkshire, Father Mathew went straight on to London, where he put up at Hart's Temperance Hotel in Aldersgate-street. On Monday, July 31, he made his first appearance in the metropolis, inaugurating the week's mission in the Commercial-road East. Father Mathew accompanied by several of the Catholic clergy and other persons arrived on the ground, a large open space now occupied by the Church of SS. Mary and Michael, about ten o'clock in the morning, and found some thousands of persons awaiting him. Father Mathew himself made the opening speech, explaining the object of his mission, the advantages of total abstinence, and the success which had attended his efforts in Ireland, and in those parts of England which he had already visited. The meeting was then addressed by some of the clergy, by Mr. Tere, one of Father Mathew's secretaries, and by Lord Stanhope; but the most impressive speech of all was one made by a private in the Grenadier Guards. About fifty thousand persons were present throughout the day, of whom about three thousand took the pledge. Each day till the following Monday, Father Mathew continued his mission in the Commercial-road, generally arriving about ten o'clock, and remaining on the ground till dusk. On the closing day of the mission, Sunday, August 6, close on sixty thousand persons were present during the day, of whom some six thousand joined the cause. Here, as in Ireland, he administered the pledge by getting the people to come forward in batches, parties of twenty or thirty kneeling before the platform, and reciting after him the formula. When he found several of his own countrymen in the batch, he would recite the formula in Irish as well as in English. He would then descend from the platform, lay his hand on the head of each, making the sign of the cross over him and saying: "May God bless you, and give you strength to keep the promise you have made."

Some idea of the variety of the persons of whom the batches were composed may be gathered from the fact that during the Commercial-road mission one batch comprised a Spanish priest, an Anglican clergyman and his wife, a Scotch Presbyterian piper—who struck up a bucolic "Te Deum," immediately after his initiation—and two policemen, Irishmen; another contained some Anglican clergymen and some University students; in another were several firemen, and one batch was honoured by the presence of a German Catholic Bishop. Not a few presented themselves with black eyes and disfigured features, very suitable subjects for the Apostle. Father Mathew exhorted them to keep the pledge and not to quarrel again, and they, with many expressions of peni-

tence, promised that they would never more "make bastes of themselves."

The next mission was conducted at Kennington Common, whither Father Mathew was escorted on the opening day, August 7, by several non-Catholic Temperance Societies, and by an enormous crowd, which blocked the traffic along the route. On this occasion, a lamentable outrage was committed on a certain Mr. Orme; on his attempting to force his way through the procession his horse was seized, the reins cut, and Mr. Orme himself very dangerously wounded. His assailant was arrested, and on the following day, Father Mathew strongly deprecated the outrage, and sent a messenger to Mr. Orme with an apology. Fortunately assaults on the part of the friends of temperance were of rare occurrence notwithstanding the crowds. The mission on Kennington Common was intended for the whole of the south of London, and certainly the attendance was very numerous; on the first day alone, about one hundred thousand persons altogether were present, and five thousand pledges were administered.

Father Mathew remained in London and in the neighbourhood rather more than a month. During that time he gave missions in Westminster, Chelsea, St. Giles', Paddington, Marylebone, Regent's Park, Millbank, Deptford, Greenwich, Bermondsey, Hackney, Blackheath, Enfield, Stratford, and other places. Missions projected at Chelmsford and elsewhere had to be abandoned for want of time. The last mission was held on September 5, in a court near Orchard Street, Portman Square, and the proceedings were at one stage rendered particularly lively by the entrance of two big draymen, carrying between them a large barrel of beer on a pole. With this they endeavoured to force their way through the crowd and to throw the meeting into disorder. A fight soon ensued, and though the brewer's men were quite equal to the occasion, yet the force of numbers was too much for them—they were ejected, the barrel was staved, and the beer coursed along the gutters.

It was not to be expected that the promoters of the liquor trade would submit quietly to the loss likely to ensue to them from these temperance missions, and in some cases their resistance was so formidable that it might have been followed by very injurious consequences both to Father Mathew himself and to his adherents. The night before the meeting at Deptford intelligence was received that the brewers were preparing a hot reception for the teetotallers. A council of war was held at Virginia Street, at midnight; it was resolved to meet force by force, and a regular system of manœuvres was drawn up. During the small hours of the morning an armed force of between six and seven hundred men, with "sticks, nothing but sticks," from Virginia



Street, Wapping, and a few other places, was collected, leaders were appointed, and signals arranged. In the morning, as the processions approached the ground they found the road partly obstructed by a number of waggons containing barrels of beer and spirits, which were being freely and copiously dispensed to a band of roughs evidently bent on mischief. The "gallant six hundred" took up their position in the outer ring of the ground, the inner part being left free for the candidates and the speechifying, while in a convenient corner were about a hundred amazons from Wapping, each with an umbrella—and inside the umbrella a *shillelagh*. Soon after the proceedings had commenced, a movement was perceived under the platform, and it was discovered that some ruffians were endeavouring to cut the cords which bound the supports together; at the same time the now well-primed roughs from the waggons and from the adjoining public-house, which was the stronghold of their party, were seen to be pressing forward. Then a white handkerchief was waved by some one on the platform, the men with sticks turned upon the intending assailants, and a fierce fight commenced. Presently the amazon brigade from Wapping made for the waggon horses, cut the traces and tethers, and set them scampering off, causing no little disorder to the drink party; meanwhile some men, with strong hammers, which they had brought for the purpose, broke the barrels and sent the beer and spirits flowing down the street. As the roughs were being driven back several of them took refuge in the public-house, from the windows of which they hurled missiles of various kinds upon their opponents. These however stormed the house and broke open the door; several men rushed upstairs, and not only severely beat those whom they found, but even flung some of them from the windows into the street, while others forcing their way into the bar, smashed everything they could find, and left the place a complete wreck. The party of temperance having completely routed their adversaries, marched through Deptford with flying banners, and were greeted with cheers by those who sympathised with them.

At Blackheath affairs might have been still more serious, for the drink party were in stronger force and were exasperated by their recent defeat. They seem, too, to have aimed at wreaking their vengeance on Father Mathew himself. The teetotallers, on the other hand, were not only weak in numbers, but they were in no way prepared for a fight, not having had any idea of the danger. So recourse was had to strategy. When the roughs were about to commence their work, a man named M'Carthy—a strong temperance *advocate*, though not an abstainer—who had a knack of keeping the people amused, was put up to speak. He was told to do the best he could for a few minutes, and by his jokes and

antics he contrived to arrest the attention of the rioters while a cab with a pair of good horses was hurried up to a spot close by, but out of sight; Father Mathew managed to get in unobserved and drove off, and when he was at a safe distance it was announced that he had left, and the meeting broke up peaceably.\*

The result of Father Mathew's mission in London was sixty-eight thousand pledges, taken publicly, and six thousand in schools and factories. They were taken chiefly from the Irish of the poorer class; but many Protestants also took the pledge, and some Catholics of good position, among them the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. Petre, the Countess of Clare, Captain Jerningham, and others.† Bishop Griffiths took a very keen interest in the work, and appointed Father Moore, the present venerable pastor of Southend-on-Sea, to be in constant attendance on Father Mathew during his stay in London. On the whole, there was a lack of enthusiasm, and Father Mathew was far from satisfied.

Father Mathew and his day's work on the mission are thus described in the *Times*: ‡

During the whole day Father Mathew neither tasted food nor drank anything, and he was hard at work talking and administering the pledge the whole of the time. His speeches were temperate and imbued with kindly feeling, and he took great pains to convince his hearers that he did not wish to advance the interest of any particular party either in religion or politics, and declared that the Protestants of Ireland had received him with the same cordiality as the members of his own Church. Father Mathew has won golden opinions from all men by his affability and simple manner, and he is an example in his own person that cheerfulness and good humour can be reconciled with total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.

From London he went to Norwich, where he was entertained and warmly supported by the Protestant bishop, Dr. Stanley. Thence he went to Birmingham, where a public reception was

\* The details of these incidents were given to me by one of the principal actors.

† It may interest our readers to have some of the details of the Catholic children to whom Father Mathew administered the pledge: three hundred boys of St. Patrick, Wapping; one hundred boys of St. John's Wood; the girls of Warwick Street; four hundred children, presumably Catholics, "presented by Father Moore"; the children of Somers Town, Virginia Street, Warwick Street, Chelsea, Marylebone. There were many other children mentioned in a general way. During his stay at Birmingham he visited Oscott College, and a number of the students took the pledge. His Eminence, Cardinal Manning, in 1873, called together a number of working-men, with the object of starting the League of the Cross; some sixteen of those present had taken the pledge from Father Mathew; one might ask, "Where are the nine?"

‡ *Times*, August 3, 1843.

given to him by the Mayor; and finally he went to Liverpool again, and after a short stay there he returned to Ireland.

In one of his speeches at Birmingham he gave a summary of his mission in England, and stated that during the three months he had administered about six hundred thousand pledges.

Soon after his return to Ireland, it became publicly known that Father Mathew was heavily involved. His open-handed charities, the printing and clerical expenses connected with the promotion of the temperance cause, and the gratuitous distribution of the medals, had not only used up the whole of his own private fortune and of the large sums placed at his disposal, but had also burdened him with heavy debts. Lord John Russell was not far wrong when, speaking at a public meeting held for the purpose of raising funds to relieve Father Mathew, he said: "Let us confess it; if Father Mathew had zeal and energy, he had not in the same degree that spirit of prudence which would not have been wanting in hearts either less ardent or less devoted to the success of the cause." *Punch* wrote at this time:

Mathew the martyr . . . a conqueror, but a pauper. Taught by him, the peasant and the workman have seen their homes smiling with comfort, but the teacher of thrift is going to prison for debt. Mathew is arrested for payment of the medals which glisten on the breasts of an immense army of his disciples, and there is, in our opinion, no decoration so noble or so honourable. Let Ireland rise as one man, or her saviour will be lying in the gaol of a county saved by him.

Not only in Ireland, but in England also, subscriptions were set on foot; the £7000 were raised, and Father Mathew was, for the time, freed from his embarrassments. This was in 1844. Two years later came the famine, and the "apostle of temperance" became an apostle of charity. His great knowledge of the whole country caused him to be of the greatest assistance to the Government—which expended altogether £1,500,000 in relief during the famine period; his influence brought in large supplies, both of money and of provisions, from England and America; and his untiring energy kept him ever engaged in alleviating the distress of the famine-stricken people. The famine inflicted the death-blow to the "Total Abstinence Society," but Father Mathew had the consolation of being able to prove to the public that where the temperance cause had prospered and the pledge was adhered to, there the people were quiet, orderly, and patient, in the midst of their sufferings; in other places riots had occurred and many excesses were committed.

We can now only record, without going into details, some of the principal events of the remainder of his life. In April 1849,

Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, died, and Father Mathew's name was placed first on the list of those recommended by the clergy to be his successor; the Holy See passed him over, however, and the second on the list was appointed. In the same year he was granted a pension of £300 from the Civil List, and Lord John Russell, in making this known to Father Mathew, wrote: "By this act his Majesty has been pleased to mark the high approval with which he has followed your meritorious exertions in combatting the habits of intemperance which obscure and often render fruitless the more noble qualities of your fellow countrymen."

In the summer of 1849, acting against the advice of his physicians, for he had had a stroke of paralysis not many months previously, he set sail for America, in compliance with a promise he had given to his American friends who had rendered such generous assistance during the time of the famine. He received there a welcome such as had never been previously accorded to any stranger, and during his stay in New York, the levées which he held in his hotel—besides the meetings and lectures—were so numerously attended, that it was found necessary to appoint certain days on which ladies only were received, in order that these might be saved the inconvenience of the crush. He remained two years and a half in America, during which he travelled thirty-seven thousand miles, visited three hundred cities and towns, and administered the pledge to over half a million of the population. But in his feeble state of health the over-exertion and the excitement were too much for him; moreover, he was weighed down with the thoughts of his constantly increasing liabilities; then he returned home, in 1851, a complete wreck. Soon after his return he was arrested at the suit of a medal merchant, but a compromise was effected and he was set at liberty. The following year he had a stroke of apoplexy, and though his recovery was rather rapid, and he went to work again, yet his health soon failed. A stay at Madeira for the winter of 1854 and the summer of 1855 brought no amelioration, and he came to his brother's house at Lehenagh to make his preparation for death. In the autumn of 1856, knowing that the end was close at hand, he left Lehenagh, much to the distress of his friends, and went to Queenstown, and there, during the months of October and November, he might be seen—white-haired, bent, and feeble—seated on one of the benches in the sun, or with slow and tottering steps and leaning on the boy at his side, pacing some sheltered spot, exchanging a cheery salute and "God bless you" with the passers-by. The final stroke came one morning as he was dressing. Then he lay for some days, unable to speak, but conscious and free from pain. Many



came to his bedside, some to repeat the words of the pledge; with difficulty he raised his hand and marked the sign of the cross on their forehead. By signs he made known his intentions with regard to his last resting-place—in the cemetery (Father Mathew's) under the cross. On the 8th of December 1856 Theobald Mathew was no more.

It has been well said in a previous number of this periodical :\*

The record of such a career as that of Father Mathew is, of its own nature, less a biography of the man than an episode in the moral and social history of his age. The influence, almost unexampled in modern days, which he exercised over the minds of his countrymen, is less curious as a study of personal character than as an illustration of the laws which govern those mysterious half-spontaneous movements of the public mind which from time to time unexpectedly arise, and by which the ordinary current of human life seems for a season almost unaccountably interrupted. . . . Were it not that movements such as these† lose much of their picturesque interest when they are seen close at hand, and when, from habitual contact, the mind has become familiarised with their everyday aspect, we can hardly doubt that the “pilgrimage to Cork,” the monster assemblages which crowded together in every district in Ireland, to meet the “Apostle of Temperance,” the complete and unreasoning enthusiasm with which all, without distinction, followed at his call—Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, the young man strong in the consciousness of virtuous habits and vigorous health, and the half-palsied sot, physically enervated by excess, and morally prostrated by the memory of a thousand forfeited promises and resolutions flung to the winds—might afford a subject for study scarcely less attractive, and of even greater practical importance, than the most wonderful among the marvels which form the romance of mediæval history.

The object of the great movement referred to was to put down intemperance, to root out that inclination for strong drink which, as Father Mathew said in one of his speeches, had “destroyed more victims than wars or famines did.”

The consumption of spirits in Ireland was, indeed, greatly exceeded by that in Scotland, and although there was a greater quantity of spirits drunk in Ireland than in England, yet the beer-drinking in England almost put the two countries on an equality as regards the total consumption of strong liquor. But still intemperance had gained a firm footing in Ireland. At

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW for 1863, p. 313.

† The writer refers to the great movement of the crusades, and the wild and unregulated bursts of fanaticism, as of the Flagellants, the Pastoureaux, &c.

fairs, markets, and at both public and private convivial meetings, whisky-drinking was carried on to an appalling degree. The man that would not drink was a churl not fit for society, and he that could drink most was a pattern of joviality. All expedients had been of little avail. The clergy had preached, but to no purpose. Pledges had been given and promises made—and broken; and the keen Irish wit which added details to the promise on purpose to strengthen it, found in the confirmation itself a loophole for escape. The man who pledged himself “never to take a drop of whisky on Irish ground” evaded his promise by mounting a ladder or a tree, or anything else that raised him from the soil, and drinking to his heart's content. Those who promised never to drink “inside of a house or outside of a house,” drank their fill on the threshold—and there were numberless similar instances. One man, richer than his neighbours, who had abjured “all spirits distilled on land,” set up a still on board his yacht, thus apparently salving his conscience and sating his appetite.

In 1838 the consumption of spirits in Ireland reached its maximum—12,000,000 gallons were distilled that year. In five years from that date, as we have already seen, the number of total abstainers in Ireland was estimated at five millions. Make what allowance you will for exaggeration, for the number of those who broke the pledge and took it again, for those who broke the pledge and did *not* take it again,\* and for those who took it more than once, as some did, for some peculiar notions of their own—like the old lady who is said to have gone up repeatedly for confirmation because she found it beneficial for her rheumatism. Still it must be acknowledged that the number of total abstainers, relatively to whole population of the country, was very great. As the number of pledges increased, the consumption of spirits decreased. The 12,000,000 gallons of 1838 had dwindled to about 6,500,000 in 1845; the difference between the excise duties on malt and whisky paid in 1839 and in 1845 was £574,422, and there had been a steady decrease each year. This was, no doubt, a heavy loss to the revenue; but this loss was more than compensated for by the increased consumption of other excisable goods, and already in 1842 the total *gain* amounted to £90,823. Many distillers and publicans had to close their premises—some of Father Mathew's immediate and dearest relatives were ruined; but bakers, grocers, dairymen and other tradesmen drove a far brisker business than before; a draper in one of the poorest parts of Dublin said that his trade

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\* Father Mathew asserted that the number of those who broke the pledge was, comparatively, very small; he was speaking previously to the famine.

had increased sixteenfold since the people had given up whisky. Crime and violence decreased *pari passu*. The number of convictions in 1838 was 12,049, in 1845 it was 7,101; the number of death sentences in 1832 was 66, in 1845 it was 13; the number of sentences to transportation in 1838 was 966, in 1845 it was 428. So marked was the improvement of the country in consequence of Father Mathew's apostolate that in 1840, when the movement had existed for barely two years, it was alluded to in the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Ebrington: "To the benefits which the temperance pledge has conferred upon Ireland in the improved habits of the people, and in the diminution of outrage, his Excellency bears a willing and a grateful testimony."

Such was the change effected from 1838 to 1845; and in another decade of years the work was practically undone. I do not mean that Ireland had gone back to the state in which it was, but that by that time the temperance movement, though it still existed, and its apostle still exercised his mission, lacked energy and life, and when Father Mathew's last wishes were fulfilled, and he was laid to rest "in the cemetery—under the Cross," the temperance movement, *as a movement*, was, for the time, buried with him.

We have not space to go into the causes of the failure, but we will point out two. The first was the famine, which brought desperation, and the impulse to drown care in oblivion, and left behind it a depression, a physical and moral weakness. It broke up the reading-rooms and coffee houses, and bands, and annihilated such organisation as there was. And the second cause was this, the Catholic Total Abstinence Society was a "one-man" movement; it was brought into existence by the fame, the zeal, the energy of one man; it grew and was kept alive and flourished, whilst it did flourish, through the fame and the zeal, and the energy of that one man. He had many helpers, but no lieutenants, and he had no successor; the prophet's mantle fell upon no other shoulders, and with Father Mathew himself the impetus of the cause speedily died away.

But yet it would not be correct to say that Father Mathew's *work* was dead—far from it. As a movement, an organisation, the Catholic Total Abstinence Society came to an end even before its great leader was taken to his reward. But the *effects* of the movement lived on; not only because, though by far the greater number of those who had taken the pledge broke it, yet there remained many who continued faithful; but also because Father Mathew created a healthy public opinion with regard to temperance—he taught his generation that drunkenness was not a mere weakness to be laughed at or palliated with the slightest excuse, but a degrading vice, offensive to God and man; that

not only could man do without strong drink, but temperance—even total abstinence—brought with it the blessings of a healthier constitution, a peaceful and comfortable home, a full pocket: that temperance helped to make a man a good Christian and a respectable citizen. He showed in an incontestable manner the close connection between drink, crime, and poverty, and that a nation sober is a nation orderly and prosperous. In fine he left in all classes that latent respect for temperance, which needs but a fresh impetus at a suitable moment to bring the movement once more into activity.

And, let us hope, the suitable moment has even now arrived. Theobald Mathew is the prominent figure of the hour, and his name is a name to conjure by. Already it has been made use of by the Bishops of Ireland—in connection with the “Apostle’s” centenary—as a means for the revival of temperance. The archbishop and bishops of the province of Dublin write as follows :

It is not we trust presumptuous to entertain the thought that the time has now come—the time perhaps marked out in the order of God’s providence for so great a work—when a renewed effort may be made in the cause of temperance reform with a more than common hopefulness of enduring success.

The centenary or hundredth anniversary of Father Mathew’s birth will occur, as you know, within the present year. Even already the day of that anniversary, the 10th of next October, is looked forward to throughout Ireland as a great national festival. The people of Ireland feel that they are called upon to make worthy use of the occasion to do honour to the memory of one of the most illustrious of their fellow countrymen, one of the foremost among the benefactors of their race. County will vie with county, diocese with diocese, parish with parish, and town with town, in the effort to celebrate this festival of Father Mathew in a manner in some degree befitting so great an occasion.

But the fellow-countrymen of Father Mathew are surely called upon to honour his memory by something more worthy of him than all this, something more worthy of being tendered in the name of Ireland as a national tribute to the memory of so great a benefactor. For it cannot be lost sight of that, even in many of those fields of labour which in Father Mathew’s lifetime seemed especially full of promise, the work to which so large a portion of his missionary life was so generously devoted has, long since, all but come to naught. Our people, it cannot be doubted, are truly grateful for the labours of that life. Neither, then, can it be doubted that they are called upon to preface their expressions of thankfulness with an humble avowal of their want of steadfastness in the cause in which those labours were expended, and with a practical resolve for the future to devote themselves to the work of making reparation for the shortcomings and errors of the past.

It has come, then, to be felt by all that the first step to be taken



in preparation for the coming centenary of Father Mathew's birth must be the organisation of some earnest effort for the revival and perpetuation of his work. The noblest tribute by which our country could attest her gratitude for his labours would be the spectacle of a nation united, under the blessing of religion, in a solemn league for the overthrow of that degrading bondage from which it was the object of those labours to set his country free.\*

About the same time that that pastoral letter was issued a similar one was addressed to the clergy and laity of his diocese by the Archbishop of Cashel; and at this present time, Monday, October 13, will be passed—if the programme is carried out—on the site of the proposed statue to the “Apostle of Temperance,” and in the presence of the *élite* of the Catholic Church and people, and of representatives of temperance bodies of all denominations, the following resolutions:

I. That this public meeting of citizens of Dublin, and others assembled under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Dublin, expresses its thorough appreciation of the untiring labours of Father Theobald Mathew in the great cause of Temperance, and its belief that the work to which he devoted the best years of his life conferred immense benefits upon his country and on mankind.

II. That this vast meeting declares its hope that this year, the centenary year of the birth of Father Mathew, shall witness not merely a revival of his work for the promotion of total abstinence, but also the consolidation and formation of suitable organisations for advancing it, so that the great temperance movement shall become permanent and progressive.

In England, too, an effort to check the ravages of drunkenness has been made by the combined action of the episcopate; in Scotland, the League of the Cross has lately been established in several dioceses and is making progress. In fact throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, an impetus has been given towards a revival of the temperance movement, and in each case the watchword which is to rouse the sleeping energy into life, to battle for temperance, is “Father Mathew.”

We cannot expect, some would not even desire, to see again the extraordinary enthusiasm, the huge gatherings, the thousands—even millions—of pledged abstainers which signalled Father Mathew's apostolate, and marked it out as one of the marvels of our age; but all who have at heart the salvation of souls and the exaltation, both spiritual and material, of the church, will follow with interest and hopefulness the revival of a movement which, during the short period of its success, achieved results so highly beneficial to the Irish nation, and even to the whole English-speaking race.

W. H. COLOGAN.

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\* Pastoral letter issued last Easter, pp. 10, 11.

## ART. VIII.—JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN.

### 1.—IN MEMORIAM LITERATURE.

1. *Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Cardinal Newman.* By WILLIAM CLIFFORD, Bishop of Clifton. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.
2. *Sayings of Cardinal Newman.* London: Burns & Oates.
3. *Cardinal Newman; a Monograph.* By JOHN OLDCASTLE. Being the October, 1890, number of *Merry England*. London: John Simpkins, Essex Street, Strand.
4. *An Outline of the Life of Cardinal Newman.* By WILLIAM BARRY, D.D. London: Catholic Truth Society.
5. *Apologia pro Vita Sua: being a History of his Religious Opinions.* By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. [New and Cheaper Edition.] London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.
6. Magazine Articles:—"Cardinal Newman and his Contemporaries" (the *Contemporary Review*), by Mr. Wilfrid Meynell; "Cardinal Newman" (the *New Review*), by Mr. C. Kegan Paul; "John Henry Newman" (the *Fortnightly*), by Mr. W. S. Lilly, &c.

ON the evening of Monday, August 11, 1890, died, in his own Oratory of St. Philip Neri, Edgbaston, and at the patriarchal age of ninety years, John Henry Newman, Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church, with the Title of San Georgio in Velabro, for whose loss the deep sorrow not only of the Catholics of these lands, but it may be said of the English people everywhere is yet fresh and vivid,—*Requiescat in pace*. His end was, perhaps to an ideal extent, such as he himself would have desired. It matters little where one dies or when, as he well knew who had thought so often of death, but even as to this men have their fancies and their prejudices. We believe that the saintly Italian Passionist priest who baptised Newman hoped his end might come at his work; and certainly another saintly priest also a Passionist, Father Ignatius Spencer, the zealous apostle of prayer for England, hoped, as his own choice, that he might die in harness and with swift blow; and, interestingly enough, Father

Dominic died on a railway platform, and Father Ignatius fell by the wayside alone. Cardinal Newman's death, however, was happily otherwise. He fell asleep peacefully in that home he so dearly loved, and of which he spoke so touchingly when last he came back to it after a brief sojourn in Rome; with his brethren—of one of whom it has been said that he was "more to the lonely celibate than a begotten son"—around him to comfort and to pray; at peace with the outside world, having outlived its misunderstandings, its anger and resentment for his acts and words of an earlier time; with many old and long disrupted friendships re-formed in the warmth of a pleasant evening of life, and with the echoes still lingering in the air of those acclamations of love and esteem which, both within and without the Church, rang like music around him as he came back to Protestant England an English Cardinal, universally beloved, respected, honoured—could there have been an ending to life very much more to his heart's wish? Still more, perhaps, as to its inward and spiritual aspect was it such as he had hoped for. In one of those beautiful sermons in his "Discourses to Mixed Congregations"—"the first work," he said, "which I publish as a Father of this Oratory of St. Philip Neri"—he wrote, now more than forty years ago:

O my Lord and Saviour, support me in that hour in the strong arms of Thy Sacraments, and by the fresh fragrance of Thy consolation. Let the absolving words be said over me, and the holy oil sign and seal me, and Thy own Body be my food, and Thy Blood my sprinkling; and let sweet Mary breathe on me, and my Angel whisper peace to me, and my glorious Saints, and my own dear Father smile on me; that in them all, and through them all, I may receive the gift of perseverance, and die, as I desire to live, in Thy Faith and in Thy Church, in Thy service, and in Thy love. (Discourse vi. "God's Will the End of Life.")

Surely his end was even as he had prayed; and his soul is already, as we trust, *within* those gates, to reach to which he had asked his friend to pray:

That I may find the grace,  
To reach the holy house of toll,  
The frontier resting-place.

To reach that golden palace gate,  
Where souls elect abide,  
Waiting their certain call to heaven  
With Angels at their side.

In such direction go our thoughts in the first days of bereavement and mourning. As Catholics we cannot but seek and find consolation in the remembrance of his Catholic life and virtues. With gratification, and with gratitude also to the Father of

mercies, do we linger over the story of how, long ago, he departed from friends and associates, from studies and interests, and from that Oxford which had so long been his home, when "the word of the Lord came to him as it did to Abraham of old." It is a joy, as it is a lesson, to recall how humble he was; how absorbed in the great act when, daily he offered the tremendous Sacrifice at the altar of God; how as the end drew nigh, and he could no longer celebrate daily Mass, he found his consolation in telling his beads, refreshing his soul in the contemplation of the mysteries of Our Lady's rosary. By such remembrances is he linked to the affections of Catholics who never knew his face or heard his voice, more closely than he could ever have been for merely his intellectual gifts, or his splendid writings, or even for his tender heart, transparent truthfulness, and chivalrous honour.

Forty-five years ago this October, the grace of conversion came to him. The "Kindly Light" showed him the vision of Rome, the Jerusalem of the new covenant exactly at a time midway in the span of his earthly pilgrimage, in the maturity of his powers, in the stability of manhood, with the ties and associations of a lifetime formed and entwined round his heart in an abundance that might well have been itself taken for a divine benediction. Was the light now a "kindly" one? Not apparently perhaps; but with a faith even as that of Abraham Newman followed it. How touching those words which he wrote in 1871 as to the great step of his secession from the Anglican communion, showing as they do his spiritual instincts, and the fidelity of his soul to God's inspirations.

"As to your question," he wrote to a lady correspondent, "whether if I had stayed in the Anglican Church *till now*, I should have joined the Catholic Church at all, at any time now or hereafter, I think that most probably I should *not*; but *observe*, for this reason, because God gives grace, and if it is not accepted He withdraws His grace; and since of His free mercy, and from no merits of mine, He then offered me the grace of conversion, if I had not acted upon it, it was to be expected that I should be left, a worthless stump, to cumber the ground, and to remain where I was till I died."

Words these which also suggest how strong all those ties and feelings held him, that if not broken while the spirit of the Lord was upon him, would have held him triumphantly when left to himself. But "I have not sinned against the light," he said in 1833, trying to assure himself, thus, that he should not yet die. Certain do we feel that to the end, he never sinned against the light: *Et lux perpetua luceat ei, Domine!*

Of the "in memoriam" literature which we have placed at the head of these remarks, we need say very little by way of explana-



tion. The books and articles there named, form but a fraction of the studies of Newman or the tribute to his memory, which since his death, have abounded in book, magazine, and newspapers everywhere. We have taken a few of the more important ones by Catholics, not as disparaging or underesteeming the others, but because these are more likely to be the ones our more distant readers will look to us to mention at the present time.

The Bishop of Clifton's funeral oration, even deprived of the emotion visible in its delivery, reads admirably. Simple in its language, but full of admiration for the subject of it, and of kindly appreciation, it gives a brief sketch of his career, and a touching reference to some of his good qualities and virtues. The Bishop had long known the late Cardinal, and had, as he mentions, served his first Mass in the chapel of Propaganda, Rome, on Corpus Christi day, 1847; and he was competent to speak of his life as a Catholic. His Lordship made a good point in quoting from the well-known sermon "Christ on the Waters," the fine description of the Anglo-Saxon character when transformed by Grace, to apply it as the best panegyric of the Cardinal himself.

The Almighty Lover of Souls looked again, and He saw in that poor forlorn and ruined nature . . . what would illustrate and preach abroad His grace if He took pity on it. He saw in it a natural nobleness, a simplicity, a frankness of character, a love of truth, a zeal for justice, an indignation at wrong, an admiration of purity, a reverence for law, a keen appreciation of the beautiful and majesty of order—nay, further a tenderness, and an affectionateness of heart which he knew would become the glorious instrument of His high will, illuminated and vivified by His supernatural gifts.

A somewhat fuller sketch of the life of the Cardinal is Dr. W. Barry's "Outline," which appeared a few days after his death as the *Tablet* leader, and is now reprinted and published in the C.T.S.'s penny series. Suffice it to say that it is an excellent brief sketch. We shall presently quote a sentence from it which will serve as a specimen of the style in which it is written. Of the magazine articles which we have named on our list, Mr. Meynell's, as one would anticipate, is full of admiration for his subject, brightly written, and with plenty of illustrative reference. One characteristic paragraph will show its style, and also what it contains deserves to be recorded:

Beautiful were the tributes which Newman's death elicited from the conspicuous pulpits of Anglicanism, and most affecting to Catholics; but some of the preachers strangely misunderstood their man when they hinted, as Canon Knox-Little did, that Newman would never have left Anglicanism in 1845, had he foreseen how many Roman collars would be worn, how many beards be shaved off, how many "celebrations" be talked about, and confessions

heard in the Establishment in 1890. Why, the Arians in their day had Bishops, and Masses, and organisation as perfect as that of the orthodox; but it was with Athanasius, that Newman ranged himself while still an Anglican, and it was precisely the parallel he found between Anglicans and Arians, or Donatists, that brought him at last from Oxford to Birmingham.

It was, in truth, to the Canon Knox-Littles that he addressed himself when he said: "Look into the matter more steadily; it is very pleasant to decorate your chapels, oratories, and studies now, but you cannot be doing this for ever. It is pleasant to adopt a habit or a vestment; to use your office-book or your beads; but it is like feeding on flowers, unless you have that objective vision in your faith, and that satisfaction in your reason, of which devotional exercises and ecclesiastical appointment are the suitable expression. They will not last in the long run, unless commanded and rewarded on Divine authority; they cannot be made to rest on the influence of individuals. It is well to have rich architecture, curious works of art, and splendid vestments, when you have a present God; but, oh! what a mockery if you have not. If your externals surpass what is within, you are so far as hollow as your Evangelical opponents, who baptise, yet expect no grace. Thus your Church becomes not a home, but a sepulchre; like those high cathedrals once Catholic, which you do not know what to do with, which you shut up, and make monuments of, sacred to the memory of what has passed away."

Mr. Lilly's paper in the *Fortnightly*, has the unique recommendation of containing a number of Cardinal Newman's letters, all addressed to Mr. Lilly himself. Mr. Kegan Paul's thoughtful and beautifully written study, in the *New Review*, seems to be the outpouring of very deep personal feeling, and is tinged with pathetic solemnity. The writer's own recent reception into the Catholic Church, a result which he apparently attributes to the influence of one whom he addresses as "dear and honoured Master and Father," may account for this. It is a brief but very suggestive paper, to be especially recommended.

The October number of *Merry England* is devoted exclusively to the late Cardinal, and is by far the best record of his life which has yet appeared. It forms an excellent *memoir pour servir*, and there is a wonderful amount of matter in it— anecdotes, letters, reminiscences, &c.—and, as though "John Oldcastle's" descriptions were not pleasant and graphic enough, there are some admirable photographic illustrations and a *fac-simile* of "Lead, Kindly Light." One of these interesting photographic views is of the last resting-place at Rednal, another is of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford, where Newman preached those wonderful sermons, and two other views show us the Birmingham Oratory and the interior of its church. There is

still another view worth naming ; we have not seen it elsewhere. It is a photograph of the " row of five or six small cottages of one story " which formed the historic " Littlemore," whither Newman retired after the publication of " Tract 90," and where, having written the " Essay on Development " to the point where it abruptly breaks off, he was received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. We feel tempted to quote from Mr. Oldcastle one beautiful trait of the last earthly days of the Cardinal, for which we fancy we are exclusively indebted to him :

The end came at last quickly. There had been little illnesses ; and the failure of strength was so apparent that it seemed as if a breath or a movement would extinguish the faint spark. On one of these days he asked some of the Fathers to come in and play or sing to him Father Faber's hymn of " The Eternal Years." When they had done so once, he made them repeat it, and this several times. " Many people," he said, " speak well of my ' Lead, Kindly Light,' but this is far more beautiful. Mine is of a soul in darkness—this of the eternal light."

There remains for us only to call attention to a new and cheap edition of the " Apologia," which the publishers have opportunely brought out at a moment of special public interest in it. " The boldest and most touching of modern religious biographies," as Mr. Kegan Paul styles it, is destined to live. It will ever remain, as the Cardinal intended (on his side and from his standpoint) it should—a book of final appeal. It is his own deliberate revelation of his spiritual and mental history, of his herculean efforts to defend the " Via Media," of the failure, and of its consequences. He had been the Athanasius of the Oxford Movement. But at Littlemore he was called on to act a still more noble rôle : to pay heroic tribute to Truth, by confessing before the world that the principles he had fought to defend were themselves a mistake, and by going over to seek admission into what had hitherto been to him, as it was to them, the camp of the enemy. It was a giant's effort too ; though it may seem to Catholics so very easy a matter. The English Protestant public failed to see the reason of it ; later on they even suggested that he, now that he had grown familiar with the Roman camp and had moved behind the scenes, himself regretted it. Repeatedly he protested that he had " never had one doubt " as a Catholic, that he had been " in perfect peace and contentment," but to little result : it was still supposed that he *must* regret Anglicanism. Then he wrote what apparently could not be mistaken or misinterpreted :—

I have not had one moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold. I hold, and ever have held, a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline, and

teaching; and an eager longing, and a hope against hope, that the many dear friends whom I have left in Protestantism may be partakers in my happiness. And I do hereby profess that Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions; that the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver, and the thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder. Return to the Church of England! No! "The net is broken, and we are delivered." I should be a consummate fool (to use a mild term) if, in my old age I left "the land flowing with milk and honey" for the city of confusion and the house of bondage.

Dr. Barry remarks in his "Outline" that it took ten years to bring Newman into the Church, and that, therefore, "it may well take a century or two to bring the nation." However, very shortly after the last quoted vehement denial of one species of insincerity, the opportunity of reaching the ear of the British public came to Newman. Kingsley's charge of untruthfulness was the providential means. Newman, as Dr. Barry puts it, "was allowed to speak, and his countrymen listened."

They listened to the *Apologia pro vita sua*.

With regard to the three papers which follow in our own pages, we should like to be allowed to thank both Father Stanton, of the Oratory, and Father Lockhart for allowing us to trespass on their busy hours to pen, and that hurriedly, the very interesting reminiscences they have sent us of those early days when they were among Newman's disciples. Father Lockhart had the glory of "leading the way" and his prior submission to the Church was the immediate reason of Newman's resigning his pastorate at St. Mary's. Father Stanton was one of the two, Father F. S. Bowles being the other, who were baptised and received with Newman. We cannot refrain from quoting "John Oldcastle's" account of the reception; we believe our readers will forgive us the long extract, if only Mr. Oldcastle himself will accept our acknowledgments and do likewise.

These three, "the Vicar" and the two disciples, entered the curious chapel on Thursday afternoon, October 9, 1845, and stood in a line together. Function there was none; and Ritualism hid her face. The bowl of Baptism was of domestic, not of ecclesiastical pattern; and all else was of a tale. Then Father Dominic gave a little address, saying his *Nunc Dimittis*. Dalgairns and St. John went into Oxford, to the primitive Catholic chapel—St. Clement's—and borrowed from the old priest, Father Newsham, an altar-stone and vestments, so that Father Dominic might say Mass the next morning—the first and only time at Littlemore. At the Mass the neophytes received their first Communion. The fervour of Father Dominic, when he made his thanksgiving, greatly impressed the converts, who had not been accustomed in Anglicanism to see so



much emotion in prayer. One little incident may be recorded as almost comic. On the evening before their reception into the Church, Father Dominic went into the chapel with the catechumens and recited Office with them. But when they came to the record of how St. Denis, after his martyrdom, put his head under his arm and walked about, Father Dominic cried "stop," and skipped it over. He thought such legends might be a difficulty to beginners, but he did not know his men; for who was more familiar with miracles and the authority assigned to them than the author of those Essays which had made Macaulay exclaim: "The times require a Middleton!" In truth the neophytes were rather scandalised at *him*, and not at it.

We do not know what grounds the writer of this passage had for making this last reflection, but it is probably just enough,—if a man of Father Dominic's character *did* cry stop. But the reflection leads us to remark how the legends of the saints had been but a few years before a wonderfully real crux to the writer of Tract 75. That Tract was written by Newman to set before his fellow clergy the general excellence of the Breviary services, and to claim "whatever is good and true in them for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose only real claim over and above other Churches is that of having adopted certain additions and novelties"—"apocryphal legends of saints" he goes on to call them, which "were used to stimulate and occupy the popular [mediæval] mind." Even after he had disabused his mind of the idea that Rome exalted our Lady to the disparagement of our Lord (which came about in 1842, as he tells in the "Apologia"), "it was still a long time," he says, "before I got over my difficulty on the score of the devotion paid to the Saints; perhaps, as I judge from a letter I have turned up, it was some way into 1844 before I could be said fully to have got over it." In the Offices at Littlemore *oret* had been substituted for *ora* where invocations of the saints occurred, we believe up to that very day when the Office of St. Denis and his companions was recited with Father Dominic. Let the scandal, however, have been which way it may, it is interesting to note Newman's affection for the Breviary as early as the year 1836, and whilst he was at the same time denouncing the "Roman corruptions" of it. That Tract 75 is noteworthy as a specimen of his talent as a translator, a subject which, so far as we remember, has not yet engaged the critics. In it he gives an English version of an ordinary Sunday Office, at length; and his verse renderings of the hymns "Nocte surgentes," "Te lucis ante terminum," and the others, which have since become so familiar, were, we imagine, written for this occasion. His version of the Confiteor is curious:

“I confess before God Almighty, before the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael, &c., and you my brethren, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault; my grievous fault. Therefore I beseech, &c.

He then goes on to translate the lessons, hymns, and special antiphons of the Offices for the Feast of the Transfiguration, and for the Feast of St. Lawrence, deacon and martyr. This part of his task having been faithfully done, even as to the obnoxious antiphons of Our Lady, the writer relieves his Protestant soul by a proceeding at which one cannot help smiling. He adds “a design for a service on March 21, the day on which Bishop Ken was taken from the Church below!” The lessons of the second Nocturn are a life of Ken, and those of the third, on the Gospel (Luke xxii. 25-30), are taken from Jeremy Taylor; and there are hymns, original presumably, but *no prayer!* The translations given by Newman of these Antiphons of Our Lady, which he says “are quite beyond the power of any defence,” will be found interesting, as indeed is the whole of this singular Tract. Here is the Alma Redemptoris Mater and the Salve Regina, the latter of which the curious may like to compare with the recently authorised version of the Manual of Prayers:

#### ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER.

Kindly Mother of the Redeemer, who art ever of heaven  
The open gate, and the star of the sea, aid a falling people,  
Which is trying to rise again; thou who did'st give birth,  
While Nature marvelled how, to thy Holy Creator,  
Virgin both before and after, from Gabriel's mouth,  
Accepting All hail, be merciful towards sinners.

#### SALVE REGINA.

Hail O Queen, the mother of mercy, our life, sweetness, and hope, hail. To thee we exiles cry out; the sons of Eve. To thee we sigh, groaning and weeping in this valley of tears. Come then, O our patroness, turn thou on us those merciful eyes of thine, and show to us, after this exile, Jesus the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gracious, O pitiful, O sweet Virgin Mary.

To return, however, from this digression, and to bring these hasty lines to a conclusion, it will be observed that Father Lockhart's paper is followed by one from the pen of a non-Catholic writer. We willingly give space to Dr. Hayman's eloquent tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. He was never, we believe, a disciple of the Cardinal, but had listened to him in the pulpit of St. Mary's, and knew and revered him. We do not suppose that it will surprise any one to find that to

some excellent Anglicans Cardinal Newman's career as a Catholic was one of perplexing obscurity; but they may be led by the metaphor of the "noble swan frozen in" to conclude that Dr. Hayman is one of those, and there have been not a few at any time in England, who, in Exeter Hall language, would accuse "Romanism" of being intellectual suicide as well as spiritual doom. We, on our part, do not believe Dr. Hayman means anything of this latter kind, but refers, even when he says "frozen in," to the fact that Newman, as a Catholic, led a life of retirement and inactivity, which, in contrast with his Anglican work, seems obscurity. Perhaps it is perplexing to many that Newman was never sent to Oxford, or, for example, never made a bishop. But apart from these unrealised possibilities, which cannot and need not here be discussed; we may refer to a widespread sentiment which has fastened on the popular mind, to the effect that some sort of numbness weakened his intellectual activity, and arrested his spiritual growth and usefulness. Now, as to the first, we should say that the answer is sufficiently suggested in Newman's own metaphor of his case—"it was like coming into port after a storm." Distinctly has he since explained of himself that he could write only under the stimulus of outward emergency. There was plenty of that and to spare in his Anglican days; and tracts and pamphlets, sermons and volumes flowed from his pen. There has been less of it in his Catholic days and from within; but, thanks to Protestants, there has been some. And one such instance we think rather negatives the notion of obscurity. Had Newman not a far larger audience when he wrote his "Apologia" than when he wrote Tract 90?

But we Catholics think he has accomplished one arduous work: and it has a practical and a dogmatic side. On the latter, he never lost his influence on the English public—on the contrary, it has grown with the years since his conversion—and that influence he has uniformly used to bring home to the minds of his countrymen that the claim of the Catholic Church to their obedience is consonant with the Christian dispensation, as it is both legitimate and urgent. Dr. Barry, in his "Outline" has put this forcibly:

One thing he did, with such triumphant success that it need not be done again. He showed that the question of Rome is the question of Christianity. Taking Bishop Butler's great work for his foundation, he applied to the Catholic Church that "Analogy" which had proved in the Bishop's hands an irrefragable argument. As, if we hold the course of Nature to be in accordance with reason, we cannot but allow that natural and revealed religion, proceeding as they do on similar laws and by like methods, are founded on reasons too—so,

if once we admit that in the Bible there is a revelation from on high, we must come down by sure steps to Rome and the Papacy as inheriting what the Bible contains. To demonstrate this was to make an end of the Reformation, so far as it claimed authority from Scripture or kindred with Christ and His Apostles. When John Henry Newman arrived at that conclusion and followed it up by submitting to Rome, he undid, intellectually speaking, the mischief of the last three centuries. And he planted in the mind of his countrymen a suspicion which every day seems ripening towards certitude, that if they wish to remain Christians they must go back to the rock from which they were hewn, and become once again the sheep of the Apostolic Shepherd. Cardinal Newman has done this great thing; and its achievement will be his lasting memorial (p. 31).

But not only has he watered, as it were, with his eloquence, what others might have planted in vain; but in what large measure has not God given the increase, in these our days already, through the influence of his word, of his prayers, of his example. And to have been himself, as it were, the morning-star of the "Second Spring" to his own England—would he deem twenty-five, or even forty-five years, of retirement (not of obscurity) ill spent for such a privilege? We feel reluctant to quote further, but Mr. Kegan Paul's pathetic words must speak for us, better than we can for ourselves:

Because his works have always been before the public, and because his saintly life has been known, he has continued, even in retirement, to exercise an extraordinary influence on men. "He really died long since; his work has long been over," writes one. How little they know who thus speak! No intellectual conversion in England or America has taken place in the twenty years of his retirement wherein he has not borne a part, and when converts flew as doves to the windows, his has been the hand which drew them in. There are some who have made their submission to the Church since his death, and the *amari aliquid* in their joy and thankfulness has been that they could not, in his life, tell him that he was the agent of their conversion, and ask his blessing . . .

Ah! dear and honoured Master and Father, it may be that thou knowest now how largely has that thy prayer been fulfilled, written "on the Feast of Corpus Christi," twenty-six years ago.

"And I earnestly pray for this whole company with a hope against hope, that all of us who were once so united, and happy in our union, may even now be brought at length by the power of the Divine Will into One Fold, and under One Shepherd."

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## 2.—SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY DAYS OF CARDINAL NEWMAN'S CATHOLIC LIFE.

I HAVE been asked to put on paper my recollections of the early days of Cardinal Newman's Catholic life. As I am one of the few survivors of those who had the privilege of living in his society at that time, and, with a single exception, the only one who was present on the occasion of his reception into the Church, it is supposed that I may have many things to say which would be interesting to his friends, and tending, if it were possible, to increase the veneration in which his memory is universally held.

No doubt it ought to be so; but forty-five years is a long time to look back, or to recall the particular details of even important events, when I have no journal, and scarcely any notes to help me.

While, therefore, it is a consolation to me to offer some tribute to one whom I consider my chief benefactor in the highest order of good gifts, and I am persuaded that nothing can be more honourable to him than the bare statement of facts; still I greatly fear that what I have to say, limited as it must be to matters actually remembered, will be found to be meagre and unsatisfactory to those who look for a vivid and entertaining narrative.

It was on the 20th June, 1845, that I first went to Littlemore, on Mr. Newman's kind invitation, an invitation which he studiously withheld until he perceived the bent of my thoughts, and ascertained that I was free from all other engagements. Such was his scrupulous fear of influencing others, while he was himself in a state of uncertainty.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Newman's house at Littlemore has already been described in print, though I do not remember when or by whom.

I may mention, however, that it consisted mainly of a row of five or six small cottages of one storey, which he had purchased, or more probably taken on lease, before they were completed, or at all events before they had been occupied. Whether according to the original plan, or by an alteration of his, the doors, with the exception of that leading to the kitchen, did not open on the public road, but on a court within. The floors were of brick, and the windows and doors those of a common labourer's cottage. At right angles to this row, and connected with it, was another building, which comprised the entrance on the Cowley Road, one or two small rooms, one considerably larger, which

may have been intended for a small barn, and beyond that another room with a chamber over it, which was the only part of the house having a second storey.

The space between these buildings and the walls which separated them from the adjoining premises, was planted with a few shrubs, and on the side of the cottages was an open verandah, protecting to some extent the doors from the wind and rain.

I was most cordially welcomed by Mr. Newman and the friends who were with him at the time. These were A. St. John, J. B. Dalgairns, and F. S. Bowles. The plan of life they followed was simple in the extreme, to the verge of austerity, but was apparently somewhat mitigated from what it had been some years before. There was no written rule, but everything went on in the same course day after day. Mr. Newman, who would allow no affectation of monastic titles, was still commonly called the vicar, as having held the parish of St. Mary, when first he began to reside at Littlemore. There were no servants in the house. A woman from the village came to do the cooking, and a boy was employed in odd jobs throughout the day. Perfect silence was observed in the house, except during the recreation in the library after dinner. The whole of the Breviary Office was said in the Oratory, though not according to the Roman calendar, and with the omission, I think, of the *Suffragia Sanctorum*, and the final antiphon of our Lady, as being expressly contrary to the Anglican Articles.

Matins were said at an early hour in the morning; and I have been told that, during the Advent of 1842, they had made the experiment of rising at midnight for this purpose, on the persuasion of Dalgairns, who had an enthusiastic admiration of the Cistercian Rule. Mr. Newman however considered that it would be imprudent to continue the practice, and it was abandoned.

Besides this, we went twice a day to the Anglican service in the village church. The morning was devoted to study in the library, some who had work in the Bodleian often going to Oxford for that purpose. Mr. Newman was known to be engaged on his work, which afterwards appeared as the *Essay on Development*, and usually devoted about fourteen hours a day to the task. Others were reading various books, but no one, as far as I know, controversial works. I remember that Mr. Newman placed in my hands the *Epistles of St. Jerome*. We took our breakfast standing in the dining-room, and some luncheon also in the middle of the day. In the afternoon it was usual to take a walk, and sometimes Mr. Newman accompanied us, and kept up a most delightful conversation; but I may be allowed to say that he walked along the road and over the commons at such a pace, as

to keep his younger companions on the trot, and almost breathless.

Dinner was at five o'clock with reading, the book at this time being some work of Blossius. Then followed recreation, as we should now call it, in the library, and tea, a most refreshing break in the long silence of the day. During that time we had the full advantage of Mr. Newman's familiar conversation, the charms of which are so well known to many. I do not think religious controversy was ever introduced, and I do not suppose that any one wished to speak on the subject. It seemed to be tacitly admitted that the time for that was past, and that prayer and quiet were the best means of co-operating with the work of divine grace. We had few visitors from Oxford. It was the long vacation, which might account for it, though I surmise there were some remaining in the University who might have been expected to call, had they not been deterred by reports or suspicions of what was likely to happen before long.

However, we frequently saw Copeland, who was serving Littlemore for the vicar of St. Mary's. Others we saw occasionally—Mr. and Mrs. Ward, already Catholics, were living at Rose Hill, between Littlemore and Oxford, but at this time we did not see much of them—Mr. and Mrs. Crawley resided at Littlemore, and we saw them sometimes, as also Mr. Woodmason and his family.

Mr. Newman was occasionally called to London, by some business or other, for a few days, and was at this time sitting; if I am not mistaken, for his miniature by Ross, which was painted for his friend, Mr. Crawley.

Thus three months passed, not unhappily, but with little variety, until, in September, I went to pay a short visit to my friends. Before returning, I wrote to Mr. Newman to tell him that I had made up my mind to seek admission into the Catholic Church, and that I had thoughts of going to Stonyhurst for that purpose. He wrote in answer, on October the 4th, to say that Dalgairns had actually been received on St. Michael's Day by F. Dominic, the Passionist at Aston, and St. John, on October the 2nd, at Prior Park; that the time had come for himself to take the same step, and that F. Dominic was coming to visit him at Littlemore, when he intended to ask for admission. He most kindly invited me to return, to be received with him, but if I could not do so, he approved of my plan of going to Stonyhurst.

This letter I value greatly, and take it to be the first distinct avowal in writing of his definite purpose. The letter which he quotes in the *Apologia*, as addressed to several friends, bears the later date of the 8th October.

I returned to Littlemore on Wednesday the 8th. St. John and

Dalgairs had come back ; Bowles was still there, and J. Walker had also come on a visit.

F. Dominic arrived late in the evening, after I had retired for the night. He was soaked with rain, as I heard—having probably travelled to Oxford on the outside of the coach—and dried himself by the fire. I have heard that Mr. Newman made his Confession, or, at all events, began it that night. In the morning, my impression is that F. Dominic went to Oxford to say Mass, accompanied by St. John, and that they returned, bringing with them an altar-stone, chalice, and the requisites for celebrating the Holy Sacrifice at Littlemore, where a temporary altar was constructed in the Oratory.

In the afternoon he heard the Confession of Bowles and myself, and the evening was appointed for the reception of the three into the Catholic Church. I have already spoken of the Oratory, but have not described it.

It was one of the cottage rooms, perhaps twelve or thirteen feet square. The window was entirely boarded up, and the walls hung with some kind of red cloth. There was a Crucifix between a pair of candlesticks on a small table or altarino, and a high branch-candlestick, to give light for reading the Office.

The ceremony of reconciliation with the Catholic Church took place about eight or nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th October, the feast of St. Denys and Companions. There were present only F. Dominic, the officiant, A. St. John, and J. B. Dalgairns as witnesses, with the three who were received—viz., J. H. Newman, F. S. Bowles, and R. Stanton. The complete rite as in the ritual was followed, with the profession of Faith according to the formula of Pius IV., and baptism *sub conditione*. The next day, the 10th, which, according to the Roman calendar, followed by the celebrant, is the feast of St. Francis Borgia, F. Dominic said Mass, and administered Holy Communion to the converts.

There was no great change in the manner of life at Littlemore, except, of course, what was involved in our withdrawal from the Anglican body. We used to go to Mass at Oxford, a walk of nearly three miles, on Sundays and Thursdays—the only days on which the chapel was opened in those times—and received the sacraments from Mr. Newsham, the resident priest. As the old chapel was in the parish of St. Clement, we were able to reach it without going through the town.

In this way the next four months passed, while we were expecting some plan for the future. Dalgairns, however, left us for Langres, on the invitation of M. Lorain, a Canon of the Cathedral, in whose house he resided, studying for the priesthood under his direction ; and there he remained till after his ordination, when he joined us in Rome. J. Walker, who was received about a week after



the rest, also stayed, and A. J. Christie, already a Catholic, came from London to visit us, but, as I think, did not permanently reside with us till we were settled at Maryvale.

One great difference, however, was that Mr. Newman was frequently absent. He went to see several of the Bishops, and visited some of the principal colleges, especially Oscott, where he received the Sacrament of Confirmation from Mgr. Wiseman, on All Saints' Day, taking the name of Mary, out of long cherished devotion to our Blessed Lady, as well as some religious houses, and a few Catholic families, with whom he had more or less acquaintance.

The result of these visits and consultations was the acceptance of Mgr. Wiseman's generous offer to place the old college of Oscott at our disposal, where we were to begin our ecclesiastical studies, expecting the course of events as to our future.

Before the end of February we were settled at old Oscott, from that time known as Maryvale, the name having been chosen, as I understand, by Christie. Besides Mr. Newman, there were St. John, W. G. Penny, Walker, Christie, Bowles, and Stanton. John Brand Morris was with us for a short time, but removed to the college of Oscott. There was an Italian priest in the house, whose Mass we attended, and who took charge of the Mission, but he lived entirely apart, and did not belong to our society.

Mgr. Wiseman undertook the general direction of our studies, and recommended us, or at least the juniors, to begin with Melchior Canus *de locis*. Now and then he and Dr. Errington would come down from the college, and instruct us in the scholastic method of disputation, as practised in the Roman schools.

It must have been in the earlier months of our residence at Maryvale that Gregory XVI., whose pontificate was drawing to a close, sent a silver Crucifix, with his blessing, to Mr. Newman, and afterwards some other devotional object through Cardinal Acton. It was either at this time, or after our return from Rome in 1848, that Mr. Francis Newman came to pay a visit to his brother. He dined with us, but I think did not stay the night.

In this way the spring and summer of 1846 passed happily and quietly; and in the enjoyment of Mr. Newman's friendship and advice we were content to wait the development of his plans for the future. Meanwhile he and some of his companions received the first Tonsure and the Minor Orders, on the Ember Saturday of Pentecost, the 6th of June.

Towards the end of the summer it was decided, by Mgr. Wiseman's advice, that Mr. Newman should visit Rome, and there wait to receive Holy Orders, and ascertain the pleasure of

the newly elected Pope as to his future course of life. It was thought best that he should be accompanied by St. John only, and that the rest should stay at Maryvale, in readiness to join them if it should be found to be expedient.

It was after the opening of the Church of St. Giles, at Cheadle, on the 1st September, that the two travellers took leave of their companions. We had all been invited to that ceremony, and Mr. Newman was staying with Lord Shrewsbury at Alton Towers for the occasion. I am not clear whether they left England immediately or not; but they travelled slowly, halting at various places by the way. At Langres they were most warmly welcomed by the illustrious bishop, Mgr. Parisis, and numbers of the clergy. They were also presented to Mgr. Mathieu, Archbishop of Besançon, and afterwards Cardinal, by whose conversation Mr. Newman is said to have been much impressed. At Milan they stayed perhaps a month, studying Italian, and there they made the acquaintance of Manzoni and others. They did not reach Rome till the end of October, shortly before the *Possesso* of Pius IX. at St. John Lateran. They took up their abode at the College of Propaganda, which was at that time under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, who treated them with the utmost kindness and consideration, especially the Rector, the distinguished Father Bresciani, for whom Mr. Newman always professed the highest regard.

It was not long before the project of joining the Oratory of St. Philip began seriously to be entertained. It had been spoken of at Littlemore, and Mr. Newman had procured a copy of the old English translation of the "Rule of St. Philip," by Abraham Woodhead. Mr. Newman knew that the plan would find especial favour with Mgr. Wiseman, who had already more than hinted at it, and whose great devotion towards St. Philip led him to write to see his sons established in his district.

In Rome he soon perceived that it would be best adapted to his own tendencies, and the disposition of those who desired to join him, and accordingly opened the subject to Mgr. Brunelli, the secretary of the S. Congregation of the Propaganda. This prelate was greatly pleased with the scheme, and took an early opportunity of laying it before Pius IX. His Holiness expressed his warmest approbation, and that no time might be lost in carrying it out, charged Mr. Newman to call to Rome such of his friends as desired to associate themselves with him.

Thus the household at Maryvale was broken up for the time. Walker went to the college at Oscott, not being disposed to undertake the journey, and Christie returned to London. Penny and Stanton started for Rome in Lent, and were soon followed by Bowles.

As the Pope had not yet determined the place of their residence, the new comers found hospitality at the Retreat of the Passionist Fathers at the Convent of Sts. John and Paul. There they were joined by Bowles and Dalgairns, who came from France already a priest, and soon after by R. A. Coffin, who was then staying in Rome. Meanwhile Mr. Newman and St. John remained at Propaganda, where they were ordained priests by Cardinal Franzoni, on Trinity Sunday, 1847, Father Newman celebrating his first Mass in a chapel of that college on the festival of Corpus Christi.

It was the end of June before the Pope placed the little community under one roof, in the Cistercian Monastery of Santa Croce, in Gerusalemme, and appointed Father Carlo Rossi, of the Roman Oratory, to be their instructor in the Rule and Discipline of the Congregation of St. Philip. Although no time was lost, all could not be assembled till the beginning of July, and consequently the Festival of the Visitation of Our Lady was considered as the day of the first formation of the English Congregation of the Oratory, being the day on which our Founder assumed the habit of St. Philip.

At this point I must bring to a close this very hasty and meagre account of the first months of the Catholic life of the great Cardinal who has so lately been taken from us. The only credit I can lay claim to is the accuracy in the relation of facts, which I think I have secured as far as possible by submitting these notes to the revision of Father Bowles, and supplying certain deficiencies with the help of his observations.

RICHARD M. STANTON,  
Priest of the Oratory.

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### 3.—CARDINAL NEWMAN; OR, "TIS FIFTY YEARS SINCE."

**A**MONG the many indications marking the different phases of religious thought in England, perhaps none is more noteworthy than the way in which the death of our venerable Cardinal has been received by the English non-Catholic public. The public press, the surest test of public opinion, when all political and religious parties are agreed on any point, has spoken unmistakably its estimate of this great Catholic, and of the work of his lifetime. They have spoken of his death as a public loss,

the passing away of one of the grandest intellects of our age, worthy to be ranked with an Origen, an Athanasius, an Augustine—of a soul most lovable and tender, straightforward, honest, and truthful to conscience in all that he has done or written.

But the words of our beloved Cardinal Archbishop, spoken in the London Oratory, at the Solemn Mass of Requiem, say all this better far than words of mine.

“ If any proof were needed of the immeasurable work that John Henry Newman has wrought in England, the last week would be enough. None could doubt that the great multitude of his personal friends in the first half of his life, and the still greater multitude of those who have been instructed, consoled, and won to God by the unequalled beauty, the irresistible persuasion of his writings, at such a time as this, would pour out the love and gratitude of their hearts.

“ But that the public voice of England, political and religious, in all its diversities, should, for once, unite in love and veneration of a man who had broken through its sacred barriers and defied its religious prejudices, who could have believed it?

“ He had committed the unpardonable sin in England. He had rejected the whole Tudor Settlement in religion. He had become Catholic, as our fathers were; and yet, for no one in our memory has such a heartfelt and loving veneration been poured out. Some one (a non-Catholic writer) has said: ‘ Whether Rome canonises him or not, he will be canonised in the thoughts of pious people of many creeds in England.’ This is true; but I will not therefore say that the mind of England is changed. Nevertheless, it must be said that, towards a man who has done so much to estrange it, the will of the English people was changed; the old malevolence had passed into good will.

“ If this is a noble testimony to a great Christian life, it is as noble a proof of the justice, equity, and uprightness of the English people. In venerating John Henry Newman it has unconsciously revealed and honoured itself.”

“ In the history of this great life, and of all that it has done, we cannot forget that we owe to him, among other debts, one singular achievement. No one who does not intend to be laughed at, will henceforward say that the Catholic religion is fit only for weak intellects and unmanly brains. This superstition of pride is over. The author of the ‘ Grammar of Assent ’ may make them think twice before they so expose themselves. Again, the designer and editor of the ‘ Library of the Fathers ’ has planted himself on the undivided Church of the first six centuries; and he holds the field; the key of the position is lost.”



These are great words, pregnant of meaning. They will be remembered in connection with our two great Cardinals, so long as the "History of England" is read. For they mark the last half century of England's history and of the history of religion, which is inseparable from that of the English people, in whom is so deeply rooted the natural religious instinct.

Every thinking man in England is either a believer or a non-believer in Christianity. Few profess to be indifferent on the matter. Few are disbelievers in Christianity; fewer still are Atheists. Every man, even if he is a non-believer, yet a man of some education and reflection, knows that Christianity has been the religion of all the most enlightened nations of the world for the greater part of twenty centuries, and of most of their greatest men, philosophers, statesmen, men of learning, and letters.

He knows that it began with the poor; at the first, "not many rich, not many noble, not many learned were called." But gradually it spread among the learned and the noble, who were converted through beholding the lives of extraordinary virtue and heroism even to martyrdom, of poor working men and women, the modesty of Christian virgins, many of them, both men and women, their own slaves, as most of the working-class were in those ages of Imperial Rome. He knows that it was nothing but Christianity that created Christendom, where Heathendom had lain, infecting for ages all God's fair earth, like the corrupting bones and corpses in Ezekiel's vision.

It was Christianity that bid these corpses rise and live, that breathed into the dead world the Spirit from God, the spirit of charity and of liberty. For liberty is man's conscious power of self-government, through aid of a new light and a new force, which was not in human nature before the coming of Christ. It was this new consciousness of the "perfect law of liberty," of the liberty of the children of God, which gave to every Christian an intimate sense of right, and of duty to God and to all that God had made, and to "the powers that be, which are ordained by God." It taught the right of every man to live and to possess the fruits of his toil; and in matters between his soul and God, to follow his own conscience, to be free from all human dictation in matter of religion. Such was the Charter of the Gospel, and such was the Christianity which was the creation of the Gospel, and which converted the world.

But there are some who admit all this, as historical fact, and yet say, we do not believe any longer in Christianity. If they are asked why, they will say, because Christianity, now, is not like Primitive Christianity. We could believe in that as a revelation from heaven. It proved itself by its fruits. It appealed to the people, to the working classes, to the masses of mankind. It was

the very mark of Christ's religion that "to the poor the Gospel was preached." It endured three hundred years of martyrdom, yet it conquered the world; its strength was in weakness; it could not be human, it could not but have been divine.

So reasoned the men of the Oxford movement, when they began to put out the *Tracts for the Times* in 1833, and it was the spirit of John Henry Newman that inspired that whole movement.

These men of the Church of England believed firmly in Christianity as a divine revelation, and in Christ, as "God manifest in the Flesh"—"Emmanuel, God with us." They studied the New Testament, and the Primitive Christian writers, who were the immediate disciples of the Apostles, and of their immediate successors; the writings of St. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, of St. Irenæus his disciple, and St. Justin, the martyr. They went on to study SS. Cyprian, Cyril, Athanasius, Augustine, and the rest.

It was to this study that they were sent by the authoritative canons of the Church of England, as the best commentaries on Scripture, and the rule that the founders of the Anglican Church professed to have followed.

The men of the Oxford movement had thus formed for themselves what they believed to be the typical form of Primitive Christianity.

They turned then to compare it with the Christianity of the Church of England, and the more they contemplated the contrast, the more were they astounded and horrified at the prospect before them. They asked why was this. They did not stop at details, but went at once to the last reason of the thing.

They observed that the supreme characteristic of Primitive Christianity was an intense conviction that the Church was a divine power in the world: the visible kingdom of the God of heaven foretold by Daniel, gifted by its Divine Author with "the Spirit of truth," of which Christ had said: "I will send to you the Spirit of truth, that He may guide you into all truth, and that He may abide with you for ever;" and again, in our Lord's last words ever spoken on earth, "All power is given to Me in heaven and upon earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things I have commanded you, and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."

They turned to St. Irenæus, the disciple of S. Polycarp, who was himself the disciple of S. John, and who wrote within fifty years of the Apostles. They found there, set forth, in the most luminous manner, that Primitive Christianity adhered to the

teaching of a living body, already called the Catholic or universal Church, spread everywhere. Pagan writers like Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny have testified to this, as a fact known to all, within fifty years of the death of Christ. Of the Church, Irenæus speaks as a witness, from within, to the same fact, to which Pagan historians witnessed, from without. "This preaching and this faith, "once delivered to the Apostles by Christ, the Church having "received, though she be spread throughout the whole world, "carefully guards, as inhabiting *one* house, as having *one* soul, "and the *same* heart, and delivers down as having *one* mouth. "Nor have the Churches of Germany believed otherwise, nor of "Spain, nor Gaul, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Syria, "nor those of the middle of the world. But, as the sun, God's "creature, throughout the world, is one and the same; so, too, the "preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and enlightens all men "that are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth."

"There being such proofs to look to, we ought not to seek "elsewhere for the truth, which it is easy to receive from the "Church, since the Apostles most fully committed unto this "Church, as unto a rich storehouse, all which is of the truth. "For this is the gate of life; all the rest are thieves and robbers. "They must, therefore, be avoided; but whatever may be of the "Church, we must love with the utmost diligence, and lay "hold of the tradition of the truth."

The teaching of S. Irenæus was seen to be one and the same with that of the earlier and later Fathers. I have selected his words, because they witness to the belief of the whole Church of the second century, of the Eastern portion of Christendom, of which Irenæus was a native, and of the Western portion also, for he was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, when he wrote, and where he suffered martyrdom.

The men of the Oxford movement saw that Christians were no longer a united body, that the Protestant principle of the Bible, interpreted by each man's private judgment, had utterly destroyed all unity of doctrine, and all idea of any divine authority residing in the Church and having the power and right to say what interpretations of Scripture were right, and what were wrong. Hence the endless multitude of Dissenting Sects in England, all offshoots from the Established Church.

They saw, too, that in the Church of England, the whole power of deciding what was to be taught in that Church, was vested in the Sovereign, by Act of Parliament, and depended in reality on the varying phases of public opinion, as represented by Parliament.

It seemed to them that the only thing to be done was to appeal to the Christian public opinion of the country, and to

endeavour powerfully to act upon that. This decided them to put forward, in the "Tracts for the Times," in the clearest manner, the contrast between Primitive Christianity, and the actual Christianity of the Church of England.

It was for the same reason that Newman projected and carried out the great work of translating the principal Fathers of the early centuries.

When Newman projected the "Library of the Fathers" he had certainly not the smallest suspicion that the movement would issue, through logical sequence, from premiss to conclusion, in his obligation in conscience to become, what he would then have called, a Roman Catholic.

This comes out clearly in his "Apologia," and in his "Anglican Difficulties," and it is noteworthy, because Newman has often been accused of being a Papist in disguise. He tells us that, when he began the "Tracts for the Times," in 1833, he believed that the Church of the Roman Communion was anti-Christian and idolatrous, in fact, that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of prophecy.

In the December of the year before, he had started with his friend Hurrell Froude, and others, on a tour in Italy, and spent some time in Rome. He received no religious impressions there. He says: "We kept out of the way of Catholics throughout our 'tour.'" He went, in short, as most tourists go, with all the prejudices in which he had been brought up, and which he never doubted were a true and just view of things. He saw all things through this medium of prejudice, and came back as he had started. He says, speaking of his stay in Rome: "As to Church 'services, we attended the *Tenebræ* at the Sistine Chapel, but 'for the sake of the *Miserere*, that was all.'" He went only to hear the famous music of the Papal choir, which, as a born musician, he was able fully to appreciate. He says: "My general 'feeling was, 'All, save the spirit of man, is divine.'" He parted from his friends in Rome, and made a journey by himself through Sicily. There, he was taken dangerously ill with fever. His servant thought he would die, but he kept saying to himself: "I shall not die; I have a work to do in England. I shall not 'die, for I have not sinned against light.'" In his illness in Sicily he was visited by the priest of the place, who had heard, probably from his Catholic servant, that an Englishman was dying, and would not send for a priest. Newman was too ill to talk. He says: "I felt inclined to enter into controversy with 'him.'" But he had no thought of availing himself of his spiritual services. Referring to his Diary (June 1833) he says: "I was aching to get home. I felt I had a work to do. At 'Palermo I was kept three weeks waiting for a vessel. I began



“ to visit the churches, and they calmed my impatience. I did not attend any service. I knew nothing of the presence of the Blessed Sacrament there. At last I got off in an orange-boat bound for Marseilles. We were becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio. Then it was that I wrote the lines, ‘Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom.’ ”

He arrived, at last, at Oxford about the second week of July. He writes: “On the following Sunday (July 14) Mr. Keble preached the ‘Assize Sermon’ in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of ‘National Apostacy.’ I have ever considered and kept that day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.”

It was now that the work began, on which he had been ruminating during his journey and his illness, when he said: “I have a work to do in England. I shall not die; I have not sinned against the light.”

Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom  
Lead thou me on.  
I do not ask to see the distant scene,  
*One step* enough for me.

“One step” was clear to him. It was to act, as we have said above, on Christian public opinion, and, if possible, bring back England to the truth, unity, and fervour of Primitive Christianity. The means he devised for this end was principally the “Tracts for the Times,” and the “Translations of the Early Fathers.” Another most important instrument was placed in his hands—the parochial pulpit of St. Mary’s University and parish church, of which he had been appointed Vicar. Newman’s beautiful series of historical sketches called the “Church of the Fathers” was published for the same end. He says: “The ‘Church of the Fathers’ is one of the earliest productions of the movement, and appeared, in numbers, in the *British Magazine*, being written with the aim of introducing the religious sentiments, views, and customs of the first ages of the Church into the modern Church of England.”

The translation of Fleury’s “Church History” was also projected, and intended, to make English Churchmen familiar with the history of the early councils of the Church, of the controversies on which they pronounced definitive judgment, and by which the creeds used in the Anglican Church were framed; and developed, in order more fully to define the “faith once delivered” by the Apostles, and thus to meet each new attack of rationalising heresy. Thus the work progressed from 1833 to 1841. Of this time, Newman writes: “So I went on for years up to 1841. It was, in a human point of view, the happiest time of my life.”

“ . . . . We prospered and spread. . . . The Anglo-Catholic party (as it is called) suddenly became a power in the National Church, and an object of alarm to her rulers and friends. . . . It seemed as if those doctrines were in the air, and that the movement was the birth of a crisis rather than of a place or party. In a very few years, a school of opinion had been formed, fixed in its principles, indefinite and progressive in their range; and it extended itself into every part of the country. Nay, the movement and its party-names (Puseyite, Newmanite, Tractarian), were known to the police of Italy, and to the backwood-men of America. . . . And so it proceeded, getting stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the nation and the Church of the nation; which it began by professing, especially, to serve.”

The “Tracts for the Times” and the “Library of the Fathers” obtained a wide circulation, and formed a school in the Church of England. They may be said to have, in a sense, created the present Church of England. For very few Churchmen would now deny that Christianity is essentially connected with a visible Church, which, at least in General Council, would be infallible. The claim of every Churchman is, that the Church of England is a part of the Catholic Church of the days of SS. Irenæus, Cyprian, and Cyril, and the rest.

They avoid thinking of their separation from the rest of Christendom, under the “Tudor settlement” of the Church of England, by law established and by authority of Parliament, as a National Church. They have no theory of the Visible Unity of the Church, which fits in with the visible fact of disunion, and they take refuge in words which, if they mean anything, have reference only to the invisible Church, which Catholics also admit, but in which they would charitably include every soul that is right with God, dissenters of all shades, and possibly even some Pagans, according to the teaching of the great Jesuit theologians, such as De Lugo, Suarez, and others.

But to return to our narrative. Several important public events brought out more and more clearly, in the minds of Newman and of those who acted with him, the absolute *Erastianism*, or complete dependence on the State, of the Church of England. The Whigs were in office; Liberalism in religion was in the ascendant. The appointment of Dr. Hampden, one of the leading clergy of the Liberal or Broad Church school, suspected of Arian or Socinian leanings, to a bishopric, against the vehement protest of the University of Oxford and of many of the bishops, showed this complete servitude to the State, and to the Prime Minister of the day, who happened to have a majority in the House of Commons.

Then came a project of the Government, to which the bishops assented, to establish, in concert with Prussia, an Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, who was to rule over Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans, and to hold communion, if they saw their way, with Nestorians, and Eutychians—heretics condemned by the General Councils, by which the Anglican Church, in her canons, professed to be bound. An Act of Parliament was passed to enable the Archbishop of Canterbury, by royal authority, to consecrate this bishop. The Archbishop consented, saying, as he had said in the case of Dr. Hampden, that he had no authority against an Act of Parliament and the royal supremacy over the Church.

This had the effect, as it were, of a *revelation* on the men of the Oxford movement. They began to see more clearly that the Church of England was, by its very constitution, simply a department of the State, and they saw moreover that this condition of things in the Church of England had continued all along, ever since the false step taken in the sixteenth century, when the English sovereign, with the full consent of the bishops, and by Act of Parliament, made himself head of the Church, and through his Law Courts, "in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, Supreme." A few years later, after Newman had left the Church of England, this same servitude of the Established Church to the State was brought out, even more clearly, in the decision of the Law Courts, in the *Gorham case*, by which the doctrine of regeneration in baptism was made an open question in the Church of England. It was this *revelation* of the Royal Supremacy in matters of doctrine and discipline that led to Newman's secession, and to that of his immediate disciples. It was the *revelation*, in the *Gorham case*, that was the immediate cause that led to the submission to the Church of Archdeacon Manning, and of those who, like the Wilberforces, Hope Scott, and a host of others, became Catholics about the same time as our Cardinal Archbishop. It was he who, at that time, said: "The *Gorham case* is a *revelation* to us; it has opened our eyes to the false step made by the Church of England under the Tudor settlement." When some were deliberating what to do, whether to submit to the Pope, or to form a *Free Church of England*, independent of the State, it was Manning who spoke memorable words. "No," said he, "three hundred years ago we left a good ship for a boat; I am not going to leave a boat for a tub."

However, in 1841, the leaders of the movement had not got so far as to think of leaving the Church of England. They still hoped. Newman writes: "I thought that the Anglican Church was tyrannised over by a mere party." Their hope was that they might be able gradually to influence the Christian public opinion

of the country, and draw it to a desire of returning to *Primitive Christianity* and the *Church of the Fathers*.

They did not then see that the Catholic Church is the Visible Kingdom of God upon earth, essentially one, and visibly united in its Head, the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, whom Christ had made the centre of unity, and placed on that "chair of truth," against which He had declared "the gates of hell" should not prevail against it."

Newman, eminently, and for long years, had made the history of the early centuries of Christianity the matter of his profound study. We, his disciples (for I came under the influence of his mind about 1839 or 1840) were directed by his writings into the same line of study. We knew that the Fathers, St. Athanasius, St. Leo, and the rest, whom we took as trustworthy witnesses of the faith of the Primitive Church, were the chief agents in preserving the Church from Arian, Nestorian, Eutychian, and other errors, especially by means of the General Councils, which expressed the infallible authority of the Church; and we saw that if it had not been for the perpetual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Church, it would have been impossible for the faith to have been preserved, amidst the revolts of rationalising Christians, Alexandrian Platonists, and Jews and hair-splitting Greek Sophists.

But we saw no less clearly that the Church of England had become little more than a department of the State, and that it had helplessly abdicated all claim to an independent judgment in all matters of religious faith.

We perceived also, gradually, and were helped to see it, through Newman's supereminent knowledge of ecclesiastical history, that the Bishop of Rome had always been the supreme agent in keeping the whole Church united; in the Councils, also, he always had held the most prominent place, as well by his legates who presided, as by his sanction of their decrees; which were considered binding on the whole Church, only when they had received his approval.

Moreover, the more we read these early Christian writers, the more clearly did we see that, besides the doctrines which the Church of England held in common with Rome, nearly every doctrine which the English Reformation had rejected, was held to be part and parcel of the Christian faith by those authorities of early Christianity—I mean such doctrines as the Real Presence and Sacrifice of the Mass, so clearly taught by St. Clement of Rome, who speaks of the "Eucharistic Offering to God," which has succeeded to the oblations at the altar in the Old Law. St. Ignatius, of Antioch, again says, speaking of certain heretics, "They abstain from the Eucharist and the Oblations, because



“ they do not confess that the Eucharist is Flesh of our Saviour “ Jesus Christ, the Flesh which suffered for our sins, which the “ Father in His mercy raised again,” &c. St. Justin, the martyr, and St. Irenæus, are equally explicit. Well do I remember the first time when, at Oxford, I read these and many similar testimonies, in the “ Library of the Fathers,” especially a long passage in the “ Catechetical Instructions ” of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in which he says that the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, as truly as the water was changed into wine at the marriage of Cana in Galilee.

In short, we became convinced that, on these doctrines, as also on those of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the honour due to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and our right to ask their prayers, and last but not least, on the authority of the Pope; or as St. Irenæus calls it, “ the superior Headship of the Church, founded “ at Rome by SS. Peter and Paul, to which Church all Churches “ and all the faithful in the whole world were bound to have “ recourse, or to be united with it in communion,” the ancient Church and the Church of the Roman communion were substantially agreed.

These studies had led many of us to think seriously, that it might be our duty at once to make our submission to the Catholic Church, which we saw had its centre at Rome, and, as it would seem, was by divine institution, head of the visible Church.

Newman was not as yet convinced that the Roman supremacy over all Churches was a matter of divine institution. He thought it was in the mind of our Lord, in His words to Peter, as the normal condition of the Church; but he then supposed it was only *indirectly* of divine, but was *directly* of ecclesiastical institution. It was only in 1844, when he had reviewed all his studies, throughout more than fifteen years, of the Fathers and the Councils, and of the whole course of ecclesiastical history, that in the course of writing his “ Essay on Development,” he came to the conclusion that the supremacy of the Pope was the key-stone of the arch, and that it was his own indispensable duty in conscience, to submit himself to the Roman obedience.

Thus, as I have shown, a fundamental revolution had been taking place in our idea of the Church, and of Christianity. For the first time, the vision of the world-wide Church, in its majestic unity, had come before us. We saw it, for the first time, not as we had supposed it to be, an aggregate of congregations—a voluntary union of spiritual families, but as a world-wide essentially united kingdom—the Kingdom as shown to the Prophet Daniel, like to a stone cut from a mountain without hand, set up by the God of heaven, which was to be gradually developed until it became a mountain filling the whole earth, destined to last

for ever. Of this world-wide Church, we know the Church of England was once a portion. How it could form any part of that unity, since its separation 300 years before, we could not see.

From the moment that we were convinced that the charges against the Roman communion, of being idolatrous, anti-Christian, and the rest, had been answered, they were completely banished from our minds. The fact that it formed the vast majority of Catholic Christendom, necessarily took away the chief ground of our Protestant position. Sides were changed; we saw that we had to defend our *protest*, or else yield to the authority we had protested against.

But Newman and others of our leaders had not, as yet, come to this point. They thought Rome was right in claiming the headship of the Church; but they also considered that a legitimate claim may be pushed too far. They reflected that there had been abuses in the Papal relations with England, in old times, demands for large money payments, and for the grant of the incomes of English Bishoprics and other rich benefices, in favour of Italian ecclesiastics, which had been a grievance in old times, against which English Catholic sovereigns had uniformly protested.

These, and other things had led, first to a coolness on the part of the English towards Rome, in Catholic times, and this had grown up, especially, during the days of the anti-popes, when rival Pontiffs each claimed the obedience of Catholics, and the justice of the claim of each was so open to doubt, that England embraced the obedience of one Pope, France and Scotland of another, and Spain at one time owned the authority of a third claimant. In fact, the contention between the popes and anti-popes was, to a great extent, a battle of rival nationalities.

Such historical difficulties, and many others, helped to complicate the question, and the result was that the most of us resolved to stay by Newman; doubting the soundness of our own conclusions to which, with far greater knowledge, he had not arrived.

Three of us younger men, however, went off, and were received into the Catholic Church; and it is somewhat singular that these three men were Scotsmen, Johnstone Grant, of St. John's College, now a Jesuit; Edward Douglas, of Christ Church, now a Redemptorist; and his friend Scott-Murray, squire of Danesfield, deceased. I was soon to be another Scotsman added to the list. I suppose our coming from Jacobite and Scotch Episcopalian stocks, and not being so rooted as Englishmen are, in favour of everything English, left us freer to criticise and condemn Church of England Christianity.

Our secession was decided by several things: The publication by Newman of *Tract 90*, the object of which was to show that

there was no need to go to Rome, because we found nearly all Roman doctrines were taught in the Primitive Church, although rejected or neglected by the Church of England; because the 39 Articles were not articles of faith, but an attempt at compromise. They were intended to include Puritans, and *Catholics* who were ready to give up the Pope. This confirmed our growing convictions—our disgust with the Church of England was all but complete, and it only increased this disgust, if it could be shown that her founders had deliberately ventured to obscure the old religion, by what Newman had called “the stammering “words of ambiguous formularies.”

The *Tract* made a great stir throughout the University and the country; but, as every one knows, the interpretation of the *Articles* was furiously repudiated by the Anglican bishops, and by the Protestant public-opinion of the country. The bigotry and intolerance of the Puritan party was stirred to a white heat. Newman saw that his attempt to find terms of reconciliation, and to speak of the creed of Rome, as substantially identical, differing only on minor points, from Primitive Christianity, with which the Anglican Church professed to agree—had failed. But the truth has proclaimed itself trumpet-tongued throughout the English-speaking world.

It has in our day come to be admitted by all. It is now, I think, twenty years, since I copied the following passage from the *Saturday Review*, no friend, as we know, to Catholics, nor to the Catholicising movement in the Church of England: “The “distinctive principle of the English Reformation was an appeal “to Christian antiquity, as admirable, and probably as imaginary, as the ‘Golden Age’ of the poets. The era of the “Protestant Reformation was before the age of accurate historical criticism. The true method of historical criticism was as “yet uncreated, and it is not too much to say, that, whatever “accurate knowledge we now possess of the Church of the first “centuries, has been obtained within the last fifty years, and “that a better acquaintance with the remains of antiquity has “convinced us that many doctrines and practices, which have “been commonly accounted to be peculiarities of later Romanism, “existed in the best and purest ages of Christianity.”

No one could ignore Newman's part in this remarkable change in public opinion, and in the historical judgment of educated men of whatever creed, or of no creed at all. It is this which Cardinal Manning expresses, when he says: “The designer and editor of the ‘Library of the Fathers,’ has “planted himself on the undivided Church of the first six centuries of Christianity; and he holds the field. The key of the “position is lost.” The old Anglican claim to hold a *via media*

on the basis of Christian antiquity, between Catholic Christendom on the one side, and Protestantism on the other, has been for ever exploded.

The second thing which hastened my submission to the Catholic Church was the reading of a Catholic book, Milner's "End of Controversy." Some years before I had taken the book away from my friend Johnstone Grant, to whom it had been given by a Catholic priest in London. I rated him soundly for reading a Catholic book, told him he had no more right to read it, than to study a Socinian or Infidel book. The book lay in my drawer in college.

Newman's sermons and Pusey's writings, on baptismal grace and post-baptismal sin, had wrought in me a moral revolution, and a terrible fear that I had lost God for ever. I saw myself baptised Christian and, therefore, once a temple of God. But through the sins of childhood and of thoughtless youth, reduced to a state in which I could not doubt that I had lost the grace of God, and my soul had become a dwelling-place of devils. Anglican theology taught clearly, in its Prayer Book and Catechism, almost as clearly as it is taught in the Catholic Catechism, that souls are regenerated in Baptism. But it tells of no other Sacrament by which sins committed after Baptism may be remitted. At that day, no one thought of proving the belief of the Church of England in the Sacrament of Penance, Confession, and Priestly Absolution, from the few words about the absolving power in the Anglican *ordination service*, and in that for the *visitation of the sick*. Any one who wishes to do so, may find the doctrine there. I had never heard of it, until, in an hour of deep mental distress, I turned over the pages of *Milner's End of Controversy*. There I first heard of the Sacrament of reconciliation after post-baptismal sin, and it was *Milner* that sent me to the Anglican Prayer Book, for proof that the Church of England admitted, in theory, the same doctrine on this point, as had always and everywhere been, not only taught, but practised in the Catholic Church.

This discovery was a great relief to my mind, but it did not increase my confidence in the Church of England. There were the "stammering words of ambiguous formularies" once more. What was to be said of a Church which had so obscured a divine ordinance for the remission of sin—a Sacrament therefore, by its own definition; to quote the words of the Catechism: "A Sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us; ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."

Here then was a Sacrament, so necessary for salvation, which



had practically fallen into complete disuse in the Church of England for 300 years!

It was difficult to try Confession in the Anglican Church. However, I made the attempt, as at least a moral discipline. Archdeacon Manning, whom I knew, was in Oxford, for it was his turn to preach the University sermon. I went to Confession to him in Merton College Chapel, his own college. It was a relief to me for a time. He also gave me excellent advice, and, I think, counselled me to put myself under Newman, and try to remain and take Orders in the Anglican Church. I tried to do so. I was admitted, by Newman's great kindness, as one of his first companions at Littlemore. I remained with him about a year. The life was something like what we had read of in the "Lives of the Fathers of the Desert"—of prayer, fasting, and study. We rose at midnight to recite the Nocturnal office of the Roman Breviary. I remember, direct invocation of Saints was omitted, and, instead, we asked God that the Saint of the day might pray for us. I think we passed an hour in private prayer, and, for the first time, I learned what *meditation* meant. We fasted every day till twelve, and in Lent and Advent till five. There was some mitigation on Sundays and the greater festivals. We went to Communion at the village church and to the service there, morning and evening, every day; we went to Confession every week. Once after Confession I said to Newman, "Are you sure you have the power of giving absolution?" He paused, and then said in a tone of deep distress, "Why will you ask me? Ask Pusey." This was, I think, in the spring of 1843. It was the first indication I had received that Newman had begun seriously to doubt his position in the Anglican Church. I see from his "Apologia" that his doubts, as to whether the Church of Rome was not altogether in the right, and the Church of England wholly in the wrong, had taken root in his mind about that time.

I had promised him, soon after going to Littlemore, that I would stay three years. He had made it a condition. I gave the promise, but after a year I found it impossible to keep it. With great grief I left my dear master, and made my submission to the Catholic Church. My secession led to Newman's resigning his parish. His last sermon, as an Anglican, was preached at Littlemore. It is entitled "The Parting of Friends." He thought he was compromised by my act, and he was much displeased with me for breaking my promise.

After two years, he and his other companions at Littlemore were received into the Church.

We left the Church of England with grief. All the good we knew, we had learned there; we had been led step by step by

God's grace, but we left, because we could not close our eyes to the fact that the Church of England was no part of a Visible Church; rather than separate from which Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and hundreds of others have laid down their lives in martyrdom.

Almost the first thing Newman did after his reception into the Church was to take the trouble to come all the way to Ratcliffe College, in Leicestershire, where I was studying, to see me, in order to show that he blamed me no longer. A year after I was ordained priest I went to see him, when he was living in community with Father Faber, Dalgairns and others at St. Wilfrid's in Staffordshire. They had all been ordained. I remember he *would* serve my Mass, as an act of humility and affection. Since that time I have always paid him an annual visit at the Oratory, Birmingham, where he always received me with the most cordial affection. When I first went to Rome, as representative there of my Order, that of the Fathers of Charity, founded by Rosmini, he gave me, as Cardinal, a letter to the Pope. This introduction has been, for the last eight years, of immense service to me in Rome.

Soon after Easter of this year I paid him my last visit. He sent for me to come to him, before he rose in the morning, saying that after dressing, he might feel himself too much exhausted to receive me. I found him weak, weak indeed, in body, but as bright and clear in mind as ever. I told him news from Rome which I knew would interest him. He listened with all his old intensity of thought: fully appreciated the facts and the situation of matters ecclesiastical and political.

I knelt down; took his hand, and kissed it. I felt sure I should not see him again. I thanked him for all the good he had done me, since, under God, he had been, as I hoped, the instrument of my salvation. I asked his blessing, which he gave me with great earnestness, simplicity, and tenderness. Three months later I stood by his bier.

O, great and holy soul, remember us with God, and may our prayers and masses avail to thine eternal rest and peace.

WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon.

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#### 4.—CARDINAL NEWMAN: OUR LOSS, AND NOW OUR GAIN.

##### A TRIBUTE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ANGLICANISM.

WHY should we mourn for him? Rather, our period of mourning is over. It had lasted long, and the snapping of the last frail link of earthly life has now reunited us to him in a more intense and inseparable bond. Death has not built up, but removed the partition. He who is thus given back to those who loved and honoured him, sheds spiritual influence in a wider sphere than could be commanded from the retreat at Littlemore, or the Oratory at Birmingham. The Master in Israel renews his presence to his bereaved disciples. He seemed awhile a star of far-off ray, he now fills an orbit of nearer splendour.

His work, as a whole, cannot be duly estimated, even by the standards of time, until a longer period has elapsed. As with all great men who were greatest in the region of thought, its probate is deferred. But his character and personality are an heritage of immediate value. That *mitis sapientia* which takes the sting from controversy; that innate nobleness which touches with something of its own lustre all who approach it, because it has first quenched every spark of self-seeking; the severe logic, ascetically dry, four-square and analytical; the rich imagination which deals contrariwise in largely integrated and highly rounded forms; the heart of love which ever gives its best and grudges not, which robs of austerity the hard mechanism of intellect, and oils every valve of human intercourse—all these were met in him, and live not in memory only, as a mere picture on the dead wall of the past, but as a living study of an eye undimmed—of that single-eyed faith which sees all things from an undisturbed focus, and finds its standards of judgment in the pure ideals of holiness.

But we have around us that chorus of Babel, the sectaries of all denominations, striking for once the unwonted note of concord and harmony, as a tribute to something in the man which has penetrated them. What can that be, for his saintliness was not of the type familiar to them? It is probably the man's unalloyed genuineness which compels their homage. The inward and outward wholeness of sincerity, which formed the grain of his character, pillars itself aloft over their heads like a monolith of crystal, and has a self-luminous power which draws all eyes. In their homage to that, their differences are for a moment hushed.

A great spirit passing on its way, laying down the shell of mortality, and paying that tribute to the perishable, which all both small and great must pay, strikes a deep chord of human sympathy. But this is common to statesmen, warriors, and world-ruling magnates—to Wolsey and Richelieu. But then there comes in the spiritual power which fascinates even the least saintly, whose lines were the furthest removed from its ruling principle. Let men waste themselves as they will on a thousand trifles ; there is that in a consistent sacrifice of all secondary ends to one primary, and that the highest known, which shows by contrast as a diamond amidst paste imitations. Each bubble-chaser holds his breath and bows the head with awe at the glimpse of a great truth lived through to the end and emphasized by death. Worldly discords are hushed in a throb of genuine feeling, which unifies for a moment the thoughtful part of humanity with the thoughtless, as the seal of completeness is set on a great example of self-devotion.

The fascination of John Henry Newman lay in what he was ; more in the open book of his own life than in the volumes which he wrote, and the deep things which he taught. From any stirring share in human affairs he had long ceased ; but there remained, after all that he did was done, that which he *was*—indelible, as powerful in his quiet life-haven at the Oratory, as it had been when he was the foremost figure in theological strife—nay, sweeping a wider radius of influence now than it could do then ; for then it was by circumstances limited to the few who knew and loved the man, but now it circles round the world wherever moral forces are acknowledged, as it were on a tide-wave of emotion. He became so popular because he had always lived above popularity. Not that he disdained it, for his moral mould was too large for the littleness of disdain, but took it as a homage, not to himself, but to the truth for which he lived. Lord Bacon's adage, that the multitude pay homage readily to the commonplace virtues, while the highest of all obtain from them the rarest recognition, was in his case reversed. Few men of our or any day have lived their principles so thoroughly ; but, beyond this, he had the threefold power which perceived those principles by intuition, impressed them by ratiocination, and stamped them upon others by his character. His own record of his struggles shows that his charming harmony of various tones was not reached at once, and the "Kindly Light," whose leading he invoked, came gradually on his path.

Even those who had least sympathy with the deeper essence of his nature were struck by the mental and moral symmetry which marked its workings, the masterful yet graceful strength of his controversial attitude, the directness of point, yet needle-delicacy



of touch, the force of matter and courtesy of manner—in short, the thoroughbred style which expressed the man, and made it impossible to him to execute a clumsy movement, or give an unfair blow. Refined natures only would appreciate that chivalry of strength, most forcible when sympathizing with weakness; and that shrinking from all that soils the surface where all within was sensitively pure, which mark the gentleman by nature. In some secondary points, especially in the fine interplay of æsthetic qualities, in the genuine *timbre* of all the lighter notes in every chord, he often reminds one of Charles Lamb.

Where a life has reserved nothing in its self-sacrifice, there is less need and less consciousness of reserve in human intercourse. Hence the perfect affability of Newman, the readiness with which he replied to, and the graciousness with which he acknowledged, the respectful approaches of his juniors. The large heart seemed always open; and he who had outlived all his contemporaries found still troops of friends around him, and a crowd of disciples who knew him at second or third hand only, and yet felt as distinct a fascination of his reality as though some electric band united them with those who had sat at his feet at Oxford forty years ago. The following example of his accessibility is among many which can be personally guaranteed. One of these disciples of the aftergrowth, shortly after Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate, wrote, enclosing a copy of a theological serial, containing an article against infidelity, founded in part on a passage in one of the "Plain Sermons" of half a century previous, with due acknowledgment of the source. But finding the publication was disfigured by an advertisement, illustrated in a rather broad style, and founded on the passage in one of the "Ingoldsby Legends," where a

Nice cake of soap,  
Worthy of washing the hands of the Pope

is presented for "the Cardinal" to perform his ablutions, the writer tore it out for the waste-paper basket. Cardinal Newman replied with mingled suavity and gravity—appreciatively as regards the article, but adding the remark that he "failed to perceive the relevancy of the illustration accompanying it," which he therewith re-enclosed. In which, to his horror, the correspondent recognized the offending abomination which he had devoted to the uses of the scullery-maid. What he had intended exactly to exclude he had in fact included, and placed, by inadvertent haste in closing for post, in the same envelope with his own letter! He of course wrote a modest apology explaining the oversight, which drew again a gracious reply.

But although thus flowing with the milk of human kindness,

there was a period when he could on occasion be savage. In the soreness of heart which beset his last days of Anglicanism, he seems to have greeted with a growl any of either side of old friends or new who offered to approach too near. But this very soreness was but the anguish of the then impending wrench from the comradeship of early years.

Had it not been for this deep vein of tender feeling, allied closely to a sensitive scrupulosity of conscience—had it not been for the shock which he foresaw among the ranks where he had been a loved and trusted leader, and for the ties of attached veneration which he personally felt for old friends, old attitudes of devotion, old habits of life and thought, interwoven in him with all the subtle delicacy of the nerves with the muscles in the human frame, the change which was consummated at Littlemore in 1845 would have come to pass some years sooner. The subject is a solemn and a tender one. He shall speak for himself here:—

My difficulty was this: I had been deceived greatly once; how could I be sure I was not deceived a second time? I thought myself right then; how was I to be certain that I was right now? How many years had I thought myself sure of what I now rejected? How could I ever again have confidence in myself? As in 1840, I listened to the rising doubt in favour of Rome; now I listened to the waning doubt in favour of the Anglican Church.

How closely this state of mind illustrates the often-quoted lines of Shakespeare:

Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.  
The genius and the mortal instruments  
Are then in council; and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.

For he continues:

As far as I know myself, my one great distress is the perplexity, unsettlement, alarm, scepticism, which I am causing to so many; and the loss of kind feeling and good opinion on the part of so many, known and unknown, who have wished well to me.

And yet again:

How much am I giving up in so many ways! and to me the sacrifice is irreparable, not only from my age, when people hate changing, but from my especial love of old associations and the pleasures of memory. Nor am I conscious of any feeling, enthusiastic or heroic, of pleasure in the sacrifice; I have nothing to support me here.\*

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\* "Apologia," ed. 1890, pp. 228-9.

So long as a mere machine is duly wound, the pendulum will oscillate for ever; but every oscillation of the ripe fruit upon the bough brings nearer the moment when it drops away; and Newman seems to have been matured intellectually for his change before he was so morally. Had he been more rigidly a man of logic, and less a man of feeling, Oxford and the Anglican position would have seen the last of him much earlier in the forties.

Of the actual change—of the very moment when he had planted his foot on the turn-table at last—a deeply interesting anecdote has lately found its way to light; although the letter which is its voucher has unluckily perished. That letter, one of several written in a similar tenour to a few select friends,\* was addressed to Dr. Pusey, as follows:—

My dearest Pusey,—Before this reaches you all will be over. Father Dominic, who is on his way to a Chapter in Belgium, will be here this evening, and will, I hope, receive me into what I believe to be the Church of St. Athanasius.

The last phrase is not absolutely certain. “The Church of St. Athanasius, or something of that sort,” was the expression used by the narrator, to whom Dr. Pusey passed on the letter, inscribed in pencil in his own hand with *κύριε ἐλέησον, χριστέ ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον*. The narrator added, “Poor Pusey was so badly hurt, that he had no wish to see the letter again, so he sent it to me, telling me that I might keep it.” This narrator was the late Rev. Thomas Henderson, for many years vicar of Messing in Essex, who was born shortly before the century began, and was thus senior to and intimate with Dr. Pusey. He told it to his sometime curate, the Rev. Martin Rule, from whose letter in *John Bull* of Sept. 20, 1890, I extract this account.

The letter of Newman, which at the time, Mr. Henderson could not lay his hand upon, but was anxious to recover and show, with no doubt a view to its preservation, was, after his sudden death a few days later, actually found among his papers *and burnt*. This precipitate act deprives us of the means of actual verification, and prevents Mr. Rule from speaking with the authority of one who saw the letter. The rash destroyer, however, recognized enough of the character and contents to confirm Mr. Henderson’s statement, especially the fact of a memorandum added by a different hand.

The keystone of the Cardinal’s intellectual structure seems to me to have been a sense of the objectivity of the highest truth. I mean, ever since his mind broke at Oxford into freedom from the *πατροπαράδοστα*. His early continental tour, and the turn which his personal intimacies took, in John Keble and Hurrell

\* *Ibid.* pp. 234-5.

Froude, and conversely his dropping away from Whately and Hawkins, are so many indices of his mind settling down in this direction. It is true that he adopted first one and then another interpretative aspect of that objectivity; but to that idea itself he held fast with a fundamental tenacity from about 1831 onwards. All sacrifices made for truth, and the correlative idea of moral duty in holding fast by truth, imply this.\* For how can a man feel that "I ought" comes in, when hardship, loss and pain are to be suffered for a mere subjective tenet, or how distinguish it from the various *idola specûs* which form its surroundings? Thus, with Newman, the objectivity of truth, however it might take a colour from the receiving mind, yet moulded that mind by the pressure of its form; and in this will, I think, be found the kernel principle of his "Grammar of Assent," the most winnowed thought-product of his mind.

At his earlier period this objectivity, I think, extended itself to the region of politics—*i.e.*, he seems to have held that there were certain relations existing as of right, because objectively true, between the citizen and the body politic. His comments on the expulsion of Charles X. in France, his dislike of O'Connell, and his detestation of the French tricolour, are examples. Writing in 1853, he seems rather to view constitutional relations as the expression outwardly of certain deeply implanted racial germs, which expand through maxims and public sentiments into institutions, which may or may not harmonize with objective truth. He shall speak for himself.

As individuals have characters of their own, so have races. Most men have their strong and their weak points, and points neither good nor bad, but idiosyncratic. And so of races. . . . Moreover growing out of these varieties or idiosyncrasies, and corresponding to them, will be found in these several races, and proper to each, a certain assemblage of beliefs, convictions, rules, usages, traditions, proverbs and principles; some political, some social, some moral; and these tending to some definite form of government and *modus vivendi*, or polity, as their natural scope. . . . This then is the Constitution of a State, securing, as it does, the national unity by at once strengthening and controlling the governing power. It is something more than law; it is the embodiment of special ideas, ideas perhaps which have been held by a race for ages, which are of immemorial usage, which have fixed themselves in its innermost heart, which are in its eyes sacred to it, and have practically the force of eternal truths, *whether they be such or not*. . . . They are the expression of some or other sentiment of loyalty, of order, of duty, of honour, of faith, of justice, of glory. They are the creative

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\* "No one, I say, will die for his own calculations; he dies for realities."  
 "Essay on Secular Knowledge as a Principle of Action," written 1847.



and conservative influences of Society; they erect nations into States and invest States with Constitutions.\*

The few words which I have italicized, show that the writer by no means considered a constitution (however true, as a development, to some innate germ), as necessarily an expression of objective truth; and I suppose he would have considered this as tending to limit its authority.

It was but fair to take a glance at his political utterances, however secondary in their interest to the absorbing principles which shaped his career. Besides which, Newman was an intense Englishman. He knew his countrymen in their *forte* and in their *foibles* as few professed divines have cared to know them, and could hit them off with that fine point and that mordent acid, which formed his etching style. Here is a John Bull sketch, founded on a reminiscence of Sir Walter Scott's "Two Drovers."

He is indeed rough, surly, a bully and a bigot; these are his weak points: but if ever there was a generous, good, tender heart, it beats within his breast. Most placable, he forgives and forgets; forgets not only the wrongs he has received, but the insults he has inflicted. Such he is commonly, for doubtless there are times and circumstances in his dealings with foreigners in which, whether when in despair or from pride, he becomes truculent and simply hateful; but at home his bark is worse than his bite. He has qualities, excellent for the purposes of neighbourhood and intercourse; and he has besides a shrewd sense and a sobriety of judgment, and a practical logic which passion does not cloud, and which makes him understand that good fellowship is not only commendable, but expedient too. And he has within him a spring of energy, pertinacity and perseverance, which makes him as busy and effective in a colony as he is companionable at home. Some races do not move at all; others are ever jostling against each other; the Englishman is ever stirring, yet never treads too hard upon his fellow countryman's toes. He does his work neatly, silently, in his own place; he looks to himself and can take care of himself; and he has that instinctive veneration for the law, that he can worship it even in the abstract, and thus is fitted to go shares with others all around him in that political sovereignty which other races are obliged to concentrate in one ruler. . . . Some races are like children, and require a despot to nurse and feed and dress them, to give them pocket-money, and take them out for airings. Others, more manly, prefer to be rid of the trouble of their affairs, and use their ruler as their mere manager and man of business. Now an Englishman likes to take his own matters into his own hands. He stands on his own ground, and does as much work as half-a-dozen men of certain other

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\* "Who's to Blame? States and Constitutions." Reprinted from the *Catholic Standard*. By "Catholicus."

ances. He can join too with others, and has a turn for organizing, but he insists on its being voluntary. He is jealous of no one, except kings and governments, and offensive to no one except their partisans and creatures.

Then, with a glance at our Anglo-Indian Empire, he continues:—

Pass a few years and a town has arisen on the desert beach, and houses of business are extending their connections and influence up the country. At length a company of merchants make the place their homestead, and they protect themselves from their enemies with a fort. They need a better defence than they have provided, for a numerous host is advancing upon them, and they are likely to be driven into the sea. Suddenly a youth, the castaway of his family, half clerk, half soldier, puts himself at the head of a few troops, defends posts, gains battles, and ends in founding a mighty empire over the graves of Mahmood and Aurungzebe.

The following (continuing the same line of thought) might almost have been written by Thackeray:—

The Englishman is on the top of the Andes, or in a diving bell in the Pacific, or taking notes at Timbuctoo, or grubbing at the Pyramids, or scouring over the Pampas, or acting as Prime Minister to the King of Dahomey, or smoking the pipe of friendship with the Red Indians, or hutting at the Pole. A people so alive, so curious, so busy as the English, will be a power in themselves, independently of political arrangements; and will be, on that very ground, jealous of a rival, impatient of a master, and strong enough to cope with the one and repel the other. A government is their natural foe, they cannot do without it altogether, but they will have of it as little as they can. They will forbid the concentration of power; they will multiply its seats, complicate its acts, and make it safe by making it inefficient. They will take care that it is the worst worked of all the many organizations which are found in their country. As despotisms keep their subjects in ignorance, lest they should rebel, so will a free people maim and cripple their government, lest it should tyrannize. . . . England surely is the paradise of little men and the purgatory of great ones. May I never be a Minister of State or Field-Marshal! I'd be an individual, self-respecting Briton, in my own private castle, with the *Times* to see the world by, and pen and paper to scribble off withal to some public print and set the world right. Public men are only my *employés*; I use them as I think fit, and turn them off without warning. Aberdeen, Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, Newcastle, what are they muttering about services and ingratitude? Were they not paid? Hadn't they their regular quarter-day? Raglan, Burgoyne, Dundas—I cannot recollect all the fellows' names—can they merit ought? Can they be profitable to me, their lord and master?"

Admire the delicacy, again, of the following stroke:—

At the public meeting held to thank that earnest and energetic man, Mr. Maurice, for the particular complexion of one portion of his theology, a speaker congratulated him on having, in questioning or denying eternal punishment, given (not a more correct, but) a "more genial" interpretation to the declarations of Holy Scripture.

As a theologian, the force which he puts forth was probably nothing as compared with his reserves. He never shows that dead hand which marks the treatise-maker, but whatever truth he recognizes quickens under his touch. Probably no man ever passed through so momentous a shock, especially in the years of the judgment's maturity, unhinging the allegiance of half a lifetime, with so little of change in his own personality. We of that earlier allegiance naturally prefer the mental products of that earlier period. They seem to us to contrast with the later growth, as the fruitage of the open air and sunshine contrast with those of a hothouse, and have more of the unforced aroma and native *bouquet*. The "Plain Sermons" are still a great storehouse of holy wisdom, and probably nine-tenths of their contents are irrespective of the line of cleavage which separated him from us later and remain unaffected by it. Here is a sample from "Christ Manifested in Remembrance," vol. iv. p. 263, ed. 1869.

Kings of the earth, and the great men and rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men," who, in their day, so magnified themselves, so ravaged and deformed the Church, that it could not be seen except by faith, these are found in nowise to have infringed the continuity of its outlines, which shine out clear and glorious, and even more delicate and tender for the very attempt to obliterate them. It needs very little study of history to prove how really this is the case; how little schisms, and divisions, and disorders, and troubles, and fears, and persecutions, and scatterings, and threatenings, interfere with the glory of Christ Mystical, as looked upon afterwards, though at the time they almost hid it. Great Saints, great events, great privileges, like the everlasting mountains, grow as we recede from them.

Or take, from the same volume, p. 218, on "The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life," the following:—

Over and above our positive belief in this great truth [a future life], we are actually driven to a belief; we attain a sensible conviction of that life to come, a certainty striking home to our hearts and piercing them, by this imperfection of what is present. The very greatness of our powers make this life look pitiful; the very pitifulness of this life forces our thoughts to another; and the prospect of another gives a dignity and value to this life which promises it; and thus this life is at once great and little, and we rightly contemn it while we exalt its importance.

For chastened fervour, for unaffected solemnity, clearness of didactic outline, and pathetic earnestness of exhortation, one must go a long way back in the annals of the Anglican pulpit to find him surpassed. To the congregation of St. Mary's, Oxford, he was specially adapted by its higher degree of culture, and by the academic sympathy between the University and the higher grade of professional and other minds having secular relations with its members. Besides these, not a few members of the University itself, especially among the rising juniors, the youth of devotional mettle and promise, filled places there, and raised the standard of capacity in the audience. From the time of Simeon and Bishop Wilson (Calcutta) to the middle of the century was such an era of sermons as had hardly been known since the Restoration in that Church which was then restored. The average length of parochial discourses was probably greater then than before or since. I need not dwell on causes, but merely state facts. The religious fashion of the day thus gave him exceptional advantages; and being at once a man of mark, and as the breeze of controversy blew to a gale, a marked man, he used them with an impressiveness only strengthened by all that was known of a personality transparently sincere and devoted. Thus, although lacking the electric fascination which holds an audience by a spell woven of matter and manner, of voice, gesture, eye, and nervous sympathies, and tinging the pulpit with something of the lecture-room, Newman grew into the hearts and minds of his habitual hearers with a power which was more felt after his sermon than during the course of it, and depended rather on the unsluiced stream of afterthought than the momentary inundation of eloquence.

After recording our preference for the freshness and naturalness of the earlier Newman as against the later, it is only fair to set beside it the following verdict of a writer in the *Tablet*, on the other side:—

Newman's Anglican writings are clear and cold; when he became a Catholic it was like going into a southern atmosphere, all glow and sunshine; his nature expanded, his eloquence took fire, and the passionate energy which had been seeking for an object found it in preaching the visible kingdom of Christ.

So let the question rest—*laudabunt alii*, &c. Each will probably prefer the earlier or later vintage, according as his own standard of taste has been previously formed. But taking the estimate of the *Tablet* as expressing a fact and implying a value, what astonishes Anglicans most in the later career of the Newman of their early memories is that so little use was made of such a master mind by those at whose disposal he had placed its fully



matured powers. He had not yet reached his "grand climacteric" when he left us. His position on the whole since then has been one of perplexing obscurity to all who felt what a power they had lost in him. Of the Anglican Church it is unhappily true that it hardly owns its greatest men, does not know what to do with them, feels them rather an excrescence on its system, and an incumbrance to the working of its machinery, as if a diamond had got into a grist-mill—in this respect how truly national!—*teste* Newman in the above words, "the paradise of little men, the purgatory of great ones." We honestly thought that Rome knew better, and eminent authorities are not wanting who extol her wisdom in that respect. The practical appreciation evidenced in the utilization of a convert so richly endowed with various gifts does not tend to confirm that opinion. *Tandem aliquando!* was on the lips of most of us, when we heard that the Cardinal's hat had dropped on him. He reminds us of some noble swan, which, after a long sojourn on *terra firma*, find its way to its proper element at last, and is straightway frozen in.

As regards his style, Newman was so purely classical because he was so unpedantic. His mind never runs in the ruts of familiar phrase. There is now and then a direct allusion to, seldom a quotation of, the great masters of Greece and Rome. But his writings exhale the aroma of their influence at every pore. It is impossible to draw this out without going through, as it were, the process of distillation over again. I will only refer to one instance of the often unconscious influence exercised by the grandest models of mental form on a sympathetic genius, because I am not aware that it has yet been noticed. The entire attitude of his mind in the preface to his "Apologia" is that of Socrates in the famous "Apology" of Plato. To exhibit this in detail would be tedious trifling. I will just detach a specimen flower :

It is this which is the strength of my accuser against me; not the articles of impeachment which he has framed from my writings, and which I shall easily crumble into dust, but the bias of the court. It is the state of the atmosphere; it is the vibration all round which will echo his bold assertion of my dishonesty; it is that prepossession against me which takes it for granted that, when my reasoning is convincing it is only ingenious, and that when my statements are unanswerable, there is always something put out of sight or hidden up my sleeve, &c. &c.

To those who remember the parallel complaint of Socrates against the established prejudices which filled and poisoned the popular mind of Athens against him, Platonic quotations would be superfluous here, and to others unmeaning.

Questions of style often lead to such startling comparisons as have the effect for the moment of caricatures. I venture to com-

pare him, then, with Dean Swift in some of the main intellectual elements which constitute style; more especially in the balance of logical against imaginative endowments, and in the absence of mere rhetorical declaration. In Swift the two more interpenetrate one another: as it were two charges in one gun-barrel; in Newman they are like parallel tubes, each detonating separately, but guided by a single sight. Had Swift possessed the moral elevation and spiritual fervour of Newman, then, allowing for the disparity of their centuries, he would have written as Newman wrote. For "proper words in proper places," they are, I think, the two greatest masters of English prose which the two centuries have seen, and that mainly by virtue of the balance of qualities above referred to. But, "Cousin Swift you will never be a poet," said Dryden to his aspiring kinsman. Our Newman, however, *was* a poet. I will cull from his own "Gerontius" a single blossom to throw upon his grave—

O man, strange composite of heaven and earth,  
 Majesty dwarfed to baseness! fragrant flower  
 Running to poisonous seed! and seeming worth  
 Cloaking corruption! weakness mastering power!  
 Who never art so near to crime and shame,  
 As when thou hast achieved some deed of name.

Those who remember the noble sonnet of Wordsworth, beginning—on a theme borrowed from old Bede—

Man's life is like a swallow, mighty king,

or that splendid stanza of Byron which comes upon us in "Don Juan" like a meteor flashing out of swampy slime—

Between two worlds life hovers, like a star  
 'Twixt night and morn, upon th' horizon's verge.  
 How little do we know that which we are!  
 How less what we may be! &c.

may hang this of Newman's beside them as worthy to form a triptych.

His tale of years all but spans nine decades of this nineteenth century, as did that of John Wesley before him of the eighteenth; with whom again, especially in his earlier career, he has not a few points in common. Each sought to trim to larger and more lustrous life the waning lamp of spiritual religion. Each began his work in Oxford, and led a band of the more finely tempered spirits there. Oxford, *felix prole virum*, claims each as an *alumnus*. Each grew in his respective century to be its most typical specimen among our native theologians, each became a centre of partisan strife, and each unwillingly. Wesley's strong reverence for and study of the early Church, his longing to

strengthen by some of its most saintly and serviceable usages the Anglican system as he knew it, and his recalling the Thirty-nine Articles from their popular Calvinistic interpretation, mark him as a labourer in the same quarry as Newman, albeit he left the deeper strata unsearched. But Wesley's mind was essentially prosaic and practical, with no visionary glimpses. He "asked no angel's wing, no seraph's fire," whereas Newman bodied forth the unseen. His lyre indeed has few notes, but they are sweet and pure and lofty. Faith, hope and charity, piety and reverence, are the lines of the stave on which they hang. He knew his own compass and never overstrained it. Few since Dante and Milton have aspired to kindred themes, and fewer still have not singed their wings in soaring up to them.

Is he realizing the dream of his own "Gerontius," into which he has now passed—finding it all "true which was done by the Angel," and no longer deeming "that he saw a vision,"\* οὐκ ὄντα . . . ἀλλ' ὑπάρ ἤδη,† and filling up those outlines of symbolic mystery which he draws in the words :

Thou livest in a world of signs and types,  
 The presentations of most holy truths,  
 Living and strong, which now encompass thee.  
 A disembodied soul, thou hast by right.  
 No converse with aught else beside thyself;  
 But lest so stern a solitude should load  
 And break thy being, in mercy are vouchsafed  
 Some lower measures of perception,  
 Which seem to thee as though through channels brought,  
 Through ear, or nerves, or palate, which are gone.

I only say, if so it be, so be it. For, as St. Augustine says of a Purgatorial fire, "I will not argue against it, because perchance it is true." ‡

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

\* Et nesciebat quia verum est quod fiebat per angelum, existimabat autem se visum videre.—"Actus Ap." xii. 9.

† Hom. "Odys." xx. 90.

‡ Non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est.—"De Civit. Dei." xxi. 26.

## Science Notices.

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**Photographing the Milky Way.**—A striking example of the versatility, in its applications to astronomy, of the photographic method, is afforded by Mr. Barnard's proposal to employ it for charting the Milky Way. The conditions of success in this enterprise are somewhat peculiar. For the galactic accumulations cannot be printed upon the sensitive plate under the nebulous aspect which they present to the eye. The camera recognises, as it were, their composition out of minute stellar points, and refusing to depict them as luminous surfaces, takes them star by star, in all the complex detail of their intimate structure. But since each individual star is of almost evanescent faintness, a powerful concentration of light, coupled with long exposures, is needed for this purpose. Further, the characteristic galactic groupings are on a very large scale; each covers a great many square degrees of the sky; their general outlines can thus only be embraced by a comprehensive survey. Hence, a wide field of view is indispensable for obtaining a true and instructive delineation of assemblages the nature of which cannot possibly be apprehended unless through synthetic efforts demanding the co-operation of the eye with the mind.

These varied requirements are met by the use of large portrait lenses giving minute, but vivid images, and including wide expanses of the sky in a single prospect. The "Willard lens" of the Lick Observatory, with which Mr. Barnard has hitherto worked, has a focal length of rather more than five times its aperture of six inches, the field is of eighty square degrees, and stars down to the fourteenth magnitude can be depicted by exposures with it of about three hours.

It is of these excessively faint objects—which are nevertheless "suns," perhaps more radiant than our own—that the galactic "clouds" are composed. How composed—under the empire of what forces, in the course of development of what vast designs—we can scarcely as yet affect to conjecture. Across the abyss of time and space, we can barely catch glimpses of a supreme plan, varied almost to infinity in its subordinate parts, yet based, in its general scope, upon a fundamental unity of purpose. What its scope really is, we shall never fully know; but that a higher standpoint will be reached than that at which we now find ourselves, there is encouragement to hope in the gradually increasing distinctness of thought on the subject of sidereal construction, and in the definiteness of the tests now available upon certain crucial points of sidereal theory.

The three Milky Way negatives so far taken by Mr. Barnard



“open up,” he truly says, “a magnificent field of investigation.” The first includes the splendid cluster in Sobieski’s Shield, compared by the late Admiral Smyth to a “flight of wild ducks,” and exhibits it as, in some sort, the point of origin for two great luminous wings, or trains, of purely stellar constitution. Another depicts a region in Sagittarius, where a throng of stars, perceived on a cursory view to be widely *rifted* by tracks of comparative darkness, discloses to a particular examination an unmistakable tendency to an annular, or perhaps spiral, fashion of detailed arrangement; the larger stars occupying positions either focal or nuclear within ellipses or curving wreaths of minor objects. The third plate, exposed also in Sagittarius, brings out in the strangest forms of cloud-scenery, the masses of stars here composing the Galaxy. In the midst, and in the most crowded part, can be seen a “most remarkable, small, inky-black hole,” frequently observed by Mr. Barnard during the progress of comet-seeking operations, but here first made photographically apparent. “It is,” he tells us, in the “Monthly Notices” for last March, “about two inches in diameter, slightly triangular, with a bright orange star on its north-preceding border, and a beautiful little cluster following. There are other dark holes and vast gaps near this, but nothing so remarkable in the entire circuit of the Milky Way.”

The existence of such-like vacancies is absolutely inexplicable by our present knowledge. No theory of stellar distribution hitherto advanced gives a rational account of them; nor can the suggestion that they are due to the interposition of opaque dark masses, or of meteoric swarms on a prodigious scale, be regarded as anything but a clumsy expedient for getting out of the difficulty. Their production is certainly not in any sense casual; it results from the action of laws with the purport of which we are wholly unacquainted, yet the prevalence of which, no less in star-clusters than among the thronging multitudes of the Milky Way, is shown by the “tunnellings,” and obscure spaces discernible, both visually and photographically, in such assemblages as the globular cluster in Hercules, and the “bifid” cluster in Sagittarius.

**A Giant Sun.**—A remarkable picture of the stars in Orion taken with an exposure of no less than six hours, at the Harvard College auxiliary station in the Andes, shows most of them as deeply involved in the outlying masses of the great nebulous formation collected visibly about the well-known “trapezium.” The presumption accordingly is strong, that they own some kind of physical relationship with it, and are denizens of the same sidereal district. Hence, if the parallax of any one of them could be determined, we should at once be placed in possession of some much desired but hitherto unattainable information regarding the distance from ourselves of the nebula. Now, one of the involved stars is the brightest gem of the asterism, called “Rigel” by early Arab astronomers from its position in the *foot* of the enskied Hunter; and it happened fortunately that Dr. Gill, having had this object under observation

at the Cape during two years, was able at once, on the demand of Professor Pickering, to deduce its parallax. The result of his investigation is all the more curious that it is *negative*; it tells us merely that Rigel is indefinitely further away than the two small stars with which it was compared. Sunk in an inaccessible abyss of space, in a situation where our own sun would vanish to the eye and appear insignificant with the telescope, Rigel still shines upon us with more than first-magnitude splendour! The consideration of the real lustre which, under these circumstances, must be attributed to it, is positively startling. At the lowest estimate, it must emit several thousand times the solar amount of light. Nor is it the only giant sun of our acquaintance. Betelgeux, the red star in the shoulder of Orion, Arcturus, and the southern Canopus, lie equally beyond the reach of terrestrial measurements, and are hence unquestionably bodies of immense radiative power. There is, indeed, strong reason to believe that the light-giver we depend upon is but a small star occupying a subordinate place among the "constellated suns unshaken" pursuing their "orbits measureless" through the unbounded fields of the ether.

Rigel may be said to have *no* proper motion, for the secular displacement attributed to it of little more than one second of arc may well be the creation of instrumental errors. Its extreme remoteness, however, accounts for this apparent immobility. The visual effects of the swiftest advance can be annihilated by a sufficient removal from the eye of the travelling object, which, in the present instance, is very far from being really stationary in space. It may, or may not, be moving rapidly *across* the line of sight; but the spectrograph tells us that it is journeying at a high speed *in* the line of sight. Professor Vogel's determinations of this so-called "radial" element of motion, the surprising accuracy of which constitutes them one of the most notable advances of recent times, show Rigel (provisionally, indeed, as yet) to be in course of retreat from the earth at the rate of thirty-nine miles a second, or twelve hundred millions of miles a year. They disclose besides a slight periodical change of radial velocity, betraying, it is inferred, the compound nature of the star, and its revolution round an unseen, close attendant in a period of a few days. It belongs, accordingly, to that peculiar class of binaries, the existence of which, suspected on the grounds of the recurring obscurations of Algol, has of late been spectrographically certified at Potsdam. Rigel is, besides, visibly accompanied by a small blue star, situated at an apparent interval of 9". and itself very closely double. So at least Mr. Burnham's observations in 1879 convinced him: although the star can now no longer be divided by the highest powers of the great telescope on Mount Hamilton. The obvious conjecture that the two components have, since 1879, closed up into one by the effects of orbital revolution, remains to be tested by future experience. The vast remoteness of the system, as demonstrated by Dr. Gill, implying its prodigious spatial extent and corresponding leisureliness of circulation, tends meantime to discountenance the

idea that any appreciable mutual change of place can have occurred after the lapse of only eleven years.

**A New Variable Star.**—The two shortest periods of stellar light change hitherto known belong respectively to U Ophiuchi and R. Muscae, each of which runs through its cycle in about twenty hours. But a star observed by Professor Paul, Assistant-astronomer at Washington, leaves them both, in point of expeditiousness, far behind. Normally of 6·7, “12 Antliae” dips to 7·3 magnitude—in other words, loses nearly half its light—once in seven hours and forty-eight minutes. Its variations are not continuous, but by regular recurrences, the duration of actual change being, according to one authority, three hours twenty minutes, according to another four hours fifty minutes. Thus the phases of 12 Antliae are of the particular kind exemplified in Algol, and must, as in Algol, result from the interposition at brief intervals of an occulting body. They afford one more illustration of the extraordinary variety of rapidly circling systems included in the stellar world. The satellite of Algol is large and obscure; its transits give rise to genuine eclipses once in each revolution. But it is highly probable that 12 Antliae is made up of two nearly equally brilliant bodies, the combined radiations of which, at their “elongations,” affords the full light of the star, while its minima are consequent upon occultations of one by the other. If this be so, the orbital period is twice as long as the period of luminous change, two obscurations corresponding to a single circuit of the mutually revolving suns. This cannot indeed in any case occupy above fifteen and a half hours, a period which, were it less well authenticated, might easily be set down as impossibly short; while the proportionately long continuance of the occultations implies a closeness of contiguity in the connected bodies which *seems* to infringe mechanical laws, hitherto supposed inexorable in their operation. But there is much about Algol-variables that is still unexplained, the investigation of which may lead to discoveries of great moment in cosmical physics.

**A New Astronomical Society.**—The demand for popular Astronomical Societies is rapidly creating a corresponding supply. Associations are springing up on all sides for the purpose of encouraging amateur star-gazers, and combining their efforts. The “Pacific Society” in California, the “Urania Gesellschaft” in Berlin, are examples of what can be done in this way by private zeal, stimulated and controlled by professional guidance. In this country, the “Liverpool Astronomical Society,” of which the lamented Father Perry was president at the time of his death, discharged similar functions for some time with signal success. But it has of late been under a cloud; and although it may yet emerge from it, the feeling has become general that its work should be taken up by an organisation of a somewhat modified character. Hence the foundation, under strong patronage, of the “British Astronomical Society.” The programme of this nascent body is a highly commendable one. All who take an interest in things celestial are

invited to join it, and the rate of annual subscription is fixed so low that even artisans need not be deterred, on the score of expense, from enrolling themselves among its members. It aims too at being practical as well as popular. Corporate unity will, by its means, be given to useless, because scattered observations; work will be regulated; energy and talent will be trained; above all, information will be diffused, and enthusiasm kindled. The headquarters of the new Society are in London; but meetings at provincial towns will be held as circumstances may seem to call for them.

**The Brontometer.**—For many years past it has been known to meteorologists, that the ordinary rule that the barometer falls for rain and bad weather, is liable to exception under the influence of thunderstorms, when the mercury sometimes rises. The curve of a self-recording barometer shows how variable these oscillations are, but it does not throw any light upon their cause, which has puzzled the ingenuity of many. The brontometer (*βροντή μέτρον*, thunderstorm measurer) is an instrument produced by the combined ingenuity of Mr. Symons, the secretary of the Royal Meteorological Society, and M. M. Richard of Paris, to record these peculiar phenomena accurately and synchronously with other thunderstorm phenomena. Thus it is hoped that new light will be thrown on the nature of these oscillations, and that their cause will be discovered. The method adopted is to provide paper revolving under recording pens at a regular rate. The rate is greatly in excess of that generally adopted in recording instruments. For observing ordinary phenomena, it is sufficient to provide an inch of paper for an hour of time (12 inches per day). Sometimes it has been found expedient to increase the speed five or ten times, but even a speed of five inches an hour does not enable any one to read closer than to quarter minutes, which would be inadequate for thunderstorm observation. Therefore, in the brontometer the paper revolves at no less a speed than six feet per hour. The width of the paper is twelve inches. In the instrument there are seven recording pens provided, which make their traces in aniline ink. Pen No. 1 is driven by the mechanism which produces the motion of the paper, and makes the "time scale." This pen Mr. Symonds informs us usually produces a stronger line to act as the base line for the measurements, but at fifty-five seconds after each minute the pen begins to go one-tenth of an inch to the left, flying back to its original position at the sixtieth second. Pen No. 2 is for measuring the wind force, and is driven by a special kind of anemometer devised by M. M. Richard. In this instrument the curved plates are made of aluminium, and are so light that the momentum is reduced to a minimum. The pens in revolving once for each metre of wind send an electric current to the brontometer, which acts on an electro-magnet, which draws pen No. 2 towards the left. There is, however, a train of clock-work tending to draw the pen to the contrary direction, the joint result being that the trace shows continuously the actual velocity of the wind second by second. Pen No. 3 is to record the intensity of



the rain. It is moved by a handle, and is set at zero or thereabouts, the idea is that the observer will be able to tell by a storm-gauge the intensity of the rain, and to register it by moving it more and more from the zero, as the fall becomes heavier. Pen No. 4 is to register the time of a flash of lightning. At the occurrence of each flash the observer by pressing a key makes the pen make a slight deviation to the right, and then fly back to zero. By reference to the "time scale" produced by pen 1, the time of the flash can be ascertained. Pen No. 5, which is similar in action to the above, records the clap of thunder. By holding down the key until the last rumbling of the clap has died away the exact duration of the clap can be ascertained. The interval between the flash of lightning and the clap can be also accurately recorded. Pen No. 6, which is similar to No. 3, records the exact moment of a fall of hail, its duration and intensity. Pen No. 7 is to record the fluctuations in atmospheric pressure which originally suggested this elaborate instrument. This portion of the apparatus seems to have offered the most difficulties to the inventor. The enlargement of the "time scale" necessitated an enlargement of the barometric scale. If this were close to the natural mercurial scale there would have to be a breadth of paper of twenty-five inches. The dilemma was got out of by adopting a modification of Richard's "statoscope." This extremely sensitive instrument gives a scale of thirty inches for each mercurial inch, and yet only takes four inches of the brontometer paper. Mr. Symons thus describes the main principles of the construction of this portion of his instrument: "As it was essential that the apparatus should record accurately to 0.001 inch of mercurial pressure, it was evident that friction had to be reduced to a minimum and considerable motive power provided. This was done by placing in the base of the brontometer a galvanised iron chamber, which contains about three and a half cubic feet of air; on the upper part is a series of elastic chambers, similar to the vacuum boxes of aneroid barometers, but much larger; when the instrument is to be put into action, these chambers are connected with the large air-chamber, and the tap closed which shuts off communication with the external air. Any subsequent increase or decrease of atmospheric pressure will compress, or allow to dilate, the air in these chambers, and the motion of the elastic ones produces that of the recording pen."

The opportunities for observation that will be afforded by the brontometer should add to present limited knowledge of a branch of meteorology that has not yet been dignified with a distinctive name. Perhaps the fact that the instrument is called the "brontometer" may suggest for it the name of "Brontology."

**The Late Aeronautical Congress at Paris.**—It is fitting that it should have fallen to the lot of France, the birthland of balloons, to call together the International Aeronautical Congress that was held during the latter days of the Exhibition of 1889. The result of the Congress seems to be rather the realisation of the difficult problems that beset

the progress of aëronautics than their solution, which has yet to be sought in diligent, varied, and concerted experiment. The appointment of the permanent Aëronautical Commission in France, which consists of some eminent scientists, and which is intended to look after the interests of both scientific and professional aëronauts, is a first step in concerted action, and shows that the French nation is in earnest in its endeavours to be in the first ranks of aëronautical discovery.

A considerable portion of the Congress was devoted to the reading of papers on the principles of "Flight," but the more practical subject of "ballooning" was not neglected. The attention of French aëronauts has, during the last few years, been concentrated on balloon navigation, and the recent experiments of Captains Krebs and Renard, with their electrically propelled balloon, "La France," have proved that with our present knowledge a balloon can be navigated in calm weather though not against a wind of even trifling proportions. Fresh schemes for accomplishing aërial navigation were, as might be expected, forthcoming at the Congress. In answer to some of these, M. Aime suggested that the vertical motion of the balloon—a subject that has certainly been neglected—has a prior claim on public attention than mechanical horizontal navigation; many aëronauts will endorse this remark. It is often necessary that a balloon should rise and fall to various levels to reach particular currents. These vertical movements can only be carried on by the alternate sacrifice of gas and ballast, so the time a balloon can remain in the air is very curtailed, and our knowledge of the various currents, upon which many place their faith as the means of future balloon navigation, is thereby limited. This is certainly an imperfect state of things, and in the matter of regulated vertical motion, the now well-nigh abandoned fire-balloon was in advance of the gas-balloon, its rising and falling depending upon the amount of heat applied to the air in the balloon. A combination of the gas and fire-balloon may perhaps be the solution of the question of ascent and descent. This was realised by aëronauts in the early days of ballooning, owing to the comparatively small lift-power of the heated air in the Montgolfier, but the combination was so clumsily, unscientifically, and dangerously applied, that the result was a fatal accident, the memory of which seems, until very lately, to have forbidden the very idea of using fire to heat an inflammable gas in the confines of a balloon and its car. A suggestion was however made a few years ago at one of the meetings of the United Service Institution, when the subject of military ballooning was under discussion, that the hydrogen gas inside a balloon might be heated safely by means of heated air issuing up a pipe in connection with a portable lamp in the car of the balloon. This would be supplied with safety arrangements something on the principle of the Davy lamp, so that no flame could possibly extend beyond a limited area. By regulating the amount of flame in the lamp, the temperature and lifting-power of the hydrogen in the balloon could be controlled, and a nicety of ascent and descent might perhaps be

realised. This suggestion does not seem to have ever been acted upon, but it is distinctly worthy of experiment.

At the Congress, M. Alexandre Sallé urged the use of ammonia gas for filling balloons. Ammonia is of about the same density as carburetted hydrogen, and is incombustible. Hence M. Sallé thinks the Montgolfier system might be applied to it with absolute safety. It has other properties, which at first sight would seem to render it specially adapted for the purpose. It dissolves in water in the proportion of 1147 times its own volume  $0^{\circ}$ , and therefore a store of this gas might be conveniently carried in water. By heating the water the ammonia can be liberated, the water ceasing to contain it at  $60^{\circ}$ . M. Sallé suggests that the water containing the supply of ammonia would be extremely useful as ballast. Unfortunately, as M. Hureau de Villeneuve pointed out, the afore-mentioned properties of ammonia are counterbalanced by certain others, which seem to render its use for balloons prohibitive. Not only is it an irritant to the mucous membranes of the body, but it also destroys the varnishes upon which the gas-holding capacity of balloons depends. With regard to the late experiments of Captains Krebs and Renard, M. W. de Fonvielle, in the course of a speech on the value of balloons for purely scientific purposes, remarked that the horizontal control of a balloon which can be obtained by the motion of a screw worked by an electro-motor might with advantage be applied to steady balloons when they are used as aerial observatories. The top-like spinning of a balloon, even in calm weather, renders it unfit for photographic purposes. M. de Fonvielle is of opinion that the car of a balloon is the most fitting place to take photographs during an eclipse of the sun, providing that the balloon can be kept steady. In the course of the Congress two decidedly original suggestions were made by M. Brissonet. (1) He would abolish the anchor by which aeronauts usually make their descents, asserting that when lowered it so often fails to bite. He proposes instead a guy-rope, at the extremity of which is fastened a cord ball, such as is used on board ship to prevent the vessel hitting against the sides of the quay: at the space of two metres from this, and the same distance apart from each other, are placed a series of hempen balls. When the aeronaut wishes to descend, he lowers his guy-rope so that the series of balls trails along the ground. Owing to the speed of the balloon, the balls in touching the ground turn and twist round the first obstacles they meet. M. Brissonet thinks that if there is a tree or bush in the way, there are ninety-nine chances to one hundred that the balloon will be anchored securely. If this method of anchorage should prove successful, objects on the ground would be less likely to be damaged than by the sharp teeth of the anchor. To aeronauts the bill of damage is often heavy. (2) M. Brissonet claims to have made improvements on the cone-anchor, which is sometimes used for balloon voyages across the sea. He maintains that the management of the working of the cone-anchor is difficult, outside interferences, such as the force of the waves, often reducing its usefulness. He advocates the use of

a cable furnished with thin metal or wooden discs, strung in series on the cable thrown into the sea by the *aéronaut*. When he wishes to arrest the motion of the balloon, the discs, with a body of water in front of each, would offer a multiple resistance to the horizontal course. To overcome this resistance, and enable the balloon to continue its course, a trifling sacrifice of ballast would give the balloon a sufficient vertical impulse to jerk the discs also into the vertical, and so free them from the water-weight.

### THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

The meeting of the British Association at Leeds this year was less interesting than on many former occasions. There were no remarkable inventions announced; no important discussion on the questions that divide scientific opinion; no exhibition (as has been sometimes the case) of curious instruments or other novelties. Still a meeting of such men as are the principal members of this great society, could not take place without eliciting from some of them much that is well worthy of record.

The President of the year, Sir Frederick Abel, is well known for his chemical researches, especially in connection with explosives intended for warlike purposes; in fact he has for many years held an important post at Woolwich as adviser of the Government; and it was not without regret that we heard him remark that his career in this capacity was drawing to its close.

His address to the Association travelled over many subjects. He alluded gracefully to his predecessor, Professor Flower; to the great men of science that had their origin in Yorkshire; and particularly to Priestley, "born within six miles of Leeds"—the discoverer of oxygen gas, and the analyser of the air.

After these preliminary observations, he passed on to the subject of electric light and the use of electric power, on which he dwelt at some length; he called attention to the wonderful development that had taken place in recent years in these applications of electricity, not omitting to allude to the great improvements effected in electric telegraphy, both on land and beneath the depths of the sea. As regards the electric light, the progress in its use, though considerable here in England, has been far greater in America; the same also may be said of the telephone, in the use of which both France and America have outstripped us. With respect to electrically transmitted energy, Sir F. Abel remarked that the first successful application of it to pumping and underground haulage work in this country was made in 1887 in the neighbourhood of Leeds, at St. John's Colliery, Normanton; and we may add that several members of the British Association took the opportunity of visiting this colliery, of which the sole proprietor is now an excellent Catholic gentleman, Mr. Warrington; the electric power is principally used for pumping water out of the pit, but it is also to be applied to a certain extent for underground haulage.



The President's address went on to touch on topics of interest connected with metallurgy, after which he turned to his own special pursuit, the choice of explosives for warlike purposes. It has been a question, as many people know, whether gunpowder or some more violent explosive should be placed in the formidable projectiles which we term shells, and which are so extensively used in modern warfare. Sir Frederick seems to think that both of these may be advantageously employed according to the species of shell; he is himself in favour of wet compressed gun-cotton as a formidable destructive agent, and one that can be applied with great safety. So also for submarine mines and torpedoes, he knows of no material equal to it in these respects.

The French have lately adopted a composition to which the name of *mélinite* has been given, and the precise nature of which has been kept a profound secret; it is said, however, to be a mixture of picric acid, with some still more powerful material. In the United States of America various devices have been suggested for applying preparations of nitro-glycerine as charges for shells. With those highly sensitive substances there is danger of premature explosion, and to avoid this risk, large guns of special construction have been invented, in which the propelling power is compressed air instead of gunpowder, but we must say that we gravely doubt the success of this experiment.

With respect to gunpowder, and the improvements in its manufacture, Sir Frederick, after explaining these, alluded to the smokeless powders that are now coming into use, and explained the nature of their composition. It appears that no powder is absolutely smokeless, but those that have been tried in France and Germany approximate so nearly to the requirements that, if used in actual war, they would change the conditions under which actions have hitherto been fought, depriving the combatants of the screening effects of smoke, often so great a protection, and, on the other hand, allowing a greater accuracy of aim.

Sir F. Abel after this alluded to the explosives employed in mines, and to the terrible risks caused by the use of unprotected lamps in these subterranean regions.

He then descended from questions of science to commercial details, dwelling on the extension of trade in petroleum, and the quantity of natural gas obtained in America and elsewhere; and concluded by touching on the proposed erection of a building for our National Science collections, and on the Imperial Institute, now approaching its completion.

Space will not permit of our entering into any great details as to the other proceedings of the Association; we will, however, select some points of interest from the addresses of the presidents of the various sections.

Mr. J. W. Glaisher, who presided over the Mathematical and Physical Section, took for his theme his own favourite study of pure mathematics, and endeavoured to answer the question sometimes put

by the unsympathetic objector, "To what is all this tending? What will be the result of it all?" He concluded by some remarks on the theory of numbers, and took as an example of a "simple result in the theory of forms" the proposition that every prime number, which when divided by four leaves a remainder of one, can be always expressed as the sum of two squares, one of the truths which, as he correctly says, must exist *in rerum natura*—that is, if we take, for instance, thirteen or seventeen marbles or pebbles, we can always arrange them so as to form two squares. The proof of this is very difficult, but any one who likes to try may convince himself of its truth by taking an indefinite quantity of such numbers, one after the other, and making the experiment, remembering, of course, that the square of one is itself one.

Mr. Glaisher is a son of the celebrated aeronaut, who, at the age of eighty was present at the meeting of the Association, apparently in sound health of mind and body.

The President of the Chemical Section, Professor Thorpe, took for his subject Dr. Joseph Priestley (already alluded to by Sir F. Abel), and vindicated his claim, as against Lavoisier, to be the discoverer of oxygen gas.

In the Geological Section, Professor Green made some striking remarks. Geologists, he said, were in danger of continually becoming loose reasoners, giving as an instance a somewhat hasty conclusion arrived at by a meeting of eminent men (at which he was present), respecting a change in the position of the earth's axis of rotation, attributed to an extensive upheaval and depression of masses of land; this, it was supposed, would account for alterations in climate. We may observe, however, that this last-named opinion, which had been very much discarded, has been lately revived by a distinguished *savant* in Austria. Professor Green reminds us of the imperfections of the geological record, and of the diverse explanations which some observed facts admit of; it being obviously uncertain whether structures are really organic remains, or whether they are mineral aggregates simulating organic forms. He is here discussing the utility of geology as a branch of education for youths, but his words are none the less noteworthy. Geologists are not always so candid.

The Biological Section had for its President Professor Milnes Marshall; and the subject of his address was "The development of animals." The argument in favour of evolution drawn from the phenomena of embryology is well known, and it lost nothing under his manipulation. It is very much a question for specialists, and those who are not acquainted with the subject by practical experience are scarcely able to form a fair judgment on the value of the evidence. There is, it appears, a process by which the embryo of a higher animal at different stages of its existence, reproduces, if we may say so, various characteristics of the lower forms of organisms, leaving it to be inferred that it thus retraces the history of the evolution of the family and the genus to which it belongs. This strange phenomenon

is termed recapitulation. That there is some foundation for all this, and that it is not mere fancy, we believe would be generally admitted. One instance that Dr. Milnes Marshall gives, that of teeth which are present in the embryo of the whalebone whale but disappear before birth, and indeed never cut the gum, is a very curious one; but whether it will bear the whole weight of the argument that is laid on it, may perhaps be questioned. Thus, certain [gill-clefts in the embryos of higher animals, including man, apparently of no possible use, are supposed to show that a remote ancestor swam, fish-like, in the water; may not this be an exaggerated inference? Again, there exist certain muscles in the human ear which we cannot use, but which are said to point to the existence of an ancestor who could and did use them. This is really a remarkable fact, but may admit possibly of some other explanation.

Dr. Milnes Marshall is a natural-selectionist, and he is compelled to admit that recapitulation has its difficulties; on the theory of natural selection there is no reason why it should take place, nothing to indicate why organs that are of no service to the adult animal should appear in the embryo. May we then not say that, so far as this particular theory is concerned, recapitulation, if it proves anything, proves too much? It is also to be borne in mind that, in order to establish any scientific hypothesis on a firm basis, it is not quite enough to show that certain phenomena point more or less strongly in the direction of that hypothesis; you ought also to prove that *no other* explanation will account for the facts, no other explanation at least that is practically available. In this way it is that the modern system of astronomy has been placed on a secure and unshaken basis; and the same is doubtless true of some of the leading facts in geology. Can it, however, be said of the Darwinian theory of evolution?

Of all the presidential addresses on this occasion the one that was calculated above the others to excite popular interest, and was inferior to none in ability and brilliancy, was that delivered to the Geographical Section by Sir Lambert Playfair, English Consul-General in Algeria. The subject was the "Mediterranean, Physical and Historical"; no epitome that we can give would be sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the address, and we recommend those interested in the subject to read it *in extenso*, or at least such portions as appeared in the papers of the 5th of September last. It is really an able historical essay on a sea, the shores of which were the cradle of civilisation, and it imparts in a short space much information on geographical topics. We will just allude to two or three scientific points. The Mediterranean was, in ancient times, before the appearance of man on the earth we suppose, divided into two basins by an isthmus extending to Sicily from Cape Bon in Tunisia, Sicily being joined to Italy, and Malta again to Sicily. Even now there is no great depth of water on this submarine bank. When the waters of the Atlantic were let in through the Straits of Gibraltar, this isthmus was probably submerged as it is now. It is generally

known that a constant current flows into the Mediterranean through the straits, but it is not so well known that a slighter undercurrent flows the other way. The upper one being much more copious supplies the Mediterranean with the water that it loses by evaporation; the undercurrent, flowing at about half the rate of the other, is composed of warmer water, which has undergone concentration by evaporation and it partially gets rid of the excess of salt in the sea. Were it not for this process of inflow from the ocean, the evaporation being far greater than the rainfall, the Mediterranean would sink to a much lower level, and an isthmus of land would again run from Africa to Sicily. As a general rule, the tides on this inland sea are scarcely appreciable; but in the Gulf of Gabes the tide is reported as running at the rate of two or three knots an hour, with a rise and fall varying from three to eight feet.

In the section devoted to Economic Science and Statistics, Professor Alfred Marshall gave an able address bearing in great measure on the vexed questions of Protection and Free Trade as applicable to the United States of America; but as these things do not concern science strictly so-called, we forbear to enter upon them; and, indeed, we doubt whether the British Association ought to allow such subjects (however important in themselves) to form a part of its proceedings, encumbered as they already are by such a variety of other matter.

The address of Captain Noble to the Mechanical Science Section was full of most important matter, though in many ways of too technical a character to fascinate the attention of the general public. He began with an enumeration of the dimensions of the Forth Bridge, which with its approach viaducts has a total length of nearly 1.6 mile, and an extreme height from its lowest foundation to the central position of the cantilever of 451 feet. To show the comparative insignificance of the Eiffel Tower, he conceives it as being built horizontally and without support, in which case it would reach little more than half across one of the main spans of the bridge.

He then proceeded to the main portion of his subject, the comparison in point of size and armament of the first-rate line of battle-ships, such as they were in the early part of the present century, with the enormous vessels that have been constructed with the aid of modern mechanical science, and the monster-guns which they carry. To get a full idea of this, the figures must be read in detail, but it may suffice to say in Captain Noble's words that any one of these modern vessels, could in a few minutes, blow out of the water half a dozen men-of-war of the old type. The picturesque effect of the old fleet of sailing vessels is gone, and the consummate skill in seamanship with which those vessels were handled, will no longer be of much avail: engineering power controlled of course by skilful hands will henceforth carry the day; and it is pleasant to know that Captain Noble, who has had great opportunities for judging, has the highest confidence in the zeal and the ability of the naval officers



of the present time. We may mention that one of our most powerful new vessels, the *Victoria*, has no less than eighty-eight steam-engines of various sizes on board, a number that may seem almost incredible. The development in gunnery, the construction of guns, their ammunition, and their working, is, if possible, still more astounding than that in the building of vessels.

The President of the Anthropological Section, Mr. John Evans, was unavoidably absent, and his address was read by Professor Rudler; it went into the question of the antiquity of man, and though in favour of allowing a very high antiquity to the human race, yet as to the supposed existence of man in tertiary times, said that the verdict must be "not proven." It then went on to discuss the *vexata quæstio* of the original home of the Aryan race, and some points connected with linguistic research.

Beside these addresses, there were three great public lectures given, one by Mr. E. B. Poulton, on the subject of "Mimicry," by which an insect for instance assumes, so to speak, the appearance of some part of a plant, a leaf, or another insect. This has been attributed to Natural Selection, and perhaps to some extent very truly so; but like other things it will admit of a different explanation. The lecturer without going much into argument, gave some admirable illustrations of the phenomena he was describing, by the aid of the magic lantern.

Another lecture by Professor Vernon Boys, on the subject of "Quartz Fibres and their Applications," was also beautifully illustrated in the same way.

The third was on "Spinning Tops," and was by Professor John Perry; it was intended chiefly for workmen, and it showed how this familiar toy gave one a lesson in Mechanics and Astronomy, how in fact the earth itself was a spinning top, and how the motion of the top exemplifies that curious reeling movement of the earth's axis, which causes the precession of the equinoxes.

On one of the days a discussion of some importance took place in two combined sections, Geographical and Economical, on the question of colonising or inhabiting certain portions of the earth not hitherto occupied, and so meeting the difficulty of the great increase of population. It was calculated by Mr. Ravenstein that in 182 years the surface of the globe would be fully peopled at the present rate, and little space left available.

Without attempting to give a *resumé* of the minor papers that were read in the various sections, we may say that there was one read in the Geographical department by Miss Mené Muriel Dowe—described by one of the penny-a-liners as a young lady of a pleasing and attractive appearance—who had made a tour in the Carpathian mountains this year, accompanied by no one but a native guide. She stated that she wore an easily-detachable skirt over knickerbockers, she carried a knife and a revolver, and when riding she rode as a man would do, and without a regular saddle; when not riding, she climbed mountains bare-footed. She had been nearly drowned

while bathing in strange rivers; and had once dislocated her shoulder by a fall; she regretted she had never met a bear face to face. Moreover she expressed a hope that the Polish eagle would one day wear its crown, and when the war should come she would wish to be a newspaper correspondent, or a vivandiere. This young and enterprising Amazon was, we believe, greatly applauded; we wonder if the next step in our social disorganisation will be the bestowing of honour and applause upon exceptionally effeminate men.

In the Anthropological Section there was a paper (two indeed we think) on the aborigines of Australia; it appears that they are by no means the degraded beings they have been represented to be; nor are they devoid of all religion. On this last-mentioned point savages are not always communicative, and it is not very easy for them to make themselves understood by Europeans; so that distorted reports of their religious or irreligious ideas are readily spread and accepted.

In the Geographical Section Father Tondini read (in English) a paper which seemed to aim at making Jerusalem a centre for calculating time, the place in which might be drawn the meridian for the universal day, leaving to Greenwich, however, its present position as the great meridian for calculating longitudes. The proposal did not meet with much favour, and indeed the difficulties attending it are too obvious to be overlooked.

One great drawback to the British Association is the great multiplicity of sections, rendering it almost impossible for any one to listen to more than a very few of the papers read. For those who are themselves authors of papers, or who take a leading part in discussing them, this matters little; they have their own sections to attend, and care comparatively little for the others. But for quiet non-combatants the difficulty is considerable.

The meeting next year is to be at Cardiff, and is to begin on the 19th of August, a more convenient time we think than the first week in September. The president is to be Dr. Huggins, the well-known astronomer, whose researches with the spectroscope have contributed greatly to the advancement of science.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Unexplored Canada.**—The *Times* of September 2 has an article under the above heading, stating that more than a quarter of the Dominion of Canada, or 1,000,000 out of 3,470,000 square miles, is still unexplored. Dr. Dawson, of the Canadian Survey, enumerates sixteen areas of considerable extent of which nothing is known, as follows:

(1) Area of 9500 square miles, or somewhat less than Belgium, between the eastern boundary of Alaska, the Porcupine River, and the Arctic coast, entirely within the Arctic Circle. (2) Area of 32,000 square miles, or somewhat larger than Ireland, west of the Lewes and Yukon rivers, and extending to the boundaries of Alaska. Being sheltered from the sea by the very high range of the St. Elias Alps, it ought to possess an exceptional climate. (3) Area of 27,600 square miles, nearly the size of Scotland, between the Lewes, Pelly, and Stikine rivers; has been penetrated only by a few prospectors. It lies in the direct line of the metalliferous belt of the Cordillera, and its lowlands are capable of producing hardy crops. (4) Area of 100,000 square miles, about twice the size of England, between the Pelly and Mackenzie rivers, belonging partly to the basin of the latter river, and partly to that of the Yukon, and including a length of nearly 600 miles of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. (5) Area of 50,000 square miles, nearly that of England, between the Great Bear Lake and the Arctic coast, nearly all within the Arctic Circle. (6) Area of 35,000 square miles, about that of Portugal, between the Great Bear Lake, the Great Slave Lake, and the Mackenzie river. It was the scene of some of the missionary journeys of the Abbé Petitot, who describes it as consisting of frozen steppes, like Siberia. (7) Area of 81,000 square miles, or more than twice that of Newfoundland, between the Stikine and Liard rivers to the north, and the Skeena and Peace rivers to the south. It contains a large tract of the interior plateau region, and probably much good agricultural land. (8) Area of about 7500 square miles, or half that of Switzerland, between the Peace, Athabasca, and Loon rivers. (9) Area of 35,000 square miles, equal to Portugal, south-east of Lake Athabasca. (10) Area of 7500 square miles, half the extent of Switzerland, east of the Coppermine river, and west of Bathurst Inlet. (11) Area between the Arctic coast and Back's river, 31,000 square miles, nearly equal to Ireland. (12) Extensive area of 178,000 square miles, larger than Sweden, bounded by Back's river, the Great Slave Lake, Hatchet and Reindeer Lakes, Churchill river, and the west coast of Hudson Bay. (13) Area between Severn and Attawapishkat rivers and Hudson Bay, of 22,000 square miles, larger than Nova Scotia. (14) Area of 15,000 square miles, half that of Scotland, between Trout Lake, Lac Seul, and the Albany river. (15) A tract of 35,000 miles to the south and east of James Bay, the nearest to the centres of population of the unexplored areas, and likely to contain valuable timber. (16) Area comprising almost the entire of the Labrador Peninsula, or north-east territory, covering 289,000 square miles, or twice the area of Great Britain and Ireland, with that of Newfoundland added. It is probably rocky, with timber of fair growth in parts, but its value will depend on the metalliferous deposits which it is expected may be found there.

Considerable portions of these areas lie south of the limit of profitable agriculture, and will thus afford a reserve for colonisation. Stretching beyond Winnipeg to the west and north-west, is the great

plateau and prairie belt, widest at the 49th parallel, and narrowing to the Arctic Ocean, which is generally an alluvial region of great fertility, where the sharp northern trend of the summer isotherms in this part of the continent carries the limit of corn culture far higher than in its eastern portions.

**Utilisation of the Water Power of the Rhone.**—Colonel Turrettini, an engineer in the service of the municipality of Geneva, who directed the works of the St. Gothard tunnel, has published an account of the work done by him in utilising the motive power of the Rhone as it leaves the Lake of Geneva. Measures had been already taken to regulate the level of the lake, as the inhabitants of the Canton du Vaud complained that its summer overflow, submerging their territory, was caused by the obstruction of its outflow by the Genevese, while the latter retorted by asserting that the Vaudois had encroached on the lake. The two Cantons at last came to an agreement, and works costing £92,000 have been constructed, with the desired result of minimising the possibility of an overflow. In September 1883, Colonel Turrettini laid his plans for utilising the water power of the river before the municipality of Geneva, and they have since been carried out. The Rhone, in passing through the town, is divided into two branches by an island covered with buildings, and while the right channel is left clear, the left is converted into an industrial canal, conducting the water into a building erected in the bed of the stream, to contain 20 turbines of 4400 net horse-power. The system of transmission of force by water under pressure has been adopted, and two canalisations have been made, one with low, the other with high, pressure, the latter with an ascending force of 460 feet. The works were very costly, the correction of the slope in the bed of the river requiring that both branches should be emptied in succession, and several banquets were actually given in the bed of the stream. A reservoir, capable of holding two million gallons of water, had also to be constructed about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the town. The total cost was £284,000, and a clear annual profit of £5500 is already made, after deducting the cost of maintenance, interest, and paying off of capital invested. There were, last year, 216 industrial motors, with a force of 1565 horse-power, in use by all varieties of industries, the force employed varying from a *minimum* of a third of a horse for sewing-machines, to a *maximum* of 625 horses for an electric lighting company. The demands for motive power are increasing, and the municipality anticipate having to augment the force at their disposal by works on an island some way down the Rhone, whence an amount of 7000 horse-power can be obtained and transmitted to Geneva by electricity, losing about 2000 horse-power in transit. Subsidiary works, executed at the same time, included the construction of a new system of sewerage, at a cost of £96,000, with such good results on the public health that there were but 9 deaths from typhoid fever during the year out of a population of 73,000. (*The Times*, July 26, 1890.)

**Delimitation of German and English Africa.**—The distri-



bution of territory between England and Germany in East Africa leaves the latter in possession of a solid block of 450,000 square miles, lying between the Indian Ocean on the east, and Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa on the west. The British sphere of influence cannot be so accurately defined, as its northern limit, which may almost be said to extend to the Mediterranean, is left to be shaped by the future. The dividing line from the south starts from a point on the coast nearly opposite Pemba Island, whence, running north-west, it bisects the Victoria Nyanza, meeting the eastern boundary of the Congo State a hundred miles further west, near the southern point of Lake Albert Edward. In this region it includes the country of which Mr. Stanley speaks in such glowing terms, the Semliki valley, Mounts Ruwenzori and Mfumbio, with the plateau round Lake Albert, rising from 3000 feet to 5000 feet above the sea, and densely inhabited by an agricultural and cattle-rearing population. The Wahuma, who pervade this and the whole lake region as conquerors and rulers, are a race apparently of Galla origin, of lighter colour than their subjects of Bantu race, and susceptible of a higher degree of civilisation.

**Wahuma States.**—Uganda, occupying the north-east shore of the Victoria Nyanza, with a population of from three to five millions, and a territory of 20,000 square miles under its immediate ruler, and 50,000 under his vassals, is the most powerful of the Wahuma States, and undoubtedly the pearl of the British protectorate. It is a hilly, but not mountainous country, with an average elevation of 4000 to 5000 feet above the sea, and is covered to the depth of four feet with alluvial soil, producing rich tropical vegetation, maize, rice, and coffee, with bananas and plantains in profusion. Most European animals thrive there, and it is thought that tea culture might be profitably introduced. Next in importance to Uganda is Unyoro, lying between it and the Albert Nyanza, with dependencies to the west of that lake. It forms a plateau about 4000 feet above the sea, with grassy plains, grazed by large herds of cattle, and forests of acacia and gum-bearing trees on the hills. The subject race are the most northerly branch of the Bantu stock, while the dynasty and aristocracy are formed by the Wahuma invaders. The people are skilled forgers and potters, wear complete clothing, and would offer a large field for the sale of cotton goods.

**British Littoral.**—The British protectorate on the coast includes the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, with a population of 250,000, and a trade estimated at two millions. The latter island is famous for its cloves, of which several million pounds are annually produced. The city of Zanzibar is the largest on the western shore of the Indian Ocean, and the great emporium of its trade. The principal port in the British Company's territory is Mombasa, further north, which has a good harbour, and will be the ocean terminus of the projected railway to Lake Victoria. Still further north is the mouth of the Tana river, in the district of Vitu, which may also some day be the outlet of a productive country.

**Southern Lake District.**—The western boundary of the German sphere touches the frontier of the Congo State, about 100 miles west of the Victoria Nyanza, and farther south is formed by the western shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, where its southern extension is limited by the Portuguese frontier on the Rufuma river. Between the two last-mentioned lakes, it comes in contact with the southern sphere of British influence, which includes the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika, and the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa, with the Stevenson Road connecting the two. Nyassaland is being developed by the Scotch missionaries and the African Lakes Company, and is the only part of Central Africa where European agricultural settlement has been tried. It is entirely cut off from the sea by German and Portuguese territory, but has its outlet through the Zambesi, of which the free navigation has been secured. The British boundary runs westward for about fifty miles from the extremity of Lake Tanganyika to the eastern shore of Lake Moero, and thence southward to the Zambesi, including Lake Bangweolo within its limits. This district, memorable as the scene of Livingstone's last wanderings and death, is by all accounts swampy and unhealthy, being the source of the upper feeders of the Congo and its affluents. The Shire Highlands west of Lake Nyassa form probably the most valuable district in this territory, and coffee is already successfully grown there under European direction. Much of the traffic of the interior, diverted from its former route by the German hostilities farther north, has been recently finding its way down Lake Tanganyika, and through Nyassaland to the sea.

**Development of Matebeleland.**—Mr. Maund, at the meeting of the British Association on September 5, read a paper on Zambesi and Lobengula, explaining that he had been one of the envoys to that potentate, two of whose chiefs he brought in 1888 to see the Queen. Matebeleland, in which there is a colony of 1000 white men connected by regular coach service with Kimberley, he declared to be the most promising region for colonisation in Africa, being healthy, sparsely populated, and rich in minerals. The country ruled by the Matebele Zulus is about the size of Germany, but only a portion of it is in their actual occupation. The climate is rendered healthy by the elevation of the plateau, and the heat, though great, is not oppressive. European fruits and vegetables will thrive as well as sweet potatoes, rice, maize, and tobacco, the latter grown in quantities by the natives. Indigo grows wild, and is used for dyeing, and coffee, sugar, cotton, and india-rubber can be cultivated. But it is to its mineral riches that the speaker looks for a speedy development. Gold, he believes, will create a rush like that in California and Australia, and traces of old workings show that it has long been known to exist. He himself has prospected and found gold, and seen the water-courses coloured below twenty reefs examined by him. Copper, traces of ancient workings for which are also found, abounds in Matebeleland, which is likewise rich in hematite iron. The latter is fashioned into many implements, principally assegais, by the con-

quered peoples, Makalakas and Mashonas, who, though physically inferior to their masters, are able and willing workers. The king has, so far, adhered to his promises to the chartered company, and the latter are engaged in the construction of a road, and profess to be in a position to protect working parties. By a treaty recently made with the Barotse chief, they have extended their sphere of influence to the rich but unhealthy valley of the Upper Zambesi.

**The Swaziland Convention.**—The recent compromise by which native rule is maintained in Swaziland in combination with international judicial administration, is not considered satisfactory by the Transvaal Boers, who desire to annex this country. The influx of white men, in consequence of the concession of mining rights by the late king, necessitated the creation of a white tribunal composed of a Dutch and an English magistrate, whose judgments are irreversible. This arrangement seems likely to lead to considerable friction owing to race jealousy among the settlers.

In return for the right of passage to the sea, secured by the Convention, the Transvaal has had to accept a Customs union with the Cape, which will have the effect of enhancing prices to its inhabitants. Under the present tariff, the Transvaal charges a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty on all goods, which, with the 6 per cent. duty in Natal, through which they principally come, makes an addition of 11 per cent. to prices, say at Johannesburg. The Portuguese duty at Delagoa Bay being 3 per cent., goods by that route pay a total of 8 per cent. At the Cape the duty has hitherto been 15, which, with the frontier duty of 5, made 20, but this is by the Customs union agreement to be exchanged for a total of 15 per cent. from all quarters. The trade of Natal will suffer from this equalisation of tariff, as it nearly doubles the ultimate charge on goods arriving thence, while the Cape will probably gain proportionally, as the railway to Kimberley will carry a good deal of the traffic. The present terminus of the railway from Natal is Ladysmith in the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Government will not allow any extension through their territory, a prohibition causing great discontent among the foreign mining population, who, however, are powerless in the matter, as they have no votes.

**Three Months' Captivity in Dahomey.**—The diary of Mr. Edward Chaudouin, manager of the trading firm of Fabre and Co., at Whydah, and one of the hostages seized by the King of Dahomey, has been published at full length in the Paris journal *L'Illustration*. The factory at Whydah having been besieged by the Dahomean troops from February 18 to 24, 1890, its European occupants, twelve in number, including M. Chaudouin and two French missionaries, were lured out by the hope of a safe conduct and immediately seized by the natives. Stripped to their shirts and drawers, and huddled for the night into a small hut, they were subjected to very rough handling and many personal indignities, before they were presented to the king in his camp at Allada near the coast. They passed through a force of 15,000 men in battle array, forming in their flowing white



robes an impressive spectacle. A stranger one was presented by the royal body-guard, consisting of the famous 4000 Amazons of Dahomey, armed with rifle and knife, and looking, despite their sex, a very formidable *corps d'élite*. The king was seated under a thatched roof surrounded by his attendants, and after the captives had prostrated themselves before him, ordered them to be kept safely and unharmed. After being dragged in the rear of the army to Abomey, where they were refreshed with a sight of the heads of four French sharpshooters in earthenware pots, they had, on May 2, another audience with the king, who impressed them rather favourably, as he looked frank and dignified, and showed some courtesy of manner, asking them if they were tired and would like some refreshment. He made them a long speech on the relations between him and France, ending with the welcome permission to return to Whydah, where they arrived on May 5, having been conducted thither with every mark of attention from the authorities of Dahomey.

**Proposed Expedition to the Sources of the Congo.**—The Congo Commercial Company have decided to send out a fresh expedition, consisting of seven Europeans, to settle the outstanding questions as to the remote feeders of that river. The territories of the Congo Free State are bounded on the East by three lakes: Tanganyika, Moero, and Bangweolo, while through them from north to south are scattered a series of smaller lakes, two of which, Lohemba and Upamba, are conjecturally supposed to be the reservoirs of the Congo. The latter, as far as is known at present, is formed by three main branches: (1) The Lualaba, regarded by some as the principal, coming from the south-west, and forming on the map, a chain of lakelets, of which two only have been seen, by Cameron and Reichard; (2) the Luapula, of which the Chambesi is the upper course, and which traverses Lakes Bangweolo and Moero, both discovered by Livingstone; (3) the Lukuga, issuing from Lake Tanganyika, and flowing due west. According to information derived from natives and Arab traders, these three rivers uniting in a common centre, form a large lake, Lanji, which no white traveller has ever seen.

The country of Urua, to the west of Lake Tanganyika, into which the expedition will penetrate, has been skirted by many explorers, among them Capello and Ivens, Reichard and Arnot, all of whom speak in glowing terms of its fertility, salubrity, and mineral wealth. It lies so high that frost is not unknown, and seems to be a region of much promise. The expedition will be commanded by M. Alexandre Delcommune, who has already done good work in exploring the affluents of the Congo, and has been seventeen years on that river. He will be accompanied by Lieut. Hackanson, of the Swedish army, formerly one of the agents of the Congo Free State; Dr. Briart, Lieut. Santschhoff, formerly of the Russian army; Baron Marcel de Roert; M. Norbert Diederich, an engineer; and M. Protsch. MM. Hackanson, Briart, and Santschhoff have already sailed, M. Diederich



followed on July 3, and M. Delcommune on the 6th. The escort will consist of 150 native soldiers. The expedition will meet at Kiachasso about the middle of September, and embarking on the steamer *Roi des Belges*, will proceed by the Upper Congo and its affluent the Lomami, to the limit of navigation on the latter river, nearly opposite Nyangwe. Further advance will be on foot, and it is calculated that the expedition will be absent from twelve to eighteen months. The expedition, on reaching the country to the west of Lakes Bangweolo and Moero—included in some maps within the Congo Free State—may find the country virtually under British protection. (*Times*, July 1, 1890.)

**Trade Routes to Khorassan.**—The first report on the trade of Khorassan, compiled since the establishment of a Consulate-General at Meshed, has recently been issued by the Foreign Office. British goods are imported by only two main routes, of which the first, by the Black Sea, Trebizond, Tabriz, and Teheran, entails a caravan journey of about 1600 miles. No transit dues are levied by the Turkish authorities, and only 5 per cent. is charged on arrival at Tabriz. The goods, bought there by Persian merchants, and despatched by them to Khorassan, pay a further duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on arrival there. The journey from Trebizond to Meshed takes about four months at the most favourable season, and camel hire is £2 17s. 2d. a load. The second route from the Persian Gulf, is by Bunder Abbas, and Yezd or Kirman, involving land transit of about 1000 miles, traversed in forty days by mules, or in seventy-five by camels.

Although the route by Kirman is shorter, and the dues charged at Yezd are avoided by it, the latter is generally preferred by merchants, as it is a bustling place of business, where they are likely to find a readier sale for the goods. Transport, too, though cheaper on the former route, is more regular and more easily procurable on the latter. British goods are by treaty liable only to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on entering Persian territory, and are exempt from all further duty throughout Persia, but this rule does not as yet apply to Khorassan, in transit to which they pay about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *viâ* Kirman, or over 9 per cent. *viâ* Yezd. A Russian official decree of last year imposes an *ad valorem* duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on all goods imported into Transcaspia from Europe, India, and Persia, and exceedingly heavy duties on all British goods which are a necessity (such as tea and indigo), on arrival at Samarcand while piece goods, &c., are rigidly excluded. The duties levied by the Amir of Afghanistan on the other hand, amounting to £2 2s. per cent., have caused the shortest and best route for goods from India to Meshed, that by Kandahar and Herat, to be totally abandoned, although the hire per camel load would be only £2 6s. 9d. Russian goods are imported in Khorassan almost entirely by the Transcaspian railway, only a small proportion travelling thither by Tabriz or Astrabad.

**Chinese and Indian Teas in Central Asia.**—The total value of British goods imported last year *viâ* Trebizond and Tabriz was

about £23,429, and by Bunder Abbas £60,871, exclusive of Chinese tea, to the value of £118,571 of green, and £5143 of black, imported from Bombay. The Indian teas figure in this list only for £12,000 and £7143, for black and green respectively, the total value of Chinese tea being £123,714 compared to £19,143 of Indian. Nearly all the green tea, value £122,857, went on to Bokhara, Khiva, &c. The Amir of Afghanistan levies £5 13s. 4d. on every camel-load in transit *viâ* Kabul to Bokhara, and the Amir of Bokhara 2½ per cent for passage through his dominions. A pound of tea costing twelve annas in India will cost about sixteen when it reaches Meshed, and eighteen when brought to Bokhara by this route, or twenty-one by the Kabul route. It seems nevertheless that a large quantity of the Indian tea imported into Bokhara travels by the latter route, as though the Indian merchants were unaware that that by Khorassan is cheaper. India supplies all the indigo used in those provinces, and about £5143 worth travels annually through Persia to Russian territory.

**Russian and English Trade.**—The relative figures of British and Russian goods imported into Khorassan are £84,300 for the former, and £110,408 for the latter. All English goods are considered better; but, from the greater original cost superadded to that of carriage, cannot compete with the Russian in price. At the present moment Russian and English chintzes are competing in the bazaars of Khorassan at prices leaving little profit on the sale of either. The Russian merchants are trying to force the English out of the market by selling at the lowest possible figures, while the latter are compelled to dispose of their goods even at a loss. With the Transcaspian railway at Askabad, only 150 miles from Meshed, and both places connected, as they soon will be, by a good macadamised road, it is obvious that English goods, handicapped by a longer and more difficult journey, must be driven out of the field. English broadcloth is preferred, but is undersold by cheaper qualities manufactured elsewhere and imported *viâ* Tabriz, while there is considerable demand for a Russian imitation cloth made from cotton, which gives very little wear and looks shabby immediately. Russian sugar, sold at 4½d. per pound, monopolises the market, as Indian sugar, the wholesale price of which in India is over 3¼ annas, cannot compete in cheapness though, being made from cane, it is more sweetening and superior in every way. Sugar might easily be manufactured on the spot, as beet is plentiful.

**Products of Khorassan.**—The chief exports of native produce from Khorassan are opium, cotton, wool, turquoises, dried fruits, almonds, carpets, and shawls. Opium is the only native article exported in any quantity (£37,143 worth) towards India, its ultimate destination being China; £14,286 worth is also sent to Constantinople through Teheran. Of other goods only £1814 worth were sent to India in the year in question, while wool, cotton, dried fruits, turquoises, &c., to the value of £111,442 were exported to Russia. The provinces of Khorassan and Seistan have an area

of about 200,000 square miles. Although the latter is very sparsely populated and, with the exception of some exports of wool to Bunder Abbas, almost without trade, it is said to be very fertile and capable of development. The revenue of the two provinces for the past year was £154,000 in cash, 12,464 tons of grain (two-thirds wheat and one barley) and 3942 tons of kah (chopped straw). Of this revenue £27,543 goes to the Shah—£24,914 of the cash and £2629 the price of the grain. Pensions, salaries, and pay of troops absorb the remainder. The population is, approximately, half a million, no census being taken. That of Meshed, including a floating population of 8000 pilgrims is under 50,000. There are in the town 650 looms for silk, 320 for shawls, and 40 for carpet weaving. Coarse cotton and woollen cloths, copper vessels, an inferior quality of earthenware, soap, tallow, and candles, are also manufactured there. Opium, cotton, wheat, barley, beans, pulse, grain, lentils, millet, beet, rape, castor, and saffron, are cultivated, but only the three first are exported, the remainder being consumed on the spot. The fruits include grapes, melons, peaches, plums, apricots, mulberries, pears, apples, and a small cucumber. The celebrated turquoise mine near Nishapur is farmed for £2857 a year, though its annual output of stones is worth £22,857. There are said to be twelve copper, seven lead, four coal, and one salt mine, in addition to a problematical gold mine; but only three of the copper mines, the salt mine, and one of the coal mines, are worked at all, and that only superficially. No coal is used in the country, and the copper worked is imported, while the native copper is sent to Russia. Meshed is connected by telegraph with Teheran, Astrabad, Bujurd, Kelat, Deraghez, and Sarakhs.

**Trade Routes to Persia.**—Mr. Lynch at the same meeting (British Association, September 4) read a paper on the commercial possibilities of Persia, pointing out that the obvious interest of England is that this great empire, covering an area of 610,000 square miles, five times that of the United Kingdom, should be developed under native rule, as an alternative to its falling into the hands of Russia. Declaring that the permission to navigate the Karun river is, without further facilities, illusory, he went on to review the relation of that route to the commerce of the interior. While the trade of central and southern Persia flows mainly on mule or camel back from and to the Persian Gulf, whence there is water carriage to India and Europe, the principal lines of communication of the northern provinces are by the Black Sea route *via* Trebizond, or through Russian territory by the Caspian. Teheran, with 200,000, and Ispahan with 80,000 inhabitants, are the principal markets of the interior, the latter being the one which, as the southern capital, may be said to belong commercially to the Persian Gulf system of communications. Bushire, the principal port of the latter as things stand at present, has, as opposed to Shuster, the head of the navigation of the Karun, the very obvious disadvantage of necessitating a longer and more difficult line of inland transit.



The distances on this are : Bushire to Shiraz 200 miles, over a pass of 7250 feet high, Shiraz to Ispahan 320, with a pass of 8000 feet, Ispahan to Teheran 280 miles over the Kohrud pass of 8750 feet. The difficulties of this road, the portion of which between Shiraz and the sea is the worst, are so great that bulky goods are taken by river to Bagdad, and thence, after passing the Turkish custom-house, transported to the plateau by the easier route of Kerrind.

**Advantages of Shuster.**—Shuster, on the other hand, distant 130 miles by land from the Persian port of Mohammerah, accessible to ocean steamers, commands a series of routes to the most populous districts of Persia, of which the chief are: (1) From Shuster *via* Khoramebad, Burujird, and Sultanabad to Teheran, a distance of 480 miles, as against 800 between Teheran and Bushire. This road rises for a distance of 110 miles from under 6000 feet to passes over 7000 feet high, the culminating point being Kushkedar between Sultanabad and Burujird, 7490 feet high. Across this section a group of European capitalists are engaged in constructing a cart road. (2) From Shuster *via* Malamir to Ispahan, a distance of 250 miles of which about 73 are at high altitudes, rising at one point to 8650 feet. By these roads the distance between Teheran and a port is reduced from 800 to 450 miles, and that from Ispahan to navigable water, from 520 to 250 miles. The first road from Shuster lies through the country depredated by the Lur tribes, but the revenues derived from increased traffic would make it the interest of the Persian Government to insure its safety. The second passes through a country occupied by pacific tribes. A recent estimate of the trade of Persia with Great Britain and India rates it at £2,500,000, and this figure ought to be largely increased by the opening of the Karun river, on which there is now steam service both above and below Ahwaz, where a ledge of rocks across the stream causes an interruption.

**Over-population of the Globe.**—Statisticians are beginning to calculate the period when the earth will cease to support its inhabitants at the present rate of increase, and a speaker at the British Association places this date at 182 years hence. According to the evidence of Mr. Giffard before the Colonisation Committee, there are but 100,000 square miles of territory to be occupied in the United States, but Australasia has still room for five times, and Canada for four times as many immigrants, while South America has a million-and-a-half square miles available, and Russia could support a much larger number of inhabitants than she actually does.

**Cession of Heligoland.**—The transference of Heligoland on August 9 from England to Germany, as part of the African Convention, is one of the few instances in history of a cession of territory as the result of a pacific agreement. On the day of the formal act of transfer, which attracted an immense influx of visitors from the mainland, the two flags remained flying side by side until sunset, and only on the following day was that of Germany hoisted



alone. The little rock which has thus obtained ephemeral celebrity has an area less than that of Hyde Park, of about three-fourths of a square mile, and a population, all fishermen, of some 2000. This, however, is increased in the bathing season by about 15,000 visitors, who are daily transported in strange looking boats across a sound about two miles in width to the adjacent Sandy Island, which is the scene of their immersion. The geographical characteristics of Heligoland, the "Holy Island," are summed up in popular descriptive doggerel:

Red is the rock,  
Green is the land,  
White is the strand:  
These are the colours of Heligoland.

The little town nestles under its red rock, on the top of which is perched the fishing village, to which access is gained by a lift. Lobster fishing, from June to September, is the most lucrative occupation of its inhabitants, and the average annual yield of the fisheries is about £7000. Fish is, moreover, the principal food of the population. They speak an unwritten dialect, declared by linguists to be Anglo-Saxon. The island contains neither horses nor donkeys, but eight cows and thirty sheep are kept for milk. The English garrison consisted of three policemen and a few coastguard, but, under German rule, the island will probably be fortified and strongly garrisoned. The Convention provides for the exemption from conscription of all its existing male inhabitants.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The Heriots.* By SIR HENRY CUNNINGHAM. London: Macmillan. 1890.

"THE Heriots" is a charming story, charmingly told. Olivia Hilliard's adventures in London, and her experience of the hollowness of unmitigated worldly pleasure when tested by the standard of a higher nature, are admirably portrayed, and she deserves her place as heroine from her courage in breaking away from all the allurements of vanity and ambition, when she finds their insufficiency to satisfy her heart. A penniless but well-born beauty, launched upon London society by the good nature of fashionable friends, she achieves the brilliant success of the season, becomes noted for her many gifts of personal attraction, finally triumphing in the conquest of Claude de Renzi, a rising young statesman, and heir to a

great cosmopolitan banking-house. Fascinated by his brilliant qualities, but with her deeper feelings untouched, she is persuaded to accept his hand, and with it the dazzling future that awaits her. The uncongenial atmosphere of a society essentially frivolous, devoid of religion, and indifferent to morality, helps to awaken her, and she discovers in time that there is a gulf between her real nature and that of the man she proposes to marry. She is eventually rewarded for her sacrifice by finding genuine happiness in the unchanged affection of a former lover, whom she can marry without a doubt or misgiving in her heart. A successful woman of the world is sketched in the heroine's chaperon and whilom benefactress, Mrs. Valentine Heriot, who descends to the lowest meanness of intrigue, in order to oust her brother-in-law from his place in his mother's will. Temporary success rewards her baseness, but poetical justice is wreaked on her before the end, in the discovery of her plot, and in the death of her child, the only object of her affection.

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*The Mystery of M. Félix.* By B. L. FARJEON. London: J. V. White. 1890.

THE attempt to construct a sensational plot has resulted in this work in the compilation of, perhaps, the most incredible tissue of improbabilities that has ever insulted the common-sense of the long-suffering public. No attempt is made to reconcile the action of the characters with the ordinary dictates of human reason, and the innocent victims of the most perfunctory of villains walk open-eyed into the trap he has laid for them. The persecuted heroine, in particular, is betrayed by her own ingenuousness, combined with a tendency to lapse into insensibility on all critical occasions, into a series of the most compromising situations, while a failure of memory, blotting out the facts and circumstances of her marriage, enables a wicked brother-in-law to deny it, and appropriate her child's inheritance. Among minor improbabilities are the imprisonment of a sane man in a lunatic asylum for close upon twenty years; the detection of the truth by the introduction of a lodging-house maid-of-all-work in the character of another patient; the supposed murder of a man who is not really dead, but in a state of temporary insensibility, the wholesome institution of a coroner's inquest having apparently fallen in his case into temporary abeyance; and the sequestration of some of the personages in caverns, accessible only by ropes, whence they are rescued barely in time to avert imminent death from starvation. It would be loss of time to analyse the plot into which these absurdities are interwoven, as it would be tedious in the doing, and of little interest when done. The fairy tales, which frankly set aside the laws of nature, require far less of a surrender of reason than do novels like this, based on a total travesty of humanity.

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*The Keeper of the Keys.* By F. W. ROBINSON. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1890.

UNDER the above somewhat far-fetched title, which does not refer to Tennyson's

Shadow cloaked from head to foot,  
Who keeps the keys of all the creeds,

but is merely a synonym for a wife, the author has given us one of the prettiest and most interesting stories he has written for a long time. The vicissitudes gone through by the heroine, whose father, to begin with, is a convict just released from penal servitude, bring her in contact with some of those strange specimens of humanity whom Mr. Robinson delights in portraying; for Rachel Wickerswill and her father are at least as eccentric in their circumstances and surroundings as any other specimen in his menagerie. But it is when transported to the apparently commonplace existence of her rich uncle's household that the mystery of a still darker tragedy involves, though indirectly, Fortuna Vanderspur in its shadow; for the murder of the gay, handsome, and faithless *fiancé* of her cousin Eugénie touches closely all the lives bound up with her own. Her lover, Dominic Gair, the murdered man's cousin, becomes for a time the object of suspicion, which the author adroitly diverts from the real culprit until he chooses to divulge the secret. The enigmatical character of Eugénie Vanderspur does not prepare us for such a deed, as an appearance of superficial coldness and reserve mask in her the deeper feelings, which all run in a single channel. Nor is the working of her nature sufficiently demonstrated to make her action intelligible, even in the end, unless we explain it as the outcome of outraged pride rather than affection.

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*A Heavy Reckoning.* By E. WERNER. London: Bentley. 1890.

AN interesting story is here elaborated out of materials principally furnished by the construction of a speculative railway in some part of Germany, and the fortunes of its promoters and projectors. These are principally two, Nordheim, a millionaire, whose fortune has been based on the fraudulent appropriation of a friend's invention, and Helmhorst, his *protège*, a young engineer, ambitious and self-seeking, but with elements of nobility in his disposition. He sacrifices his real attachment to Erna, the portionless niece of his patron, to a cold-blooded wooing of his daughter Alice, in the interests of his professional advancement. In the same spirit Erna accepts Waltenburg, a wealthy suitor, to whom she is indifferent; and we have thus two betrothed couples who regard each other with a feeling of antipathy rather than affection. The scene is principally laid among the mountains, where the works in connection with the railway bring all the characters together. The track is carried

round the base of the Wolkenstein, an inaccessible peak, on a road which is a triumph of Helmhorst's engineering skill, tunnelled through the rocks, or spanning gorges with bridges that seem suspended in the air. A terrible storm wrecks the whole structure, bringing down floods and avalanches from the mountains to obliterate the works of man, but this crisis in the material fortunes of the personages brings about a happier adjustment of their moral relations to each other. A young village doctor proves to be the son of the inventor whom Nordheim had wronged, and his repressed love for the daughter of the latter is allowed free course after his death, following on the disclosure of his fraud. Helmhorst is thus set free to marry Erna, while her lover Waltenburg, the "odd man out" of the party, is conveniently disposed of by a violent end in a snow-storm on the mountain.

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*From the Nether World.* By GEORGE GISSING. London: Smith Elder. 1889.

MR. GISSING'S tale of life among the lower working classes of London is, whether the author meant it so or not, a terrible picture of a world without religion. No heathen community has ever been so entirely devoid of supernatural motives as that which he portrays, and the British workman of his pages is so far inferior to the African savage, that he has not even a fetish to represent to him a power exterior to himself. The writer does not seek to idealise his *dramatis personæ*, and it is not their material sufferings but their moral condition, their total absence of any principle of self-control, their perversity of mind, aggravated rather than corrected by so-called education, which strikes the reader as so appalling. Family life, embittered either by the undutifulness of children, the brutality of husbands, or the vices of one or several of the parties, representing only the burdens of existence unsweetened by its affections, is portrayed with startling realism, in the interiors of many struggling households. In Clara we have a powerful picture of a rebellious soul self-condemned to torment in this world and the next by the fierce cravings of a nature, self-centred in passionate egotism, unredeemed by a single touch of tenderness, and gifted with higher sensibilities and aspirations only to become a more blighting curse to herself and others. Bob Hewett's career is an illustration of the descent of a nature, in youth merely pleasure-loving and careless, through various phases of deterioration to brutality and crime. A hopeless fatality dogs every one of Mr. Gissing's characters, the bad become worse, the good are sacrificed to the selfishness of others, and even the abortive scheme of a fanatical philanthropist results only in the misery of the one gentle and lovable personage in the book.

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*One of the Wicked.* By GODFREY BURCHETT. London: Ward & Downey. 1890.

RURAL England is the scene of this well worked-out story of a crime and its consequences. The principal characters in the drama are a besotted country squire, Anthony Mallerock, Esther Stillfleet, a girl of inferior position, whom he has married but not publicly acknowledged as his wife, and his brother Pedro, a half Spaniard by race, and compound of Mephistopheles and Machiavelli in character. The guilt of the death of his brother, stabbed by him in a quarrel, he lays at Esther's door, bringing it home to her by a cleverly contrived chain of circumstantial evidence, while he denies her marriage in order to secure the inheritance. The case is so strong against her that she, though innocent, pleads guilty to the lesser charge of manslaughter in order to save her life, and is duly sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The remainder of the story consists of the efforts of her friends to unravel the real story of the crime, which is eventually effected by an ingenious detective's discovery in the house of the murderer, which he has entered burglariously, of what seemed the most shadowy clue. Its following up involves the tracking of an ex-kitchen-maid, Emily Conn, through her subsequent career, and to the southern hemisphere and back. Her knowledge of some of the minute circumstances on which the case for the prosecution rested enables her not only to overthrow the whole fabric of falsehood, but to bring home the guilt to the real criminal. The interest is kept up until the close, which leaves Esther established in her rightful position, widowed, but well endowed, while the pair of lovers who have been instrumental in establishing her innocence are rewarded by the enjoyment of ideal wedded bliss.

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*The Tragic Muse.* By HENRY JAMES. London: Macmillan. 1890.

THE "Tragic Muse" of the title-page is an underbred girl with a strong vocation for the stage, and an unlimited supply of the pushing egotism which so often accompanies that and other forms of genius. Beauty is at first her only apparent qualification for her profession, but being a heroine she develops the remaining ones in process of time, and become a famous actress, whose success, however, fails to interest the reader in any degree. The other characters are almost equally out of the range of sympathy. The hero, "Nick" Dormer, is a contemptible creature with æsthetic proclivities, who throws up a promising parliamentary career to potter over an easel, and alienates by his half-hearted courtship, the beautiful and wealthy woman who is willing to bestow her heart and fortune on him. The book is, as a matter of course, rich in clever satire of minute points of character, but shows total inability to grasp or present any one as a whole. Mr. James's artistic vision is microscopic, and consists

entirely of analysis of detail without the synthetic power of combining the magnified minutiae on which our whole attention is concentrated. He is consequently best as a satirist, or in the lighter sketches, where a caricature likeness of character will suffice. On a large canvas his vagueness becomes blottesque rather than suggestive, and the attempt to fill in his outlines only makes them more unreal. In the present work the story is of the slenderest, and stagnates through three closely printed volumes of prolix conversations, varied by tedious dissection of motive in common-place characters. The author's sarcastic vein finds a butt in the portraiture of the professional æsthete, Gabriel Nash, whose artistic epicureanism is scarcely an exaggeration of the inanities indulged in by this modern type of humanity.

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*The Riddle of Lawrence Haviland.* By CONSTANCE SMITH.  
London: Bentley. 1890.

WE have here an admirably written and interesting story, with its artistic value somewhat marred by the scattering of interest through, not one, but a succession of plots. This defect of construction is however entailed by the very feature which gives it unusual worth, as a realisation of the gradual development of character under the modifying stress of circumstances. The hero is, from this point of view, admirably drawn, and attracts the reader's full sympathy, despite that intermixture of inflexible self-righteousness which accompanies his high strength of purpose and power of self-discipline. The heroine, Hilda Treherne, is absolutely lovable in her submissive gentleness, combined with warmth and tenderness of affection. She is rather hardly used in having a series of ordeals to go through, since after waiting for years for even a declaration of attachment from a man whose circumstances are an insuperable obstacle to his marriage, her happiness is again postponed to his scruples of honour, when a cloud of suspicion rests for a time on his character. After the lovers have been at last happily united, a long estrangement arises between them from the husband's unnecessarily harsh judgment of a very excusable act of his wife's, the destruction of a document which had accidentally come into her hands, and which seemed at the time to be an additional piece of evidence against him. The terrible temptation to which he himself succumbs, though only in thought and for an instant, humbles his pride and brings about reconciliation, but this is scarcely effected when she has to go through a fresh agony in seeing him hover for weeks between life and death in consequence of an attempt on his life in an Irish vendetta. His ultimate recovery leaves her happy at last, after having exhausted the vicissitudes of fortune.

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*The Baffled Conspirators.* By W. E. NORRIS.

THIS bright sketch of manners, may be described as rather a comedy in one volume than a novel. It narrates the crushing and inglorious defeat of a band of four misogynists, who have the audacity to measure their strength against the female sex in an anti-matrimonial campaign. Their contract binds each to abstain from proposing for any lady until the consent of the others has been obtained, the six months' delay which they have the power of interposing being deemed by the arch-conspirator, Lord Guise, sufficient to nip all matrimonial intentions in the bud. Cupid, thus set at defiance, speedily avenges himself on the conspirators, who, heart-whole at the time they consent to give the pledge, bitterly regret it as they become entangled in situations, which make its fulfilment a grave embarrassment. Three fall victims to the charms of the notorious beauty and man-slayer, Sybil, Lady Belvoir, while the fourth is only saved from a similar fate by a preliminary inoculation, having been but recently released or dismissed from an engagement to her. Her triumph is completed by the subjugation of her avowed enemy, Lord Guise himself, who having begun by finding no language too harsh to apply to her, ends by proposing to and marrying her. Her feminine acuteness easily fathoms the secret of the conspiracy, and she is thus able to explain to her friend, the mysterious and humiliating desertion of a devoted suitor during the six months' probation imposed by the Bachelors' Mutual Protection Society. The characters are sketched with the author's graphic felicity of touch, and the sustained humour of the little piece, through all its varying incidents of pique and misunderstanding, makes it very entertaining reading.

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*Recha.* By DOROTHEA GERARD. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1890.

THIS volume is a companion tale to "Orthodox," since both deal with the sordid lives and intolerant spirit of the fanatical Jews in Austrian Poland. The author's strange pictures of this unfamiliar and unlovely aspect of humanity are limned with the definiteness conferred by intimate knowledge of the subject, and have an anthropological value apart from their merit as works of fiction. Both volumes turn on the same subject, the unrelenting determination of the orthodox Jews to prevent the apostasy of a daughter of their race, in her intended marriage with a Christian gentleman. In the present tale it is an Austrian cavalry officer, who sees and loves the beautiful mask which disguises the half-awakened soul of the usurer's daughter. Light from the outer world had previously only filtered into its darkness through surreptitious reading, but it has sufficed to overthrow all faith in her hereditary creed. The inner change thus wrought in her, she dissembles in her affection for her father, the absorbing passion of her soul, until superseded by a still more

ardent attachment to her Christian lover. The intensity of this feeling in her repressed nature conquers at last her efforts to subdue it, and she consents to abandon her own people, in order to become his wife. Their secret is betrayed to her father, who with the connivance of his co-religionists contrives to make away with the unfortunate young man, while Recha ends as a maniac. The Jewish nature in these types is described as swayed by two master passions, greed, and attachment to the forms of a religion which has lost all moral significance. Here, as in many kindred instances, it would seem as if it were the accidents and not the essentials of faith that have the strongest power of awakening a blind and ferocious zeal in its adherents.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

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### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By CANON BELLESHEIM, of Aachen

#### 1. *Katholik*.

**Canon Moufang.**—The July number opens with a biographical article on the late Canon Moufang, the President of the Episcopal Seminary of Mainz, written by Canon Brück, favourably known to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW by his history of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century. Moufang was born at Mantz, February 17, 1817, became a student of medicine, and then with signal success applied himself to the study of theology. In due time he was made a canon and president of the seminary. His unwearied application to study fitted him to do signal service to Catholic science. He was the author of a small but thoughtful sketch of the late Cardinal Wiseman, dealing especially with his contributions to Catholic science. Besides not a few minor writings and occasional pamphlets, the Canon has won fame by the production of one eminent work, his collection of "Catholic Catechisms of the Sixteenth Century in the German Language." It should be also mentioned that Canon Moufang was a distinguished orator, and as such for many years was a champion of the Church's rights and liberty, both in the German Diet and in the Second Chamber of Hesse.

**The Character of King David.**—Next we must mention a series of solid articles on "The History of King David, as Illustrated by Modern Protestant Bible Criticism and Historiography." The



tendency of this criticism, as represented by Dr. Stade's "History of Israel," is to eliminate the supernatural element in David's history, and to reduce him to a sort of modern condottiere.

**Blessed John Fisher and the Oath of Supremacy.**—The next article discusses the much agitated question, whether or not the Blessed Cardinal Fisher took the oath of supremacy, and shows that there is no solid reason for charging him with any such act; that, on the contrary, the prelate throughout his life showed himself to be one of the most steadfast defenders of the Pope's spiritual supremacy.

Another article defends the German bishops and their great pastoral of 1889 from the wanton attacks in which the Evangelical Association has indulged. In the August number, Professor Nirschl, of Würzburg University, writes on the "Therapeutæ," Canon Stoeckl on the leading principles bearing on the school question; whilst Father Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, comments on the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States. To the same author we are indebted for a critique on Stubbs's "History of the University of Dublin."

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## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The July number opens with a series of articles on "Cardinal Bellarmin as pictured by Old Catholic Historians," which criticise "The Autobiography of Cardinal Bellarmin, in Latin and German, with historical elucidations by Professors Doellinger and Reusch" (Bonn, 1887) Many of the attacks made by Doellinger on Bellarmin are closely examined and refuted. Another article describes the contest now going on between the Hungarian Episcopate and Government as to the education of the children of mixed marriages. Dr. Grube contributes an article on the "Catalogue of Manuscripts, belonging to the Library of Wolfenbüttel (Braunschweig)." It is well known that Flacius Illyricus, by *fas et nefas* (cultus Flacianus), obtained possession of a large quantity of rare manuscripts, which were bought by Frederick Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick, and in 1597 were made over to the library of Wolfenbüttel. Scotchmen will be interested to learn that not a few of these treasures once were the property of churches and convents of their country, amongst which Cod. 1006 Helmstädt, containing "*Antiqua taxatio omnium reddituum omnium episcopatum regni Scotiae*," deserves special mention. Other manuscripts, Cod. 538 Helmstädt, belonged originally to St. Andrews.

Another article is by Father Zimmermann, in which he gives an account of Dr. Jessopp's interesting book, "The Trials of a Country Parson," with some good digressions on the actual condition of the Established Church. Dom Suitbert Baeumer, a Benedictine of Maredsous (Belgium), brings to a close his series of articles on Mabillon. Another article, and one worth reading, gives a biography of the late Father Roothan. Born in Holland, and educated

in the University of Leyden, he joined the Society of Jesus in Russia, distinguished himself as a preacher and missionary, and became its General. Father Roothan was also an eminent student in philology, and during his lifetime preserved an intimate friendship for his ancient Professor van Lennep in Leyden. A rather too brief notice appears in the August issue of Dr. C. Wolfsgrüber's (O. S. B.) "Gregory the Great." This learned biography, the result of wide study, makes its appearance as an offering to the great Pope's memory on the thirteenth anniversary of his accession to the Papal throne. It does not pretend to contain anything either novel or striking. Dr. Wolfsgrüber is content to bring together the results of ancient and modern historical research. His chief source is St. Gregory's own writings. He is particularly to be congratulated on his sketch of the Pope's activity in furthering the interests of the Church, and allowing us a view in his interior life—the source and nourishment of St. Gregory's splendid public acts.

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### 3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

In the July issue Father Dressel writes on a leading question of natural science, "Energie und Entropie die Triebfedern der un-belebten Welt," Father Haan on Hypnotism, and Father Schmitz on a point of some historical interest as to the frequency of the reception of sacraments by the laity in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, in the treatment of which, as he lives in Denmark, the writer draws his authorities largely from northern countries and their ecclesiastical councils. Antiquarians will gladly peruse Father Beissel's article on "History in German Seals." Seals have a history of their own, which faithfully represent, too, the currents of thought in the periods to which they belong. Father Baumgartner contributes two articles: one on the poetry of Catalonia, and the other on the "Neerlandia Catholica," presented by the Dutch Catholics to Pope Leo XIII. on the occasion of his late Jubilee—in which article the writer draws a sketch of the development of Catholic life in Holland since the revolution of 1830.

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### 4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Father Frins has an article treating of the nature of sin according to the schoolmen of the middle ages, Father Arndt contributes one on the various denominations in Russia, Father Grisar a masterly paper on "Rome and the French Church, chiefly in the Sixth Century." We are specially grateful to Father Grisar for this article. It has gradually become a sort of axiom with Protestant historians that the Church of Gaul enjoyed, as it were, perfect independence of the Holy See, and in his article he succeeds in quite establishing several most important facts: that prior to the destruction of the

Roman Empire in Gaul the Primacy of Rome was undisputed in that country; also that even after the establishment of the Frankish Monarchy bishops as eminent as Cæsarius of Arles and Avitus of Vienne are found so energetically supporting the claim of Rome that it could not have been lost sight of, and that in the sixth century evidence is not wanting of the recognition of the Roman Primacy in Gaul, one luminous proof of which is the fact that the Archbishop of Arles enjoyed, in his quality of Papal Vicar, the right of precedence before the other prelates.

### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 2 Agosto, 1890.

**Italy and the Triple Alliance.**—The *Civiltà Cattolica*, in its number for August 2, has a clear and convincing article upon the subject of the "Triple Alliance:" the advantages, or, to speak more correctly, the disadvantages, which Italy may be expected to derive from this much lauded compact, contracted by her rulers with Germany and Austria, two first-class military Powers, six years ago, and which, through the enormous outlay it has already entailed, and will further entail, is in process, conjointly with other causes, of reducing her to skin and bone. The blindness of the Italian Government is such that it is spending on its military armaments little less than Austria—relatively, in fact, more—and proportionately as much as Germany expends. France alone exceeds. But we must remember that France, from its natural wealth, can sustain the expense of this war without battles, as it may be called, and even increase it without serious damage; nay, this hostile attitude may serve its purposes, because it impoverishes and exhausts her adversaries, who are forced to keep up with it; but for Italy it is evident such a state of things constitutes an imminent peril, and threatens it with utter ruin, for Italy is a poor country, ground down by taxation, and with no means of increasing her material prosperity in any way. What, then, does the Government hope or propose to gain by this ruinous alliance? Its motive was obvious. It has charged the country with this intolerable burden simply in order to be ready in all eventualities to secure Rome to the Revolution; but, politically speaking, it has blundered grossly. If Bismarck made a signal mistake in not appreciating the recuperative powers of France, the so-called Italian kingdom has committed an egregious folly in breaking with that Power, to which, in fact, it owes its very existence, in order to link itself to Germany. The Triple Alliance assures neither the peace nor the prosperity of any of the allied States; it does but help to furnish France with the possibility, through its natural wealth, of inflicting great evil on them. France can bring an army of several millions into the field, and at any moment single-handed would be able to give the allied States much to do, quite independently of the aid which

Russia may afford her. Thus the Italian Government incurs the risk of obtaining the precise opposite of its object. But does Italy, after all the sacrifices it has made, possess an army able to meet any contingency? Far from it. A further incalculable amount of expenditure is needed for this end, as well as to complete the defences of the country; and where is the money to be found? France has internal resources; France has credit; and, if she has to incur debts, she can pay them. Italy has neither the one nor the other. Thus, for the attainment of an uncertain object, the Government is madly rushing on certain financial ruin. It cannot be so blind as not to perceive this. It cannot but see the abyss yawning before it; but perish Italy, so that the Revolution may keep hold of Rome! This is the meaning of the Triple Alliance.

Financial ruin, however, is not the only evil involved in the maintenance of this armed peace. We have to remember the misery accruing to the country by the withdrawal of millions of men from the pursuits of agriculture, industrial callings, commerce, study, family cares and duties, the sweets of domestic life, and well nigh all the aids and consolations of religion; from everything, in short, that is opposed to the life and habits of camp and barrack. The Italian army too surely tells its own tale as to the results. These agglomerations of soldiery are schools and hotbeds of the most abominable vice and immorality; and, in the estimation of those who regard things from a higher point of view, these moral evils far surpass those which are material. Add to all this the fearful number of daily suicides committed in the barracks, and we shall have some measure of the evils, moral, social, and economical, which are dragging the country to inevitable ruin. Let this Triple Alliance be prolonged six more years, and Italy will be utterly discomfited and crushed, without the discharge of a single shot. Such will be the outcome of this "master-piece" of diplomacy.

**The Teaching of the Church Concerning Hallucinations.**—In a previous article, forming part of a series on visions and ecstasies in connection with the supposed medical discoveries of recent times, the reviewer had taken a brief survey of the theories propounded by modern physicians on the subject of hallucinations, demonstrating the futility of their application by rationalists to explain the visions and ecstasies recorded of the saints honoured by the Church. He now succinctly sets forth the teaching of the Church in this matter of illusions and hallucinations, referring chiefly to Benedict XIV. on "the Beatification and Canonisation of the Servants of God," which is a text-book to theologians and to ecclesiastical tribunals on this question. If the rationalists would take the trouble to read this work they would find to their surprise that the Church has long ago deeply studied these matters, concerning which so many scientists now fancy they can give her lessons and correct her erroneous judgments. The point on which they strongly insist, as if theologians were ignorant of it, and it had been brought to light only by modern science, is that hallucinations of a purely



natural origin exist, which often assume a religious or a demoniacal form; and these, they say, precisely resemble what are believed by Catholics to be supernatural visions or preternatural obsessions. Scientists class these hallucinations under three heads, corresponding with their exciting causes: namely, into those which are induced by some poison, whether that of opium, nightshade, or alcohol; those which originate in attacks of malignant fever; and those which occur in various states of cerebral derangement and consequent mental alienation. If these discoveries were all new, some persons might possibly be led to entertain a doubt as to the genuineness of visions recorded in Christian hagiology, and accepted as supernatural in the processes of canonisation. It might perchance be said that theologians, acting in perfect good faith, were deceived through their ignorance of the possibility of natural hallucinations from morbid causes. To which, however, there is the obvious reply that, since it has not been the habit of the Church to propose to the veneration of the faithful any person of unsound mind or drugged with alcohol or opium, and as the visions of the saints did not coincide with attacks of fever, it would have mattered little if theologians had been ignorant concerning the hallucinations originating in these morbid causes, the phenomena examined by them being evidently not referable to the said causes. But, so far from being ignorant with regard to them, ancient physicians, philosophers, and theologians have expressly treated of them, and that most minutely. The reviewer gives corroborative extracts from the work of Benedict XIV. who, quoting from P. Bardello, cites instances quite in point of hallucinations of this order.

But more than this. Morbid hallucinations are those which are least easily mistaken for preternatural visions. There are others of a natural order of which the medical faculty know very little, occurring as they do in persons otherwise sane in mind and not afflicted with any bodily ailment. In such cases the doctor is not likely to be called in; it is the spiritual director who is more likely to be consulted; natural illusions, independent of any morbid cause, have not therefore been the subject of clinical medical examinations; indeed, it is actually matter of dispute amongst members of the faculty at the present day whether hallucinations ever exist without morbid derangement, a matter upon which the Church has never had any doubt. Where the experimental knowledge and scrutiny of these doctors end, that of the Church may be said to begin. To her it does not suffice that the individual in question should be sane in mind and body, and to all appearance a devout servant of God, in order to have his or her visions and ecstasies considered to belong to the supernatural order. The utmost caution has been always used in this matter, a caution which some might imagine to be excessive, and which would amaze those who are pleased, in their ignorance and prejudice, to believe that the Catholic Church is greedy and credulous of the miraculous. They would find, on the contrary, that cases of this sort undergo, when they come before

ecclesiastical authority, the most stringent examination, and are subjected to the severest criticisms. All this the reviewer ably demonstrates by extracts from the most authentic sources. He shows also that St. Teresa, herself the recipient of so many supernatural favours, was keenly alive to the dangers of illusion which beset the supernatural life, and in her calm, clear, and eminently rational style has given rules for discrimination.

It will be seen, then, that Catholic theologians much more readily admit the possibility of hallucinations than do these modern doctors. The reason is that masters of the spiritual life have drawn their knowledge from observations made on persons of sound mind, who, with more or less of rectitude and sincerity, profess a devout life. Nay, theologians, having fully recognised the efficacy of certain physical dispositions and impressionable temperaments for inducing visions and ecstasies of a purely natural order, have not hesitated to apply their canons of criticism even to undoubted servants of God, whom it was a question of raising to the altars of the Church, and to regard some of their visions and ecstasies as not surpassing the powers of nature, and hence not to be pronounced miraculous. If modern scientists would make themselves acquainted with these facts, they might find reason to blush for some of their rationalist colleagues, who have pointed out their supposed discoveries to the notice of theologians and of the Church, in order to warn them against mistaking hallucinations for supernatural visions and revelations.

19 Luglio, 1890.

**The Question of Rome and the Roman Question.**—Amongst the various interesting articles which have appeared during the last quarter upon subjects of the day is one thus headed. The title expresses two different ideas, bound together, however, as cause and effect; for it is the Roman or Papal question originating in the Masonic Revolution, which has brought about the utter failure, moral and financial, of the Roman municipality, and reduced the city *dis auctoribus in æternum condita*, as Titus Livius called it, or, as Martial sang,

Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma,  
Cui par est nihil e nihil secundum,

to the ignominious state in which the world now beholds her.

The Revolution has always aimed at the possession of the Eternal City, not for any love that it bore to it, but in order by its conquest to complete the work for which in fact the unity of Italy was devised, its dechristianisation, the decapitation in its very centre of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, and, as one of the "sect" has expressed it, "to plunge the cold blade of a knife into its heart." Masonic infidels and Jews, animated by the spirit at once of hatred and rapacity, have combined together for this Satanic purpose, while deluding men with the empty pretexts of patriotism and

national independence. The reviewer sets before us the three Romes: the first being the magnificent Rome of the Cæsars, so vast, according to an ancient writer, that no one knew where it began. Tacitus, speaking of the census taken by Claudius, gives it near upon seven million of inhabitants. To Pagan Rome succeeded Papal Rome, which was destined to save from destruction so many glorious remains of antiquity, while side by side with it, on the banks of the Tiber, a new and beautiful city arose, Christian Rome. The Popes built, but demolished nothing; nay, they were ever the faithful guardians and preservers of all the monuments of classic and pagan Rome.

Now what of the third Rome, the ideal of the anti-Christian Revolution, which was to eclipse all that had preceded it, and, as may be gathered from their own confession, annihilate in Rome the Papal city, superinducing another, new and opposed to it, not only materially considered, but as regards the moral respects of civilisation? Since the Deicide of Jerusalem never has the divine malediction been so clearly manifested on a city as on this Rome of the Freemasons and Jews. Space forbids us to analyse this article in any of its details. We must, therefore, content ourselves with referring our readers to the sketch given in the pages of this Review of the material ruin and squalid misery which are everywhere discernible to the eye, and for statistics of financial failure, rampant immorality, and appalling crime, based on official reports or drawn from the regretful statements of those whose desire it would have been to be able to set things in a far different light, and to whom the utter collapse of the third Rome is a matter of keen disappointment.

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## FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*L' Université Catholique.*—Lyons.

*Cardinal Caverot.* This is a charming article in the May number, by Faugier, a most devoted admirer of the Archbishop of Lyons. The kindly character and humility, the playful familiarity of the Cardinal towards his clergy, are brought out by illustrative instances. The Cardinal's fidelity to the claims of the divine office was rigid and uncompromising, and he was unsparing towards any of his clergy whom he found a little lax as to exact times in this respect. Hence we are amused when we hear that he could not lay Walter Scott down till he had read to the end of the novel, "non obstant les droits de priorité du bréviaire."

*St. Ennodius and Papal Supremacy in the Sixth Century.*—This subject continues to be treated in a forcible manner by M. S. Légglise. The protest drawn up by St. Avitus, of Vienne, in the name of all the bishops of Gaul, against the treatment of Pope Symmachus, and which is given here, is very telling, and shows clearly that all

the bishops of Gaul considered it quite monstrous and unheard of that the Council of Palma should presume to judge "their superior." The articles we have had on this same subject, continued through several numbers, are a valuable addition to our literature on the subject.

*The Centenary of St. Gregory the Great.*—This is a very eloquent article, in the June number, by the Rev. Father Ragey. The author speaks of St. Gregory as the founder of religious music, as a promoter of art, as a great writer, as a monk, and as a Pope. The sketch is a brilliant one, and done by a master hand. Towards the conclusion, he says: "But of all peoples, that which owes the most to St. Gregory, is not Italy, or France, but England. This nation, more than any other, has been made what it is by Christianity. It is from it that it has its monuments, its laws, its great men, its power, its prosperity. Now, this Christianity it owes to St. Gregory. Either by natural intuition, or by one of those supernatural illuminations, which God sometimes gives to His saints, Gregory divined what was intelligent, noble, and strong in character in this great people, and he did for it what no prince has ever done for any nation. Not being able to give it his own person, for the Romans prevented that, he gave it his best monks, his best priests, his best friends, and afterwards his counsels, his prayers, his whole heart; and finally the gift of faith and civilisation. He formed not with his hands but with his heart, and marked with the seal of his genius this new Christian Church and nation. . . . England, though Protestant, ought, if not through an impulse of religion, at least through a motive of patriotism, to erect a statue to St. Gregory, not in Westminster—the company is not worthy of him—but at the doors of Parliament, with this inscription: 'Grateful England to St. Gregory the Great.'"

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## Notices of Books.

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*Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer.* An Examination into its Origin and Early History, with an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B., Author of "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," and EDMUND BISHOP. London: John Hodges. 1890.

AT the time of our near preparation for press this quarter, Father Gasquet's impatiently expected new book is not yet published; but Mr. Hodges has kindly allowed us to look over a copy, for which we beg to thank him, and we are naturally desirous to make our readers acquainted, in a summary way, with the nature of its contents. This is all that space and time will permit us at present. More than this,



and especially any critical appreciation of it, must necessarily be postponed till our next issue. Long before that time, however, it is safe to predict, great interest will have been aroused; for that two Catholic scholars should come before the English public as historians of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer is striking enough. And those who have read Father Gasquet's now widely-known work on the English Monasteries under Henry VIII. will anticipate that his new work is not a mere re-study of already existing histories of the Prayer-Book by Anglicans. These are numerous enough; but we believe there is not, at least we have not found, a single allusion to one of them. This is altogether an original work; and its chief interest centres in the hitherto undiscovered documents which the authors have themselves unearthed. Indeed the work apparently originated in the desire to merely edit a MS. which had previously escaped the notice of searchers into the history of the Prayer-Book, but which Father Gasquet's practised eye noticed was full of corrections in Cranmer's own handwriting. This proves to contain two schemes of liturgical reform drawn up for Cranmer, and then annotated and corrected by himself; and the precious MS. thus discovered furnishes a missing link in the genesis of the first Common Prayer-Book. It was supposed hitherto that nothing remained in existence, if anything ever existed, of the record of the "labours of the bishops and others who, by command of Convocation, had been engaged in examining, revising, and setting forth the divine service" and which the first Convocation of Edward VI. (Nov. 1547) desired "should be produced and should be submitted to the examination of this house." That such a valuable record could lie in a public library for so many generations unrecognised has the strangeness of fiction; yet of the genuineness of Cranmer's handwriting, as even of the nature and (at least proximate) date of the various documents there seems to be possible—thanks to the authors' able study of them—no further doubt. The volume thus introduced to the public contains two schemes of public Divine Service, and three tables of lessons; and these are embodied in the Appendix. The authors assign the first scheme, which is largely influenced by Quignon's Breviary, to a date somewhere between 1543 and Henry's death, as it was probably drawn up by Cranmer to be submitted for Henry's adoption. The second scheme has a Latin preface, of which that of the present Book of Common Prayer is little more than a translation; it also marks the determination of future changes in the direction, not of mere reform of the Breviary, but of Lutheran innovation. This scheme abandons "Hours," for Morning and Evening Prayer, retaining, however, many features of the Catholic Breviary, which were deliberately set aside later. This second scheme is attributed by the authors to the early period of Edward VI., prior to the compilation of the first Prayer-Book; it "clearly manifests traces of having been used for that work."

With these documents as a point of departure, and with much other first-hand research into the records of the time to guide them,

the authors are able to study the conflict of opinions and projects, and the influences which ultimately triumphed, making the Common Prayer-Book what it appeared in 1549. It will be seen that Cardinal Quignon's Breviary influenced largely Cranmer's first scheme: whilst in the Books of 1549 "no part remained but what had been incorporated in the Preface, and such general influence as it may be supposed to have exercised in regard to the continuous reading of Scripture." It will be seen, too, how earnestly the Catholic-minded portion of the English bishops wished to minimise the changes, and shape them consistently with Catholic doctrine. A most interesting and valuable glimpse of their efforts in this direction is given. They failed—or rather they were outwitted and overruled. Cranmer did as he liked. For proof of these points, we must refer the reader to these highly interesting pages. Even such Catholic features of the first Book, however, as the bishops saved were doomed; and the changes of 1552 were intended to make it quite clear that Catholic doctrine was not the doctrine of the Book of Common-Prayer. Or we may say that the Catholic party endeavoured to make the Book of 1549 much (as to Catholic doctrine) what the present Anglican party strive to show that it is; and the text which the Catholics sought to preserve was altered—just to show that this Catholic doctrine was not tolerated in the English reformed Church.

Another point of great interest discussed by the authors we cannot but mention. The first Book of Common Prayer, they show strongest grounds for concluding, was never submitted to Convocation at all (see the whole of Chapter X.,) though they have now made it evident, for the first time, that the proposed Liturgy *was* submitted to a meeting of the bishops—a meeting which is indeed called, in a contemporary letter, a Synod, but can have no pretension to be a formal assembly of the clergy. The account given (Chapter XI., with the original document in Appendix V.) of this debate on the Liturgy is from another document hitherto unknown, and now brought to light by the authors; and it is deeply interesting as revealing the minds of the bishops, and the style of argument on one side and the other. How truly the bulk of clergy and people yet remained, when Edward reigned, true to the old faith, is shown at length in Chapter XIV. The Protestant changes had to be forced upon them.

We should like to notice several other points raised in course of the volume, but may only advert in passing to the evidence afforded in Appendix VI., that the words of institution were not derived, as is so frequently maintained, from the Mozarabic, but from the Lutheran Nuremberg Liturgy. Finally, this feature of "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer" is conspicuous, and deserves hearty recognition—the utter absence of controversy, or any of the bitterness which so often colours even historical writing on controverted topics. The authors recognise the place which the Prayer Book holds in the affections of Anglicans, and they respect the feeling. They profess to write only as historians; and we are glad to

think that not even the sensitiveness of affection can discover a sneer or even the influence of prejudice. But Father Gasquet's name was a guarantee that the book would be written with judicial impartiality.

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*Les Critères Theologiques.* Par le Chanoine SALVATORE DI BARTOLO. Traduit de l'Italian par un Prêtre de l'Oratoire de Rennes. Paris: Berche et Tralin. 1889.

THE brief commentary on the "Loci Theologici" which it is the purpose of this work to offer to the reader, will be useful to priests and the cultured laity for the purpose of explanation. His Eminence Cardinal Manning, in a letter to the author, dated August 7, 1888, expresses the hope that the clear and pacific reasoning of the work may be of advantage to those who do not agree with us, and he promises to recommend it to his clergy. After an Introduction on the "Value of Reason in the Catholic Church," we have ten Criteria treated, and a brief appendix. The criteria are the following: "The Teaching Church, General Councils, the Roman Pontiff, Universal Belief, Church Teaching, positive and negative, Doctrinal Decisions, Tradition, Holy Scripture, and Development." The plan of the work is rather scientific than literary. The writer lays down a proposition, and then proves or develops it, adding citations and references in notes, of which there are a great many. It is not as a reflection on the writer that we say his object has been rather to state how little we are called upon to accept than to prove the existence and extent of revealed teaching in the world. It is very useful to attempt sometimes to draw a line. Indiscreet Catholics, on the one side, and reckless enemies on the other, have done much to confuse the outlines of Catholic teaching, and to puzzle honest inquirers. The spirit of the work, however, is quite averse from "minimising."

As may be guessed from the list of his divisions, the writer has to touch on many burning questions. The Galileo incident reappears several times. Whilst we think he ought to have mentioned that the decrees of the Inquisition and of the Index were formally promulgated by Pope Urban VIII., we are convinced that he states the true view of that condemnation—viz., that the matter was one of mere science, not of dogma, or connected with dogma; and that although the almost unanimous persuasion of the theologians of that day was that the matter was "heretical," yet that a small minority held otherwise, and, by sticking to their views, finally stemmed the current of public opinion (pp. 12, 13). He might have cited in support of this view the celebrated letter of Cardinal Bellarmine quoted in this REVIEW (October 1887, p. 408).

In view of the questions now being discussed as to the inspiration and authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, the writer's full and clear treatment of this subject should prove of great advantage. He is distinctly of opinion that the Vulgate may be held to contain "non-

authentic texts," or, as Vercellone expresses it, clauses (*periodos*) which are not genuine. Thus he would allow a Catholic writer to maintain that the text of St. John about the three heavenly witnesses was not Scripture. As to inspiration, he holds that it has varying degrees, being in some passages at its maximum, and in others again of intermediate efficacy. Thus inspiration is at its maximum when the sacred writer treats of matters of faith and morals, or relates facts essentially connected with such doctrines. On the other hand, it is at its minimum in the "accessory elements" (we presume he means the unimportant details) of the facts related; and inspiration, when thus at the minimum, "does not insure the infallibility of the human co-operator" (p. 251). This is very plainly laid down, and whatever is said about it, we have here a cultivated author who has not shrunk from putting forth a view which will completely turn aside the shafts of modern criticism. The work should be in the hands of all who are interested in the contest now being waged as to the inspiration of the Scriptures.

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*The Life of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor.* Edited by Father PIUS CAVANAGH, O.P. Illustrated. London: Burns, Oates & Co. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

A HANDSOMELY printed and illustrated life of St. Thomas of Aquin, running to some 250 pages, will be welcomed and appreciated by a large section of devout readers in this country and in America. The work seems to be founded in large measure on Père Joyau's recently published book, "Saint Thomas d' Aquin, Patron des Ecoles Catholiques." But the editor assures us that Tournon and Tocco have been carefully used, and we perceive here and there an eloquent passage from Archbishop Vaughan's well-known Life. Touching the little point of St. Thomas's connection with Monte Cassino, the writer seems to have a somewhat peculiar idea of what constitutes evidence. He says there is "no proof whatever" that the parents of St. Thomas made "the solemn offering" of their son to the service of God in the Abbey. Yet in the same page (15) is quoted the testimony of one of the witnesses for the canonisation, Bartholomew of Capua, a responsible dignitary of the Church. He says that the father of St. Thomas "made him a monk" (*monachavit*) at Monte Cassino. Possibly what is denied is the "solemnity" of the offering; that is, the peculiar Benedictine ceremony of the consecration of children. We think that this is what the writer means; but if this witness states that the child was made a monk, and if the ceremony was generally used on such occasions, how can it be said that there is "no proof whatever" that it took place? It is of small consequence, for St. Thomas was taken away from the care of the Benedictines when he was yet only ten years old.

The work is divided into three books, containing altogether



twenty-four chapters. As no history of St. Thomas can be complete without touching on contemporary events in Church and State, the writer gives us clear and brief accounts of the condition of the Church in the thirteenth century, of University life in Paris and Naples, and of the influence of the Friars. The thirteenth century is especially the century of the Dominicans and the Franciscans; and the great figures of St. Thomas of Aquin and of St. Bonaventure are only the chief among a crowd of doctors, preachers, and saints who were stirring up science and piety in every quarter of Europe. St. Thomas, in his childhood and his youth, felt the influence of the armed tyranny which in too many places was trying to subjugate the Church. Once a Friar Preacher, he belonged to Europe. Although Paris may boast of the greater part of his glorious career, yet Cologne, Naples, and even London knew him, and he was equally at home in every convent of his order. He sanctified, by his character as a Saint, the studious and scientific ardour of a century which has left an ineffaceable impress upon the world's history. He taught men how to read the Fathers; he taught them how to use Greek philosophy; he stopped, in great measure, that tedious diffuseness and love of trifling which was beginning to infect theological teaching; and he established the principles of the religious life. We have in this work a good history of all this. The last five chapters contain many anecdotes and characteristic stories, and the Saint's history is brought down to the present day by the relation of what Leo XIII. has done for the glory and *cultus* of the Angel of the Schools.

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*Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the Matter of Education: Primary, Intermediate, and University.* By the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, and W. H. Gill & Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.

THESE singularly instructive pages are the expansion of a "memorial" on the subject of Irish Catholic Education, prepared by the Archbishop of Dublin, for the information of Members of Parliament during the session of last year. The Archbishop begins with the establishment of the National School system by the late Earl of Derby in 1831, and traces the history of the Irish Primary School down to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1868-70. He describes the "Model" Schools and exposes the injustice of the Irish system of Training Colleges. He then passes on to Intermediate Education, and discusses the Act of 1875, admitting its fairness on the whole, yet showing how it tended to substitute mere cramming, in order to pass an examination, for real education. As to University Education, here again we have a complete but succinct history of what has happened in Ireland; Sheil's Bill of 1834; Peel's Bill of 1845; the Queen's University and the "Godless" Colleges; the establishment of the Catholic Uni-

versity; the various schemes that saw the light between Lord Mayo's proposal in 1867 and the O'Connor Don's Bill of 1879; and finally, Mr. Balfour's statement in Parliament in last year's session, with his remarkable qualification of it at Partick about four months later. No less than eighteen valuable appendices follow. The Archbishop of Dublin is a patient, clear, and most fair exponent of a series of injustices and blunders; and one need not go beyond these pages to understand why he has so great a hold on the confidence of the Irish people. This publication of 400 pp. is a complete and handy manual of the Irish Education question.

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*History of the Passion: Being the Gospel Narrative of the Sufferings of Christ and the Dolours of Mary.* With Notes and Comments. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. London: Burns & Oates.

THE above title gives a very fair idea of what this work on the Passion is. The author has, of course, taken the Gospel narrative as the groundwork of his book; or rather, he has embodied the account given by the Evangelists into his History, preserving in many places the words of the Holy Scripture. But the book is not simply this. The writer has evidently read commentaries and archæological works and whatever could throw light on his great subject, and so has been enabled to give us an interesting and readable book. We do not mean to intimate that the author has aimed at being learned; that would be, for the ordinary reader, the same as heavy and dry. On the contrary, Father Devine has sought to convey knowledge on various points connected with the Passion of our Lord, which are of great interest to every Christian reader. What he tells us, for instance, regarding the "Mount of Olives," the "Crown of Thorns," and other points, makes us realise more intensely the sacred events which are so dear to us. The author tells us, in his Preface, that he has not meant to write a book of devotion in the ordinary sense. But he has written something much better. Whilst he gives us the History of the Passion, he suggests points and reflections which are often striking, and which stimulate meditation. We consider that the author has produced a useful and suggestive book; one which will be found interesting to read, and which will convey to ordinary persons a good deal of information. We have also an account of the "Dolours of Mary," giving an explanation of each Dolour, and speaking of them in a way which will help to make them more appreciated and loved. In an Appendix we have a good treatise on the "Stations of the Cross," which will be found to answer all the principal questions connected with this beautiful devotion.

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*The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.* By WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, Priest of the Oratory. Fourth edition. London: Burns & Oates, 1890.

WE have to direct attention to the issue of a fourth edition of Father W. B. Morris's "Life of St. Patrick." There is not much that is new in this issue, but the writer has added two interesting *excursus* in the appendix. The first relates to St. Patrick's ancestors, and discusses whether Calphurnius was a *deacon* or a *decurio*. Father Morris shows very decisively that he could not have been a deacon. The other is on the "Roman Mission" of the Saint, and brings into strong relief the emphatic words of Dr. Whitley Stokes, in his note to "The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," vol. ii. :—"There is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees that difficult cases arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See." This is a useful passage, as being the dictum of a Protestant expert, and it may be held in reserve against the gentlemen who from time to time renew the "Protestant" theory of Dr. Todd.

We are somewhat surprised that Father Morris, in his interesting notice on Father Colgan (p. 277) has said nothing about the magnificent edition of the Salamanca MS. of the "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," recently for the first time printed by the Bollandists of Antwerp at the expense of the Marquis of Bute.

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*The Church; or, What do Anglicans mean by "the Church"?* By J. B. BAGSHAWE, D.D. London: St. Anselm Society. 1890.

THE Very Rev. Dr. Bagshawe has already made himself so well known by his previous works on the Church, especially by his "Credentials of the Church," and by his yet more valuable "Threshold of the Church," that his present timely volume stands in no need of commendation from us. We will merely state, therefore, that the object of this, his latest addition to Catholic apologetic literature, is to consider the question which is the true Church. This question, as our author reminds us (see preface), is always of vital importance in the settlement of religious differences, but it assumes a special urgency at the present day. We hear of "The Church" and of "Church authority" in all directions, and it would seem that men are becoming more alive to the fact that if Christianity is to be defended at all it must be defended on the basis of some distinct authority.

A careful perusal of the present treatise will certainly help to clear the ground of much intellectual lumber; and will afford unusual facilities to any unprejudiced Anglican who is sincerely endeavouring to distinguish the Church founded by Christ upon a rock from the innumerable other so-called Churches founded upon nothing

firm and stable, but merely held together for a time by some purely human bond.

The rev. author is simple in his exposition of even the most fundamental truths, and his explanations are clear and convincing, though at times somewhat wordy and diffusive. The following passage will serve as a specimen of the style and treatment :

Every dogma of the Christian religion must have remained in an incomplete and unsettled state if there had been no teaching authority. Take, for example, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Could we possibly have had the doctrine as we have it now, without the active intervention of a living teacher? Would it have been possible to make out the details of this great mystery from the Holy Scriptures? You may say it is contained in Scripture. Certainly. When you have the doctrine put clearly before you by the Church you can see that her teaching is confirmed by Scripture; but could you have possibly found out what the Athanasian Creed tells us without that teaching? But tradition tells us, and the voice of the Fathers: yes, but without an authorised teacher who could possibly pronounce which was the true reading of tradition: who could tell us which *were* the Fathers, and which the heretical writers whom we ought to shun? Why are they "Fathers"? Is it not because their teaching is confirmed and sanctioned by the Church? It is, in fact, the approbation of the Church which makes them "the Fathers" (p. 244).

Though the volume is a small one, comprising some three hundred pages, the reader will find that it covers a good deal of ground. Some idea of the purpose of the book may be got from the headings of the different chapters:—I. A Single Infallibility.—II. The Nature of Faith.—III. The Fathers on Church Authority.—IV. Anglican and Roman Theories.—V. What is a Church?—VI. Christ's Witness.—VII. Teacher and Guide. The book concludes with an appendix on the much vexed question of "Intention."

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*La Réforme Sociale et le Centenaire de la Révolution.* Paris: Bureaux de la Réforme Sociale. 1890. 1 vol., pp. 645, and cxxiv.

THIS is a large octavo volume, published last spring by the *Société d'Economie Sociale*, which binds together in France the disciples of Le Play. This society is engaged in the laborious task of inducing their countrymen to give up the ridiculous legends, fictions and fancies they cherish, and to learn at last in the science of social life the sober lessons of facts. The volume before us, made up of a number of papers and reports by different authors on social questions, is a valuable contribution to this end; and valuable for England and America, as well as for France, since the French have truly no monopoly in the manufacture of adulterated history and jerry-built social science.

Amid the many papers that concern the French Revolution two may be singled out as particularly instructive. One is by M. Taine, who with his usual brilliancy contrasts the French army before and after the Revolution, in the one case made up of hired



recruits, and absorbing for the public advantage the members of society unfit for steady domestic and industrial life; whereas now the army is made up of conscripts, and by a shocking tyranny and inequality those to whom home is most sweet, and a peaceful occupation most congenial, are dragged away to the repugnant life of the barracks or the camp; and like a contagious disease, conscription has spread from State to State over the whole Continent of Europe.

The second paper is by M. Hubert Valleroux, and shows the abundant institutions of charity before the Revolution, the many pious foundations, poor relief organised in the *bureaux de charité*, medical aid and medicine provided in country villages; and how the greater part of this genuine patrimony of the poor was destroyed by the Revolution. It is still customary in England to speak of the abolition of tithes and feudal dues at the Revolution as a just transfer of wealth from a surfeited clergy and nobility to a starving people. In reality it was precisely the starving people that suffered. For example, more than a third of the revenues of the hospitals was composed of tithes and feudal dues appropriated to this purpose. Thus this "generous" measure was an enrichment of the middle classes at the expense partly no doubt of the nobility but partly also of the poor.

Other legends like those of the state of popular ignorance before the Revolution, or of the tortures and secret executions in the Bastille are exposed in their absurdity. But there are many questions not immediately connected with the French Revolution, which are well handled in this volume. For example the use of the *metayer* system of farming in making harmonious the interest of landlords and tenants, and enabling both to hold up better against agricultural depression; the insufficient and dangerous law of insurance recently passed in Germany to meet invalidity and old age; the badness of the French law of succession to property, and various changes in other countries, notably the new Spanish code, giving much greater freedom of action to the father than formerly; the introduction of complete freedom of testation in various portions of Mexico: and the new Austrian law aiming at preserving small farms from either being portioned into smaller, or absorbed by larger farms.

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*Old Country Life.* By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. With Illustrations. London: Methuen & Co. 1890.

THERE are more than forty excellent wood-cuts in this book, and they are perhaps the most valuable feature it presents. Mr. Baring-Gould always writes interestingly, and we have here chapters on Old County Families, County Houses, Old Gardens, Old Parsons, Country Dames, Old Roads, Family Portraits, Old Servants, and a variety of other matters connected with English life from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. There are stories of considerable

length (for which the writer acknowledges himself in part to be indebted to Sir Bernard Burke), there are anecdotes, sketches, reflections, bits of old world wisdom, and a general air of preferring old times to new. The sentiment is not always perfectly genuine, and has occasionally a vamped-up appearance, as if the writer had pages to fill and must fill them. The following, for example, is neither new nor very sincere :

So sang our grandfathers ; but the song has gone out with the polished table, and with the polished table the quiet enjoyable drinking of good port and sherry after the retirement of the ladies. The cigarette is lighted—and who can enjoy port with the air full of its perfumes?—and no sooner is the wine begun to be appreciated than the tray of coffee is presented, dug into the side, as a reminder that nowadays the pleasant hour with good wine and agreeable male companions is cut down to a quarter of an hour—has gone out of fashion with the polished table, and we must away into the drawing-room to talk empty nothingnesses, and to listen to bad music (p. 87).

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*A Short History of the Church of Ireland.* By Rev. L. A. POOLER, M.A. Belfast: Charles W. Olley.

MR. POOLER'S book purports to be an introduction to the study of larger works on the history of "The Church of Ireland." It makes no pretensions to original research; it gives merely the results achieved by other historians in this department of ecclesiastical history. In the list of works used for the compilation of his volume we are supplied with a key to its singularly one-sided character. Mr. Pooler might have known that there was such a work as Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, and though he may differ widely from the conclusions arrived at by that writer, still in common fairness he ought to have read up both sides of the question, and included Lanigan in his list. Amongst the eighteen writers, whose works mainly form the store-house from which Mr. Pooler draws his historical facts, two only are Catholics. The remainder for the most part have been mere party writers, whose productions are devoid of all historical value. Mr. Pooler's book partakes more of the character of special pleading than of sober history.

P. L.

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*Elementary Schools, How to Increase their Utility.* With a Preface by WILLIAM BOUSFIELD. London: Percival & Co. 1890.

THE publication of this volume, composed of six lectures delivered to the Managers of the London Board Schools in 1889 and 1890, is one of the many symptoms of a reaction of opinion against the theory so ardently advocated in the first half of the present century, that in education, as then understood, would be found a universal panacea for the ills of society. The irrational system of devoting the early years of life to training faculties whose exercise would have no place in its maturity, has been shown by the ex-

perience of a generation to be productive of all the evils its opponents predicted, as well as of many others then unforeseen. The assumption that mere literary culture must necessarily exert any elevating moral influence might have been thought sufficiently disproved by the teaching of history, but the vitality of error is proof against extinction by any accumulation of facts. That literature, as selected by the lower classes, is an engine of demoralisation rather than of elevation, has now become too obvious to be denied, and the conviction that the whole course of popular education has been hitherto misdirected, is gradually forcing itself, in consequence of this and other discoveries, on the public mind. The uneasy consciousness thus aroused has led to an exhaustive series of official inquiries, which have elicited the almost unanimous expression of opinion that considerable reforms are required. Mr. Bousfield in the preface to the volume before us, quotes the report of the Special Committee appointed in 1887 by the London School Board, to the effect "that a great change is necessary, to make the schools productive of the civilising and beneficial results of which they are capable," and further that while under the present system great attention and discipline are secured and the teachers have a power of imparting facts to the children with wonderful facility, "there is little to awaken the reasoning faculties and the effect is to make the boys into mere machines." That "there is nothing in the curriculum to ennoble labour," that "the boys are given an untrue bent towards clerky and non-manual pursuits, and are often discouraged from taking the first steps in an industrial career," are among the other conclusions stated, forming altogether a crushing indictment against the existing system. The remedy is sought in the greater development of manual training by the use of tools and the practice of drawing, thus cultivating faculties which the more purely literary education leaves in abeyance. The six lectures of which the present volume is composed are developments of the same leading idea. The first on "The Teaching of Science," by W. Lant Carpenter, B.A., dwells on the necessity for variety in the educational diet and on the usefulness of some form of elementary and scientific instruction in cultivating the powers of reasoning and observation.

Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, in his lecture on Music, advocates the claims of art in general, and his own art, music, in particular, as a counteracting influence to that of education on its present lines, which according to him, tends to the development of socialistic and revolutionary ideas among the masses. The advantages of physical and manual training are strongly urged in the lectures on "Physical Culture and Recreation," by Colonel Onslow, Assistant Adjutant-General, and on "Hand-and-Eye Training," by Mr. Ricks, Inspector of Schools. Evenings of amusement, and the best methods of promoting them, are treated of in the fifth lecture, by Ada Heather-Bigg, and Mechanics, with a popular exposition of some of the familiar truths of that science, in the concluding one, by Mr. W. H. Grieve, P.S.A.

*Dogmengeschichte der neueren Zeit.* Von Dr. JOSEPH SCHWANE.  
Freiburg: Herder. 1890.

DR. SCHWANE, the senior Professor of Theology in the Academy of Münster, has at length brought to a happy close his great work on the history and development of Catholic dogma. The first two volumes dealt with the history of dogma in the patristic period, the third with dogma in the Middle Ages, and the history is, in the volume before us, continued from the Reformation to the Vatican Council. This last volume is throughout admirable for its historical research, and happily combines critical power with a laudable spirit and tendency, "sentire cum ecclesia." This sentiment leads to accordance with the ancient Fathers: a judgment which may be at once tested by referring to the chapters devoted to "Our Lady," "Christology," and "Ecclesiology." Another quality of Dr. Schwane's work deserving praise is the lucidity of his doctrinal expositions and wonderfully clear diction; so that the most difficult subjects of dogmatic theology are brought home to the student in a most attractive way. Amongst English theological scholars may be mentioned the name of Thomas Stapleton, whom I venture to esteem as not second even to Cardinal Bellarmine. An introduction on the history of theology is followed by chapters on: (1) God, and His attributes; (2) Christ and His work; (3) the Supernatural State and the Fall of our first parents, Grace and Justification. Particularly good—I may here observe—is the history of Jansenism. The concluding part treats of the constitution of the Church, and of the Sacraments. The gifted author describes all the main currents of thought, but gives greater prominence to the celebrated theologians of the society of Jesus; and I note with sincere pleasure that he is a strong advocate of their "Scientia Media," which has lately been so fiercely attacked in Italy and Germany. Finally, the chapters on the nature of Episcopal jurisdiction, and on the various theories on the sacrifice of the Mass, well deserve mention. Of course, a work written for German Catholics should accurately explain those German systems which threatened the purity of Catholic doctrine; and Professor Schwane has not fallen short of his high aim as a Catholic historian. Catholic Germany may well be proud of his four bulky volumes; they form a vast store-house of theological learning and solid piety, which will be consulted with advantage by scholars of other countries.

A. BELLESHEIM.

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*Josephi Fessler quondam Episcopi S. Hippolyti Institutiones Patrologicae* quas denuo recensuit, auxit, edidit, Dr. BERNARDUS JUNG-MANN, Prof. Hist. Eccl., in Universitate Cath. Lovaniensi. Tomus I. Oeniponti: Rauch. 1890.

THE learned author of this work was professor of ecclesiastical history in the episcopal seminary of Brixen, when he first published it. He was afterwards made bishop of St. Pölten, near Vienna, and by Pius IX. was appointed Secretary to the Vatican



Council. His episcopal duties up to the time of his death, prevented him from editing a second edition himself; and Professor Jungmann of Louvain, favourably known by his dissertations on ecclesiastical history, has undertaken the difficult task. I call it a difficult task, because the first edition, with all its excellences, had fallen behind the advanced mark of present patrological investigation. Works, such as the "Epistle of St. Barnabas," the "Philosophumena," the "Doctrine of the twelve Apostles," need only be mentioned to indicate the new aspects and the progress made in the subject of patrology since its publication. Professor Jungmann has done his work excellently. He deserves our unqualified praise. He is well acquainted with these recent patristic discoveries; and no important dissertation bearing on the subject has escaped his diligence.

The volume before us opens with the Fathers of the apostolic age and brings us down to SS. Damasus and Ambrose. We would direct attention particularly to the "prolegomena," which treat of the nature, necessity and use of patrology, and to the discussion on the authority of the Fathers, the method of criticism, and the establishing certain rules for a right understanding of their literary work. The author deserves special praise for the portion of his volume which treats of the "Didache;" for not only is it one of the most venerable documents after the Gospels, but no other is so illustrative of Catholic Faith and practice. I fully agree with Prof. Jungmann when he attributes it to the second half of the first century. And I cannot help also referring to Jungmann's attractive pages on the works attributed to Denis the Areopagite, as to which he rejects the theory adopted by Canon Hipler, and advocated by Professor Hirschl, which attributes those writings to a monk living in Egypt in the fourth century and bearing the name "Dionysius," to whom also the "Areopagita" belonged, by virtue of the custom prevailing in that country according to which members of convents or congregations assumed mystical surnames. They are, according to him, the writings of a Catholic and orthodox author who, by a pious fraud, puts himself forward as a disciple of St. Paul. We unhesitatingly recommend this excellent text-book. A word, too, should be said in recognition of the clear and attractive Latin in which Dr. Jungmann writes, not unworthy of a scholar who had his education in the land where Cicero and Tacitus flourished.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Katholisches Kirchenlexicon* von WETZER und WELTE. Neue Ausgabe von CARDINAL HERGENROETHER und PROFESSOR KAULEN. VI. Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1880.

ABOUT a year ago\* we noticed the fifth volume of this work. Happily we can now announce the sixth, a large volume of 2078 columns, reaching from Ascension of our Lord (Himmelfahrt)

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1888, p. 447.

to Juvencus. Of course articles by different writers vary in excellence, but they are all full of information and abreast of modern scholarship. Among philosophical articles we have those on "Idealism," "Jacobi" (by Mgr. Haffner, Bishop of Mainz), "John of Cornwall" (by Professor Bach of Munich), "John of Salisbury" (by Canon Stöckl). A celebrated scholastic, "John von La Rochelle," is drawn from the dust of libraries by the learned Father Ignatius Jeiler, president of the Franciscan College at Quarrachi, near Florence, to whom scholars are deeply indebted for the magnificent edition of four volumes of St. Bonaventure's works. Biblical articles show most careful treatment; those on St. James the less, Jephta, Jerusalem, Job, Joel, Joseph, St. John Baptist, are contributed by the editor, Professor Kaulen, a first-rate oriental scholar. English scholars will find that Westcott's and Hort's works are duly appreciated. Articles on the Popes who bore the name of Honorius, and those on Huguenots and Humanism are from the learned Professors Grisca and Funk, and a capital one on "Ireland," by Father Zimmermann of Ditton Hall is well calculated to make Germans acquainted with the history, literature, and vicissitudes of religion in that country. The volume needs no further commendation.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Institutiones Logicales* secundum principia S. Thomæ Aquinatis, ad usum scholasticum accomodavit TILLMANNUS PESCH, S.J.  
Part II. Logica major. (2 vols.). Friburgi: Herder. 1889-1890.

THE first volume of this exhaustive text book of logic has been already noticed; \* we now have before us the second portion embracing "Major Logic" in two bulky volumes. The first of these is occupied with critical and formal logic. Father Pesch thus devotes three large volumes to a department of philosophical science distasteful to students in general. This, however, is not really matter of surprise, for the present day neglect of logic is a chief cause why Christianity and even the principles of sound reason are not safe from the attacks of Idealism, Positivism, and Materialism. There is, perhaps, no living scholar who has treated Logic so fully as has Father Pesch; yet he has but restored that noble science—the column supporting the edifice of higher culture—to the dignity it enjoyed wherever the old Catholic system of studies flourished. Method, Definition, Division, Argument; the comparison of Aristotle's with the Logic of modern Idealism; Scepticism, trustworthiness of senses and higher faculties; Universals (where he has noteworthy stricture on Sir W. Hamilton)—these too often dry subjects of study in Father Pesch's hands become attractive. He combines clear exposition with interesting historical reference to theories and systems. In the concluding volume we have "Logica Realis, in qua

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1889, p. 477.

ponuntur questiones ontologicæ," which is not a trespass into the field of Ontology as such, but only a discussion of its relations to Logic. Following this we are treated to a succinct historical sketch of false methods of philosophy. The treatment of those more recondite Logical questions once familiar in Catholic schools could not be sought under a more trustworthy and satisfactory guide than Father Pesch.

BELLESHEIM

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*The History of the Sufferings of Eighteen Carthusians in England, who refusing to take part in schism, and to separate themselves from the unity of the Catholic Church, were cruelly martyred.* Translated from the Latin of Dom MAURICE CHAUNCY, a Professed Member of the London Charter House. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

THIS is a translation of the Latin original which was published last year, and which was noticed at the time in our pages. No recommendation is needed for a narrative of suffering for the faith; in our own country, and by men of so exemplary goodness and irreproachable fidelity to the spirit of their Institute and vows as were the Prior of the London Charter House, Blessed John Houghton, and his faithful monks, and the companions of his martyrdom. Chauncy, the writer of the narrative, was a member of the London house, who was ordered away to another house of the Order, near Hull, with the object apparently of breaking down his constancy, and his story, written with much feeling, and the minuteness of a witness, is very edifying and pathetic. The book is beautifully printed, but it does not contain the illustrations which adorned the Latin edition; it is, however, an interesting addition, and a useful, to our Catholic literature.

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*King Alfred's Last Christmas and other Stories.* By FANNY S. HOLLINGS. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1890.

MISS HOLLINGS has the art of writing for children with that graceful simplicity of style which renders the most trivial incident interesting. Grown readers need not disdain the present little volume though it makes no pretension to anything beyond the capacity of the most juvenile audience. It is only the first short sketch of the series which is concerned with anything so remote as King Alfred, the remainder are episodes of everyday life such as might come within the familiar experience of the youngest reader. The tales, moreover, strike a just mean between the too obviously "improving" and the purely negative; the moral being delicately insinuated without being obtruded. They form altogether a volume that should be a welcome addition to any nursery library.

*Annals of the Earth.* By C. L. PHIFER. Chicago: American Publishers' Association. 1890.

THIS poet of the New World has invited comparison with one of the greatest of the past by adopting Milton's theme, as his work opens with the Creation and Fall of Man, and goes on through intervening history to his Redemption. The production of a poem on such a scale is in itself a *tour de force*, and there is much to admire in the power of language and description. The narrative has moreover the merit of being interesting throughout and represents a stupendous amount of labour and research. The tone in which the more sacred episodes are treated is throughout reverent, and there is nothing to jar on the reader, though theological questions may not be always regarded from the orthodox point of view.

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*The Girdle of the Globe.* By RALPH. London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Co. 1890.

WE have in this dainty volume, bound in white vellum and decorated with the map of a hemisphere, a poem in ten cantos, "descriptive," as the title-page declares, "of toil and travel round the world." The preface justly claims for it, that it is "the only long poem in the world going over so wide a range, and written by one who has gone over the greater portion of the ground himself." The journey extended from Siberia to the Antipodes, and from Japan to California, and included 23,000 miles of travel on land, lakes and rivers, in addition to the distance accomplished by sea. This modern Odyssey is pleasant reading throughout, being written in rattling verse, and more in the comic than epic vein.

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*Problems of Life.* By ALEXANDER WINTER. London: John Hodges. 1890.

THIS little volume, a story, and not, as its name might suggest, a philosophical treatise, is chiefly remarkable as being apparently written in English by a German. Although the attempt shows laudable courage the result is a strange idiom, which may be commended to the study of those in search of curiosities of language. Even the proper names retain their foreign orthography, Eric being written *Erich*; Amy, *Aimy*, and Clement, *Clemenz*. The story is the not very probable one of a young man who having begun by robbing his father's safe, becomes, when thrown on his own resources, an industrious and exemplary member of society.

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*Poems of the Past.* By MOI MÊME. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THE poems in this volume are nearly all religious, either in sentiment or subject, and their smooth versification and fluency of diction would render them appropriate for recitation in schools or convents. Some graceful legends are narrated in simple and suitable verse, those entitled "The Two Crowns" and "A Legend of Judæa" being especially beautiful in idea.

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*At the Holy Well.* By JOHN JAMES PIATT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THE author of this volume of trifling but elegant verse, is apparently an American, to judge by the dedication, as well as by the internal evidence of the poems themselves. Some of these have a touch of the semi-cynical humour which gives an agreeable bitter sweet flavour to so many American productions.

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*A String of Pearls,* from Longfellow. Selected and arranged by U. R. T. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.

THE title sufficiently indicates the contents of this waistcoat-pocket little volume. If you are an admirer of Longfellow, you will take it out at odd moments, and ruminate again over the choice morsels; if you are yet a stranger to the poet, tell over the *String of Pearls*, and the author's motto will no doubt be realised

I have but marked the place,  
But half the secret told,  
That following this slight trace,  
Others may find the gold. [From "In the Harbour."]

The little book is beautifully printed, and attractively bound.

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*Aids to Correct and Effective Elocution;* with Selected Readings and Recitations for Practice. By ELEANOR O'GRADY. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

HERE is a well printed, generally admirable selection in prose and verse of nearly four hundred pages. The greater part of the selection will be specially welcome in this country; including as it does many extracts from American authors; but it is surely a mistake to introduce the "burning questions" of modern politics into an educational work of this kind. The "aids" to effective elocution comprise, in some fifty pages, a clever and concise epitome of general principles usually more fully developed in the larger grammars of elocution.

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