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English Ch. and Hum. of Papal
before & under Henry VIII

Objectionable criticism
of S. Thomas More



BROWNSON'S

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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOLUME VI.

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BROWNSON'S
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1858.

ART. I.—*Conversations of Our Club, reported by a Member for the Review.*

YOUR reports, Mr. Editor, in your volume for 1854, of the Conversations of Uncle Jack with his Nephew, have emboldened me to send you some reports of the conversations of our Club, which, in my judgment, fully match those of the old Fogie with the Young American. When Our Club was formed, where it meets, and what are its special purposes, are matters of no importance to the public; but I may tell you that it is not a political club, a revolutionary club, a sporting club, a drinking club, or an eating club, but simply a talking club. All the members talk, and talk precisely as they please, on any or no subject just as it happens, with no other restriction than that each one shall receive the talk of the talker civilly, courteously, and good-humoredly. Every member is free to "free his mind," and any discourtesy towards any member by another is a legitimate cause of expulsion from the club.

Our Club consists of five members, all laymen except the president, Father John, who, by the way, was the founder of the club and is its president. Father John is a Jesuit, and a fine rotund specimen of the Monk. In what country he was born I have never been able to ascertain, although I have my suspicions that his early life was spent in England, Ireland, America, or some other part of the world. He speaks English without an accent, like a native, but so he does German, French, Italian, and Spanish. He is well versed in ancient and modern

learning, is at home in any of the sciences, a respectable metaphysician, and a profound theologian. He has not only studied but thought, and compelled whatever he has read to pass through the alembic of his own mind. He has digested, assimilated, made his own whatever he has learned, and always speaks out from his own living heart and mind. With all his rare learning, original genius, and ability, he is as simple as a child, and within the reach of the humblest with whom he converses, avoiding with great care all show of learning, science, or genius.

After Father John comes Monsieur de Bonneville, a native of France, and a Catholic after the good old French fashion, a legitimist, who loyally accepts the God and the Church of his king, but is prepared to swear by any or no religion as his king bids. After M. de Bonneville comes Meinherr Dieffenbach, a man of learning, a dark and profound genius, a Catholic indeed, but inclined to Mysticism, and to rely on the inner witness in preference to the external authority of the Church. Next in order comes Mister O'Flanagan, a genuine, warm-hearted, impulsive Hibernian, who takes life easy—is a Catholic and a patriot, full of faith, and of trust in God, carrying out literally the injunction of our Lord, “Take no thought for the morrow.” In the last place comes William Winslow, a descendant of the Pilgrims, a thorough-going Yankee, not long a convert, and still in the first fervor of his Catholic faith and zeal. He feels that he must maintain not only the authority and sanctity of the Church, but the Catholicity, wisdom, and holiness of everything that has been a custom among Catholics, or practised by Catholic nations.

Here, in brief, is the *personnel* of our Club; yet we all, owing to the harmonizing influence of Father John, who, as Father Hecker would say, is not only a “many” but an “all-sided” man, coalesce marvellously, and are warm and devoted friends,—all of us having wisdom, good nature, and good breeding enough to bear with each other's peculiarities, and to express freely each his own opinions without wounding the self-love of another. In our Club we use great freedom, and allow ourselves a wide range of remark. We talk on all subjects that present themselves, and sometimes our conversations become real discussions, and are

neither uninteresting nor unimportant. As I am allowed to be a good reporter, and am seldom absent from the meetings of the club, I have been authorized to furnish you with reports of such conversations as I judge the least unimportant, and, as you are growing old, and getting a little prosy withal, to send them to you for publication in your pages, trusting that they will prove not only a relief to you, but a God-send to your readers, who must be growing tired of reading always the lucubrations of one and the same mind. Subjoined to this note you will find the reports of two conversations. If you find them acceptable, others will follow in due season.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
A MEMBER OF OUR CLUB.

CONVERSATION I.

“I am at a loss, Father John,” said Winslow, “to understand how it is that you, who in 1848 were a strenuous opponent of European Democracy, and severe against the democratic tendencies even of our own country, should now take a stand in favor of liberty against authority, and defend with all your might republican institutions and constitutional government against the friends of monarchy. Then you were conservative, almost ultra-conservative, and now you are well-nigh a radical, almost a revolutionist. Then you denounced revolutionism in the strongest terms, warred nobly against the Red Republicans and Socialists; now you war only against those you then supported.”

“I think,” replied Father John, “that you misapprehend me. We should always direct our attacks against the party that is the more immediately dangerous, which in 1848 was the revolutionary party. To-day the more immediate danger is despotism, which, if not resisted by the friends of religion, will soon provoke a new and more destructive revolutionism. In 1848 the tendency was to identify Catholicity with Democracy; the tendency since the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, has been to identify it with Cæsarism. As I opposed the former then, I oppose the latter now; for each is an error, and if suffered

to prevail would be deeply prejudicial to the true interests of religion and society."

"I am glad," interposed De Bonneville, "to find that France is still monarchical, and I prefer the Empire to the Republic. If Henri Cinq were on the throne instead of Napoleon, I should find no serious fault with the Imperial government or its general policy. My objection to Louis Napoleon is, that he is a usurper, and not the legitimate sovereign of France."

"For my part," added O'Flanagan, "I care little about the question of legitimacy, and it is indifferent to me whether the sovereign of France is a Bonaparte or a Bourbon, if he is only a good friend to the Church and old Ireland, and the enemy of England. I do not like the Anglo-French alliance, which enables England to continue her nefarious policy towards my native country."

"Forms of government," remarked Dieffenbach, "are indifferent in themselves. If the French Imperial system grows out of the spiritual life and deeper wants of the French, and is their true exponent, it is the best system for Frenchmen, and for that reason legitimate. The French are a light, frivolous people; they live an outward life, and find their pleasure in outward show, pomp, and parade, and in my view are just fitted to their present government, as it is just fitted to them."

"Your judgment of the French nation," interposed Father John, who will never allow any sweeping charges against any nation, "is neither liberal nor just. That there is much frivolity in the French character is undeniable, and that they are to a great extent attracted by the showy, the external, and the theatrical, is no doubt true, and so in one form or another is every people; but the French character has its graver elements, and deeper faith or more solid piety can be found nowhere than in France. But it seems to me the real question for us lies a little deeper, and should be taken up on a broader ground. National differences, national peculiarities, there are the world over, always have been, and always will be. Religion tolerates them, and addresses herself to that which is common to all men and nations. It is Catholic, not national, and varies not as you pass from nation to nation or from age to age. A great struggle is going on

in the bosom of the Catholic people of all nations, between the old order and the modern, and in this country between Americanism and Europeanism. This is not a struggle between one nationality and another, or between one form of political organization and another, but between one system of policy, and one order of civilization and another."

"I am an American," said Winslow, "descended from the Pilgrims who founded the Old Colony, but in becoming a Catholic I renounced my Americanism. Americanism is Protestantism, and Protestantism is rebellion against God, involving, in its principle, the rejection of all authority, human and divine. There is no compatibility between Democracy and Catholicity. Democracy asserts the sovereignty of the people, Catholicity asserts the sovereignty of God; Democracy asserts the right of the people to elect and commission their own rulers, Catholicity asserts our duty to obey the prelates whom the Holy Ghost places over us. Under Democracy, the people have rights and no duties; under Catholicity, they have duties and no rights. Hence, Democracy, wherever you find it, is opposed to Catholicity, and its friends are everywhere the bitter enemies of the Church. All through Europe you find them warring against the Church as almost the only obstacle to the realization of their wishes. In this country, you see that Catholics as they come under the influence of our democratic order, cease to be humble, submissive Catholics, half lose their faith, imbibe the licentious spirit of the country, place their politics above their religion, and are more intent on obtaining a place in the customs than on obtaining for themselves a crown of life, eternal in the heavens."

"The American spirit," added O'Flanagan, "is a persecuting spirit. It hung witches and Quakers, banished Baptists, and bored the ears and tongues of Dissenters. It is a Puritanic spirit, and would banish music and dancing, all joy and mirthfulness, and forbid us to take even a social glass to warm the heart, or to make merry with a friend. It puts on a long face, speaks with a nasal twang, and wears all its religion on the outside."

"Much may, no doubt, be said against Puritanism," interposed Father John, "but the worst policy for a Catholic to pursue in this country is to rail against it or

to turn it into ridicule. You may vituperate or ridicule the young and thoughtless out of religion, but you do not by that bring them nearer to the Church, or make them better men and women, or better citizens. This country was far more moral, far more patriotic, far less corrupt in the old Puritan times than it is now; Puritanism has been laughed out of countenance, it has receded, but Catholicity has not advanced to take its place. The drinking, carousing, swearing, rake-hell cavaliers have succeeded to the stern and staid old Puritans, and with what gain to our morals let the daily records of our police tell. Where morality is wanting you cannot expect to find religion, and even outward decorum will always be found some protection to morality. I am no friend to Puritanism, but I believe it some gain to morals when we can compel vice to conceal itself, or prevent it from appearing with all its effrontery in the public streets. Much that we have done to undermine Puritanism has resulted only in undermining natural virtue and manners. We should never seek to displace a false religion any further than we are prepared to supply true religion, or attack even Protestantism except on the principles or from the point of view of Catholicity. It is a grave thing to attack what others hold to be sacred, and should never be done in a light and thoughtless manner. The true should be advanced as fast as the false recedes, so as to save the purity of the religious sentiment and the delicacy of conscience."

"That, I suppose," interrupted O'Flanagan, "is intended as a sly hit at my mirth-loving countrymen."

"I aim," replied Father John, "to hit what is wrong, whose countrymen soever may be guilty of it, but I have nothing to do with nationalities. I am of no nation. I am a Catholic and a Jesuit. As such I speak. I defend the truth, which is truth for all men of whatever race or nation, and condemn what is wrong, let who will practice it. In this club each is free to retain his nationality, but no one is free to impose his nationality upon another; Mr. O'Flanagan and Meinherr Dieffenbach meet here as equals, and neither has any right to require any exception to be made in behalf of his nationality, or to suppose because an error is commented on that his countrymen are specially aimed at; we should interpret an honest speaker's

language according to its plain import, not by our suspicious or prejudices. I speak of Catholics without reference to their nationality, and I say that we cannot advance our religion in this country by vituperating or ridiculing Puritanism, or, if you please, New-Englandism. Religion, in the minds of the unevangelized American people, is associated with a decorous carriage and a sober exterior, and they do not and will not believe that it does or can exist in its purity and strength where these are wanting. That altogether too much stress is laid on these, and that room enough is not given to light-hearted innocent mirth, is, no doubt, true; yet you cannot attack the prevailing conviction on this subject in the spirit and manner of the old cavaliers without having the dissoluteness of morals and manners that followed the restoration of Charles II. We must take the religious mind of the country as it is, and where it is, if we would lead it to Catholicity, and above all things must we beware how we teach it to laugh at what it has been brought up to regard as sacred. It is the sincere, the earnest, the moral portion of non-Catholic Americans that we must address; the sincere, earnest, conscientious Protestants, from whom we are to expect conversions; not that mass of unbelievers who are ready to join with us in denouncing Protestantism, and with Protestants in denouncing Catholicity, and who, for themselves, regard neither God nor man. It is of no use to destroy men's confidence in Protestantism, unless we can at the same time bring them to the Church, for after all it is better for society that men should be even Protestants, Puritans, than that they should have no religion at all."

"Father John is right, as he always is," said De Bonneville. "The Protestant missionaries in the East, by their tracts and their schools, have had some influence in detaching individuals from their old beliefs and superstitions, but none in making them Christians. Their converts have lost their false religion without having embraced the true religion, and are the very worst people one meets in the East. Much has been said of the reforms in Turkey during the last twenty or thirty years. The Turks, we are told, are becoming liberal. Many of the higher classes certainly have learned to laugh at the Prophet, and to ridicule the Koran, and can drink wine or arrack, and eat pork with

any Christian; but they have neither the restraints of the Koran nor of the Gospel, and are the most licentious, corrupt, and unprincipled set of rascals on the face of the earth, infinitely worse than the honest old believing Turk, who has learned neither to scoff nor to doubt. I would never disturb a heretic in his heresy, without some reasonable prospect of converting him to orthodoxy. I am a Catholic, but I am for not unsettling the faith of others."

"M. de Bonneville, I presume," interposed O'Flanagan, "does not consider it of any vital importance to a man's soul whether he lives or dies in one religion or another."

"I am a Frenchman," replied De Bonneville, "a loyal Frenchman, and I am of the religion of St. Louis. It is un-French not to be a Catholic, and I will never renounce my faith or my king; but I have nothing to do with the religion of others. As a Frenchman, I can be saved only as a Catholic; as for others, I do not trouble myself about them, I leave them in the hands of the good God."

"Richelieu," added Dieffenbach, "thought very much in the same way, when he suppressed, as far as he could, the Huguenots in France, and leagued with the Protestants of the North against Catholic Germany. France, who boasts of being the eldest daughter of the Church, is chiefly responsible for the continuance of the Greek schism, and the existence of the Protestant heresy. I do not recollect, in the whole history of France, an instance in which the government has supported Catholicity for the sake of Catholicity. Its policy has always been to use, not serve the Church, to be Catholic for the glory of France, not for the glory of God; or, perhaps, the Frenchman considers the glory of God is included in the glory of France."

"Perhaps," replied Father John, "Mr. Dieffenbach is right as it regards the government of France, but all civil governments have either persecuted the Church or merely sought to use her for their own purposes, except the government of the United States. I am aware of no government that has, as a general rule, adopted the policy of serving the Church from love of God or devotion to spiritual interests. In this respect France forms no exception, and is far from deserving to be singled out as a special object of censure. Francis I., of France, used the Turks against the Emperor Charles V., and the Emperor used the Pro-

testants against the Pope, Clement VII. Philip II., whose severity against the Protestants of the Netherlands lost him the sovereignty of the United Provinces, and has called forth the condemnation of the civilized world, sought in his support of the Catholic cause to make the Church his stepping-stone to universal monarchy. Charlemagne and a few of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns do really seem to have had some regard in their policy to the glory of the Church; but as a general rule, temporal princes seek to subordinate religion to temporal ends, to their personal or national aggrandizement, and the princes of France not more than the princes of Germany, Italy, or Spain. France, with all her faults, has rendered in trying times no unimportant services to religion, and I am never willing that she should be spoken against as having been specially false to her God. If she has done much against the Church, she has also done much for it.

“I do not agree with Mr. Winslow that Americanism is Protestantism, or that there is necessarily any incompatibility between it and Catholicity. The great majority of our people are non-Catholic, and their spirit is, if you will, anti-Catholic; but the American system of government and society can adjust itself to Catholicity as well as to Protestantism, and perhaps better. Catholicity recognizes and confirms the law of nature, that is to say, natural justice, denied by the stricter forms of Protestantism, and therefore recognizes the equality of all men before the natural law, the true basis of liberty. Man has no natural right to govern his fellow-man, and therefore only a delegated power over him—a power which he holds as a trust, and for the exercise of which he is responsible. All Catholic doctors teach that power derives from God through the people or the nation, and that the king is the first officer of the State, not as Louis XIV. impudently claimed, the State itself. The right of the nation to depose its chief magistrate, and to bring him to justice, was amply proved by Milton in his *Defence of the English people against Salmasius*, for he is in reality not the master but the servant of the nation, and responsible to it—although I regard the trial and execution of Charles I. as eminently unjust. These are the fundamental principles of civil liberty, and these principles are recognized and defended by all our

doctors whose authority is worth citing. Hence the sovereign pontiffs, as the ministers of the divine law for Christian nations as well as individuals, have at various times and in various countries deposed faithless, tyrannical, and oppressive princes, and absolved their subjects from their oath of allegiance.

“Now, these principles are the foundation of what I call Americanism; they are the basis of our American order of civilization; and the mission of the American people is to develop and realize them in their practice. It seems to me absurd, then, for either a Catholic or a non-Catholic to contend that an American on becoming a Catholic must denationalize himself, and labor to introduce Europeans as the Catholic order. That European Catholics should naturally retain, or wish to retain here the order to which they have been accustomed, and that they should suppose that religion requires them to do here as they do in the old countries, is not unnatural, and should excite neither surprise nor rebuke. That Americans trained by professors wedded to Europeanism, should distrust, to some extent Americanism, and doubt the practicability of evangelizing the country and sustaining Catholicity here in its purity, integrity, and independence, without kings for its nursing-fathers and queens for its nursing-mothers, is also to be expected, because the past history of the world shows no example of a Catholic people placed under institutions exactly like ours. It is to be expected that the recent convert, who finds very few of his countrymen Catholics, should mistake facts for principles, effects for causes, and conclude that whatever has been prevalent in Catholic countries and approved by Catholics, must needs be Catholic; yet a more careful study of history, a calmer and more thorough knowledge of his religion in its relations to society, will enable him to understand that Catholicity does not impose upon him the necessity of defending, or even permit him to defend everything that has been done by a professedly Catholic people, or everything he finds in the regimen or the administration of so-called Catholic states.”

“But you find,” remarked De Bonneville, “that faithful princes have done much to defend religion against its external enemies, and to facilitate the conversion of heathen nations. Constantine the Great delivered the Church from

persecution and gave her peace and a civil STATUS. Charlemagne defended her against the Saracens, and from the combined forces of Paganism in his wars against the Saxons. The conversion of the Franks and of the Anglo-Saxons began in the courts of the reigning princes. Catholic monarchy has been and is now the external defender of the Church,—under God, her main support; and where monarchy has been weakened, Catholicity has declined; where the monarch has apostatized, the nation has apostatized with him, as in the case of the German princes, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the king of England. There were republics in the Middle Ages, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, &c., but these republics in their glory were sorry friends of the Papacy.”

“Yet better friends than were the greater part of the emperors of Germany, the kings of France, of England, or of Spain,” replied Father John. “Indeed, there were times when the Papacy had no human power on which it could rely to defend its independence, but the republicans of Italy. But for them, humanly speaking, the Hohenstaufen would have absorbed the spiritual power in the temporal, and revived the old Pagan order of Rome, under which Cæsar was at once emperor, sovereign pontiff, and God. Constantine did little for the Church but undo the iniquity of his predecessors; Charlemagne did nobly, I grant, but his successors in France and Germany are answerable in great part for the Greek schism, besides other incalculable evils to religion. The nations that were first converted after the example or through the influence of their princes have for the most part apostatized; only those nations, unless Ireland be an exception, that were fertilized by the blood of martyrs and evangelized by the humble missionary, are Catholic to-day. It is a bastard Catholicity that is taken from the prince, and given up at his bidding. Not to princes, but humble fishermen, was given the command to evangelize the nations; and they have injured more than they have served religion by assuming to themselves spiritual functions. The best service they can render to religion is to maintain peace and justice in their realms, and leave religion free under the management of those to whom the Holy Ghost commits the spiritual authority.”

“But,” rejoined Winslow, “if there is no incompatibility between Catholicity and republicanism, how happens it that all through Europe the enemies of monarchy are the enemies of the Church, and the stanch defenders of the Church, like Louis Veillot, are at the same time stanch defenders of monarchy?”

“That is a question,” added De Bonneville, “that I should like to have Father John answer. Nothing is more certain than that the European Liberals are anti-Catholic. They were so in the old French Revolution; they were so in 1848; they are still more so in 1857. They drove the Holy Father out of Rome, and they would overthrow the Papal government again to-morrow, were it not for the troops which France generously sustains in the Holy City.”

“One extreme,” replied Father John, “begets another. Catholics have an infallible Church, that, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, teaches infallibly the truth in faith and morals, but they are not themselves infallible. The first thing for a convert to learn is that not all that is done by Catholics is Catholic, and the fact that we find them wedded to this or that political regimen is no proof that it is a regimen for which Catholicity has any special affinity. The Church recognizes every legal government, whatever its form, and teaches her children to demean themselves as loyal citizens or subjects. She prescribes and proscribes no particular form of government. But Catholics, not as Catholics, but as men, may have, as other men, their preferences, and may support their preferences against all contestants.

“In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries absolute monarchy became the ruling order throughout nearly all Europe, in Catholic as well as Protestant states. There were rebellions against it, indeed, in Spain, France, and England—in France in favor of the nobility, in Spain and England in favor of the commons; but they were suppressed, and at the opening of the eighteenth century absolute monarchy had gained the victory. Cæsarism, unless Great Britain and Holland be an exception, was triumphant, under the hegemony of France. A reaction against this in favor of liberty could not fail to follow. The triumph of monarchy was followed by general corruption of manners

and morals in the courts and upper classes, while the peasantry were ground down with exorbitant and still more vexatious taxes, despised by the privileged classes, and neglected by the government, which neglected almost every one of its duties, except that of imposing and collecting taxes. Moreover, monarchy had under Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, persecuted the Huguenots, interfered in the Jansenistic quarrels, and thus excited against it, wherever it professed to be Catholic, and especially in France, the prejudices and passions of the whole heretical and non-Catholic world. Hence the movement in behalf of liberty assumed an anti-Catholic character, under the lead of the bitter but able enemies of Catholicity. Being directed against the Church and monarchy at the same time, sincere and earnest Catholics were in a measure forced to make common cause with monarchy, to uphold despotism, and to denounce the Liberal movement.

“On the breaking out of the revolution in 1789, the Catholic party could do no better than to prove themselves royalists, and link the defence of the altar with that of the throne; but the consequence of their doing so has placed Catholics in dependence on the sovereigns as defenders and protectors of the Church, and deprived them, on pain of being forced to join the Liberals against their Church, of all freedom to oppose absolutism, and given the Liberals an apparent reason for opposing the Church as the ally of despotism. In fact, it has become, through the force of circumstances, very nearly impossible to defend religion without defending Cæsarism, or to oppose Cæsarism without opposing Catholicity.”

“Father John, I believe, is correct in his facts,” remarked De Bonneville, “but I cannot accept his inferences. The progress of European society has kept pace with the progress of monarchy; monarchy is in civil society what the Papacy is in the ecclesiastical society. The men who had developed modern monarchy from the Barbarian chieftainship, and made it the representative of the majesty of the state, were Catholics, and we must suppose that in doing it they acted from conviction, not from mere policy, and that in defending it at one time against the Papacy, at another time against the nobles or overgrown barons, or, at still another, against the commons, they acted in accord-

ance with their religious as well as with their political views. They really believed that the interests of the throne and the altar were inseparably connected, and that not accidentally only, but in the nature of things, an attack upon the one is an attack on the other. The European Catholics did but follow their religion as well as their loyalty in rallying around the throne, and placing themselves under the lead of their legitimate sovereign against the Liberals, the *Sans-culottes*, the Jacobins, who were the sworn enemies of both."

"What the Liberals wanted was not liberty," added Winslow, "but license. They were impatient of all restraint, whether civil or religious. They were warring equally against religion and society, and no man who regarded either could do otherwise than oppose them."

"All that is easily said," remarked Dieffenbach; "but the inner life of the age was developing itself on the side of freedom, and true wisdom would have taught the Catholic party that resistance would be vain, and that to place external obstacles in its way would only tend to give it a false and unnatural direction. It was the unwisdom of the sovereigns who mistook their own power and the spirit of their times, that gave to the Liberal party their infidel tendency, and the union of the Catholic with the monarchical cause could only strengthen that tendency. The old forms of political organization, the cut and dried formulas of the schools, the puerile and absurd conventionalisms of the times, restrained the workings of the interior spirit, and prevented the growth and expression of the deeper life of men. The whole system which had grown up tended to make life external and mechanical, to dwarf the intellect, to check the growth of free, manly thought, and to hinder the free movements of the heart and soul. Society had lost its naturalness, had become artificial, and life was losing itself in outward forms. The living principle of Christianity could no longer work through those forms; it was too large for them, and must break them or be broken by them. If it could not work with monarchy and the ecclesiastical society, it would work without them, or, if necessary, even against them. Your Richelieus, Mazarins, Louises, Bossuets, and others, who managed affairs for Church and state in France, were blind to the

real wants of their age, gave to the Catholic mind a false direction, and prepared the way for the destructive movements of the eighteenth century. They overlooked or warred against the deeper instincts of the Christian soul, and constituted, or labored to constitute, a system of things that made it in the following century almost impossible to defend the cause of legitimate freedom in the nominally Catholic world without seeming to oppose the whole Christian religion. The Liberal party erred in identifying liberty with infidelity, as the governmental party erred in identifying religion with monarchy and absolute power. Yet these Liberals were not so totally depraved as our friends Winslow and De Bonneville would have us believe. At bottom they had something good, something right, inspired by true religion, and the governments and sincere Catholics should have seen it in time, separated it from the false and the evil with which it was associated, and freely and frankly accepted it."

"The Church," added Father John, "never errs, or fails to understand the wants or the movements of the times; but she has to deal with men as she finds them. It is no reproach to her that in matters of human policy Catholics are as blind or as short-sighted as other folk, for she has never had the complete and entire training of any people. She is not of the world, but is placed in the world, and must deal with men *more humano*. Human nature with its virtues and infirmities remains in all men; in Catholics as well as in non-Catholics. The great error of the Catholic populations of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was in suffering the sovereigns to place the civil government above the Church, the temporal power above the spiritual. They found Catholic princes their external support against the declared enemies of the Church, and they forgot the admonition of the Holy Ghost, 'Put not your trust in princes.' They yielded everything to their sovereigns, and instead of resisting, aided them in their attempts to grasp absolute power. They relied on the temporal sovereigns to take care of the interests of religion as well as the interests of the state, and naturally regarded opposition to the sovereign as alike rebellion against the state and the Church. Hence they became unable to perceive anything good in the party

clamoring for freedom. At least this was true of the majority of the dignified clergy and of the higher classes of society. Finding themselves in the ruling party, and the recipients of the favor of the court, they forgot the poorer and more numerous classes, and pursued blindly the rash policy of resisting along with much error the really just demands of the Liberal party.

“The sovereigns of Europe have availed themselves of this political blunder to the fullest extent, and while they have, through the concessions of Catholics, kept their control of Catholic interests, they have asserted their independence of the Catholic party. No European sovereign fears any opposition on the part of Catholics as such, while the Catholics in every Catholic country are dependent on the sovereign to defend them from the irreligious movements of the Liberals. He is therefore not obliged to keep terms with them, though they are obliged as they love their religion to keep terms with him. He plays them off against the Socialists, or the Socialists against them, as it suits his purpose. Hence we find them without independent weight in countries where they are, nominally at least, the overwhelming majority. In France less than a million of the population, out of thirty-six millions, belong to other religions than the Catholic, and yet Catholic interests, as such, have not the slightest weight with the government. The Emperor may outrage the Catholic conscience to any extent he pleases, and even gain in strength and popularity by so doing. The press is free to attack in the most blasphemous manner every thing the Catholic holds dear or sacred, while it is sure to be visited with a *warning* if it presumes to assert the independence of the Church, and to vindicate the freedom of religion. Under the constitutional government of Louis Philippe, and the Republic of 1848, Catholics could speak freely, and boldly and energetically assert the rights of the Church; but now there is no freedom, except to eulogize the Emperor, the Empress, and the Imperial *régime*, and such men as Louis Veuillot think the only way to serve religion is to separate it as widely as possible from the cause of Liberalism, and link it to the car of triumphant despotism, while they are absolutely impotent to impose the slightest restraint on the despot.”

CONVERSATION II.

“I cannot understand Father John’s spite,” remarked Winslow, “against Louis Veillot, the most intrepid defender of Catholicity in Europe. I should naturally suppose him a man after his own heart. He is a high-toned Papist, a bold and earnest ultramontane, a fearless defender of those very things in ecclesiastical history which timid Catholics seek to conceal or to explain away—a straightforward journalist, who fixes his eye on the right and pursues it steadily in spite of friend or foe.”

“With Louis Veillot as a man, I have nothing to do,” answered Father John. “I owe him no spite, and only wish him well. He is, as a Catholic journalist, a power, and a power for evil as well as for good. His journal has acquired an influence over the Catholic mind of France and elsewhere, that I believe injurious to the interests of religion.”

“It seems to me, Father John,” interposed De Bonneville, “that if it were so, the French bishops and clergy, and especially the Pope, would detect the fact, and caution the faithful against it. Are you likely to be better informed, to be sharper sighted, and more devoted to the interests of religion than they?”

“Your *argumentum ad verecundiam*,” answered Father John, “admits no reply, and if insisted on, puts an end to all discussion. The *Univers* is not a dogma of faith; it is not the Holy See, nor an integral institution of the Church; and whether its policy is favorable or unfavorable to religion, I suppose is an open question, on which I am free to express my honest opinions, without offending either the Pope or the French bishops and clergy. To a great extent it leads the Catholic mind of Europe, because it appeals to its fear of Liberalism, its dread of Socialism, and its traditional devotion to absolute monarchy. It is on the winning side, and defends not a noble though a lost cause, but a triumphant despotism. It opposes, too, much that is really bad, really dangerous both to society and the Church, and so far really deserves the support of Catholics. But I do not like its spirit, which lacks breadth and discrimination. It is often able, and furnishes many admirable essays on subjects of great importance; but it has a fan-

tical hatred of parliamentary government, and fails to be fair, honorable, and just to its friends."

"There is no doubt in my mind," interposed Dieffenbach, "that the *Univers* represents the popular sentiment of the larger number of European Catholics. Catholics of Europe have suffered immensely from revolutionists, and naturally wedded to order, and averse to all public agitation, they honestly conclude that the real interests of society and the Church require them to rally around the government and strengthen the hands of power. In 1848 the governments were too weak, and for the moment were obliged to yield to the mob. Order has been restored, and peace maintained, only by strengthening the government and arraying it against the revolutionists."

"Very true," replied Father John. "But the weakness of the governments in 1848 arose precisely from the fact that they had neglected to march with the sentiment of their respective nations, and had failed to use their thirty years of peace to give to the nations constitutions in harmony at once with the rights of the people and the stability of power. Their present policy is to render their power more absolute, and by more rigid measures of repression to keep down all opposition. This policy may do in moments of actual rebellion, if it can be carried out, but it will not do for the governments of Europe to rely on it as their permanent policy. The system of repression will fail in the most critical moments, and no government is stable that sustains itself only by its army. The real and ever-growing public sentiment of Europe is opposed to absolutism, and that sentiment you cannot change. You may suppress for a day, a month, a year, perhaps years, its expression; but it exists, and is every day gathering strength, and at a moment when the governments least expect it, it will break out with resistless force, and fill the whole earth with terror. Certain that the policy of repression cannot, in the long run, be a successful policy, I am opposed to those one-eyed and short-sighted publicists who would commit Catholicity to its keeping, and involve Catholic interests in its maintenance. The revolution is not ended, and it is perfectly idle to dream of extinguishing it by armed force. The Catholic should feel certain of this, and do his best to guard against a new outbreak by removing the cause.

Catholicity is not needed to sustain Cæsarism, and it cannot do it effectually, because between it and Cæsarism there is an innate incompatibility, and Catholics, when they attempt to do it, do not and cannot carry with them the force of their religion. They are as Samson shorn of his locks. But it is needed by the Liberals, because an infidel republic, with or without monarchy, can never sustain itself in Catholic Europe. It would lack the essential element of order, and degenerate at once into *démagogie* and anarchy. The true policy of the Catholic who looks to the real interests of both religion and society, is to labor to detach liberty from its present unnatural alliance with infidelity, and the Catholic cause from its present forced alliance with Cæsarism, so as to prove to the world that it is possible to maintain social order without despotism, and liberty without infidelity or rejection of the Church. The Liberals of Europe cannot be brought back to the Church so long as they suppose returning to her communion involves their submission to Cæsarism, or political absolutism,—except by a miracle of Divine grace, which no man has a right to expect. Humanly speaking, the thing is impossible.”

“You would have Catholics join the opposition, and get up a revolution then?” asked Winslow.

“By no means,” replied Father John, “yet they might as consistently make common cause with the Liberals as with the despots. I am no revolutionist, but I have great confidence in the power of Catholicity, though given solely in reference to spiritual good, to work out all needed social and political reforms, when Catholics will take their cue from the Church instead of the secular order, and be willing to apply the principles of their religion to the state and society. All I ask of my European brethren is not to sustain despotism, or to condemn liberty or free government in the name of Catholicity,—not to attack in season and out of season constitutional or representative government, not to decry and do their best to render odious every prominent man among its friends, and finally not to labor to form a public opinion favorable only to absolutism. To a fearful extent Catholicity has lost its hold on the population, even of Catholic countries, and Europe is, I was about to say, more Voltairian than Catholic. What

may be called public opinion is at least un-Catholic, and nowhere is the Catholic cause the popular cause, or that which kindles the enthusiasm and calls forth the energetic activity of the mass of the people. It never will be the popular cause so long as the more influential Catholics in Catholic countries exert themselves only in behalf of authority. The reason why the European Liberals are almost universally anti-Catholic is not to be set down exclusively to their wickedness and licentiousness. Catholics—not Catholicity—themselves are to some extent responsible for it, and might, without proving in any degree unfaithful to their religion or deficient in true loyalty, do much to render them less hostile to the Church. They have some truth and justice on their side, or else they could not sustain themselves as they do, though they certainly have at the same time great and most mischievous errors. Yet Catholics in their controversies with them and opposition to them have not, it seems to me, been always disposed to concede them the truth and justice they really have, and have not shown themselves as ready to accept and defend their cause, so far as true and just, as they were bound in sound policy and by their religion to have done. They have sometimes denounced where they should have reasoned, and silenced their arguments by authority instead of solid reasons. This has driven them farther than they originally intended, and provoked a hostility towards Catholicity they did not in the beginning entertain. I respect and uphold legitimate authority with my whole heart and strength, but I have observed that holy Popes and saintly prelates never bring forward their authority till the appeal to reason and conscience has failed. I am not willing to abandon all European Liberals to Satan, and to despair of all efforts to recall them, or at least the larger portion of them, to milder and juster feelings towards the Church. I would even stretch a point and go out of my way to convince them that Catholicity treats them with more forbearance than does a certain class of Catholic publicists, and that her sympathies are with the poor and oppressed, and her predilections are for freedom."

"But you seem to me, Father John," said De Bonneville, "to be merely advocating the movement com-

menced in France by Lamennais, and which you are aware was condemned by Pope Gregory XVI."

"I am not aware that I am advocating anything the Church has condemned in Lamennais. Not all that Lamennais said was false, or all he proposed was wrong. His philosophy was unsound, and I do not hold it; he required the Church to place herself on the side of the revolutionary party in opposition to the sovereigns, and raise, as it were, democracy to an article of faith. I do no such thing. I ask neither the Church nor the people, Catholic or non-Catholic, to make war on the kings and emperors of Europe. I do not ask her to break her concordats with the sovereigns, and to cut herself loose from all connection with the state. I am not myself a democrat in the ordinary acceptation of the term, or opposed to monarchy where it is the legitimate order. There is no government in Europe, which, in my judgment, its subjects, Catholic or non-Catholic, are not bound to obey, and defend if attacked by violence. The point with me is not there. I wish Catholics, as politicians and statesmen, to accept the great principles of justice and equity recognized by their religion, insisted on by the great doctors of the Church, and labor in a legal and loyal way to restrict the temporal authority within their limits, and to recover for the nation the rights which monarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the great religious wars, usurped. Monarchy has concentrated in itself powers once held by the Papacy, the nobility, and the commons, and has thus become too strong for freedom, and I would gradually, by the force of public sentiment, restore these powers to the rightful owner. What I ask of Catholics everywhere is, to aid in the growth and efficiency of this public sentiment, that they discriminate, in the demands and theories of Liberals, what is true, just, and practicable, and frankly accept it, and use their influence in a loyal way to gain it a legal recognition and guaranty.

"No one can have studied history, and comprehended the present state of the world, without perceiving that society in Europe is undergoing, nay, since the epoch of Luther's rebellion has been undergoing, a deep and radical transformation. The old order of the Middle Ages has been demolished; and the absolute monarchy which suc-

ceeded it, and which maintains by its army only a fitful and even artificial existence, cannot endure, unless Europe is doomed to follow the example of the Asiatic world, and lapse into a state of semi-barbarism. A radical, social change is taking place, which renders the permanent and healthy existence of the old order impracticable, if not undesirable. I say not that this change is a progress—I say not that it promises us anything better for the world than we before had; but I do say, that it is too late to oppose it with permanent success, and by opposing it Catholics practically place themselves in the attitude, under a temporal point of view, towards the new order springing up, assumed by the old Pagan world of Rome towards the new Christian world that was forming in its bosom, and will inevitably undergo a defeat. What I ask is, that European Catholics take pains not to involve the interests of their religion in the fate of that old superannuated order, and prepare themselves to accept the new state of things that is springing up, and to turn it to the advantage of religion.”

“It seems to me,” replied Winslow, “that Father John is recommending Catholics to compromise with the spirit of the world. The Church is immutable and immovable. It is for her to govern the spirit of the world, not to succumb to it, or to be governed by it. She cannot change as the world changes, but must be always the same in all times and places. She represents the divine element in human society, and is established to maintain the supremacy of the divine law in human affairs. She can make no compromise with the world.”

“Very true,” rejoined Father John, “but I am asking for no change in the Church, in her dogmas, her morals, her constitution, her policy, or her mode of dealing with individuals or nations. She is infallible and holy, and never errs in her policy any more than in her dogmas. God forbid that I should ask of her any modification of her principles or policy, or any compromise to the spirit of the age. I am not, in my remarks, speaking of the Church, nor even of Catholics under their spiritual relations. I am speaking of Catholics only under their temporal relations, of their conduct only in relation to the secular order. In most Catholic States, I find them wedded to what is

called in the language of the day the party of the past, and losing their Catholicity in proportion as they approach the party of the future. You find them, if not affected more or less by unbelief, poring over the dead past, living on their traditions, exploring catacombs, deciphering half-obliterated inscriptions, and writing history, as if they had no sense of the present, no hope of the future. They seem to give up the present and the future to Cæsar and the enemies of the Church, and to feel that the most glorious epoch of Catholicity has passed away. They are without influence in affairs. France, with her thirty-five millions of nominal Catholics, is governed by the non-Catholic mind, as much so as our own country. In Naples, the monarchical rather than the Catholic mind governs. In Austria the Emperor would seem to have a regard for Catholic interests, but the Austrian bureaucracy is Voltaireian, and Catholics, as such, have very little if any weight in the administration. So in all Catholic countries. The governing mind is non-Catholic. Even in Belgium, where the great majority are Catholic, the effective power is in the hands of the non-Catholic or anti-Catholic minority. These are facts which are, no doubt unpleasant to Catholic ears, but facts they are, and it is idle for us to seek to conceal them or to explain them away. The non-Catholic world know them better than we do, and find in them their only effective argument against us. Count Cavour, the elder, is pious, said to be a good Catholic, but without talent, force, or energy; his younger brother is prime minister of Sardinia, an able statesman, but a sorry Catholic."

"But our Lord did not come to found a temporal kingdom," said Winslow, "and we are not to look for his earnest and humble followers in courts or the high places of the state. The spirit of our holy religion is that of self-denial, humility, prayer, mortification, and detachment from the world. It stifles worldly ambition, gives men a distaste for affairs, and a relish only for the unseen and the eternal. The true Catholic does not live for this world; he withdraws from it, and devotes all his time and thought to the only really important thing, the saving of his soul."

"The Catholic," added O'Flanagan, "takes no thought for the morrow, and has learned, in whatever state he finds

himself, therewith to be content. Why bother one's head with affairs, as though the government of the world was intrusted to our hands, and there was no God to take care of it or of us? Let us leave the world to Providence. Providence will take care of religion, of the Church, and of society. We trouble ourselves unnecessarily, and think the Lord cannot manage his own affairs without our assistance."

"And yet," replied Father John, "Mr. O'Flanagan is a patriot, and is ready to make any sacrifice for the liberation of Ireland from the oppression of England and the Orangemen. I understand his and Mr. Winslow's arguments; and the principle on which they are based cannot be gainsaid. Certainly our Lord did not come as a temporal prince to found a temporal kingdom; but he did come to found a Church which should teach all men and nations, and in process of time gather all within her fold. Temporal government is indispensable to individuals and society, and when a whole nation becomes Catholic, in whose hands, if not in those of Catholics, is the government to be placed? Undoubtedly, the true Catholic subordinates all his thoughts and actions to eternal good; but there is nothing in his religion that unfits him for taking an active and effective part in temporal affairs. Our Lord did not give us a religion that unfitted us for our duties as men, or as members of natural society; and the peculiar Catholic virtues only render one all the more capable of discharging them wisely, honestly, and faithfully. There is no incompatibility between humility and magnanimity, between meekness and energy, between the absence of worldly ambition and the presence of political honesty and capacity. Our religion requires us to be children in innocence, but at the same time requires us to be men in understanding. It detaches us from the world, but it does not forbid us to serve the true interests of society for God's sake. It never could have been the intention of our Lord to give us a religion which would require a class of non-Catholics, or proud, greedy men of the world to take charge of our temporal interests. The present position of Catholics in so-called Catholic states, is not imposed upon them by their religion, and is not the effect of their faith, piety, or spiritual-mindedness. It is the result of social, political,

industrial, and commercial changes, of which they have not been the first to avail themselves. They have suffered the government of the world to slip from their hands, and they find themselves now deserted by the active living world, which, by going on without them, is fast hastening to destruction."

"There are," remarked Dieffenbach, "many things which were good in their time, which formerly were of great service to religion, and to which churchmen are still attached from habit or routine, and half identify with religion itself, which must be abandoned. The emperor can no longer be expected to shape his policy in the interest of religion. The recent reception of Turkey, the leading Mahometan power, into the European family of nations, proves that political Christendom is effaced and no longer exists. The Christian law of nations has been abrogated by the treaty of Paris, at least so far as it concerns the principal powers of Europe, and Christianity and Mahometanism are henceforth to be regarded as standing on the same legal footing. The Christian empire ceases to exist, the consecration of nominally Christian kings or emperors would now be an anomaly, nay, a gross absurdity. No sovereign now, on acceding to the throne, assumes any Christian obligation; even Russia, by consenting to the peace of Paris, has abandoned her Christian claims, and the Emperor Alexander II. holds by the same title as the Padishah of Constantinople. All the governments that were parties to that treaty cease to be Christian governments, and are to be regarded as having thrown off the Christian law. There is no Christian government in the world now, unless it be Spain and Naples, any more than there was when St. Peter established his chair at Rome. The peace of 1856 has definitively changed the relation of the Church to the secular authority, and compelled her henceforth to treat all secular governments as simply non-Catholic; we must, therefore, regard the old union of Church and State as everywhere dissolved, and the State as declaring, in principle, that it is no longer bound to govern according to the Christian law. The peace of Westphalia was a compromise; that of Vienna was a partial return to the Christian state; that of Paris marks the definitive victory of the secular order, and the complete

emancipation of the empire from the sacerdotaly. This last peace has a reach which few have suspected, and must be regarded as a total effacement of the order founded by Charlemagne. It places all religions, Christianity, Protestantism, Mahometanism, Buddhism, all the various forms of Gentilism, on a footing of perfect equality before international law, and henceforth there is no Christian State, no Christendom, save in the purely spiritual order. All State religions or ecclesiastical establishments become an inconsequence, and must give way before the invincible logic of the human race. No State that adopts the principles of that treaty, and the new principles of international law it has introduced, can logically or consistently recognize any religion, or treat with any religion as a corporation, as a power. It can guaranty the freedom of religion only in guarantying that of the citizen or the subject."

"That treaty certainly has changed in principle the entire relation which has heretofore existed in Catholic countries between the Church and the State, as well as between Christian and infidel powers," added Father John. "The public law of Europe, before that treaty, extended only to Christian powers; it forbade an infidel power to hold a Christian people in subjection, and authorized, as in the Crusades, all the powers of Christendom to arm in defence of the Christian against the infidel. Christian princes had the right to make war on infidel powers, and compel them, not to embrace the Gospel, but to receive its missionaries, and to permit their subjects to become Christian, if they chose. This right is abandoned now, and the right of the Padishah over his Christian subjects is recognized to be as full and as complete as over his Mahometan subjects. All right of interference for the protection of Christians against the persecutions and oppressions inflicted on them by their infidel masters is now disclaimed, and the right of interference now is only in behalf of the freedom of commerce. I regard the treaty of Paris as a solemn declaration by the great powers of Europe that they officially ignore the Christian law, and are no longer held to govern as Christian powers. The State henceforth professes no religion, and rejects, as the State, all religion; hence the new danger of political absolutism to religious interests. Religion can now be free, not in its own right, but only in

the right of the citizen or subject, as included in the number of his private or personal rights. Under absolutism the subject has no rights, and, therefore, under absolutism the Church has and can have no freedom, because there is no freedom of the citizen or subject in which it can be included. It can now be free only in a free State, a State which recognizes and guaranties to all its members the freedom of conscience as a natural and inalienable right. Whatever was the duty of Catholics before the treaty of Paris, there can be no question now that it is to labor to convert the European governments, as far as possible, into free States. Of course they must reject the revolutionary principles of the Red Republicans and the insane and licentious theories of the Socialists, but they must in other respects, however unpleasant it may sound, make common cause with the Liberals."

"Father John seems to me," replied O'Flanagan, "to push the matter too far. I am for liberating oppressed nationalities, and restoring Ireland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy to their national independence; but I see not why the Church cannot be as free under one form of government as another, why the monarch should be more disposed to oppress the Church than would be the people. It seems to me, as I have often heard Father John himself maintain, that the true policy is to seek the freedom of the State in religious guaranties, not the freedom of religion in political guaranties."

"That," answered Father John, "in one sense I still maintain. The monarch would be as good security as the people, providing that he held his throne by a Christian tenor, and acknowledged himself bound to reign as a Christian king, as in the Middle Ages; for then the Church, as the interpreter and judge of the Christian law, would be acknowledged by the civil law to be supreme, and her canons would bind the civil courts. If the king infringed her rights, she could excommunicate him, and deprive him of his authority. But there is no excommunicating the sovereign who places himself as sovereign out of the Catholic communion, and the Church cannot deprive a king that does not hold his power by a Christian title. She did not deprive the Roman or even the Greek emperors. Cæsar is, though privately a Catholic, now, as Cæsar, of no

religion, and is therefore in his official character not under the Christian law, but outside of it, and his title remains legally the same, whether he is a Mussulman or a Gentoo. The Church cannot touch him. The Pope may indeed absolve the Catholic subject from his allegiance, and even forbid him to obey his orders, but this, however good *in foro conscientiæ* would not be recognized, *in foro exteriori*, and the subject would be liable to be condemned in the civil courts, and executed as a traitor, because no law of the State recognizes the legal authority of the Pope. The sovereigns of Europe have rejected the old European law so far as it imposes restrictions on the temporal power, and it is idle for us to dream, in the present state of the world, of reviving it. Leave, then, the sovereign absolute in face of the subject, and you have and can have no ground on which you can legally or constitutionally, that is, in the civil courts, assert the freedom of religion.

“ By the treaty of Paris the principal powers of Europe have adopted on one side, in relation to the Church, the American system, and freed themselves from all obligation to her or to any religion. Whether this is to be regarded as a gain or a loss to religion, I pretend not to decide. Much may be said on both sides. I will only say that it is in harmony with the modern world, which puts trade in the place of the Church, and material civilization in place of religion; and whether we like it or dislike it, we cannot help ourselves. We must accept it and do the best we can with it. But, if we acquiesce in absolutism emancipated from the Church, we leave our religion without protection, and all her temporal interests as well as the consciences of Catholics at the mercy of the despot. We must insist on carrying out the American order, in the respect that it guaranties individual liberty and entire freedom of conscience, as well as in the respect that it emancipates power from its obligation to govern as a Christian power; so that the civil courts will be legally obliged to protect the Church, because obliged to protect the liberty of the citizen or subject, as is the case in this country, and to a certain extent in Great Britain. Mr. O’Flanagan will see then, why I so earnestly insist on constitutional guaranties for freedom in opposition to the new-fangled Cæsarism,

defended by Louis Veillot and a certain number of French and other Catholics.

“ I regard it as certain that henceforth the Church can count on no protection, as the Church, from the civil power, —that she will, even in Catholic countries, soon be compelled to stand before the State on a footing of equality with Protestantism, Mahometanism, Gentoicism, or any other form of religion or no religion, and to rely solely on her own intrinsic divinity and excellence. She has, like all other religions, to throw herself into the great current of modern life, and struggle as best she may, asking and receiving no special favor or protection. This situation is in some respects new, and it is no reproach to the ecclesiastical authorities to say that neither here nor elsewhere have Catholics been universally trained either to comprehend or to meet it. In this matter, as in all matters of importance, the few are in advance of the many. The few in Europe see, or think they see, the inevitable tendency of the modern spirit, and are urging upon their brethren to adapt themselves to the new position of things. They are looked upon with distrust, as restless or innovating spirits, by those who do not see that tendency, or who, seeing it, still hope that it may be arrested, and the old order re-established. Hence, a sort of division, not in matters of faith, not in morals, obtains among Catholics; one party are for accepting and conforming to what they regard as inevitable, and seeking elsewhere a substitute for the old order which now fails us; the other party are either blind to the changes that are going on, or denounce them and do all they can to resist them. It is here as elsewhere my good or bad fortune to be with the few, though with real fraternal affection for the many. In our own country we have freedom for our Church, and that is much; but aside from protection by the laws of our rights as citizens and men, we have nothing. It is clear, then, to my judgment that the old training, which was very proper when the people counted for nothing in the state, will not answer for us. Not only the clergy but the laity have here a work which formerly they had not. Every Catholic layman has to be to his Church now in his own sphere, what in other times the good Catholic sovereign was. The age is a fast age, and is sure to outrun

Catholics, unless they quicken their pace, and endeavor to keep up with it. They must be behind in nothing, except sin. They must recover, and take the lead of the age, and do so by their real superiority in mental and moral activity, by their foresight and energy, by their large views and generous enthusiasm. The Church must regain through the people what she has lost or is losing through the sovereigns. You see, then, the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged, and why, while my principles remain unchanged, I do not and cannot use in all respects the same language I did in 1848. We are no longer in the same world. As the sovereigns have asserted their freedom in face of religion, the people must assert their rights in face of the sovereigns, in the interest both of civil and religious liberty."

"I think I understand Father John's doctrine, and I freely accept it for the United States," replied De Bonneville, "but I am not prepared to accept it for old Europe. Here your State leaves religion, as such, to itself, and takes no care of it. It is in accordance with your order that it should do so. Your Federal Constitution contains no recognition even of God, except by implication in the instances in which it demands an oath, and with that exception would be as suitable to a nation of atheists as to a nation of Christians. Here, I grant, the Church rests for its support on the individual conscience, and can claim or receive protection only as being the conscience of the citizen. But this order can never be admitted in Europe. There the sovereigns are more or less affected by tradition, and they will never consent to surrender their surveillance of ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical affairs. Moreover, the Catholic population, accustomed to governmental control, assistance, and protection in religious matters, if abandoned by the State and thrown upon their own resources, would soon cease to be Catholic, and lapse into heathenism. If the government should withhold its salary from the clergy, and leave them for their support to the voluntary offerings of the faithful, more than half the churches in France would be closed in six months. The union of Church and State is a political and a religious necessity in every Catholic country in Europe, and if in fact dissolved, the mass of the people would live and die as heathen."

“Every transition from one order to another,” interposed Dieffenbach, “is always attended by more or less of evil, and there can be no doubt that the introduction of the American order into the old Catholic states of Europe would be at first very injurious to religion. But we must recollect that religion is already at a low ebb in all Catholic Europe, and that the majority of educated men, not priests or religious, are little better than nominal Catholics. They may not wholly break with the Church, but they are governed neither by her teachings nor by her spirit, while the mass of the peasantry in France never dream of so absurd a thing as going to Confession. What is needed is to recover the mass of the population to a living, energetic faith, and that you will never do so long as they associate Catholicity with the authority that visits them in the shape of the tax-collector. Neither ecclesiastical nor civil authority can restore them to a living faith. External authority in matters of religion does not and will not weigh with them. It is only through freedom, and the free development of the inner life, that they will once more become hearty believers. Without disturbing the present order, I would, as Father John recommends, begin to train them in reference to the new order which soon or late must come, as Sardinia proves to us, and which no earthly power can prevent. You must educate the people as you never yet have done; you must enable them to understand their own deeper wants, and lead them back to the Church through science and high intellectual and moral culture.”

ART. II.—*England and Naples, as illustrative of Protestant Prejudice.*

SOME of our lawyer friends tell a story of a young English barrister who had zealously striven to gain a chancery lawsuit which threatened to be interminable at the time it first passed into his hands, from those of his wary father-in-law. The day upon which his honest endeavours were crowned with success found the young “outer barman” hastening, with exultant eagerness, to assure his sage

predecessor of the triumph. "Check your ardor, young man," coldly spoke the reproachful old lawyer, "instead of praise, your conduct merits blame. You are less sensible than I had suspected, and your motive for joy is puerile. Listen, sir; that case enabled my father to provide for me, and it helped me to portion your wife, and, with patience and prudent management, you, sir, could have used it during your own life, and left it as a precious legacy to your children. But you have thought it better to sift the case bare, and not to be content as we were before you. You have thus flung away a profitable source of income, and must now seek, by your own exertion, another prop." Somewhat akin to the "idea" in this rebuke would seem to be the quality of the relationship subsisting between Protestantism and its prejudices. *They* constitute *its* chief "prop," passing from generation to generation as its best source of sustenance; and, whoever would honestly combat all the obstacles in the way of "sifting" these prejudices bare, must expect to hazard the favorable opinion of all who are content to thrive upon the legacy, such as it is, and forfeit the family "consideration" which is rarely bequeathed apart from the prejudice.

We hardly know whether it would be more correct to describe prejudice as the shadow of Protestantism, or Protestantism as the shadow of prejudice. Although scarcely interchangeable terms, they have "ideas" that are inseparably blended. Taking prejudice as Webster defines it—"a decision of mind formed without due examination of the facts or arguments which are necessary to a just and impartial determination"—we have no difficulty in distributing its sins of omission and commission amongst all the assailants of Catholicity. Over questions of religion the influence exercised by prejudice is as immense as it is pernicious. It clothes feeling in falsehood—hands a foil to sentiment—and drugs truth with its most subtle poisons. Prejudice looks at facts with blinking eyes, and seeks to shape appearances in keeping with its own condition. It is a traitor to all true generosity, the "ill breeze" which blasts the tender growth of natural liberality, and "blows" no one "good," and the slanderer of our best social impulses. Like certain fashionable maladies, it is more generally inherited than acquired; yet is it not unfrequently

acquired. Like the expert thief of polished society, it diverts your reasoning, until it has absorbed your favor. It wears a plausible mask, and steals the essence of truth from your reach before you can detect the imposture. Like the cankering incrustations feeding the "rot" in a favorite forest tree, prejudice becomes the gangrene of our hearts, and infects all our knowledge while it cripples the chances of free ventilation. It is a law governing the habits of this *pest*, that its greatest expansion takes place not in the largest but the smallest minds. By another working law of its nature, it assumes an immunity from error, and scorns the noble maxim which asks us to depreciate no one, since an atom has a shadow.

What has come to be known as "popular prejudice" takes the most extravagant means of manifesting itself. Throwing aside the sullen character of the "private prejudice" upon which it was nurtured, it acts upon the puppet whims of the populace with an infatuation ever varying in its extremes, and going to all extremes in its effects. No nation is without numerous instances, in its own history, of the woe-working qualities which pertain to "popular prejudice." It wears many aspects, but none so frequent and terrible in their extremes as those of politics or religion, or both in combination. Controlled by its fierce but fickle influence, the British populace hunted Charles Stuart to death, and laughed around the scaffold while its headsman did the crowd's bloody behests. Wafted by another gush of popular sentiment, the repentant people rushed to greet the son of their slaughtered king, and sought to drown in the intoxication of new "popular prejudice" the memory of the hateful deed consummated in past "popular prejudice." Veering to another point, the popular current soon again bore down "the labor of its own hands," and sought new means to gratify fresh whims of its own conception. The grim Dutchman, William of Orange, won its new favors, and upon the crest of the flooding prejudice, stole into the Stuarts' throne and seized the Stuarts' sceptre.

"O Lennox, who would wish to rule
This changeling crowd, this common fool?
'Hear'st thou,' he said,* 'the loud acclaim,

* King James to Lord Lennox, in Scott's "Lady of the Lake."

With which they shout the Douglas' name ?
 With like acclaim, the vulgar throat
 Strain'd for King James their morning note ;
 With like acclaim they hail'd the day
 When first I broke the Douglas' sway :
 A like acclaim would Douglas greet
 If he could hurl me from my seat.
 Who o'er the herd would wish to reign,
 Fantastic, fickle, fierce, and vain ! ' ' "

It runs riot through the world, this "popular prejudice," coloring with its chameleon hues every public action, and arming all its vassals against the logic of simple fact. It breeds false feelings and becomes the elixir of their animation, and the guiding genius of their utterance. It whispers falsehood into the national ear, and bids the Russian despise the Briton, and the Briton hate the Russian. From its impulse the Sepoy calls the Saxon savage, and the Saxon deems the Sepoy fiend ; under its teaching, Italians scoff at the braggart British, and the British scorn the indolent Italian. Through its misty atmosphere Protestantism looks at Catholicity, and the Catholic (not Catholicity) not unfrequently regards Protestantism. And this last instance, by the bye, leads us more directly to our subject.

We remember once hearing of a tallow-chandler who had imbibed learned notions, and cherished a disposition to keep up with "the march of intellect." But there was no earthly use in the profession of any intellectual quality that all his customers could not see evidence of. Therefore, he resolved to have painted in bright green letters upon a board of "flaming yellow," an announcement that he had for sale "fine *vegetable candles*." The first admiring customer who called to be enlightened upon the subject, was told by the man of grease, that the "vegetable candles" were the purest and the best "tallow." "But, is that a vegetable substance?" "To be sure it is," replied the vender of lard ; "what a stoopid to ask such a question ! Isn't grass grass ; and don't sheep thrive on grass?" Not much out of keeping with this sort of reasoning is that generating the "popular prejudice," which ascribes, confidently, all sorts of evil to countries where Catholicity prevails—"Isn't Popery Popery, and don't the countries thrive on Popery?" Amongst the many anec-

dotes told in illustration of Wilson Croker's obstinate adherence to any opinion he had himself broached, we now call to mind one which not inaptly fits the self-complacency of Protestantism regarding Catholicity. Dining one evening with the Duke of Wellington and some other illustrious soldier friends, Wilson Croker talked of Waterloo and war, upon both of which matters he conversed with the utmost assurance; so much so, indeed, that he disputed many martial points with the Duke, and obliged "the hero of the scene" to be silent upon movements of battle, which he, and he alone, was thoroughly cognizant of. The Duke and his military associates suffered Croker to bear all the honor of knowing much more than any one else, on this or any kindred subject. Presently, however, the conversation turned upon dogs and sporting, when Croker's crookedness of opinion showed itself again in opposition to all the others. "Now, Croker," cried the Duke, "I calmly submitted to your *superior* knowledge upon military tactics, and upon points of strategy at Waterloo, but my views of this hunting question I will *not* surrender." Protestantism plays Croker towards Catholicity, and insists upon being better acquainted with all our doctrines than we are ourselves. For the present, and for his reasons, we will adopt the tactics of Wellington respecting the more serious questions; but we will, nevertheless, show cause why it is our pleasure not to surrender to popular prejudice the lesser question touching the comparative social degradation of countries which happen to be Catholic.

Those whose prejudices picture Catholicity as itself an evil, can, of course, behold no people who cherish its presence in any light free from evil, however socially or rationally good they may otherwise be. The marvellous faculty of Catholicity to excite the fear and provoke the frowns of every fanatical tribe in existence, leaves its trace, not only in the polemics, but in the politics it touches. The inhabitants of hell curse each other until the name of God is mentioned, when they leave off their mutual recriminations for a moment to have a full sloop of blasphemy at the name they hear only with hate and trembling. Do not all non-Catholics, in like manner, sink their sectarian animosities to scowl at and slander Catholicity, which we take to be, in a sense, God's embodiment on earth? Whatever

people cling most closely to this Catholicity, have to encounter the most intense hostility at the hands of those who hate the faith they do not know, and libel all who feel its influence. We are far from believing that countries called Catholic are exempt from the ills which inevitably attend all human institutions. But no admission of this sort satisfies Protestantism; for it pretends to think not only that Catholic countries are worse than other countries, but that they are bad because they are Catholic. Now, considering the foul social front presented by those who thus assail Catholic nations as such, we must hold the process of reasoning which supplies their assumptions as complimentary to our religion. Catholicity is, they contend, pregnant with social evil; yet they require in Catholic countries a higher standard of morality, a purer love of society, than they expect to find in non-Catholic countries! While they would fain regard Catholicity as the nurse of national mischief, they virtually treat her as though mischief were incompatible with her presence! By a succession of paradoxes, they at once denounce Catholicity, and demand at its hands what their very denunciations deny it the possession of! The errors of a Catholic people are invariably set down for criticism, while those of a non-Catholic community pass unnoticed, as though the one were a wonder and the other a matter of course! The failure of a band of Catholic missionaries amongst savages excites an amount of alarm which never attends a similar event amongst Protestants; and the dread there is in the Protestant mind at any small advantage counted to Catholicity has only a likeness in the horror which the enemy of man feels at the probable loss to him of another converted sinner! While they declare and try to think that nothing logical can be said to explain or justify Catholicity, there is nothing they so studiously endeavour to avoid as what they are pleased to term the seducing subtlety of papal logic! But, not to weary the reader with many thoughts in this strain, we come to say, pithily, how we view Catholic countries as such, and to do it, we borrow the language of Dr. Brownson. In his recently-published work, *The Convert*, he says, "Undoubtedly there is in Catholic as well as in non-Catholic states much that no wise man, no good man, can defend, or fail to deplore." But "be the political and

social condition of the people in these countries as bad as it may be, it does not disturb my Catholic faith, or damp my Catholic ardor. All the modern Catholic states of Europe grew up under Catholicity, and *were more Catholic than they are now at the period of their greatest prosperity and power.*" This is a short answer, and one that could be greatly amplified, to those who object that Catholicity chases away prosperity from a country. We will not pause to exhibit the absurdities which such a popular prejudice leads to, but let Dr. Brownson speak still farther our own thoughts. "The decline which is alleged, and which I have no disposition to deny, in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, is fairly traceable to political, commercial, and other causes independent in their operation of Catholicity, or of religion of any sort." "Catholicity leaves to every people its own nationality, and to every state its independence; and it ameliorates the political and social order only by infusing into the hearts of the people and their rulers the principles of justice and love, and a sense of accountability to God. In speaking of Catholic nations, and comparing them with the Catholic standard, I find, I confess, much to regret, to deplore, and even to blame; but in comparing them with non-Catholic nations the case is quite different, and I cannot concede that the Catholic population of *any* country is inferior to *any* Protestant population even in *those very qualities* in respect to which Catholics are usually supposed to be the most deficient." In this sentence, Dr. Brownson has clearly and concisely stated "the whole case" as between the *fact* and the *popular prejudice* which cannot bear to see it.

By common consent, every shade of British Protestantism has come to the conclusion, that as surely as Britain may be said to symbolize the incoherent (*disjecta membra*) mass which makes up Protestantism, so may Naples be regarded as the type of "national Catholicity." How it happens that such a comparison is at all instituted, we must not wait to inquire; and it is not particularly important to ascertain upon what special grounds Naples is made the honored selection on the one side, and England on the other. Protestant England is a great and prosperous nation, it is true, but Protestant Sweden is neither the one nor the other; and Pagan China is both, and has been for a longer time and in a vaster degree than England. And if

Catholic Naples is neither great nor prosperous, in England's sense, Catholic France and Catholic Austria do not fall without the range of power and prosperity. However, England is the boasted Eden of Protestantism, according to the decrees of domineering "popular prejudice," and Naples is a Papal political pandemonium, which it is lawful, in and out of season, to bespatter with calumny. Who has not heard of the villany of Naples? It is a naughty nation; and as its chief sin, bends beneath the disorders inherent in Catholicity, whatever they are. At every step a Protestant takes in Naples he sees the cloven-foot! He has to tread warily along, lest he should drown in the "sink of iniquity." The very air seems to resound with the wails of the suffering, and the woes of dungeoned patriots seem to permeate the atmosphere which, in Naples, is thick with sins wherever a Protestant moves. From day to day, have all its horrors been bemoaned by the prejudiced Puritans at both sides of the Atlantic, and the wires of sympathy have been fine-drawn and oft used between London's Exeter Hall and the late Tabernacle of New York. Now if the terrors centred in its laws, if the despotism of its government, if the pitiable condition of its people were what they have been pictured, it would form no part of our duty, as Catholics, to excuse or attempt to palliate them. On the contrary, our voice, as Catholics, would join the indignant chorus and cry "shame." We are, as the Convert has it, "under no obligation to defend the policy or administration of so-called Catholic governments." But, as a matter of fact, Catholic Naples is innocent of the gross charges which "popular prejudice" tries to fasten on her reputation, and if she were not, Protestant England is the last country in the world that has the right to cast the first stone. When the poor Neapolitans learn from England all about their sad condition, they shrug the "suggestive shoulder," and fancy that "where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise." When prejudice talks of the Neapolitan "serfs," they desire to know, but cannot see, what sort of a thing that monarchical freedom is which pretends to be more than their own. When it depicts King Ferdinand as a master-tyrant, the "slaves" he crushes with his "iron heel" wonder what sort of an angel Victoria must be. In truth, for the most part, the Neapolitans accept

the language of British prejudice as "flowers of fancy," as mere playful specimens of "island poesy of the severer sort." While they know that their own king mixes freely and familiarly with them, walks through their cities as one of themselves, shares in their sports and their struggles, sees them in the hours of joy or peril, these people cannot be persuaded that he is the thing prejudice paints him; and, knowing him well, they doubt if the superiority for some one else implied in the special abuse poured upon him, can be the portion of any mortal sovereign, even of Victoria of England, or that "jolly good fellow" of Prussia. They are slaves enough to love the tyrant heartily, to kiss their chains, and hug the misery to their breasts! Considering that any person in his kingdom can approach Ferdinand of Naples on a day of the week set apart for that purpose, and, in person, plead the object of his visit; considering that state etiquette does not bar up the passage of the people to the king; considering that high court functionaries do not crowd out the humble peasant who desires to ask his sovereign for protection or for justice; considering that access to the King of Naples is quite as facile an operation as access to the President of the United States, we are not astonished when the Neapolitans, who hear the relations between themselves and their sovereign constantly challenged by British prejudice, ask if Britain be the real Elysium?—if it be so much nobler a practice to separate the sovereign from the people, and give the poor only the right of making, and by proxy, a paper petition, which never reaches the throne?—if it be so much more acceptable a custom that has its head in the lap of "circumlocution?"—if it be a more manly politeness that forbids the poor to approach the precincts of royalty, and exacts from the visitors to a palace all the "pomp and circumstance" beyond the reach of "honest competency?" When the little Neapolitan drummer boy, who is welcome to make known, in person, his grievances to the sovereign, learns that they do things more satisfactorily in England, perhaps he supposes that Queen Victoria gives her complaining drummer boys a motherly embrace, and deals with them as with her own children! Without some such thought, he cannot understand how the difference could tell so much in the favor of England as it is said to do. But when he happens to hear

that no soldier less than a commissioned officer could even aspire to scrape Queen Victoria's shoe-heel, the poor little Neapolitan is content with his tyrant, and blesses his sovereign's tyranny. When he, further, hears that not even a commissioned officer can dare attempt, upon any occasion, to directly address the Queen in reference to justice or mercy, without at once endangering his own rank in arms and in society, and that any communication of that sort must come to the royal ear after it has passed a dozen lazy officials, the poor little Neapolitan slave is more eager than ever to die in the loyal love of his own cruel master! Is it very surprising, after all?

We have two friends, a Neapolitan and an Englishman, who are apt to discuss the relative worth of each other's fatherland, in kindly but emphatic language. Each asserts the superiority of his own nation in all the tender points of difference, and each seeks to secure his argument by striking at the weak points of his opponent's country. Perhaps we cannot better effect our purpose in this article than by presenting such a conversation as would not be unlikely to occur between our friends, were they present. Personally, the Neapolitan, whom we shall call **DR. GUALTERIO CISCRANNO**, is no mean specimen of patrician rank, fond of his facts and full of native idioms, and the Englishman, whom we shall name **DR. HORATIO SEYMOUR**, is an honest type of John Bull, swollen with the importance of his country, and partial to national prejudices and household words. Both are honourable men, and neither is deficient in those intellectual acquirements befitting the true gentleman of the day. Let us suppose them fairly started with their subject.

DR. CIS. I admire that axiom, noble Seymour, which tells one to begin his charity at home. "La prima carità è l'aver cura di se."

DR. SEY. But, surely, friend **CISCRANNO**, you could not insist upon confining its benefits to home; we should not keep all the milk of human kindness for our own dairy, you know.

DR. CIS. Certainly, carry its benefits as far as they can go after you have done all that was needed at home, "per l'amor di Dio."

DR. SEY. Now, granting that monstrosity at Naples holds its head over every thing dear to honor and humanity,

is it not our duty as a Christian people, who “have their heart in the right place,” to interfere?

DR. CIS. Why should I grant anything so absurd? Even were it so, how comes it that monstrosity equally vast calls in vain for your interference at home? *Non imputare loro questo peccato.* Hardly do you forbear placing all evil to the door of the Pope, or Naples; are your own monstrosities amongst the number?

DR. SEY. But, my dear friend, there is now certainly nothing in this blessed country of England, nothing of ignorance, of vice, or of monstrosity—to repeat our phrase,—which is a speck compared to the wickedness of Catholic countries, yours being a chosen specimen. No, no, thank God, we have no such occasion to play “the good Samaritan” at home, and must not be thanklessly treated when we do so for strangers.

DR. CIS. Most excellent acquaintance Seymour, your people say they are fond of facts. You are yourself a matter of fact man—“*uomo positivo*”—therefore call upon facts, and let us then decide—“*Ditemi il come ed il perche.*”

DR. SEY. I can readily tell you the “how and the why.” As a rule, your Italians are a doltish, superstitious people, the natural result of Popery. Is not that “treading on your toes,” by way of a good beginning?

DR. CIS. Have you not a saying in your tongue about a “Tenterden steeple being the cause of the Goodwin Sands?”

DR. SEY. Yes; and another about “putting the saddle on the right horse.”

DR. CIS. *Vediamo!* First then, sir, Italians are not, as a rule, either so doltish or superstitious as you English are, and if they were, Popery would have had no hand in it, and has no right to be charged with it. But to be precise, how many people in Naples do you suppose need your interference, politically or religiously?

DR. SEY. Very nearly every other man one meets. Does the shoe pinch, my friend?

DR. CIS. *Frottole!* But to your estimate. “Every other one” will be fairly taking half the population. *D'accordo!* Now, since you have as many people at home as *four millions* who need attention quite as much as the heathen, why trouble Naples or the poor thereof?

DR. SEY. Four millions! heathens! Go to, and make merry with facts and names upon other subjects.

DR. CIS. My friend, I but borrow the "fact" and the "name" from a minister of your Protestantism, one Mr. Bruce, who said publicly at one of your conventicles, in the city of Bristol, that nearly *four millions* of your own countrymen were as *destitute of religious and moral training as men could be*. And these he properly called your home-heathen. *Non è mia culpa*. But he does not stop there, for he proceeds to remind you that the "blood of souls" will be "in your skirts"—I offer you his own phraseology,—if the loudly-calling spiritual wants of these "home-heathen" are not promptly and fully attended to. He has pointed to districts, in your country, where there are thousands of doltish, superstitious men without means of learning any thing of the name of God. Is it too much, my friend, to wish you to see after these neglected creatures of your own nation before you waste generosity on Naples or on its neighbors?—*Sono dolente di averne afflitto*.

DR. SEY. But Mr. Bruce must be under a great mistake. He is an estimable clergyman, I know, and he may be in error. I do not like that there should be any reason to think us, "in face a lion, but in heart a deer."

DR. CIS. As for Mr. Bruce, *io gli starò mallevadore*. You can be his judge, for he comes to us with evidence taken from official reports sent to the London "Pastoral Aid Society" for 1856. I shall read one instance which his sermon contains. Listen :

"I found this young woman very ignorant. She told me she had never been to church or chapel. She could not read, did not know who the Lord Jesus Christ was, nor why he came into the world. She had never heard who made the world, neither could she tell. She did not know what was meant by prayer, and had never been taught to say her prayers."

Now, do you not take that to be warning evidence against flinging stones at Naples and Catholicity? This, too, mark, is only one of a million testimonies. *Basta!*

DR. SEY. It is not enough; for although I know some bad cases, and think there are others worse not within my knowledge, still I feel you have selected an extreme one from the millions. At all events, you need not apply the "flattering unction to your soul" that your case is, therefore, any better. It is not odd or occasional instances

of ignorance or corruption which have to be deplored in Italy, but villages full.

DR. CIS. *Lo nego!* But not to be content with a mere denial of your assertion, as it affects Naples, I will undertake to show the falsity of your boast, as it concerns your own country. Allow me to be a little prolix in this my present allusion. You can the better afford to do so, since all that could have been possibly suspected of any country has already been said of my nation, and stands to your argumentative advantage; with, however, my sincere and indignant repudiation to confront it. Perhaps you have not quite forgotten, for you then knew of the fact, that I visited a very Protestant town in the south of England some little while ago. Having seen all that my resident friends had to show me, an accidental acquaintance accosted me and thus delivered himself, knowing me to be a Catholic and a foreigner: "Sir, we ought to be for ever praiseful for one blessing,—this is not a Popish town. No, sir, we have not a priest within its bounds, and only a few straggling Papists to remind us that Babylon exists. God be thanked, we are free from Popery and Italian influence." My excellent friend, Horatio Seymour, attend to the moral which comes out of that man's words, when viewed with what I have to add; attend to it, for he has but expressed narrowly what you think of comprehensively. Hear me on. The information which one of my local friends gave me I shall repeat as nearly as I can remember in his words. Thus he spoke: "It is true that Catholicity owns but very few followers in this town; and has here neither church nor chapel nor priest. Protestantism has it all in whatever way it chooses. Now, how are matters here, think you? Infidelity and Calvinism are the rival powers for ascendancy in things religious. Devotion is but a mockery, even of the Protestant sort; and people go to church just for the name of the thing and because others go. Throughout all parts of the town and suburbs children die without baptism; and there are many grown-up persons and heads of families who are to this day unbaptised. All respect for the sacrament has completely disappeared from the consideration of the mass, and they have come to look upon it as they do upon an operation practised on their dogs; in fact, the estimation in which it was held has not left any

but a degrading trace behind; for while the baptism of a child, when it does occur, is called *naming*, the naming of a dog is called *christening*. Bastardy is almost popular in this town; at all events, it is entirely shorn of its infamy. The crime of infanticide is one so commonly practised here, and so usually overlooked, that it ceases to wear the appearance of a crime. And as for prostitution, it has made itself a home so complete, that its olden shame has vanished, and it struts about with an air of successful effrontery, which shocks nobody except, perhaps, the few Papists. For the scenes of depravity, disgusting filth, and degrading destitution, which belong to parts of this town, I can refer you to a series of letters addressed, by one of its ministers, to Prince Albert in 1854. These letters tell truths which would make those who listened calmly to the horrors of Naples shudder, and the worst that has been imagined of Naples has daily fulfilment in this town." There, my friend Seymour, is a specimen of your Pope-hating towns.

DR. SEY. But that is *one* town. We have others which see to their own condition so well, that they can do a good turn and subscribe largely towards mission funds and charitable institutions even for your interests.

DR. CIS. Nay! that is sorry evidence, if I come to look at it through the fact that this very town, itself a sink of sin, is for ever stirring its filth to abuse Popery, and for ever making subscriptions to propagate the Gospel—its Gospel!—in Naples and other sorely benighted nations! Thinking on this was sad—a *gran pena rite mi le lagrime*.

DR. SEY. Notwithstanding all this, I am still convinced that the evidence of immorality, if I only knew where to find it, tells immeasurably against your Popish country. Without the figures, however, I cannot "hold you on the hip." Still, is there not enough in public rumor and the assertions of distinguished travellers to show how criminal and how ignorant, as a whole, your population is? Perhaps this is not so extraordinary; for not every person can "ride the whirlwind and direct the storm."

DR. CIS. *Non vi temo!* There are official returns within easy reach of both of us. It is necessary for me, a stranger, to be always ready with *facts*; for, though you be fond of them, yet you fear them, in cases like this;

and we, foreigners, have no other arm to level at your confident assertions. Now, take the proven criminality of your country from the official statistics, and you find there is one criminal for every five hundred persons; while, in my country, there is one for every eight hundred. In your country the class of crimes is such as to shock a Neapolitan, who, bad though his land may be, does not comprehend evil so great as your criminal statistics disclose. Even your neighbor, Ireland, comes out of the contrast of crime more favorably than England.

DR. SEY. Ireland! murdering Ireland! where somebody is hanged every other day. Tush, we have "the whip hand of Ireland."

DR. CIS. And the thongs remain not idle! But, hark ye, Seymour, does it follow that because there are more hangings in Ireland there ought to be so few in England? Murder is not only more frequent in England, but more horrible in its character than in Ireland. Murder is seldom or never the effect of a sordid passion in Ireland; it is hardly ever the effect of anything else in England. But, your remark has made me remember what a singular way they have of measuring relative justice to murderers in England as against Ireland. For example, out of fifty persons legally and rightly condemned to death in England during the year 1850, only six suffered the "extreme penalty;" all the others have since been transported, or otherwise mercifully dealt with. Amongst the so spared, were mothers who coolly and shockingly strangled their grown up children, and wives who poisoned their husbands! Now, for the same year, Ireland had brought up for judgment sixteen persons condemned to death; of these, eight were promptly executed. There you have the proportion of "hangings" made half for Irish criminals, and only the one-eighth with a fraction for England! Is it thus fair to talk as if the fact pointed the other way in reason or justice?

DR. SEY. Your figures do somewhat astonish me; and, when I change the charge, it looks like going "from the frying-pan into the fire." But, supposing that it is not possible to ward off these *facts*, surely you will admit that your sins of bastardy beat us hollow?

DR. CIS. *Ne dubito!* In your country the means of determining who are and who are not illegitimate, are not

only imperfect but deceptive. Thousands of British-born bastards are choked before they have time to cry; and the roadside sinks of your country are the common grave for dead kittens and murdered children. Do not say, it is not so, for no honest Englishman will deny the prevalence of infanticide. These, then, are not reckoned in the official list of bastardy, if any such there be. Add to these thousands the tens of thousands who remain unbaptised and unregistered, and the other tens of thousands born of parents who think any marriage ceremony a mere superfluity, and deem their children legitimate enough not to be called bastards. Now, excellent friend Seymour, when we consent to leave such items out of the calculation, there can still be found figures from official sources to settle the vast difference between both countries to our credit. I find in the formal report made to the House of Commons regarding the poor in the British workhouses, that in four years there were received 94,000 children described as "legitimate," and 66,000 *admitted* to be "bastards." Apply the measure, thence derivable, to the whole country—*partitamente*—and for a moment, consider the enormity of your sin in this very matter from which you would crave partial exemption.

DR. SEY. Rather say comparative exemption. Now, friend CISCRANNO, to Naples, and you will have "gone farther to speed worse."

DR. CIS. *Vi domando perdono!* Taking the city of Naples to be in this, as in all other matters, a fair reflex of the kingdom, what can I show you? This: in 1854 the population was nearly 425,000, and the births of that year numbered 15,000; and of these, *one hundred and thirty were illegitimates!* Is there need of more? In Naples, or any Catholic country, it is not, humanly speaking, possible to escape knowing the true number of bastards; for, however otherwise bad, all Catholics eagerly long to have their offspring baptised, and no priest gives the sacrament without ascertaining the legitimacy or not of the babe. Now, do not these facts, for Naples, contrast nobly with those you have heard for England? But, before I pause, let me say a word on the charge of our educational inferiority. Naples has about seven million souls as its population. Six out of every hundred are highly

instructed, forty out of a hundred partially so, and the remainder more or less uneducated; but there is not one in 500 who is ignorant of God, or destitute of religious knowledge. Now, England contains nearly nineteen millions of people. Of these, only one in fifty is at all educated, and those who are absolutely ignorant of all religious knowledge are, according to missionary statistics, one in thirty-two of the whole population. Now I by no means think that Naples is the most favorable specimen of what Catholic countries do or have done in the educational way; but there is one other feature it has, in common with all Catholic countries, worth your notice, as bringing the contrast I have made more completely out. A decided preference is given to religious above all other instructions. As you Bible-quoters might say, "first the kingdom of God, then all else is added." While glancing at these statistics, pray let me anticipate other of your objections against a Catholic country, and your boastings of Protestant Britain. Here is the question of sobriety or drunkenness. Do you stand out for sober England against "drunken Ireland" or "boosing Naples?" Let us see. Your country consumes, annually, more than *twenty-two million gallons of SPIRITS*, and Ireland less than eight million gallons. Is England twice as populous as Ireland, or her capacity to drink and remain sober twice as great as that of Ireland? Account for it how you may, there is a disproportion in the quantity of spirits, home and foreign, consumed respectively in England and Ireland, which tells to the credit of Patrick's temperance. Then, sir, there is a larger quantity of wine drunk in England than in Ireland, the proportion of both populations considered. Seven million gallons go to make England merry, while Erin has to be jovial with a sorry half million gallons. Of malt, England takes to herself forty-three million bushels every year, leaving Ireland to fatten as she can upon the spare bulk of one million and a half. Surely, excellent Seymour, the drunkenness of England must far surpass that of Ireland, since any one man of your country has at least three times more to drink than has "drunken Pat." Now, by way of opening another view in Ireland's tendency to a greater sobriety than England can, in fact, exhibit, I find that the quantities of tea and tobacco consumed in both

countries do not figure so much out of all proportion with the numbers of the people, as do the quantities of intoxicating drinks. Another little statistical discovery I wish your attention to, is this: when England was Popish, in 1540, the number of public houses throughout the country did not amount to 8,000. During the reign of the Protestant usurper, William of Orange, this number quadrupled, and it now has attained to *ten times eight thousand!* Scotland, which is only half as populous as Ireland, has 16,000 public houses; while Ireland, with twice as many persons and all her faults, is content with two thousand less. Does the braggart puritanism of Protestantism like this mass of “damning proofs,”—*glielo dirò in faccia?*

DR. SEY. They certainly do not harmonize with my preconceived opinions. Believing them, my nationality cannot “die of a rose in aromatic pain.” I am somewhat thrown off my guard, and must needs falls back into the attitude of a questioner. Pray, since you have picked up more information about my country than I was aware of, can you speak of our filth in tones of disparagement? I have lost confidence, you see, and come to put my questions distrustfully. However, in this case of British purity over Italian filth, I may not dread serious molestation.

DR. CIS. Even there you are not above us—*se ben mi ricordo*. Have you forgotten already my allusion to a south of England town? But, returning to your Protestant society called the “Pastoral Aid,” I am in possession of facts. A clergyman, whose respectability is guaranteed by the society, writes thus in the annual report for 1856. Listen to him:

“Here may be found localities which *a regard for reputation* would almost *forbid* one to enter. The *savagism*, the *degradation*, the *dirt*, the *demonism* of these localities, is more offensive and painful to the *mind*, than is the *stench* of their *atmosphere* to the *senses*.”

Has worse, in falsehood, been ever imagined of Naples than here is shown, in fact, of England? Yet a little more, and I beg you to consider it well, for it is from the same official source. “Hell cannot be more *foul* or *hateful to God* than the district through which I sometimes pass.” Listen to yet another parson in this report:

“The numerous cases of *juvenile delinquency daily* brought to — *Police Court* in Shoreditch, and in this very district, and close to the church, abundantly prove the necessity of the early training of children in habits of *honesty, respectful conduct, chastity, cleanliness, and, above all, religion.*”

You could, without difficulty, credit these things of Naples, where there is nothing of the sort; but you will not suffer yourself to see them at your own door. Was ever anything *imagined* of Naples worse than these *facts*, found in the report I hold, and have quoted from, by a Protestant minister? Hear him:—

“Three-fourths of the population are of the very poorest class; and seven-eighths of them living in a state of *complete HEATHENISM. Vice reigns all but universally over the people.* Apathy,—arising perhaps from the nature of employment,—swearing, drunkenness, robbery, and Sabbath-breaking (comprising trading, gambling, and all kinds of games), are amongst the most prevalent vices, and, as a sure result, the *social and sanitary wretchedness* of the people is only exceeded by *their moral and spiritual degradation.* The most *squalid poverty* and fearful indifference to even external religion, meet one on every hand, requiring indomitable energy to enable one to move and work on in the midst of *such a mass of depravity.*”

Ah, my excellent Seymour, set your own house in order, then come to suggest something as to the condition of ours. Offer a good example yourself—*mettere alla ragione.*

DR. SEY. I had a dream, it must have been no more, that we did set a good example. In truth, I thought of England, in these matters, as if none but itself could be its parallel. What then has been the benefit of our Sabbath sanctity—what good?

DR. CIS. *Poco importa!* But your mention of the subject guides my attention to facts in that direction, which may show you the folly of your sanctimonious pretensions upon this very “Sabbath question.” Again, I have a right to claim the greater indulgence for length of speech, as the repellent. Here is this valuable witness of the “Pastoral Aid Society,” still at my elbow. It is unnecessary to go much out of the way for better proof; therefore take a statement of another parson in this report:—

“Out of 120,000 souls, not more than 10,000 can go to church, if they would. What becomes of the rest? They are practically

‘without God in the world,’—absorbed in all that concerns this life, *its sins, its pleasures, its cares, its sorrows—so besotted with these*, that they scarce ever *think of*, or prepare for *the next*. They are surrounded by pernicious examples and temptations to sin on every side; by gin-shops, beer-shops, and those worst of evils, cheap theatres, and saloons; the bait, the resort, and too often the ruin of the young of both sexes.”

You can scarcely deem that an agreeable token of the extent of your Sabbath sanctity. But here is another witness who tells a mass of painful facts in a few words,—“*Vice and ignorance are growing faster than the population*, and thousands of immortal souls are going to eternity without *having even the way of salvation pointed out to them on the Lord’s day*.” It is the fashion with you British Protestants to scoff at our Italian custom of making the after part of Sunday a period for recreation. For a moment waving the right to establish the truth and value of our habits as regards the Lord’s day, permit me to remind you, that I believe there is no part of Christendom where the sanctity of the Sunday is so degraded as in your Britain. Here is an evidence still from this parson’s writing in this “Pastoral Aid Society Report:”—

“A *poor butcher* said, ‘Do you think I am a heathen? I would be as glad to get to church on a Sunday, or a breath of pure air, as you; but how can I? Here I am in my shop till between twelve and one on Sunday. By the time I have cleaned myself and had dinner, the afternoon is nearly gone, and what state am I in to go to church in the evening? And then I must go to bed early to rise for Monday’s work; and in this way I live from year’s end to year’s end. Let all the shops be closed; compel them to be closed, and you will give us all a fair chance.’”

The interests of trade are with you paramount. There are no emulative amusements for the Lord’s day, but abundance of sordid rivalry. Here is an idea of the spirit which your sanctity fosters,—*la trovai per caso*,—it is from a “parson’s” pen in this report:—

“In one of my walks lately I met a child of *ten or eleven* years old, using the most frightful language, cursing and swearing. I immediately stopped to reprove him, and on my inquiring of the other children with him as to his parents, the lad significantly exclaimed, ‘I dinna care for father or mother; *I earn more than they*.’ Such is the thought and feeling of very many.”

And such is the principle, sunken deep into the national heart, which so clasps it in a golden hardness, that it is dead to its own spiritual interests; while it makes a show of pity for those who look on to despise its hypocrisy, and offer what England does not—the fruit of a good example. *Non voglio più stendermi sopra la presente materia.*

DR. SEY. Do you stop because the wheel of Fortune may not turn you over more widely-applicable proofs than you have named? for you know they could not be applied to *all* England.

DR. CIS. Perhaps not; and yet this is a charity you would refuse to Naples when you come to take the libels against Catholicity picked up here and there, and then applied as fit for all Catholic countries. But, excellent Seymour, I can extend the application, and by means of the census returns, which have already served us a little. You remember what was called “census Sunday,” in 1851. It was on the 30th of March. All who attended Protestant services throughout England on that day did not exceed six million souls, or not quite a third of the population.

DR. SEY. Six millions! That in pounds sterling, is precisely the annual income of the Established Church; so that each Protestant worshipper who goes to church on Sunday, stands for a pound a year—“neither more nor less.”

DR. CIS. The numbers happen to coincide; but those “at church” on “census Sunday,” comprise Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Jumpers, Jews, and all the minor varieties of the several tribes and sects into which Protestantism is split and splintered. You are aware that the “Establishment” itself does not count a third part of the whole population. Now it is my distinct belief, that of those “at church” on this census Sunday, not one-third belonged to your “State religion.” Another point it is well to look at, *di volo*, connects itself with the Sunday worship of London Catholics as contrasted with London Protestants. For the most part, your metropolitan Protestants take the liberty of spending their Sunday in riot or recreation, whether you recognize the practice or not. This would go to explain the miserable attendance, in proportion to population, which “church-goers” offered to the census-officers on the 30th of March, 1851. One, in

every three hundred persons, went to some sort of Sunday devotion; all the rest staid away. This, of the Protestants. Now, the reverse, or nearly so, is true of the Catholics, and I will show you why I think it; for the census-return does not enter into details to guide me to any conclusion in that matter. There are more than forty Catholic churches and chapels in and about London. In many of these there are three masses on a Sunday morning; in some few there are more than three masses; in the great majority there are two masses, and only very few, if any, are limited to one mass. Nearly all these masses are fully attended by devout congregations, the poorer classes flocking to the earliest mass, and the easier circumstanced to the later masses. Some of these churches hold, conveniently, more than a thousand worshippers; many have space for more than five hundred people, and the smallest would give room to three hundred. Making the average of masses two, and taking the attendance at these on an average of five hundred, we thus have the *whole* estimated Catholic population of London at its Sunday devotion; and no one who has ever visited a Catholic chapel in London on a Sunday morning, will dispute the moderateness of this calculation—*oltre ogni dubbio*.

DR. SEY. Possibly so. "Incredulity is the wit of fools;" but I shall not pretend to it on this subject. However, there is one feature where our superior enlightenment stands out to shame yours; and this, by shirking the question, you have yourself virtually conceded. I mean the grovelling and dark superstitions which infect Catholics in all places.

DR. CIS. *Non toccate quello!* It is a subject which will not aid your prejudices. But, if it be exposed, what then? *Allora cambierete di tuono* of Catholicity—the idea is eminently false; of a Catholic people intensely untrue; but of some individuals or natives in Catholic nations it may not be improper to say that they are superstitious. Is Catholicity chargeable with this psychological defect? You may as well charge our faith with the daily instances of the most revolting superstitions which spring to light in the least popish parts of your own haughty Britain. Perhaps you suspect not the presence of the grossest superstitions in the heart of Protestantism? Have you, then, so

soon forgotten the murderer Dove, who wrote a sale of his soul to the Devil with his own blood; and sought to justify the act by scripture quotations? Have you lost all recollection of Harrison, "the Leeds wizard," who counted his dupes by the hundred, and openly promoted the interests of the direst immorality by means of "necromancy?" Do you forget the case of the "honest farmer," whose wife was ill, and who went the other day to the nearest magistrate for a warrant against "a witch," who was popularly believed to be the occult cause of the "good wife's" illness? Do you remember what *The Times*, your true organ, had to say on the subject? I have a copy of that day's paper still. It was too good to waste; and it now comes well to fit this case. Are you ready? for I am about to read passages here and there touching the superstitions, which you think belong not at all to the depth of the British heart. But there it is, with all the principles, maxims, and specialities of the worst times and places; of the densest stamp, saith your *Times*, "unimpeachable in antiquity, unimpaired in proportions, unadulterated in folly." Do you wish a specimen of the more innocent features peculiar to your home-bred superstitions? I will just quote a passage from this long and laboured article in *The Times*:—

"The most curious part of the statements now published consists in the evidence of the counterpart traditions—traditions containing antidotes to witchery, which are hoarded and handed down like family recipes. In introducing one of these to the magistrate's notice, the farmer observed, in a philosophic tone, 'These, you see, Sir, are little schemes which go from one generation to another. There is always something to be learned out of the weakest and ignorantest.' The 'little scheme' produced on the present occasion, from this repository of lore, consisted in taking some hairs from the 'noddle' of the bewitched woman's neck, some parings of her nails, and some nails from a horseshoe, and putting the whole together in a bottle on the fire. When the bottle bursts, the experimenters look out of the window, and there the guilty witch or wizard will be seen standing before them. Nor was this the only counter-spell available. When the evil-disposed person had been thus identified, there were means of getting rid of her very simply indeed. The impulse of the Devil would drive her to the house she was afflicting, and it was only necessary to refuse all speech of her to send her back to her own home to die."

I have another token of this national trait, which I

must quote for the comfort of your prejudice. It comes from the same unobjectionable source, and has reference to the largest town in the north of Devonshire.

“A young woman living in the neighbourhood of Holsworthy having for some time past been subject to periodical fits of illness, endeavoured to effect a cure by attendance at the afternoon service at the parish church, accompanied by thirty young men, her near neighbours. Service over, she sat in the porch of the church, and each of the young men, as they passed out in succession, dropped a penny into her lap; but the last, instead of a penny, gave her a half-crown, taking from her the twenty-nine pennies which she had previously received. With this half-crown in her hand she walked three times round the communion-table, and afterwards had it made into a ring, by the wearing of which she believes she will recover her health.”

You have doubtless seen *The Times* of the 24th of last October, and there noticed the “modern incantation,” commonly used by the ministers of your British superstitions. I remember the very words of it, for they were faithfully recorded before the Liverpool magistrates, who admonished the fellow Henderson, for deceiving some poor silly maid-servant, but said not a word about the incantation. Thus it runs: “I do conjure, constrain, adjure, and command you spirits, Analays, Analla, Anacar, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by Alpha and Omega, by Him who shall come to judge *the quick and the dead*, that,” and so on; without trouble I could pour upon your unwilling ears truths of this afflicting sort, but take these as samples. *Lascio pensare a voi.*

DR. SEY. The more I do think, the more confounded I become. It is not a pleasant ordeal, “the scales falling from one’s eyes.” One word about your imputed cruelties. You see I alter my tone somewhat considerably. Are you people of Catholic countries, Naples being, if you please, still the model, so prone to treat criminals as savages, and make your dungeons in reality what “old horror” describes them? At all events, you cannot turn the charge against me in this question, for cruelty is no characteristic of a true Englishman.

DR. CTS. Be he Catholic or Protestant, I admit it, and claim the same character for my own countrymen, who are not tainted with that hue of Protestantism which only ends

in being anti-Catholic. But Naples and other Catholic countries are branded as tyrannic, and the reasons of *fancy* are less potent than I could point out, in *fact*, for the application of a more odious name to England. Were I ambitious of the condition of a political prisoner, there is no country I would rather suffer in than Naples or Rome, and no country I should more thoroughly dislike to suffer under than England, except, perhaps, Russia. This may seem strange, but it is a well-founded choice. On the other hand, England would be the most favourable spot were I to be a moral criminal, and the worse my deed, the better chance for my incarceration. You have not forgotten yet what the Irishmen who were convicted of political offences in 1848 had to undergo at the hands of your pretenders to a clemency which they only show when it is best to conceal it. Do you recollect Frost, the Chartist, who had been transported? Since his return from exile he has given the public the benefit of his "experience." I will quote, —*mi quadra*. Having gone into some interesting particulars about the disgusting treatment which "convicts" receive, Mr. Frost goes on to tell us thus :

"The flogging became perfectly furious ; from 500 to 2,000 lashes were inflicted in a morning, until the ground about the triangle was literally soaked with blood. I will venture to say that these terrible punishments were unnecessary. One of the regulations at Norfolk Island and Port Arthur was, that after the ringing of a bell no voice should be heard in any hut. A ship from England arrived at Norfolk Island. Some of the prisoners were sent on board ; on their return to the hut they were telling their companions the news which they picked up from the crew. The watchman, hearing voices, commanded silence in a most authoritative manner. Not being *instantly* obeyed, he rushed into the hut and attempted to drag some of the men to the cells. They refused to go, declaring that they were asleep. The next day all the men in the hut were sentenced to receive 100 lashes. 3,000 lashes were inflicted on that occasion. Much attention and long experience in the colony convinced me that the far greater part of the punishments had no other tendency than to *degrade*, to *debase*, and to *brutify those subject to them.*"

Not to go so far off after the more hardened convicts, you have not quite let escape your memory the cruelties of Birmingham jail. But to linger no longer with instances of your own admitted atrocious cruelties, such as are far

short of those alleged against Naples, I come to tell you that little or nothing which public rumor lends to your "popular prejudice" is true, or like the truth. Here is Cardinal Wiseman's lecture on India. I know the Cardinal is a favorite of yours, because he is admired by all honorable and intelligent men who are not afraid to confront truth or stand face to face with one of its most illustrious guardians. I will read a brief extract from this lecture trenching upon the very point I have now been stating :

" If we read a statement in one of the papers to-day, that fifty persons, without trial, had been taken out of a Neapolitan prison and tortured to death, the whole country would believe it, without thinking it worth while to ascertain whether it was true or false. No doubt, as false as that would be, were it told to-day, so false have been the innumerable statements which have appeared concerning foreign monarchs, and the Holy Father, our Pope, in particular,—just as false have been the statements put forth, without remorse, *with absolute contempt of known truth*, with *scornful rejection of any contradiction*, if sent. There was, on the 18th of last month, (July, 1857,) an article in a well-known paper, coolly and systematically prepared upon the Pope's present journey through his estates. It gave a number, not of facts, but of statements, and concluded with *the most vile, unchristian misrepresentation*. Now, I take upon myself to contradict every one of these assertions.

" There appeared, much about the same time, in another public paper, a description, entitled ' Another of the Pope's Prisons.' It described a castle surrounded, as is quite true, by a moat, in a most pestilential region, where prisoners were dying like flies in the heat of summer, and where there were hundreds more of prisoners than it was calculated to hold. All, or most of them, were there without trial, and among them *seventy* political prisoners, belonging to the first families of Bologna. I had occasion at some meeting to allude to this, and I could not help observing that in the course of a day or two the Holy Father would appear at Bologna, and be surrounded, of course, by its nobility. I could give you the names of noblemen who are supposed to be leaders of the liberal party in Bologna, and assure you that every one of them has had a separate audience of the Pope. And yet it has been said that he would not see any of those who could inform him of the sentiments of that class! This would have happened according to the account referred to, with seventy members of the nobility immured, within ten miles, in a noisome prison, without trial, for political offences! Surely there is *an incredible incompatibility in the two assertions*. Permit me here to assure you, that whenever in the pontiff's journey, he staid, if only

for a few hours, one of the first things he has done, has been to despatch high and trusty persons to the prison of the place to examine it minutely and bring in a report of its condition.

“I have received an official report in the handwriting of the governor of that very prison, in which are stated the names and crimes of the prisoners. I can, therefore, assure you there are two, *only two prisoners* confined there for political offences, that is, for endeavoring to overthrow the government. There are sixty-eight for murders, assassinations, robberies, incendiarism, or even brigandism arising out of political principles. As to Bologna and its supposed nobility, I have the names of all the prisoners from that city and its territory. The highest rank of any one in prison, from that place, is that of a small shopkeeper, five are porters, and the rest belong to the very lowest trades and occupations. And, instead of seventy, there are just *fourteen!* In the words of the Cardinal, “Such is a fair specimen of facts that are circulated to excite hatred against foreign governments, and make us justify ourselves in our encouragement of any insane and wicked attempt to overthrow them, or plunge their country in confusion and civil war.”

Now, excellent Seymour, I have told you truths, and the way to truth is not always strewn with pleasant odors and charms. *La strada alla Fortuna non é seminato di rose e di viole.*

DR. SEY. Although there be in my prejudices that worm which never dies, he is not strong enough to take all the law of my feelings into his own hands. I am disposed now, when I see slanders on Catholic countries, to venerate the national motto, “*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*”

Leaving our friends to cement the new sentiments which “trickle o’er acquaintance,” like the “honey of the heart,” o’er the “surface of the soul,” we take occasion to arrest the reader’s attention on the borders of the prison theme. Whether others have noted the facts or not we hardly know, but the pomposity, nay, the dignity which Britain attaches to her prisons and denies her poor-houses, contrasts broadly and painfully with the reputation and actual condition of either class of establishments in Catholic countries.

A prison in England implies a something important; an abode which has far more “social circumstance” surrounding it than the poor-house can at all pretend to. To care and cater for a couple of hundred scoundrels there

are created offices of "honor" and emolument, while the sin of poverty has for its thousand children its punishment in corresponding neglect. Governors, head officers, chaplains, doctors, schoolmasters, wardens, and petty jailors, fill up lucrative departments in British prisons to protect the criminal, while a master and a few assistants, ill paid, ill chosen, ill instructed, and ill-disciplined, are intrusted with a heavier charge in the persons of the crimeless poor. No foreigner ever cares to visit a British *workhouse*. The "Union" is not one of "the sights." But did ever a foreigner omit to "do" the jails of the country? If he wants to see a fine building, with all the "modern improvements" as to house comfort, patent ventilation, patent cooking, and general physical care,—if he wishes to see the fashionable gentlemen of a county, the justices, assembled for the "public good" in seeing how they can best provide for the "dear" ruffians, sentenced by various courts for various crimes,—if he wishes to see how the offenders against the law are well fed, well aired, well exercised, well doctored, well disciplined, well preached at, for, and to, well clothed, well entertained, well visited, well inquired after, well roomed and well bedded, by all means let the foreigner loiter for an hour in a modern model British prison. All is cleanly, all is brisk, all is in exquisite order, from the pretentious chief down to the liveried gate-keeper. But if the stranger desires to inspect a clumsy-looking "heap of sheds," where hundreds of those whose fault is poverty are insolently received, carelessly treated, thrown into every available corner, without due concern for their present comforts, without any other attention than a piling up of their bodies in wards, so that it cannot be said they are unsheltered,—if he cares to examine how England's "act of charity" works amongst its people, he must bear to look slovenliness full in the face, to watch every winding of negligence, from the laying down of the indigent pauper upon his comfortless pallet to the getting up, and from the getting up to the laying down again. Why should any strangers be conducted through the Unions of Britain? A scrupulous host will not generally take his guest through the pig-stye in his yard, although he may be glad to show him all the admirable points about his favorite aviary! When Cardinal Wiseman described the felon as the pre-

dilect object of public charity in England, he put the fact in its plainest light. When it is added that the poor possess alone the power of attraction for the charity of Catholic countries, the truth is completed. In England the prison is shorn of its external and internal horrors; abroad it still has both. In England the hospice for the poor is a rookery, a wigwam, a kennel, a den, anything but what wins the admiration or respect of those driven to its centre; abroad it is a structure looked at by the poor as their retreat, their palace, their domestic temple. The criminal has the loudest sympathy of the British, and his case is the first; the innocent in distress are the first objects of charity in Catholic countries, and what concerns their comfort precedes all consideration for those who have broken the law. There may have been horrors in the closed dungeons of France or Spain, or Austria or Naples, but there *have* been horrors in the open wards of British poor-houses. Sir B. Brodie dragged to the public eye such scenes from the private history of St. Pancras workhouse as would shame the horrors ascribed to Neapolitan dungeons; and the disgusting way in which charity worketh in British Unions is not confined to St. Pancras. How England, with all the calls she has within her for special indignation, can spare any to waste upon remote and suspicious objects puzzles us somewhat. Were Naples, or some other little but Catholic state, to be guilty of conduct against its prisoners like that which England is conscious of against its poor, there would have been sensation-meetings all over the kingdom—addresses of sympathy—collections of money—official remonstrances—and “sermons upon the sad occasion.” But, since it is only a matter of home occurrence, such as its own people have grown accustomed to, all that sort of thing can be dispensed with by a nation which has at length abandoned itself to the false instincts of charity; and, in observances thence arising, heeds more what is plausible than what is principled. The treatment which old Marshal Haynau received from the drunken rabble at Barclay & Perkins’ brewery was cheered to the echo from limit to limit of the empire. Wherefore? He was reported to have caused the flogging of a woman, while he stood in the exercise of a stern military duty. There was no power to ascertain the truth of the assertion,

or to see if the act were justifiable. He was, to use the vulgar phrase, "full bonneted," and sent back to Austria wondering whether the British people were insane or fools. This sort of spirit soon flags, and can hardly survive its first gush. Not very long ago, there was occasion for a more active indignation nearer home than Haynau, and of an infinitely more cruel description than his "crime;" and yet no sign was made by righteous Britain. There was flogging in England, and those flogged were neither men nor prisoners, but women and paupers. The Haynau of the occasion was the master of one of those establishments wherein Britain practically slanders charity. It was in no remote province this occurred, but in the sensitive side of England's metropolis; and a place known to fame as Marylebone Workhouse. A pamphleteer of the day dealt with the event in language, at all events, intended to be severe. Thus did the only indignant scribe who thought the matter worth the trouble pour out his feeble anger:—

"It must excite a deep feeling of indignation that in England, in the richest parish in the kingdom, English women have writhed under the lash; and women, who were poor and friendless, and compelled to take shelter in one of these dread abodes (a Union house) have been brutally and cruelly flogged by English miscreants in human shape. And at the inquiry miscreants of a higher grade were found who endeavored to screen the cowardly women-floggers, and blacken the characters of the poor and friendless victims of the Union lash. Had this cruelty been inflicted on female niggers in the Southern States of North America, Exeter Hall would have been in commotion, and 'vials of wrath' would have been poured on the head of Brother Jonathan; where, we ask, is the Earl of Shaftesbury, and that class of men who were so eloquent when relating to a sobbing audience the flogging of black women? Alas! alas! for the poor victims of Marylebone Workhouse, they are cursed with white skins. Exeter Hall has no tears for them."

It is very true—alas! that it should be—that external piety and actual charity move together by no means in good temper with each other. We believe some people exist who think that the fortune of the future depends on a *show* of goodness, just as the fortune of this life not unfrequently rests upon a mere "display of quality." A case in point, which not only answers this, but covers the

whole question, has just recurred to memory. We have visited a country where the spirit of Protestantism was cherished with fervor, and had been steeped in the blood of generations. No other spot in Europe, with which we are familiar, makes so many pretences to piety, and, in none that we have heard of, do the inhabitants evince so thoroughly scriptural an education; if a proclivity to the incessant quoting and applying of "texts" be accepted in evidence of such scriptural education. Ethnologically they are a fine people, rather the worse, perhaps, for a too great admixture of blood alien to the nobler nationality. Apt to curry favor with fanaticism, they are open to generous impulses in opposite directions. Theoretically they are sober. Practically they are drunken. Repute speaks them to be enlightened; inquiry shows them to be ignorant. Generosity is one of their claims, but seldom gives cause to be so considered. In Protestantism they fix their proudest boasts, and in the practice and belief of a non-descript Christianity they have their barren reward. When the atrocities ascribed to Catholic governments come to the ears of this people, the circumstances are deplored with "a flood of tears" sufficient to drown out all the sympathetic efforts of other Pharisee nations. Only mention the name of Popery on the crest of some craggy hill surmounting the hutted plain, and you hear the echoes ring again with the howl of execration, which is passed from mouth to mouth. It is a duty most distasteful to its olden recollections which this echo has to perform; for there was a day when it bore, from point to point, the sweet sounds of convent hymns and all the sacred melody of warm Catholic devotion. But little or nothing of that now remains to soften the rugged bearing of the country or give its children other sentiments than spring from cold Calvinism. But to the point. It is in this prim, puritanical country that charity knows not itself—that bestiality is a thriving condition of public habits—that crime stalks in the stiff embrace of sanctimoniousness—that cruelty passes current as the natural attendant on a class which would seem, to our view, the most pitiable objects of kindness. It is not long since it fell to the lot of Mr. Ellice, from his place in the British Parliament, to declare in effect before the world, that such villainies were

perpetrated in the guise of Scottish charity as would outdo the most heartless barbarities of the most uncivilized. By Scottish and Scotland in this matter the reader must only think of *Borderers* or *Lowlanders*, for as yet the pure sons of noble SCOTIA who cling to the glorious traditions of the Highland race, fall not all under the stigma which the stranger and the stranger's creed have striven to fasten in the soil where the faith of Catholicity and the fidelity of the Celt, though sorely tried and sadly persecuted, have not been suffered to perish. This modern Scotland is full of social prisons that are flush in filth. Its piety permits persons to linger in wretchedness and misery until they expire in a mass of corruption; without any notification being given to the lazy loons who are, here and there, vested with some brief authority. In the "social prisons" which abound, individuals are incarcerated whose only crime may be eccentricity of demeanor, pure devoteeism, or perhaps a mere "want of favor" in the eye of some interested and influential relation. Persons so incarcerated at the caprice of cupidity or malevolence are badly fed, filthily clothed, and disgustingly lodged. Many who enter these filthy dungeons in the possession of sound sense, soon quit them raving madmen. Some are forced into a seclusion where suicide snaps the tie of life. Others are driven to herd together in loathsome propinquity and take their night's rest "in a heap," upon an uncleaned litter in a small dormitory. They are nursed less in accordance with their necessities than in keeping with their misery. In many of these prisons—scattered over Scotland by law wherever any man desires to establish such an "institution," or finds encouragement to try the experiment of "telling off" a section of his own domicile for its use—they are supplied with "strait-waistcoats, handcuffs, leg-locks, and other *instruments of torture*." These are too frequently used, for Mr. Ellice related cases where poor women had been gagged with an iron cap "*until their tongues mortified, and sloughed away!*" "This horrible cruelty," exclaimed Mr. Ellice, "was perpetrated so late as last year." It was amongst the people who sanction such atrocities that the *cúffea di silenzio* slander against Naples originated. What is a common practice in the "charity of Scotland" was falsely charged against the

prison punishment of Naples. The reader cannot have forgotten the noise occasioned by the reported use of such an instrument in Neapolitan dungeons. The calumny was contemporary with this discovery of the fact of such a torture being common enough in puritanic Scotland. But Protestantism spared itself any paroxysms of holy rage for the occasion. It could be vociferous in its denunciations of any thing supposed to be wrong in Naples, or Rome, or Spain; even if on no better grounds than dim suspicion; but to treat pious Scotland to any of its scorn, although proven crimes called for a just remonstrance, was not within its purpose, or perhaps its duty. Mr. Ellice related instances of men and women being chained to posts in cattle sheds, and, in all respects, dealt with as if beasts themselves. He told "the House" of others who had been compelled to live in closets that were barely large enough for their bodies! And he further showed how the women who were really insane were sent about the country, wandering in the wilds, and returning instinctively to some human shelter, when ripe for the birth of bastards to be born to the male officials of such "charity!" Now, it was reserved for a daughter of America—Miss Dix—to call that attention to these harrowing facts which enabled Mr. Ellice to use the appalling information we have barely glanced at. Scottish Protestantism was so much intent on seeing whether or not there was a bright beam in the eye of Catholicity, that it neglected the dark mote in its own. *Pròh pudor!*

England's *penchant* for criminality in Catholic countries has often perplexed us. Protestantism hungers for Catholic scandals. *Hoc erat in votis*. This prurient appetite derives its most abhorrent feature from the fact that England's own *actual* criminality far surpasses what it *imagines* of countries free from the incubus of Protestantism. When its voracity searches for sybaritical plains, why does it not seek a kindred clime, and taste of the inabstinences of sodden Sweden, or the dissoluteness of Prussia, or the animalisms of its Dutch co-religionists, or the sensualities of Calvin's Geneva:—deep in all the brutish debaucheries that hell or hell's doctrines can suggest or excuse? Why does it not even carry its appetite for fault-finding across to our side of the Atlantic, and

feed upon a week's crime, such as a hundred days' waiting search in a Catholic country could discover no parallel to? But, alas! British Protestantism need not step beyond its own threshold for filth wherewith to slake its peculiar thirst, and to slake it to a surfeit. A popular British periodical writer insists that one-fifteenth of the population of Britain subsists by the most loathsome prostitution, while another fifteenth live by crimes of a lesser shade, and five-fifteenths are brought up between crime and beggary—now leaning to the one side and then to the other, as necessity or opportunity counsels. It is curious to note a fact which Mr. Flint, in his book called "Crime in England," makes manifest, although he does not intend it; crime makes its steady increase with the increase of the population and the efforts at instruction which are made in England! This cannot be said, in any sense, of a Catholic country; and we can quite understand why it cannot help being the fact in a Protestant country. Mr. Symons, in his "Tactics for the Times," demonstrates that where British education shows itself amongst mechanics in the manufacturing districts, "the people are daily becoming more vicious and heathenish." Sir John Pakington, afraid to say in so many words that Britain was the most wicked country in Europe, told the Parliament that it was far behind all European nations so far as education was concerned. This opinion was not only approved by Mr. Gladstone, but confirmed by Lord John Russell in the debates upon the "Educational Bills." But England's deplorable backwardness in the instruction of her own people does not deaden her officious concern for the educational short-comings of countries far above her in this respect, nor can her own deeper infamy diminish the mourning which she can assume for the smaller faults of her neighbors.

The common crimes of country districts in England are such as one would look for who was not blind to what must ever be the effect of the influences of private judgment. The piety of wealthy bankers, and dexterous cashiers, and clever secretaries, who plunder while they pray, and pocket the profits of the industrious poor while they ask God to supply the wants of the necessitous, do not excite so much indignation as alarm for "who next?" when they come

forth before the public convicted of swindling, and are sent to expiate sins which England's piety is become accustomed to. And what the greater dons of guilt succeed in achieving through the large cities, the pettier scoundrels of remote hamlets are not inactive in pursuing so far as they humbly can. Honesty, religious honesty, has no actual life in England. Nearly every one resorts to

“ The simple plan
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can.”

Whatever honesty there is belongs to the nationalism of the people, and not to the condition of faith which now finds them blown by every wind of doctrine to all points of the moral compass.

To have an idea of another plan of “ Protestant exemption from guilt,” take the fact that nearly one hundred thousand females are *known* to thrive on prostitution in London alone! No fewer than four thousand of these creatures passed before the city magistrates during last year charged with various offences! There is not a city or town in Britain where the basest immorality does not maintain itself in equal enormity. But, in truth, the distinction which your modern British peers or peasants see between vice and virtue is so thin, that the passage from the one to the other gives no shock to the moral constitution. In many districts men, who would not relish to be thought “ bad,” exchange their wives or their “ women” with other men, and count the barter often prudent and always proper. The sad spectacle of selling an offending wife by public auction in Smithfield is not uncommon; nor does it seem to excite reprehension from those who would scream in tip-toe anger, if it were an occurrence in any Catholic country. Had we patience to descend into the mining districts of this “ Protestant Paradise,” what repulsive sights and odious facts should we not have to contemplate! To think nothing of the mental obscuration which dims the denizens of these quarters, you stand startled upon getting a glimpse of the depravity which holds them in its grip! Who can trace the relationship between any lot of these poor miners and any other lot? Have not daughters here borne children to their fathers, sisters to their brothers, and

mothers to their sons? But, patience! We have no patience sufficient to constrain us while thinking over the dismal history of these wofully benighted creatures. Oh, England! England! how fearful is the responsibility which here awaits you, and calls loudly for the efforts at evangelization which you are ambitious to lavish upon those who need you not! How awful is the neglect which here pours its maledictions upon the Protestantism that is bent upon maligning Catholicity to the deadly detriment of appealing interests such as these! But, there may these districts remain for ever as dark as Erebus! England is deaf to their call, and will not quietly suffer any one else, who listens, to go to their relief! It is much pleasanter for the Pharisee amongst nations, because it wins greater notoriety, to stand in the lofty places to condemn and abuse Popery and what concerns it, than to work in the obscure corners where Protestantism languishes, and with the dead weight of its worst sins presses thousands of hapless sufferers into an eternal darkness for which they have been temporally trained! Oh, Britain! Britain! is there still some dread curse in store for thee? or will the noble sanctity of thy "good few" prevail with God so as to avert his justice and obtain his mercy?

It would be more easy than agreeable to point out the origin and trace the working of those gross misconceptions which fill the popular Protestant views, with regard to any occurrences taking place or having taken place in so-called Catholic countries. The necessity which seems to exist in the Protestant mind for promoting any cause calculated to incense or uphold the prejudices which nurture "hostility to Popery," suggests the practice of a doctrine for which "Jesuitry" has been absurdly stigmatized—"the end justifies the means." "Popery is bad," therefore, any thing that can in any way be twisted to its harm, is good, and to be promptly employed! Whether or not this secret spring of much Protestant prejudice is detected in its mode of application, and by those who use it, is by no means a matter easily determined. Let us in charity assume that it is not, and seek another sad source for this dominant spirit of injustice, in the fact that hardly one in ten thousand Protestants who read a dexterously levelled slander at Catholicity, through Catholic countries, ever sees or hears

of the refutation which meets this slander in the quarter whereat its poisoned shaft was directed. We just recollect a very marked case in keeping with this position. Not long ago *The Times* or *The Daily News*,—which of the two we do not now distinctly remember,—startled England by the narration of circumstances said to have attended a fearful riot, declared to have taken place at Terine, in Italy. Nothing was omitted in the history of the riot likely to diminish the idea of its actuality. The name of the local governor, who was announced as one of the victims of mob law, was given, and a variety of nice details added to the general account, which left a clear impression upon most readers, that this was a terrible series of truths—“a plain unvarnished tale.” The afflictions of the suffering poor—the insinuated villainies of the clergy—the base indifference or absolute cruelty of the authorities—came out in very bold relief. There were all the savageries of an aroused Italian, priest-ridden multitude, minutely described, and their intense sufferings pathetically dwelt upon. Many of our readers must still have a vivid recollection of these “bread riots;” for they provoked at the time no small share of indignant sympathy amongst all Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Some short period after these exciting tales of Italian misery and Papal mischief—for the ideas are Protestantly related—were circulated, a most illustrious English Prelate was travelling through this very town, who, like many other Catholics, gave credit to some portions of the tale, divesting it of what Catholic prudence usually needs to strip from Protestant newspaper reports on any Catholic affairs. Conversing on other matters, he casually inquired of the Governor about the scene of the riots, assuming the fact. “What riots?” “Those of 1843.” “There were none.” “Oh! it must have been in your predecessor’s time.” “I am not aware of it; at all events I have been here since before the period you name.” “Ah, but you cannot have lost all recollection of it, as the then Governor was, if not killed, badly beaten.” “Perhaps you are thinking of some newspaper reports published in London about that time.” “Yes, yes, those are the riots I mean, when so many lives were lost.” “But *there were none*. I am the Governor whose slaughter was so carefully penned in your English journals,

and when the reports were shown to me, they were at once and emphatically contradicted in our own newspapers, and those contradictions forwarded to London, but never noticed." Not a man was *hurt*, much less killed, in these reported riots, which were, in reality, but a petty labor movement during a few days of scarcity. There was neither violence nor attempted violence, and hardly a "scene!" It did not answer the British papers, nor their echoes at this side of the Atlantic, to let the public see any flat contradictions to circumstantial details upon which a vast superstructure of angry political and polemical speculation had been raised. To deal thus fairly with the basis, would have been to shiver to atoms the newest adjunct cemented to the huge pile of popular prejudice already overshadowing the land; and, perhaps, to endanger the safe principle upon which additions continued to be made. To this want of fairness on the part of the "usual organs of information" is owing, in a great measure, the obstinate persistence in its errors, which characterizes the "body Protestant," towards places or people or things in any way Catholic. But we must also say that there is not generally manifested by the "body Protestant" that anxiety "to hear the other side," which guides public opinion in its consideration of subjects nearer home and non-Catholic. When the indescribably disgusting pictures of prison life in Newgate came before the public, very recently, there was a decided and upright inclination to do justice to all parties—the accusers and accused. So it also happened when the barbarities of Birmingham jail were made known. There were then no hasty conclusions arrived at—no partial prejudgments. Indeed, this is almost the invariable course pursued by opinion in England, when Catholicity touches not, in any way, the subject fixing public attention. But they who would not condemn a brutal English jailor until he had been formally pronounced guilty, and could even then extenuate his crimes, could run off at once with the belief that certain political prisoners in Naples suffered undue and most unjustifiable severity, because some one said so, who had seen some one that knew a friend of theirs that thought it possible. Upon no sounder evidence it was, for instance, contended that Poerio endured savage cruelty in a Neapolitan dungeon. Mutilated documents were pre-

sented to Parliament, by way of semi-official sympathetic proof, and the fanaticism of England was lashed into a furious fever while reflecting on "the fact." But it was no fact, and Poerio himself fully and warmly denied every tittle reported of the treatment he was said to be subjected to. Of these denials, or the official protest, issued in Naples respecting the calumny, the British organs took no notice, and the impartiality common enough in home events was never in the least degree extended to this; nor does it to any similar case which ever challenged the judgment of Protestantism. The reason of this seems obvious. Every contrast we have presented, every fact we have adduced, and every comment we have made, tend to expose its motive. Denude Protestantism of its popular prejudices, and it runs the risk of perishing. This it will not of its natural will consent to, and while it can wrap a shred of its well-patched mantle over the shrivelled frame which shields its fretful spirit, it must retain its prejudices. Were the popular prejudices which go to sustain the active life of Protestantism to be submitted to regular tests, they would crumble away before truth.

But we must not now any further enlarge upon this theme. Indeed we have already outstretched the space intended for the subject, although we have done little more than glance at some of its divisions. It may be well before closing this, our cursory sketch, to assure the reader that, although we can show Catholic countries, every thing considered to be, *in fact*, as much above Protestant countries, as, *in fancy*, these countries think Catholic nations below them; still, we are far from believing that Catholic countries are politically, socially, or morally, all that they ought to be. On the contrary, we can lament much which finds acceptance in countries where Catholicity prevails; but in order to see it and sorrow over it, we must stand upon far higher ground than it has been necessary to descend to in order to consider those claims of Protestant prejudice which we have been looking at. Comparing them with non-Catholic nations, we are proud to contemplate every thing connected with Catholic states; but when examined by the model of Catholicity, Catholic countries come not up to our expectations. In this, however, we may be, humanly speaking, aspiring too loftily. But, to use the

words of "The Convert," we complain of a Catholic people, "not, indeed, as falling below non-Catholic nations, but as falling below their own Catholic standard." It is almost superfluous to say a word about the absurdity of associating the Church with merely secular administrative systems. Only by one of the blunders attendant upon Protestant opacity does Catholicity, in its ecclesiastical character, come at all to be mixed up with matters distinct from its operative functions. All Catholics know and feel, or ought to know and feel, that the evils present or possible in any so-called Catholic country, can by no stretch of Protestant ingenuity be made to compromise the nobility or sanctity of Catholicity itself. "The Church," says *The Convert*, "prescribes and proscribes no particular form of government; she simply asserts that power, in whose hands soever lodged, or however constituted, is a trust, and to be administered for the common good, on pain of forfeiture." Again, "The action of the Church in political and social matters is indirect, not direct, and in strict accordance with the free-will of individuals, and the autonomy of states. Individuals may hold very erroneous notions on government, and sustain their rulers in a very ruinous and disastrous policy, without necessarily impeaching their Catholic faith or piety." Much may be detected amongst Catholic nations that is neither "reasonable nor prudent;" "but it is all easily explained without any reflection on the truth or efficiency of the Church, or the general wisdom and prudence of her prelates and clergy."

ART. III.—*The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe; showing the results of the Primary Schools, and the Division of Landed Property in Foreign Countries.* By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. London: Longmans, 1850. 2 vols. 12mo.

THE great question of the day, for us Americans, is, undoubtedly, that of Common School Education. Its practical importance can scarcely be exaggerated. Upon

the system adopted for the education of our children, probably more than upon any thing else, depends the future of our Republic. If "the child be the father of the man," our children will certainly exhibit in their manhood those traits of character to which their young and susceptible natures were moulded under the parental roof, in the school-room, and in the church. Soon will the men and women of the present generation be gathered to the tomb, and their children will take their places in the busy and ever-shifting drama of life; acting out therein their several parts according to their previous training. Nothing, then, can be of greater and of more vital importance to our future, than the sound education of our children.

No fact in history is better authenticated than that the Catholic Church has been, at all times, and under all circumstances, even the most discouraging, the munificent patroness and fostering mother of education, especially of the education of the poor, who have ever been her favorite children. She founded and liberally endowed almost all the great universities of Europe; those magnificent establishments which, during the Middle Ages, were the luminous courts of religion and science, of literature and the arts, and which annually sent forth into the most remote parts of Europe, thousands of highly-educated young men, to become the pioneers of Christian civilization among rude and uneducated populations.

The benefits which the Church thereby conferred on mankind,—benefits which we now so largely share, without, probably, reflecting much on their origin,—are almost incalculable. Without her agency, civilization would have been impossible. But more than this; she was the first to establish Common Schools for the gratuitous education of the masses. From the days of Charlemagne in the ninth century, down to those of Leo X. in the beginning of the sixteenth, Free Schools sprang up in rapid succession, over the greater portion of Europe, and generally under the shadow of her churches and her monasteries. Throughout the entire period which is designated by Protestants as that of the "dark ages," Roman Pontiffs, and Catholic Bishops, assembled in council, enacted laws requiring the establishment of such schools in connection with all the cathedral and parochial churches; and if these laws could not always be carried into effect, in con-

sequence of the civil commotions which were then so frequent, it was surely not the fault of the Church; for the Church was ever indefatigable in her efforts to calm down the passions of men which led to those bloody feuds, and to diffuse among the people, along with religious teaching, the elements of a sound Christian education. This has been freely admitted and clearly established by learned and enlightened men of every shade of religious opinion; by such men as Hallam, Maitland, Turner, Bishop Tauner, Guizot, the two Schlegels, Voigt, Hurter, and others.

These undoubted facts must be blotted out from the history of the past, before the enemies of the Catholic Church can make good their accusation, that she is opposed to the education of the people. The allegation that Catholics in this country are not favourable to the system of Common Schools, as here adopted, does not at all sustain the charge; for our opposition to the system does not grow out of any disposition to check or stifle the education of the many, which we are inclined, on the contrary, to promote by every means in our power, but it is founded on other reasons altogether different. It is because we conscientiously believe that our present Common School system is grievously defective and faulty; and that, whether intentionally or not, it infringes our religious liberties, guaranteed to us by the Constitution, for the securing of which, the blood of our fathers flowed as freely as did that of those who would fain force upon us their own crude and illiberal ideas of education. Minorities have rights as well as majorities; and when minorities have reason and truth on their side, they have even stronger and more valid rights. We object to the Common School system as established in our free Republic—freer in every thing else than in this—because it compels us to pay taxes for the support of schools to which we cannot conscientiously send our children. The necessary result is, that we are forced to incur the enormous expense of erecting and supporting other schools for their education, if we would educate them at all; and we are thus doubly taxed, as were our fathers, the Catholics of Maryland, by the Protestant majority, merely because they were Catholics! * Our non-Catholic

* The atrocious injustice of this treatment of our Catholic ancestors in Maryland before the Revolution is the more striking from the un-

fellow-citizens, who are vastly in the majority, and have the power in their hands, may make light of, and even deride our religious scruples on this subject; but we are simple enough to have a conscience, even when such a commodity is so very inconvenient, expensive, and unfashionable, and to say boldly to our opponents, that we would rather lose the whole world than offend God, risk our eternal salvation, or endanger that of our children. We are even antiquated enough in our notions to believe, that it is our sacred duty to rear up our children "in the discipline and correction of the Lord," and to bequeath to them, as the most valuable of all legacies, good religious impressions and a sound *religious* education. This is, we are quite sure, the most important element of education—ay, "the one thing necessary;" and this essential branch of instruction is not, and cannot be taught in our Common Schools, as at present constituted.

Our present system of Primary education either ignores religion altogether, or it teaches principles which we believe to be false or dangerous; or at best, it confines religious instruction to certain vague and unmeaning generalities, which are, in their practical influence on the moral and religious training of children, probably worse than no teaching at all. Human nature is prone to evil, and it constantly needs the application of the moral and religious curb, especially during the slippery period of youth. To teach a child's head, is not to educate, much less to form his heart. Mere instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and book-keeping, will not train the pupil to self-denial, to virtue, and to the government of the passions. Such a system might do well enough for Pagans; it is certainly totally unfitted to Christians. It would develop—and it has already developed to a fearful extent in this country—that characteristic element in the morals of pagan society which Horace satirizes in his *Ars Poetica*, as the one most prominent in the Roman youth

doubted facts, that Maryland was originally a Catholic colony, and the first to establish free toleration and religious liberty, and that those who afterwards rose up and persecuted her Catholic colonists, were themselves indebted to the latter for a free home, and a shelter from the persecution of brother Protestants in neighbouring colonies! There are few instances of an ingratitude so black as this in all the annals of history.

of his day: *POST NUMMOS VIRTUS—AFTER MONEY VIRTUE.* Our youth are practically trained up under our Common School system, to make money, honestly if they can, but at all events to make money. They are, indeed, taught to be moral and virtuous, at least so far as will be convenient and conducive to the main chance; knowing well that "honesty is the best policy," and that a moral man, reputed virtuous by his neighbors, will have much more weight in society, and will be much more likely to make money and be well to do in the world, than one who has not such a reputation. Religion is all very well in its way, it makes a man respectable in this world, besides fitting him, probably, for the next; but it must not sit too heavily on us, much less clog our progress towards wealth and worldly eminence. Is not man a progressive being, and was he not made for society? what is the benefit of a religion which represses our energies and keeps us behind our rivals in the race of life? Religion must be adapted to the spirit of the age, or we will have none of it; and to be adapted to the spirit of the age, it must be very elastic, very "fast," and very progressive!

We do not mean to say that these maxims are expressly taught our youth, but there is little doubt, that the tendency of ignoring religion, and even of the meagre and bald religious instruction occasionally given in our Common School education, lies in this worldly and pagan direction. And such being the case, can reasonable and reflecting men wonder that those who have faith, and value aright the salvation of their own souls and the souls of their children, should be shy of our Common Schools, or even strongly opposed to them? That the religious scruples of Catholics on this subject are well, at least very strongly founded, is apparent from the fact, that after paying the heavy taxes imposed by the State, they are impelled by their conscientious convictions to contribute vast additional sums of money for the establishment of such schools as they can safely patronize. In this utilitarian age, in which Mammon has far more worshippers than the living God, there can be no more striking evidence of a man's sincerity than his willingness to put his hand in his pocket, and to sacrifice his worldly treasures to the requirements of his conscience.

It is all well enough to say, that religious instruction is an affair of the parental hearth and of the Church, not of the school-room. But if the child has received defective or bad moral and religious training during the whole day or week, how is the parent to supply the deficiency or correct the wrong impression at night, or the pastor on Sunday? It is easy to teach children evil, or to let their passions run riot; it is exceedingly difficult effectually to teach them good, or to remove bad impressions. Besides, many parents are either not able or not willing to impart religious instruction to their children at home; and even the most zealous pastor cannot always suffice for the proper religious instruction of all the children of his district, especially if these have been exposed during the week to other and dangerous influences. In the case of Catholic children frequenting our Common Schools, effective religious instruction by either parents or pastors thus becomes almost impossible. If such Catholic children are not expressly taught what is opposed to their religion, and if the school-books which they use are not tainted with anti-Catholic prejudice and misrepresentations,—which is but too frequently the case,—they are often singled out as Catholics, and perhaps “foreigners,” by their school companions, and sometimes by their teachers, and become objects of ridicule. Thus numberless petty annoyances are constantly brought to bear upon their tender minds. The result of this training is obvious. Either they become ashamed of their religion, grow suddenly much wiser than their parents, and laugh at their simplicity; or if they have the courage to hold out, they continue to be the laughing-stock of the school, and unless they have a taste for this species of martyrdom, they have to fly elsewhere for safety.

This is no fancy sketch, nor even an exaggeration. It is a picture drawn from life, and rather under than over-drawn. Our Common Schools, as at present organized, so far as we are acquainted with them, are no places for Catholic children, who are shut out from them as effectually as they would be by locks and bolts. Catholics are thus forcibly ejected from schools, which their money was extorted by law to erect, thus paying for what they cannot enjoy; and this, too, in a country boasting above all others of its freedom. It is not our Protestant fellow-citizens

then, who have a right to complain of us in the matter of Common Schools ; but it is we who have clearly a right to complain of them. It is the persecuted minority who may justly feel aggrieved by the tyranny of the persecuting majority ; persecuting precisely because they are the majority, and under our laws have the *might*, if not the *right*, to persecute. For it is persecution, consider it in what light you may, to take a man's money by law, and then to refuse him the consideration for which his money was paid, unless on a condition which he cannot accept without sacrificing his conscience.

In a mixed population like ours, where there are almost as many religious creeds as there are heads, the education of the people through Common Schools, without infringing their religious liberty, is, we freely admit, a matter beset with manifold difficulties. Yet we do not believe that these difficulties are wholly insurmountable. What has been done, can be done again ; and we are prepared to show that in communities very nearly similar to our own, the two things, general Common School education under the auspices of the State, and religious liberty on the part of the different religious denominations in the State, have been so far reconciled as to obviate, if not all the difficulties of the position, at least the more glaring of those wrongs, to which we have referred above, as existing in our own Common School system. What has been accomplished and is now done under the monarchies of Europe, in favor of religious liberty, may surely be accomplished in this *free* country ; unless, indeed, we are prepared to admit that we are practically less free than the monarchies of the old world, in which case our boasted love of liberty would be all a sham.

In order to show how the difficult problem of reconciling Common School education with religious liberty has been solved in Europe, we will furnish to our American readers a rapid analysis of the highly instructive and interesting work the title of which is found at the head of this paper. The author, *Joseph Kay, Esq., M.A.*, is an Englishman, an uncompromising Protestant Anglican, and evidently no friend of the Catholic Church, or of Catholic populations. He takes no pains to disguise his prejudice against Catholicity ; and he has not even learned to prac-

tise the courtesy of calling us by our proper name! The vulgar nickname *Romanist* is usually employed by him, instead of *Catholic*, or *Roman Catholic*, the latter of which is sanctioned and adopted by the British Parliament itself, the founder of the Anglican Church Establishment to which he belongs. But though an Englishman and a Protestant, and notwithstanding his discreditable ill-breeding, he is generally candid in the statement of facts; and we are disposed to abide by his testimony, which, for the reasons just named, will, we presume, be deemed unexceptionable by non-Catholics. His evidence is the more reliable, because based on long and patient investigation of the condition of popular education in Europe; and his statements cannot fail to prove especially interesting to American readers, to most of whom they will be new, for his work, contained too many candid admissions in favor of Catholic countries, and too many statements damaging to those which are Protestant, to entitle it to republication in this country, where works, to be popular and *suitable to the market*, must pander to vulgar prejudice.

Mr. Kay furnishes the following account of himself and his publication:

“In 1846 the Senate of the University of Cambridge honored me by appointing me Travelling Bachelor of the University, and by commissioning me to travel through Western Europe, in order to examine the social condition of the poorer classes of the different countries. During the last eight years I have travelled through Prussia, Saxony, the Austrian Empire, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, the Duchy of Baden, Hanover, Oldenburg, Lombardy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland, as well as through England, Wales, and parts of Scotland and Ireland. I undertook the greater part of these journeys in order to examine the comparative conditions of the peasants and operatives in these several countries, the different modes of legislating for them, and the effects of these different modes of legislation upon their character, habits, and social condition.”—Vol. I. pp. 4, 5.

The first volume of his work contains an elaborate report on the material, moral, and social condition of the poorer classes in continental Europe, as compared to that of the corresponding population in England; and the second is devoted to a detailed examination of the educational establishments in those several countries. Our

business at present lies with the contents of the second volume; to the matter of the first we may hereafter devote a separate paper.

His statistics of Common School Education in Europe date back from ten to fifteen years from the time of our present writing; but as it is probable that they have not since varied much, at least relatively, they will suffice for the purpose of comparison. The limits of our paper will not allow us to go into many details; though these would probably prove more interesting to most of our readers than a mere summary of the more prominent facts, and of the general results, which alone we shall be able to furnish.

We confess that we were not prepared for some of his statistics in regard to the educational establishments of Europe. The following statement in particular took us somewhat by surprise. In point of the number of teachers and of primary and normal schools in proportion to the population, and, we may add, the perfect organization and details of the whole Common School system, while the German States occupy an intermediate position, *France ranks first, and England last!* After all we had heard and read of the educational establishments in Prussia, Scotland, and other Protestant countries, this fact, abundantly attested by figures, proved somewhat startling. The following table, which treats of the number of teachers of primary schools, and of normal schools for the education of teachers, in proportion to the population in different European countries, will exhibit, at a glance, the relative condition and operation of their respective school establishments. We extract the figures from Kay, though we do not follow his order, and leave out Switzerland, his statistics of the republic embracing with certainty only the Canton of Berne.*

“In France the number of primary schools in 1843 was 59,383, the number of normal colleges for the instruction of teachers was 96, and the number of teachers actually engaged in instruction 75,535; and as the population of France in 1843 amounted to 34,230,178, it follows that there was in that year:—

* Vol. II. pp. 231, seq. and p. 477.

1 Primary school in France for every . . .	558 inhabitants.
1 Teacher for every	446 “
1 Normal college for every	356,564 “

In the same year there was in Prussia—

1 Primary school for every	653 inhabitants.
1 Teacher for every	662 “
1 Normal college for every	377,300 “

“In the Kingdom of Bavaria (Catholic), in the year 1846, there was—

1 Teacher for every	508 inhabitants.
1 Primary school for every	603 “
1 Normal college for every	550,000 “

“In the Kingdom of Saxony (Protestant, with Catholic King), there was, in the year 1843—

1 Primary school for every	900 inhabitants.
1 Teacher for every	588 “
1 Normal college for every	214,975* “

“In the Duchy of Baden (Catholic, with Protestant government), in the year 1841, there was—

1 Primary school for every	700 inhabitants.
1 Normal college for every	500,000 “

In regard to the Austrian Empire, our Travelling Bachelor furnishes the following statistics of education :

“In 1842, the population of the Austrian Empire, including Lombardy, but excluding Hungary, was 25,304,152. For this population 20,293 primary day-schools had been founded ; that is, one primary day-school for every 1,247 inhabitants, besides 11,140 repetition, or evening class schools. For these 20,293 primary schools 41,809 teachers had been appointed and salaried, each of these teachers having obtained a certificate of competence before being allowed to officiate as an instructor of youth. There was, therefore, in 1842, about one teacher for every 600 inhabitants in

* It will be seen that, while Saxony has more normal schools in proportion to the population than either Prussia, Bavaria, or even France, she is far behind France in the relative number of primary schools and teachers, and behind Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden in the proportion of primary schools to the population. It is well to bear in mind, that in Saxony the government is Catholic, with a large majority of Protestants in the population, while the government of Prussia is Protestant, with about two-fifths of the population Catholic ; that of Baden Protestant, with a very large Catholic majority ; while both the government and an overwhelming majority of the people of Bavaria are Catholic.

the whole Empire of Austria, excluding Hungary, and rather more than two teachers, on the average, to every primary school.”*

He subjoins a table, from which it appears that, in 1842, there were in Austria—

“ Of children who ought to attend school, 249,326 ; of those who actually attended day-schools, 244,032 ; of those who attended the repetition schools, 108,399. Total number attending day and repetition schools, 342,430.” †

We leave the comment upon these figures to our readers. It will be seen, at a glance, that in many respects the educational system of Catholic France is far in advance of that adopted in any other European country, not excepting the much vaunted school systems of Prussia, and other German States ; and that the position of Catholic Austria, of which we shall speak more in detail a little further on, is also highly respectable. Of France, in comparison with Germany, our author bears the following honourable testimony :

“ Vast as the efforts are which the German and Swiss States are making to educate their people, the great and minutely considered system of public education, which is now in operation throughout every commune in France, rivals them in its comprehensiveness, efficiency, and liberality, and in the completeness and well-considered nature of its details.” ‡

But what of England, of whose greatness and literary advancement we have heard so much ? In the education and the social position of the masses of her people, England is, to use one of her own favorite sporting phrases, completely *distanced* in the race by every European country which Mr. Kay visited ; and he, himself an Englishman, being our witness.

While France expends annually for the promotion of popular education two million pounds sterling, or nearly ten millions of dollars, England expends only one hundred and twenty thousand pounds ! While France has 59,838 elementary schools conducted under the auspices of the government, England and Wales, with about half her population, has only 4,000 ! Not only is England immeasurably behind France and Austria in the matter of popular

* Vol. II. p. 342.

† Ibid. p. 343.

‡ Ibid. p. 403.

education, but also far behind all the German populations, whether Protestant or Catholic! To come up even to the lowest standard of popular education in Continental Europe, England and Wales should have 23,531 schools, 26,500 teachers, and 41 normal schools; * whereas, of normal schools, she has only 12 to 92 in France, and not much more than *one-sixth* of her fair quota of primary schools! Even the schools she supports are very far inferior, *in every respect*, to those on the European continent, as our candid English Travelling Bachelor not only admits, but clearly *proves*, by facts which cannot be gainsaid. The following extract contains the gist of his Report on the education of the people in England; and its length will be pardoned on account of the great interest of the subject:

“ I will give a short summary of the present state of primary education in England and Wales, as collected from the Reports of her Majesty’s Inspectors, of the Commissioners of Inquiry in Wales, of the National Society, of the Statistical Society, and of the City Mission; from Mr. Redgrave’s Reports, from some very able articles in the North British Review, and from numerous personal inquiries in various parts of England and Wales.

“ 1. It has been calculated that there are, at present, in England and Wales, **NEARLY EIGHT MILLIONS OF PERSONS** who cannot read and write.

“ 2. Of all the children in England and Wales, between the ages of five and fourteen, **MORE THAN THE HALF** are not attending any school.

“ 3. Even of the class of farmers, there are great numbers who cannot read and write.

“ 4. Even of those children of the poor who have received some instruction, very few know anything of geography, history, science, music, or drawing. Their instruction in the village schools has hitherto generally consisted of nothing more than a little practice in reading, writing, and Scripture history.

“ 5. Of the teachers who are officiating in many of the village schools, there are many who cannot read and write correctly, and who know very little of the Bible, which they profess to explain to their scholars.

“ 6. A very great part of our present village and town schools are managed by poor and miserably instructed dames, † who thus seek to make a livelihood, and who literally do no good to the children

* See Vol. II., p. 232.

† This numerous class of wretched schools is designated in England by the name of *Dame Schools*.

except it be keeping them for a certain number of hours in the day out of the dirt, and out of worse society.

“ 7. Many of these *dame schools* are so wretchedly managed, as to do the children a very great deal more harm than good,—by uniting miserable associations with the Sacred Writings, and with the subjects of the wretched instruction given in these schools.

“ 8. Very many of our town schools are held in small and unventilated cellars or garrets, where the health of the children is seriously impaired.

“ 9. If we except only the *worst* part of the dame schools, we have not, even then, *one-half* as many school buildings as we require for the *present* numbers of our population.

“ 10. By far the greatest part of our school buildings have only one room, in which all the classes are instructed together, in the midst of noise and foul air.

“ 11. Many of our present school-rooms have no forms and no parallel desks,—both of which are to be found in every school-room throughout Western Europe,—and in all such schools the children are kept standing the whole day.

“ 12. Very few of our school-rooms are properly supplied with maps, books, or school apparatus.” *

We might copy this fearful summary down to number 30, to which number our author carries it; but what we have here given will suffice for our purpose.

With such evidence as this, furnished by an Englishman, no candid man will doubt our statement, that, in regard to the education of her people, England stands the lowest among all those nations which are reputed civilized. And yet it is precisely England which has boasted most of her enlightenment and civilization; it is England which is always thrown in our teeth, as a convincing example of Protestant progress and learning, in contrast with the stationary character of Catholic populations; it is England which has, for three hundred years, been the most reckless and foul-mouthed slanderer of the Catholic Church, and of every person and thing Catholic; it is England, with her ignorant, brutalized, and down-trodden masses, which, in the face of the civilized world, in the face of light and knowledge to the contrary, dares boast her own proud pre-eminence and sneer at her more ignorant and less enlightened neighbors, who enjoy not the priceless blessings of her wonderful *dame schools*, and of her humane and beneficent workhouses! Verily, she should first extract the beam

* P. 461, seqq.

from her own eye, and medicate the cancer which is gnawing at her own vitals, before rebuking her neighbors.

Lest it should be thought that we have grown too warm in our indignation at such barefaced and transparent national hypocrisy, we will here subjoin the closing lines of Mr. Kay's volumes, from which it will appear that his indignation is scarcely less than our own;—he is speaking of his own dear country, England:—

“ Here, with our vast accumulated masses ; with a population increasing by a thousand per diem ; with an expenditure on abject pauperism which in these days of our prosperity amounts to £5,000,000 per annum ; with a terrible deficiency in the numbers of our churches and of our clergy ; with the most demoralizing publications spread through the cottages of our operatives ; with democratic ideas of the wildest kinds, and a knowledge of the power of union daily gaining ground among them ;—here, too, where the poor have no stake whatever in the country ; where there are no small properties ; where the most frightful discrepancies exist between the richer and the poorer classes ; where the poor fancy they have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a revolution ; here, too, where we are stimulating the rapid increase of our population by extending and steadying the base of our commercial greatness ; where the majority of the operatives have no religion ; where the national religion is one utterly unfitted to attract an uneducated people ; where our very freedom is in danger, unless the people are taught to use and not to abuse it ; and, here, too, where the aristocracy is richer and more powerful than that of any other country in the world,—*the poor are more oppressed, more pauperized, more numerous in comparison to the other classes, more irreligious, and very much worse educated, than the poor of any other European nation, solely excepting Russia, Turkey, South Italy, Portugal, and Spain.*”*

The exception of Russia and Turkey may be all well enough ; but had the honest English travelling Bachelor visited “ South Italy, Portugal, and Spain,” we think well enough of his candor to believe, that he would have left them out of the comparison. We were never in Portugal, but we have visited Spain, and we spent more than four years in “ South Italy ;” and, with the exception, *perhaps*, of the very worst of the Neapolitan *Lazaroni*,† we be-

* Vol. II., p. 538. The Italics are his own.

† So called by English, and by some American travellers, though they do not appear to be a distinct race of people.

lieve,—in fact, we are quite certain,—that the poor of those countries are, *in every respect*, and especially in point of education, very far in advance of the corresponding class in England and Wales! The poorest children of the poorest *Lazaroni* are not half so degraded or brutalized, as Mr. Kay represents the children of the poor in almost all the cities and towns of England.* We regret that our limited space forbids us to give the passage in full, and we can only refer to it in the foot-note.† Suffice it to say, that according to his own showing, the children of the English poor are the most neglected, the most dirty, the most degraded, the most ignorant, and the most thoroughly brutalized little savages within the boundaries of Christendom, not even excepting Russia, so far, at least, as we are acquainted with Russia.‡

But we have already devoted more space to this branch of the subject than we had originally intended, and we must hasten on. We have yet to analyze the Common School systems of continental European countries in their reference to the rights of parents, and to the still more sacred rights of religious liberty.

The two great difficulties in the way of education under the auspices or control of the state, are parental rights and differences of religious belief among the population. No system which glaringly violates either parental rights or religious liberty can be logically advocated, or can permanently succeed. This has been well understood by most of the Continental European governments which have established Common Schools; and all of them, with scarcely an exception known to us,—certainly no exception on the part of Catholic governments,—have adopted provisions to secure those rights, some, indeed, to a greater,

* In our next article on Mr. Kay's work we shall have occasion to enter into the comparison more in detail, and to prove by abundant evidence what is advanced in the text.

† Vol. II., p. 7.

‡ We think the writer is very unjust to Russia, and supposes a degree of ignorance and brutality in the Russian people quite foreign to their character. The lower class of Russians may not have any great amount of school education, but they do receive a very respectable amount of moral and religious training, and in piety and morality compare favourably with the peasantry of most European countries.—*Ed. Quarterly Review.*

some to a less extent. In all of them, with hardly an exception known to us, provision is made for the education of the children in the religion of their parents. In all of them, or nearly all, SEPARATE SCHOOLS, RECEIVING THEIR REGULAR QUOTA OF THE SCHOOL MONEY, are permitted by law, and whenever the parents in any particular locality, being of one religious sentiment, whether Protestants or Catholics, desire to found such schools. In almost all of them, religious instruction—not general, meaningless, or vague, but detailed and full—is deemed an essential and paramount part and element of Common School education. Religious instruction, in all of them, occupies the FIRST PLACE in the list of branches to be taught; and in all of them a time is specially set apart for this highest and noblest department of education. In separate schools the ministers of the Christian denomination to which the parents of the children belong attend, at stated times, generally one hour each day, to impart religious teaching. In mixed schools, which are nearly equally divided, the ministers of the different denominations of the parents of the children teach regularly the Catechism to the children of their respective flocks; while in those mixed schools where there is but a small minority of Catholics or Protestants, the minority have the guaranteed right to retire during the hour devoted to religious instruction.

In not one of all the educational establishments of Europe, whether Protestant or Catholic, is there found any thing exactly similar to our own system; either in respect to compulsory taxes to support a system of which the minority do not approve, and of which they cannot conscientiously avail themselves, or in regard to the principle of teaching either no religion at all in the Common Schools, or of teaching one of which any portion of the children taught, or their parents, would conscientiously disapprove. In not one of them, known to us, is there any compulsory sectarian reading or sectarian religious exercise or worship in mixed schools, with the obligation on children whose parents conscientiously disapprove such reading or worship, to attend the same. While religious teaching is made, in nearly all of them, a co-ordinate and essential part of Common School education, to be imparted by their respective ministers to children of different religious

persuasions, without directly or indirectly shocking the religious feeling, or infringing the religious rights, of any, no one, not even in Germany, is compelled by law to send his children to any school of which he disapproves, provided he be able and willing to educate them elsewhere, either in separate schools, allowed and supported by the government, or in other good schools of his own choosing.

With these wise and liberal provisions, carried out in good faith, the European parent need have but little apprehension that his child will be seduced from the faith in which he wishes him to be reared up. It was reserved for our own free and happy republic to adopt a system of Common School education which makes no provision for religious instruction, elsewhere deemed so essential by all reflecting and candid Christians; which will allow of no separate schools receiving their quota of support from the School fund, created by taxing all alike, and which says to its Catholic citizens: "You will either send your children to our schools, where they will be taught no religion beyond a few vague generalities, and will be practically brought up infidels, or will be trained up to sneer at the religion of their parents; or else you will pay your taxes for supporting these schools from which you can derive no possible benefit unless at the sacrifice of conscience, and then you may, if you choose, tax yourselves again to found such schools as your over-delicate conscience may find necessary!" There is, we venture to say, no educational establishment in all Christendom, outside of our own *free* country, which is based upon so unjust and detestable a tyranny of the majority over the minority as that which marks our own! That of some of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland,—another *free* country,—comes, perhaps, the nearest to ours; but even Switzerland, so far as our information extends, is not guilty, at least to the same extent, of our tyranny over conscience in this matter of education. This will be seen a little farther on.

We do not pretend to say that the educational establishments of continental Europe are perfect, or that they are even all that they profess to be, or what Mr. Kay claims for them. But no candid man who peruses attentively the minute account of them furnished by our author, can doubt for a moment that they are, in many respects,

far superior to ours, especially in the vital point of much better securing to all the sacred rights of religious liberty. This is particularly the case in those European countries where Catholics are in the majority and have the political preponderance, as in France and Austria. Speaking of the great success of the Common Schools on the European continent, in contrast with the neglect of popular education in England and Wales, Mr. Kay employs the following language—which we extract both as a specimen of his religious bigotry, and as an evidence of what we have just stated:—

“ And let it be remembered, that these great results have been attained, notwithstanding obstacles *at least* as great as those which make it so difficult for us to act (in England). Look at Austria, Bavaria, and the Prussian Rhine Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons of Lucerne and Soleure. Will any one say, that the religious difficulties in those countries are less than those which exist in our own? Is Roman Catholicism in these countries free from that arrogance and haughtiness, which are, at the same time, the causes and effects of a vain belief in human infallibility, and which stimulate opposition instead of conciliating opinion? Is the sectarianism of the Jesuits of Lucerne, or of the priests of Bavaria, of a more yielding character towards the Protestant ‘heretics,’ than that of one Protestant party in England towards another? And yet, in each of these countries the difficulties arising from religious differences have been overcome, and *all* their children have been brought under the influence of a *religious* education, without any religious party having been offended.”*

Here it is not only admitted, but expressly stated, by an unexceptional, because prejudiced, witness, that in the principal Catholic governments and communities of Germany and Switzerland, the religious rights of the Protestant minority are carefully respected, so that all the children receive “a *religious* education, without any religious party having been offended.” Coming from the quarter it does, this testimony is invaluable. The simple fact it vouches for is worth more than a volume of defence against the stale but oft-reiterated accusation of intolerant despotism against the Catholic Church wherever its members are in power. It is a triumphant refutation of the charge

* Vol. II., p. 3. The Italics are his own.

that Catholics crush the religious liberties of the dissenting minority wherever they are in the majority, and have the power to do so. It is a remarkable fact, on the contrary, that in such Catholic governments as France and Austria, if any complaint could be justly made against the educational systems there adopted, it would rather come from the Catholic majority than from the very small Protestant minority. It has been often alleged, and with some grounds, that the religious interests and rights of the overwhelming Catholic majority in these two countries have been not unfrequently sacrificed to an overweening desire on the part of the government to secure the religious liberty of the non-Catholic minority! This was particularly the case in France, until the present illustrious Emperor of the French, by a stroke of the pen, destroyed the odious University monopoly, and made education *free*;* and it was, we believe, the case also in Austria, to a less or greater extent, until the accession of the present young but vigorous and enlightened Emperor, and the establishment by him of the Concordat with the Holy See.

Mr. Kay furnishes the following account of the educational system in France:—

“ It was long a question of great doubt among French legislators, in what manner the difficulties arising from religious differences could be overcome. The different religious parties in France were as earnest in their demands as the Church and dissenting parties in England at the present day.

“ The Chambers were called on to decide :

“ Whether they would establish separate schools for all the religious sects ; or

“ Whether they would establish mixed schools where no religious

* That Napoleon III. has broken up the monopoly of the University by assuming its privileges and functions for the State, is, we believe, true ; but that he has rendered education free, is, if our information be correct, a mistake. He has suppressed the rights of the University only in favor of his own unlimited power over both primary and secondary instruction. The University was conceived in the design of preventing education from falling under the control of the clergy, and its suppression does not restore its control either to the Church or the parent, but places it under the absolute authority of the State, to be made an instrument of imperial despotism. Something similar must be said in regard to all the royal and imperial systems of education in continental Europe, which closely analyzed, we apprehend, will be found as little favorable to freedom and religion as our own common school system.—*Ed. Quarterly Review.*

education should be given, and where the children of all sects should be instructed together ; or

“ Whether they would allow the parishes to found their own schools, and elect teachers educated in the religious belief of the majority of the parishioners ; merely requiring, as an indispensable preliminary, that the children of the minority should be allowed to avail themselves of the secular instruction given in the schools, and to leave the class-rooms when the religious instruction was given there ; on condition, however, that their parents provided in some other manner for the efficient education of their children in their own religious belief.

“ The Chambers felt that, to adopt the first course, would be to leave the education of many children totally unprovided for, in the cases of those communes where there was not a sufficient number of any one sect in a commune to enable the government to establish a separate school for them ; that to adopt the second alternative, would be to leave THE MOST DEEPLY IMPORTANT PART OF EDUCATION either wholly neglected, or at least most indifferently provided for ; and that to deny the master the liberty of giving practical religious education in the school, was to deprive him of the most powerful means of improving the character of his children. They, therefore, adopted the third alternative, and resolved to place each of the normal colleges of the different departments, and each of the primary schools of the different communes, under the management of a professor or teacher, selected from the most numerous sect of the department or commune in which the college or school was situated. They further determined that the parents who differed in their religious belief from the director of the college, or from the teacher of the school, should have the power of requiring their children to absent themselves during the periods of religious instruction ; on condition, however, that such parents provided elsewhere for the religious education of their children.

“ The importance of the religious element in the education of the children, is put forward in great prominence by the French statutes and regulations on the subject. In the words of the statute of April 25th, 1834, upon the elementary schools :

“ ‘ In all the divisions (of each school), the moral and religious instructions shall rank *first*. Prayers shall commence and close all the classes. Some verses of the Holy Scriptures shall be learned every day. Every Saturday, the Gospel of the following Sunday shall be recited. On the Sundays and Fast (Feast ?) Days the scholars shall be conducted to Divine Service. The reading-books, the writing copies, the discourses and exhortations of the teacher, shall tend continually to penetrate the souls of the scholars with the feelings and principles which are the safeguards of morality, and which are proper to inspire the fear and love of God.’

“ And M. Guizot in his letters, which he addressed, while

Minister of Public Instruction, to each of the teachers of France, says :

“ ‘Among the objects of instruction, there is one which demands of me particular notice ; or rather it is the law itself, which by placing it at the head of all the others, has committed it more especially to your zeal ; I refer to moral and religious instruction.’ ”*

A little farther on, he gives the following sketch of the mechanism and manner of working of the French Common School organization :

“ Each department of France is subdivided into *arrondissements*, and each *arrondissement* into *communes* or parishes. Each *commune* is OBLIGED by law, either alone, or in conjunction with one or more neighboring *communes*, to support *at least one* elementary primary school. Where the population is large enough to require more than one school, it is *invited* to establish another. If it neglects this duty, the Government is empowered to interfere. The means of instruction are thus placed within the reach of every parent throughout the Kingdom (Empire) of France. If the government had left it to each *commune* to please itself, whether it would establish schools or not, the result would have been similar to the one which is still disgracing us (in England). Many of the *communes* would never have put themselves to the expense of erecting schools and supporting teachers.

“ I shall explain how the communal organization is arranged, and how the difficulties arising from religious differences have been overcome :

“ 1st. In *communes*, in which all the inhabitants belong to the *same* religious sect.

“ In each of these cases, a committee is formed, composed of the mayor, president, *curé* or religious minister, and one or two of the inhabitants of the *commune*, who are nominated by the committee of the *arrondissement*, of which I shall speak presently. The latter members of the committee are elected for three years, and are then re-eligible.

“ 2nd. In *communes* where there are several of the religious sects which are recognized by the State (*i.e.* Romanists (!), Protestants, and Jews).

“ In each of these cases the inhabitants may please themselves, whether they will establish separate or mixed schools, and whether they will have a separate committee for each school or one central committee for them all ; but they are *obliged* by law to adopt one of these courses.”†

It will be remarked, that the provision for *separate schools* is here expressly made by the French law ; and

* II. 404, seq.

† P. 410, seq.

this by an overwhelming Catholic majority in favor of a very insignificant dissenting minority! We commend this fact to the attention of those excessively liberal and excessively sensitive advocates of Common School education in this *free* country, who, following the lead of their preachers, are constantly inveighing against the despotism and intolerance of Catholic countries, and who make such an outcry, or rather raise so dismal a howl, about liberty and the Bible being in danger, whenever we, the small Catholic minority in this country, venture timidly to ask in our behalf the same ordinary privilege of separate schools, which the Catholic majority in France has freely accorded, without even the asking, to the mere handful of French dissenters! Truly, those who make the most noise about their love of liberty, are not always its truest or most consistent friends! Their loud professions are often belied by their actions.

Catholic Austria, whom it is so fashionable to denounce in this country as the very head and front of civil despotism and religious intolerance in Europe, is not a whit behind Catholic France, either in the perfect organization and efficiency of her educational system, or in the liberality towards Protestants which marks her Common Schools, not merely in their theory, but, what is far more to the purpose, in their practical working. Says our candid, but bigoted Englishman :

“ It is a fact, of which the old government of Austria may well be proud, that throughout the vast territorial extent of that part of this immense empire, which is composed of the regal province of Bohemia, a part of Poland, the great province of Moravia, the ancient territories of Syria and Illyria, the provinces of Dalmatia, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Duchies of Upper and Lower Austria, and the Tyrol; varying, as the people of these provinces do, in character, habits, and religion, composed as they are of Romanists and Lutherans, Moravians, Greeks, Jews, and Unitarians; EVERY CHILD between the ages of six and ten, and almost every child between the ages of six and thirteen, is receiving daily instruction in the truths of revelation and science, and in the duties of a citizen and a man. I shall show very briefly, how this great result has been obtained. Every parent, then, in the Austrian empire, is obliged by law to satisfactorily prove (*sic*) to the inspector of the district in which he resides, that he is either educating his children

between the ages of six and twelve, at home, in an efficient manner, or that he sends them to some school.”*

In the following passages our author treats of the manner in which the difficulty growing out of religious differences in this vast empire is overcome;—they will speak for themselves, and will need little comment :

“ In each province of the Austrian empire, whose population is WHOLLY Romanist, the superintendence and direction of the parochial schools are committed to one of the priests, who is chosen and appointed by the parochial magistrates, in conjunction with the district overseer, of whom I shall speak presently. This religious minister is, in these cases, empowered and required by law to superintend and direct the religious and secular instruction given in the schools : to take care that no person is appointed teacher who is not a man of religious principles and correct habits ; to enforce the regular attendance of all the children in his parish ; to stimulate their industry, and report on the progress of the schools, teachers, and scholars to the overseers of the school district in which the parish is situated.”†

“ The most interesting and satisfactory feature of the Austrian system is, the great liberality with which the government, although so staunch an adherent and supporter of the Romanist priesthood, has treated the religious parties who differ from itself in their religious dogmas. It has been entirely owing to this liberality that neither the great number of the sects in Austria, nor the great differences of their religious tenets, have (has) hindered the work of the education of the poor throughout the empire. Here, as elsewhere, it has been demonstrated that such difficulties may easily be overcome when a government understands how to raise the nation in civilization, and wishes earnestly to do so. In those parishes of the Austrian empire, where there are any dissenters from the Romanist Church, the education of their children is not directed by the priests, but is committed to the care of the dissenting ministers. These latter are empowered and required by government to provide for, to watch over, and to promote the education of the children of their own sects, in the same manner as the priests are required to do for the education of their children. In each county a dissenting minister is chosen by the magistrates, as the general superintendent and inspector of the education of all the dissenters of his county. This minister, accompanied by one of the county magistrates, is required to visit and inspect all the dissenting schools in his county, at least once in every year, and to report thereon to the county magistrates. He is also required and empowered to enforce the building of schools in districts inhabited by dissenters alone, but unsupplied with schools,

* II. 315.

† II. 318-'9.

to oblige all the dissenters of his county either to send their children to some school, or to educate them efficiently at home ; to punish them when they neglect to conform to the educational regulations ; to take care that the children of dissenters who attend Romanist schools, receive regular religious instructions from some minister of their own sect, and to oblige the dissenting ministers to give religious education to the children of their own sects."*

Again :

" Whenever the minority of any parish, whether Romanists, Protestants, or Jews, desire to establish a SEPARATE SCHOOL for their children, and to support a teacher of their own denomination, they are at liberty to separate from the majority and to provide alone for the education of their children ; but, by one means or another, each parish is obliged to provide for the education of ALL its children, and each householder to contribute his share of the funds necessary for this purpose ; and whether separate or mixed schools are established, all are made subject to public inspection, so that the public may know the real character of each establishment ; that no demoralizing school, or inefficient or immoral teacher, may be allowed to exercise a baneful influence upon the youth of the empire, and that the instruction in useful and civilizing knowledge may not be sacrificed in any degree to the dogmatical teaching of the different sects." †

Here is a system of Common School education under the control of the State, which is probably more perfect and less open to objection than any with which we are acquainted. As a system, we greatly prefer it to that of France ; it is very far superior to that of any other country in Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant. It distinctly recognizes and practically carries out the two great principles, which we believe essential to all sound education in a mixed community, composed of Catholics and Protestants—

1. The teaching of religion as the first and most essential department of education ; and,

2. The perfect guaranty of religious liberty, which, in this system, is fully reconciled with religious differences among the population.

In its working, this admirable system practically results in the establishment of SEPARATE SCHOOLS ; or if in a few cases the schools are still mixed, they possess all the

* II. 322-'3.

† II. 324.

advantages of separate schools, so far as the securing of full and thorough religious education by the children of different persuasions is concerned. Would to God that our loudly boasting Protestant preachers and religionists, who are in the habit of sneering at Catholic countries and vaunting their own more enlightened advocacy of religious liberty, would learn a lesson from that Austria which they denounce as the ally of despotism, and the sworn enemy of freedom, particularly of all religious liberty. And yet Austria is fully three-fourths, if not four-fifths, Catholic!

As we have above intimated, the principle maintaining the necessity of full religious instruction, as the most important, ay, the essential portion of Common School education, as well as that guarantying the liberty to establish separate schools for the different religious persuasions, is common to a greater or less extent, to almost all the educational establishments of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant. Truth, however, compels us to say, and we have the authority of Mr. Kay for our statement, that these provisions so essential to the securing of religious liberty, with its concomitant blessing of sound religious education, are much more ample and more effectual in Catholic than they are in Protestant European countries. Of Protestant Prussia, our author says :

“ Disputes about separate or mixed schools are unheard of in Prussia, because every parish is left to please itself which kind it will adopt. One of the leading Roman Catholic counsellors of the Educational Bureau, in Berlin, assured me that they never experienced any difficulty on this point. ‘ We always,’ he said, ‘ encourage separate schools when possible, as we think religious instruction can be promoted better in separate than in mixed schools; but, of course, we all think it better to have mixed schools than to have no schools at all ; and when we cannot have separate schools, we are rejoiced to see the religious sects uniting in the support of a mixed one. When mixed schools are decided on by the parochial committees, the teacher is elected by the most numerous of the two sects ; or, if two teachers are required, one is elected by one sect, and the other by the other ; and in this case each conducts the religious education of the children of his own sect. But when only one teacher is elected, the children of those parents who differ from him in religious belief, are permitted to be taken from the school during the religious lessons, on condition that their parents make arrangements for their religious instruction by their own ministers.’* ”

* II. 26-'7.

A similar provision exists in Saxony, where there is a Catholic king with a very large majority of Protestant subjects :

“ Difficulties arising from religious differences do not operate in Saxony to any great degree. There are not more than 30,000 Roman Catholics in the kingdom, and as these are dispersed, it does not often happen that sufficient numbers are to be found in any one locality to enable them to support a separate school for themselves. *The law allows them to do this*, however, whenever they are desirous to do so, and, in this case, they elect their own separate school-committee. But when they are not able to provide a separate school for themselves, they are obliged to send their children to the Protestant schools to learn reading, writing, spelling, history, and geography, and are allowed to remove them from the school whilst the religious instruction is being given, on condition, however, that they furnish the inspector with satisfactory proofs that they are providing elsewhere for the instruction of their children in their own religious doctrines.”*

According to Mr. Kay, the educational system of Switzerland has been highly developed, and eminently successful in diffusing the benefits of education among the masses. We find, indeed, no express provision for separate schools in the Swiss school regulations; but as some of the cantons are Catholic, and others Protestant, the practical operation of the system secures, in effect, what is equivalent to separate schools. Here, as elsewhere, religious instruction is deemed an essential element of Common School education, and provision is made for this department by the clergy of the different denominations, without infringing the rights of the parents :

“ Those children who differ in faith from the teacher, are always, throughout Switzerland, allowed to absent themselves from the classes whilst the religious lessons are being given, and are, in such cases, required by law to attend one of their own clergy, in order to receive doctrinal instruction from him. Even in Fribourg, a Canton which was at the time of my visit governed by priests, who were under the influence of the Jesuits, the children of Protestants were instructed in the same schools and in the same classes with the children of the Romanists, and were allowed to absent themselves during the religious lessons.”†

This liberal and happy state of things in the Catholic

* II. 247.

† II. 351.

Canton of Fribourg, and one very similar in the Catholic Canton of Lucerne, proved too much for the Swiss radicals and Protestants; who, animated with a holy hatred of "Romanists" and Jesuits, and instigated by their preachers, invaded these two Catholic Cantons, and swept away, along with the Jesuits, the glory of their educational establishments and the liberties of their people, guaranteed by the fundamental articles of the Swiss confederation. This was done soon after Mr. Kay's visit; and all those atrocities were perpetrated by non-Catholics in the name of liberty! We believe, however, that a reaction has lately taken place in Switzerland, and we consider it probable, that, though the Jesuits have not yet been allowed to return, the Common School system is now in nearly the same condition in Switzerland as it was before the invasion.

In the Catholic kingdom of Bavaria, while religious instruction is carefully imparted in the Common Schools, the rights of dissenters are studiously guarded, and a most liberal policy is adopted towards the Protestant minority. The schools are, we believe, generally separate; at least this is the case with the higher or normal schools. Hear our author:

"At the time I visited Munich, the Jesuit party was in power. The ministers, however, showed the greatest willingness to furnish me with all the information I required, and supplied me with all the statistics and documents I wished to procure. I visited a priest who directed one of the large educational establishments in the city. He told me, that they had established eight normal colleges in Bavaria, for the education of teachers, and that two of these had been specially set apart for the education of Protestant teachers. He seemed to make very light of all difficulties arising from religious differences, and spoke of education as a national work, which it was *necessary* to accomplish, by the joint efforts of all religious parties."*

"The same liberal spirit pervades the educational system of the small kingdom of Wurtemberg, and of the Grand Duchy of Baden; the former with a Protestant majority and king, and the latter with a Catholic majority but a Protestant prince. In Wurtemberg, 'three normal colleges had been founded; two for the education of Protestant teachers, and one for the education of Romanist teachers.'† In the Duchy of Baden, 'there are three normal

* II. 293-4.

† II. 295.

colleges for the education of teachers. One of them is for the education of the teachers of the Protestant schools, and contains seventy-six students, six of whom are Jews; and the other two are for the education of Romanist teachers, and contain respectively eighty-five and eighty students.'**

In the Protestant kingdom of Holland there are only two normal schools to 2,600,000 inhabitants. The children who frequent the Common Schools ordinarily pay a small amount monthly to the teacher; but if the parents be poor or overburdened with children, they receive a certificate from the superintendent to this effect, and their children are admitted free. Though in general the schools are mixed, they are often separate, especially in those localities which are principally Catholic or Protestant, as, for instance, in North Brabant, which is almost wholly Catholic.† Our author speaks as follows of the working of the Dutch school system, and of the difference between it and those of other European countries of which we have spoken above.

“The law of 1801 proclaims, as the great end of all instruction, the exercise of the social and Christian virtues. In this respect it agrees with the law of Prussia and France; but it differs from the law of those countries in the way by which it attempts to attain this end. In France, and all the German countries, the schools are the auxiliaries, so to speak, of the churches; for whilst the schools are open to all the sects, yet the teacher is a man trained up in the particular doctrines of the majority of his pupils, and required to teach those doctrines during certain hours, the children who differ from him in religious belief being permitted to absent themselves from the religious lessons, on condition that their parents provided elsewhere for their religious instruction. But in Holland the teachers are required to give religious instruction to all the children, and to avoid most carefully touching on any of the grounds of controversy between the different sects.”‡

We doubt greatly whether the operation of this system, somewhat similar to our own in the respect of religious teaching, is always satisfactory to the minority, whose religious rights may be easily infringed by bigoted inspectors or teachers. We have also reason to fear that the Catholic

* II. 308-'9.

† Our author's account of the Dutch system is found in volume II. p. 440, seq.

‡ II. 444-'5.

minority have many just grounds of complaint against the Protestant majority, on the score of intolerance and proselytism, in some of the Protestant Swiss Cantons, in some of the minor German principalities, in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Hanover. Our author does not indeed say so, but rather paints the school systems of these several countries *couleur de rose*; but our opinion rests on information derived from other sources.

It is a remarkable fact, well worthy our serious consideration, that whereas Protestants have nowhere any reasonable cause of complaint, in regard to the Common School system, in those countries where Catholics are in the majority; on the contrary, Catholics are often aggrieved in their religious rights in communities where Protestants have the political ascendancy! A striking example of this is found in our own immediate neighborhood. In Lower Canada the Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, and in Upper Canada, Protestants are permitted to have separate schools for their children; in Lower Canada, on the contrary, where Protestants have the power, this equitable privilege of separate schools, such as exist in Lower Canada, has been hitherto denied to Catholics, and a system of petty annoyance and proselytism has been adopted towards the latter, very similar to that under which the Catholic minority is now suffering under the operation of our School system in our own republic.*

So far as Catholics are concerned, the system of Common Schools in this country is a monstrous engine of injustice and tyranny. Practically, it operates as a gigantic scheme for proselytism. By numerous secret appliances, and even sometimes by open, but imperfectly disguised machinery, the faith of our children is gradually undermined, and they are trained up to be ashamed of, and to

* For full particulars on this highly interesting subject, read the late "Controversy between Dr. Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, and Rev. I. M. Bruyere, Rector of St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, on the appropriation of the Clergy Reserve Funds, Free Schools *vs.* State Schools, &c." This valuable *brochure*, containing 108 pages, contains a full and detailed exposition of the whole subject of Common School education in Canada, and its facts and arguments will apply to our own circumstances. It should be in the hands of every lover of education; for it exhibits both sides of a most important question.

abandon the religion of their fathers. It were bad enough, if this were all done with the money of others; but when it is accomplished, at least in part, *by our own money*, it is really atrocious. It is not to be concealed or denied, that the so-called literature of this country, the taste for which is fostered by our Common Schools, and which is constantly brought to bear on the training of our children, is not of a character to form their tender minds to wholesome moral principles, much less to solid Christian piety. In general, so far as it professes to be *religious*, it is anti-Catholic, and so far as it is secular, it is pagan. Some exceptions there probably are, but they are merely exceptions to the general rule, which is thereby confirmed.

The frightful increase of immorality among the youth of the rising generation, especially in that portion of the republic where the Common School system is most fully carried out,—as in New England,—proves that there is something radically wrong in our educational system; so very wrong, indeed, that the future stability of our country is thereby greatly endangered. Reflecting men of all shades of opinion begin to find this out, and to seek after an adequate remedy to the constantly growing evil, which threatens, in fact, to overwhelm our noble country, and this at no distant day, under the sweeping torrent of popular iniquity. Our public newspapers are becoming mere chronicles of horrid crimes;—of murders, adulteries, rapes, robberies, and the disgusting details of wide-spread licentiousness! One of our Protestant religious papers discourses of this acknowledged evil, and points out the only effectual remedy, in the following energetic language:*

“ Does the Common School system prevent crime? No. We must have something beyond this bald, secular training for American youth. All right-minded men must rally and unite in giving the rising generation a Christian education. If I were at heart the rankest infidel, and yet laid claim to patriotism and philanthropy, I would urge the State to this duty. The wisest heathen legislators, in the absence of a religion from heaven, labored to manufacture one for the people, as a restraint upon vice and crime; and bad as were the characters of their fictitious divinities, the sanctions of their religion were a great national blessing, compared with the philosophy of

* Con. Presbyterian, quoted by Catholic Standard of New Orleans, of October 4, 1857.

Epicurus, which turned off from the world the inspections of the gods, and the retributions of the future state. And shall not legislators, in a Christian land, in the possession of a religion which is authenticated as Divine by every proof, and which is the only code of a perfect public and private morality, endeavor to imbue the mind of youth with its spirit, and form their morals by its standard?"

Yes, we may not longer deny it; the great defect, the gnawing canker, the blighting curse of our educational system, is the absence from it of a wholesome RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Under it, our children are practically reared up more like enlightened *pagans*, preparing merely for this world, than as instructed *Christians*, well and thoroughly grounded in their faith, and making their novitiate for heaven. And such being the case, can we wonder, that when they grow up, and enter upon the busy scenes of life, they accordingly act more like *pagans*, than like *Christians*, and fill the land with crime and iniquity?

But how apply the remedy of full and thorough religious instruction, in a country so much divided as ours is by religious differences? This difficulty, not surely of our creation, but the necessary fruits of a sectarianism, against which we have always entered our earnest protest, is indeed great, but, as we said above, it is not wholly insurmountable. The remedy is at once suggested by the mass of facts above stated, exhibiting the joint experience and the combined wisdom of civilized mankind in other countries much older than our own, many of which are similarly situated in regard to religious differences. Let us profit by the practical wisdom of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, and let us have the liberality, the justice, and the moral courage to do what other nations have so wisely and so successfully accomplished. Surely we would not be behind European monarchies in liberality, in regard for the conscientious sentiments of those who differ from us in religious belief, or in the practical maintenance of the rights secured to all of us, under our Constitution, freely to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience!

Education, like all other human pursuits, should be *free*, and a matter of free and general competition, leaving religion entirely untrammelled. Let the State establish a system of Common Schools, if it will, but let it not infringe either parental or religious rights. Let it even enact laws, if it will, requiring all parents to educate their children,—

as is the case throughout Germany,—either in the Common Schools, or in some others of their own choosing. Let it levy an equitable tax upon all; but let it guaranty to all the benefit of the tax. Let it not adopt a School system, which practically closes its doors against the children of any among the tax-payers. Let it make religious instruction, to be given in detail by the accredited ministers of the different religious denominations, an *essential* element of the educational system. Let it, like almost all other *Christian* countries, whether Catholic or Protestant, acknowledge *the right* in every denomination of Christians, to establish SEPARATE SCHOOLS, whenever they are in sufficient numbers in particular localities to warrant them in sustaining such schools. Let these separate schools be erected and sustained, like the rest of the Common Schools, and be subject to the inspection of State visitors, in regard to the standard of education therein adopted and carried out, but entirely *free* in the department of religious instruction. Let the provision be general for all religious denominations;—for Catholics ask and would accept of no favor or exemption. Let the children taught in these separate or parochial schools, up to the standard adopted by the school law, as applied and enforced by the school visitors or superintendents, receive their quota of the Common School fund, created by taxing all, in proportion to the number of children taught. This would be fair and satisfactory to all.

If this equitable system be adopted in this country, as *it has been adopted* throughout almost all the nations of Europe, we have not a doubt of its full and complete success. It is, in fact, the only effectual remedy to the crying evils of our present School system. It may plead the experience of the past and the wisdom of the present, in its favor. It would tend to diminish the manifold evils of sectarianism, and would awaken a wholesome competition among the different classes of our population. It would guaranty religious liberty to every denomination of Christians, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of our noble Constitution. It would greatly increase, instead of diminishing, the number of scholars frequenting the public schools, because it would remove a crying injustice, and open wide the doors of our schools to all children. In our

cities particularly, where, under the present system, from a fourth to one-half of all the children of a suitable age to attend school are *shut out of the public schools*, it would increase the average attendance by fully that proportion. Nay, more,—and this is an argument specially adapted to the comprehension of our age and country,—it would render education *cheaper*,—for “competition is the life of business.”

This wise and equitable system has been tried elsewhere, and, as we have already shown, the experiment has been crowned with the most complete success; it is, to say the least, well worthy of a trial in our own happy and prosperous republic.

M. J. S.

ART. IV.—*Christianity as an Organization*. Universalist Quarterly and General Review. Boston: Tomkins. October, 1857.

OUR Universalist contemporary for last October continues the controversy on Christianity as an organization or organism, and replies to our article on the subject in this Review for July last with as much fairness, candor, and success, as was to be expected. He feels, and frankly concedes, that if to be a power, a real existence, Christianity must be an organism, as we maintain, the question between Catholics and Protestants is ended, and that there is no alternative for a logical mind, but either to accept the Church or to fall back on simple Natural Religion. In his mind, as in ours, the question lies between Catholicity and no supernatural religion, and as he is not prepared as yet to become a Catholic, he labors hard, and not without ability, to prove that Christianity without the Church, Christianity as an idea, or as natural religion, is a power, and adequate to all the wants of individuals and of states.

Our contemporary labors under the disadvantage of not understanding the precise point he has to prove, and fails to perceive how much he can or cannot concede without conceding the whole matter in dispute. He is misled by the Eclectic philosophy, and by his unauthorized sup-

position that we accept that philosophy and hold M. Cousin's doctrine of ideas. He says:

“ We still adhere to our admission, that if Christianity is any thing, and is necessarily an authoritative organization,—‘ always meaning by the word organization a body of men existing in certain organic relations,’—it must be the Catholic Church; it *must* be this, because there is no one to contest its claim. And the issue now forced upon us is, to show that Christianity may be something, and still not be an organization in the sense which we have taken particular pains to define. Our Catholic author thinks that we have not duly considered the question, whether Christianity has a distinct existence—an existence separate from nature and from God. In this, however, he is mistaken; for this very question has been forced upon us by the Eclectic philosophy, which we make no doubt has found considerable favor with Mr. Brownson as well as with ourselves. The reduction of all ideas to the three categories, God, Man, and Nature, naturally suggests the question,—Under which must religion, must Christianity be classified? How we have answered the question, or whether we have answered it satisfactorily, does not now concern us. We refer to the subject to assure Mr. Brownson that we have at least attempted to meet a question which he presumes we had not duly considered. And further, one so familiar as he with the process of thought which the subject involves, ought certainly to admit, that the supposition that the three categories named are exhaustive and complete, leaves ample room to affirm that Christianity may have a real existence. We do not admit that Christianity has an existence distinct from God, man, and nature, but we claim that it is *something* nevertheless. Our author's words are somewhat ambiguous. By the words that, on a certain supposition, ‘ Christianity has no distinct existence, and is identical either with God or with nature,’ does he mean that it must have an *elementary* existence—that God, man, and nature do not include it? Or does he merely mean, what in another connection he says, that, Christianity ‘ must be distinguishable from God, as the creature from the Creator, the work from the workman!’ If the latter is his whole meaning, which seems probable, we think he has no occasion to charge us with denying Christianity to have an actual existence. True, he quotes from us the passage in which, admitting that there must be a power to mediate between the State and the individual, a power which is not liable to mistake, and whose commands are irrevocable, we aver this power to be God.”—pp. 357, 358.

We must remind our Universalist Reviewer, that the question does not turn on the sense in which he understands the term *organization*, but on the sense in which

we used it in our essay on *The Church and the Republic*, to which he objected; and in that essay we used it, as he must concede, in the sense of an organism, or real existence, living and acting from its own central principle of life and action. We proved that Christianity must be a power, and maintained that if it must be a power, it must be an organism,—the Church,—for otherwise it can be only an idea, and ideas are not powers. By religion *organized* we evidently meant, as we have proved to him over and over again, religion as an *organism*, religion as a real concrete existence; and it is religion in this sense that he has to prove to be unnecessary, in order to prove any thing against our position. To prove that it is not necessary that religion should be organized in his sense of the term organization, is nothing to the purpose, because we happen never to have maintained the contrary.

We told the Reviewer that we suspected he had not duly considered the question, whether Christianity has a distinct existence,—an existence distinct [not separate] from nature and from God. In this, he maintains we are mistaken, “for,” he says, “this very question has been forced upon us by the Eclectic philosophy, which we make no doubt has found considerable favor with Mr. Brownson as well as with ourselves.” Mr. Brownson does not follow the Eclectic philosophy, or regard it with much favor. Moreover, we do not see how the Eclectic philosophy has forced the question we raised upon the attention of our contemporary, since the question lies altogether out of the range of that philosophy. “The reduction of all ideas to the three categories, God, Man, and Nature, naturally suggests the question, Under which must Christianity be classified?” But this is not the question we raised. We did not ask under which of these three categories Christianity must be placed, but whether he recognizes any religion which has a distinct, a real existence, distinguished from God on the one hand, and from man or nature on the other, and therefore a religion which cannot be brought within any one of the three categories he names. We called his attention to the fact that he recognized no Christianity that could not be brought into one or another of these categories. Is there such a Christianity or is there not? This is the question we told him he had

not duly considered, and he proves that we were right by the very answer he gives, for he says he has been forced to consider under which category, God or man, Christianity must be classified; whereas, the question he should have considered was, Can Christianity be brought within either of these categories? or does it not pertain to another and a distinct category? This question, we repeat, he has not "even attempted to meet"!

The Reviewer evidently, as we told him in other terms, recognizes only two categories, God and nature, for man does not form an original category distinct from nature, and consequently he admits no existence but God and nature. He says, "We do not admit that Christianity has an existence distinct from God, man, and nature." That is precisely what we told him, and therefore we told him he did not recognize Christianity as the supernatural order, or as a distinct order of supernatural life. In his theology there is nothing above man and nature, but God himself. One so familiar as we, he says, "with the processes of thought which the subject involves, ought certainly to admit that the supposition that the three categories are exhaustive and complete, leaves ample room to affirm Christianity may have a real existence." A real existence, as God, as man, or as nature, conceded; but as a supernatural order of existence, distinct, though not separate from God, man, or nature, certainly not; and this is precisely what we alleged against him. He denies, as we told him, Christianity, as such, is distinct order of existence.

The Reviewer is misled by his assumption that the Christian religion lies within the range of philosophy. The three categories he names are "exhaustive" of the matter of philosophy, we grant; but are they exhaustive of all orders of actual existence or of life? Philosophy does not rise by its own light above nature, and God as the author of nature. It can "look through nature up to nature's God," but not up to the Christian's God, the Ever-Blessed Trinity—to God made man, from whom proceeds the whole Christian order, called otherwise the order of Grace, and on whom all in it depends. Here is the point which our contemporary, and many beside him, overlook. He does not find the idea of the supernatural in his philosophy, and therefore concludes that it does not exist.

Denying a supernatural order of life for creatures, he can assert Christianity only as a philosophy, and as another name for simple natural religion and morality. Hence, as we told him, Christianity has for him no distinct existence, and is identical either with God or nature. This follows necessarily from the attempt to rise from simple philosophical *data* to Christianity, because from those *data* it is not possible to conclude any thing supernatural.

The Reviewer, we maintained, by denying Christianity as an organism, is able to assert only natural religion, or the natural law which has its organic existence in the natural human organism, which we proved, and he virtually conceded, is insufficient for the purpose we both agreed to be necessary. We labored to prove to him that he must either accept Christianity as the Church, or deny the supernatural order of life, and fall back on nature and nature's God alone. This, if he understands himself, he fully concedes:—

“ Mr. Brownson has several times complained that we do not recognize Christianity as a supernatural order—as something distinct from natural religion, and above it. In his first reply, he complained that our enumeration of the contents of Christianity stated nothing but what belongs to natural religion. We do not, however, consider these points at all involved in the present dispute. We are at present only obligated to show that Christianity may at least be *supposed* to have an actual existence, without being a church or organization (in the sense defined)—that it may be supposed not to have an elementary existence distinct from God and man, and still not be identical with God or man. We may be wrong in the position—which, however, we hold to with great confidence—that *the distinction between natural and revealed religion is not essential, but only one of form and degree*. Astronomy, since Lord Rosse's telescope, is precisely the same in *kind* with that which existed before that instrument. The only difference is, that the later astronomy is the more comprehensive and accurate. Possibly it would be more appropriate to compare the difference between natural and revealed religion, not to the difference between astronomy in its crude state and astronomy in the more advanced state into which improved telescopes brought it, but to the difference between astrology and astronomy. Possibly the God, the soul, the truth which natural religion really discloses, are a totally different kind of God, soul, and truth from what revealed religion brings to view. The difference between the two religions may be one of essence and not of degree. But these several points are not now in controversy. It

is enough for our present purpose, that the position which we hold, is *supposable*. We understand Mr. Brownson to deny that the position which we should defend, did the occasion require us to do so, is supposable. His words are: 'There is no escape from this conclusion. Either Christianity is not an actual existence, or it is an organism.' The meaning intended by this word we need not again state. Possibly, agriculture and astronomy—neither of which is an organism—are unworthy comparisons. Possibly they would in no way serve as illustrations of genuine Christianity. It is enough, however, that they have some points of analogy with a *supposable* Christianity. And hence, by parity of reasoning, Mr. Brownson says: 'There is no escape from this conclusion. Either agriculture is no actual existence, or it is an organism—either astronomy is no actual existence, or it is an organism.' We submit, however, that neither of these is an organism, nor yet a nonentity."—Pp. 360, 361.

Here the Reviewer affirms that the difference between revealed religion and natural religion is not essential,—not in kind, but simply in degree. Natural religion and revealed are essentially the same, and the only difference is that revelation gives us a higher or fuller knowledge of the natural than we have by simple unassisted reason. This is what we told him he held. We told him in our first reply, that revelation for him revealed nothing supernatural, and at best was supernatural not as to the matter made known, but only as to the mode of making it known. The Reviewer is quite mistaken, however, in supposing the question we raised as to the supernatural character of Christianity is of no importance in discussing the original question in dispute. We proved, and he conceded, the necessity of religion in a sense in which the Gentile world did not possess it, and therefore a religion superior to as well as distinct from natural religion, since natural religion the Gentile world possessed as well as we; for being natural to man, all men and nations in all ages have and cannot but have it. The necessity of supernatural religion was therefore asserted and conceded in the outset, and the issue was joined on the fact whether this supernatural religion, which we both agreed is the Christian religion, can be asserted as a power without the Church, or an organism. The Reviewer cannot now fall back and assert that it is a matter of no importance to the question between us, whether Christianity does or does not differ essentially

from natural religion. To identify the Christianity without the Church, which he asserts, with natural religion, is to refute him, and to maintain our own position. By his conceding, in the extract we have made, the identity of his Christianity and natural religion, he in fact abandons the whole question, and concedes that he cannot assert Christianity as a power distinct from natural religion without asserting it as an organism, that is, as the Catholic Church.

The Reviewer says, he does not admit that Christianity has an existence distinct from God, man, and nature, and yet he holds that it is *something*. Something distinct? No. Then it is God, man, or nature; for where there is no distinction there is identity. If it is not distinguishable from God, it is God; if not distinct from man, it is man; and if not distinct from nature, it is nature. We have never denied even ideas to be real in the mind or intelligence to which they pertain; we have only denied them, unless concentered, to be any thing as distinguished from that mind or intelligence, whether the Divine or the human. We have not denied natural religion to be *something*; we have admitted it to be something in man, because it has its organism in the human organism itself.

The analogies the Reviewer draws from astronomy, geology, and other natural sciences, are not to the purpose. These are human sciences, and depend on the mind creating them, and on the real objects about which they are conversant. But if there were no earth, no stars, could there be any geology or astronomy? Science has no distinct existence, and is something only in the scientific mind, and in the objects it studies and explains. Christian theology may be a science, but if there were no Christianity there could be no Christian theology, and to identify Christian theology with Christianity itself would be as absurd as to identify geology with the earth, or astronomy with the planets and stars. Christian theology is the science of the facts, principles, doctrines, and morals of Christianity. But it is not itself Christianity. Christianity is the reality or real existence of which theology is the science. Suppose an analogy between the physical sciences and theology, that would imply no analogy between them and Christianity itself. The question still

remains open, whether Christianity is a power, unless an organism, a concrete existence, the Church.

The Reviewer forgets that we have never denied natural religion to be a reality without the Church, or a church organization. Otherwise he would see that what he is intent on supposing would not serve his purpose:—

“ Were we called upon to answer the question, What is Christianity?—we should answer,—without, however, attempting an exhaustive statement, or a very logical arrangement of particulars,—that it is a communication of divine truth, having for its end the awakening in the human soul the sense of sin and of alienation from God, the guidance of man to holiness, his support in weakness, his encouragement amid difficulties, his consolation in sorrow and bereavement; that withal it is an attractive power winning men to God; that it is all this, not particularly through verbal statements, but through the person of Jesus of Nazareth, in whom the word of wisdom, of power, and love was made flesh and dwelt among men; that consistently with this, Christianity is, not *identically* God, but God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself—in Christ, not as very God, but as the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, the light of God’s glory being manifested through the face of Jesus; and that the truth, thus revealed, is recorded by the evangelists, is elucidated by the apostles, and is sanctioned by the experience of every regenerated soul.

“ For the purpose of our present discussion, we do not care to defend what we have thus crudely and imperfectly, it may be, stated to be the Christian religion. Possibly Mr. Brownson may be able to fault it in every particular; but this would be nothing to the purpose. Here is the important point. True or false, crude or elaborate, the statement we have made of the contents of Christianity is *supposable*; consistently with this statement, it may be a power, an actual existence; and yet the statement does not make it an organization, as we have agreed to use the word. The objection is put in strong terms: ‘There is no escape from this conclusion. Either Christianity is no actual existence, or it is an organism.’ We have shown, not, it may be, that Christianity actually has, but that it *may* have, an actual existence, and that, consistently with such a possibility, it is not necessarily an organization. At least, we think we have shown this. Before leaving this part of the general subject, we cannot forbear remarking, that in two particulars, Mr. Brownson appears to have conceded all that we contend for. For instance, he recognizes a natural religion; and this—whatever he may deem its contents—he does not aver to be an organization, that is to say, a church. It would surprise us, should he say that he recognized it only as an idea; as yet he has not so termed it. Now if we correctly presume him to recognize natural religion as a real thing, and

still not a church, does not he thereby admit that it is at least supposable that revealed religion, that Christianity, is also a reality and yet not a church ?”

“Again, Mr. Brownson gives utterance to the following, which, in this connection, we must deem remarkable. He is speaking of the office of the Church :—

“‘She is not merely a congregation of individuals holding certain relations to one another, but is to Christians what the natural human race is to natural men, and has the relation to them that the race of humanity has to individuals, and they live by its life as individual men and women in the natural order live by the life of humanity.’—P. 338.

“The Church is the same to Christians, that the natural human race is to individuals in the natural state ! But how, let us ask, can this be? The natural human race, as distinguished from its individuals, is not an organization, and *therefore* is only an idea. It has no actual existence—is only what may be, not what is. And can a mere idea bear the same relation to individual natural man, that a church, a reality, bears to individual Christian man ? It is possible that our author has inadvertently used words which do not express his real thought ; but if he means what his words properly mean, he has certainly, in the case of the natural human race, recognized a real existence where he will not assert an organization—at least not in that literal sense of the term in which he asserts it of Christianity.”—Pp. 361, 362.

We never pretended that it was impossible to suppose something short of Christianity as we set it forth, and to call it the Christian religion ; what we denied was that what could be thus supposed would be above natural religion, and in reality distinguishable from it. The statement of the contents of Christianity the Reviewer makes is, no doubt, *supposable*, but is it supposable as a statement of Christianity as a power, and *the* power conceded to be necessary to mediate between the individual and the State? “Consistently with this statement, it may be a power, an actual existence.” In God, in man, or in nature, but not as distinct from them,—the point to be shown. The Reviewer does not show what he thinks he does. It is true we recognize natural religion, and we do not contend that it cannot exist without the Church, but we do not concede that it does or can exist without an organism. The Reviewer will find that in our first reply to him we anticipated his objection, and assigned natural religion its organism in the natural human organism. It does not exist distinctly from man, but in him, and is identically his own reason, or moral and intellectual nature.

The Church "is the same to Christians that the natural human race is to natural men, and has the relation to them that the race or humanity has to individuals, and they live by its life as individual men and women in the natural order live by the life of humanity." The analogy is here to be taken in the sense and for the purpose we alleged, not for another. Humanity distinguished from individual men is only an idea, an idea in the Divine mind, we concede, and the Church distinguished in like manner would be also only an idea; but we spoke of neither as thus distinguished, and in neither case did we make an abstraction of the individual. The point we illustrated by the analogy was that as individual men and women derive their human life from the race, not the race its life from them, so Christians derive their Christian life from the Church, not she her life from theirs. If there had been no Adam, there would, of course, have been no actual humanity; but when there was an Adam there was a living concrete humanity. So if there had been no Christ, that is, no God made man, no actual incarnation, no actual assumption of the flesh, there would have been only an ideal Christ, no actual Father of the Faithful, no actual Regenerated Humanity, no Church; but when Christ had actually assumed flesh, and raised human nature to be substantially the nature of God, there was the actual second Adam, the Church already constituted in him; for the Church as it now exists is nothing but the visible extension of the Incarnation, and its life is the life of the Incarnate God, or the Word made flesh. The Church as the regeneration was concrete in him at the moment of his assumption of flesh, as natural humanity was concrete in the first Adam the moment he was created and made a living soul. As Adam stands to natural humanity, so stands Christ to the Church or supernaturalized humanity; and as stands natural humanity to individual men and women, as to the source of their human life, so stands the Church to Christians as to the source of their regenerated or supernatural life. This is the doctrine we asserted, the point we wished to illustrate by the analogy we took from St. Paul, between the first Adam and the second; and against this the supposed objection of the Reviewer has no relevancy or force.

We have no intention of entering anew into the discussion of matters which we have heretofore disposed of, but the Reviewer's several articles written either in reply to us or in vindication of himself, afford, taken together, a most excellent proof that the denial of the Church is virtually the denial of the supernatural order, and the denial of the supernatural order throws practically darkness and doubt over the natural order. Luther and Calvin knew well that when they denied grace as an "infused habit," they struck a blow at the whole Papal or Catholic doctrine, and at the Church as the supernatural order, that they discarded the whole order of thought on which the Catholic system was founded, and got rid of all existence, all life distinguishable from nature on the one hand, and from God on the other; but they, perhaps, did not know, or did not consider, that in so doing, they resolved the supernatural into the Divine Essence alone, and grace into a transient act of the Divinity, and therefore in reality denied Christianity itself as a supernatural order of life, leaving in fact for the Christian, as for the non-Christian, only God and nature. Any man who is able to analyze Protestantism as set forth by the Reformers may easily discover that its starting-point involves a real denial of the Incarnation, the Word made flesh, and therefore the existence of the new or regenerated Humanity. What Protestants call their "doctrines of grace," and profess to oppose to what they call formalism, are really repugnant to the order of grace. According to Protestant principles, justification is forensic, purely external, and the believer remains intrinsically what he was before being justified. There is a transient supernatural work performed on him, if you will, but there is really no elevation of his nature, by an indwelling or habitual grace, to the supernatural order, so that he acts from a supernatural principle to a supernatural end. Protestants may assert in name the Incarnation, but they assert nothing which demands it, and there is no purpose in their scheme answered by it, which could not, if God had so chosen, have been just as well answered without it.

One of the ablest and most logical writers Protestantism has ever produced in this country is Dr. J. W. Nevin, of the *Mercersburg Review*. Dr. Nevin several years ago

became convinced that the Incarnation is a fact, and the central fact of Christianity, from which all that is distinctively Christian radiates. Believing this, he began to detect a significance in the sacraments, and to regard them as the *media* of grace, or the means by which we are brought into living union with the life of the Word made flesh. Following out this with rare erudition and an invincible logic, he found himself forced, as is well known, to accept the Catholic theory, so to speak, of the Church. He found that if he must accept the Incarnation, he must accept what our Puseyite friends call the Sacramental System, and if he must accept the Sacramental System, he must accept the priesthood and the Church; and his masterly articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, on *Primitive Christianity* and on *St. Cyprian*, contain one of the ablest vindications of Catholicity that has ever been written in our country. It is true, he has not as yet entered the Church, that he still lingers on the threshold, being deterred from taking the final step by timidity, by old mental habits and associations, or perhaps by not finding Catholics in their practice coming up to what he, still no doubt affected by reminiscences of the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible grace, regards as the standard below which a Catholic, if his Church is true, can never fall. But however this may be, he is in his writings a brilliant proof of the fact that the Incarnation can have no practicable significance without the Church, and that he who accepts the one is logically bound to accept the other.

On no scheme of Protestantism can I see any purpose supposed to be answered by Christianity that might not be answered as well without as with the Incarnation. It is true, without it condign satisfaction for sin could not have been made, but to effect all that any form of Protestantism proposes such satisfaction was not necessary; for nothing ever hindered God, had such been his will, from forgiving the sinner on simple repentance. Sin is a violation of the rights of God alone, an offence against his majesty, and, if he chooses, he has a perfect right to forgive it, and must have, or else there could be no forgiveness at all, and Christianity would be no dispensation of mercy. Calvinists assert grace, I grant, but as it is not a grace that elevates human nature, raises it to member-

ship of regenerated Humanity and to union with the Sacred Flesh of Christ, so that God in the flesh becomes his Father, I do not see why it might not be imparted by God in his Divine nature as well as in his human nature, or be simply *gratia Dei* without being distinctively *gratia Christi*. There is grace according to Calvinism, but no order of grace, and the Word made flesh does not found a new order, and become the Father of a new and supernatural order of life, the Father of a regenerated Humanity, united to him, and partaking even of his Divine nature.

Our Universalist contemporary sees clearly enough that in the Protestant scheme of Christianity, Christ in his humanity has really no part or office assigned him, for whatever he does that is necessary to the end proposed, he does as God in his Divine nature, not as God in his human nature, or God made man. By the Incarnation God becomes man, that man may become God, so that by the elevation of his human nature to be truly and literally the nature of God, the believer may be made, as St. Peter says, a partaker of his Divine nature. All in Christianity depends upon and grows out of the fact of the Incarnation, and is in order to its realization and completion in the salvation of souls,—to make us truly sons of God and brothers of Christ. But this elevation of human nature assumed by the Word, and effected in Christians by the Holy Ghost, who infuses the elevating grace into us as a habit, not as a simple transient act, being overlooked, the Incarnation loses with Protestants its real significance, and is practically of no importance in their scheme. Our Reviewer, therefore, with all Universalists and Unitarians, rejects it, falls back on nature's God, or natural religion, and regards Christ only as a Providential Man, connected with our salvation, here or hereafter, only in the respect that he proves himself a teacher, by word and example, of truth and righteousness. Having done this, he can accept no Church, and can conceive of a Church, only as a school grouped around a master, or as a voluntary association for the mutual convenience and improvement of the individuals associated. The Church, as the Mystic Body of Christ, or as regenerated Humanity, holding from the Word made flesh as natural humanity

or simple generated humanity holds from Adam, has and can have for him no place. He cannot accept the Church in this sense because he does not accept the Incarnation, and he does not accept the Incarnation because he does not see or conceive of any end to be effected by it.

In this the Reviewer is a consistent Protestant, and only draws the conclusion authorized by the original denial by the Reformers of the infused habits of grace, which require the denial of the Church, save as a purely external body, association, or school, having no real or vital relation to the internal life of the Christian. This denial of habitual grace, and, therefore, of the Church as the supernatural order created by the Word made flesh, necessarily involves the practical denial of the Incarnation, or of the stupendous fact that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh; therefore of every thing distinctively Christian. In Protestantism, the Incarnation, even when asserted, stands as an isolated fact. The "Our Father" of the Protestant is God in his Divinity, or Divine nature alone, not God in his human nature, God in the flesh, God made man. In justification, sanctification, and beatification Christ is practically dissolved, and God in the flesh is made of no account, performs no office; and hence, when stript of its verbiage, relieved of its inconsistencies, and reduced to its essential elements, Protestantism in all its forms virtually rejects the Incarnation, and therefore Christ as the Son of Man. We may see this in its refusal to call Mary the Mother of God, in its horror of the worship of the Sacred Humanity, of the devotion we pay to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and especially of our veneration of sacred images, pictures, and relics. This refusal and this horror prove that in the Protestant mind the Sacred Humanity, the Flesh assumed by the Word, is practically unconnected with the work of our salvation. The SON OF GOD, it may concede, does something, but the SON OF MAN does nothing. It has no conception of the great purpose of Christianity, that God through man would redeem man, and elevate him to union with himself, and make him a partaker of his own divine nature. Christianity, according to its conception, is a very small affair, and contains nothing to excite joy in heaven, hope on earth, or fear in hell; for its pro-

found and startling mysteries, so full of significance for Catholics, though retained in name by some Protestants, have no meaning in the Protestant system, and are only excrescences on its face, which mar its beauty and symmetry, and which the bolder and more logical of the children of the Reformation hasten to remove.

To our mind it is clear that the real heresy of the Protestant world to-day is, in plain terms, the denial of the Incarnation, or dissolving our Lord, and excluding his Sacred Humanity from all part in our salvation. They have been led to this by their denial in the outset of the Church in the Catholic sense, for without the Church in that sense salvation by the Word made flesh, or by the Son of Man, cannot be consistently asserted, or even conceived as possible; and we are sure that we shall not be able to win back in any great numbers those who have gone astray, till we revive in them the belief and understanding of the mystery of God made man. Without the Church that mystery can be asserted only as an isolated and sterile fact, and without that fact as the origin and life of the Church, the Church can be asserted only as a school or an association that has and can have no real, no vital connection with our Christian life and salvation. The Church grows out of the Incarnation, has its origin, its reason, and its mission in that wonderful fact, and is, in some sense, its complement and continuation, the medium through which our Lord operates, and by which, as in founding it he became man, he raises us from men to be gods, to be partakers of the Divine nature. This is the great fact to which we have labored to call the attention of our Universalist friend. We have wished to show him the Catholicity which he rejects as a small and an unnecessary thing is far below and in fact different from that Catholicity for which we deserted Protestantism, and which every Catholic believes and loves, in which he lives, and for which he would joyously die. It is not because he sees more than we do, takes in a broader horizon of truth, that he rejects the Church, but because he sees less, and moves in a sphere infinitely more contracted. He confines himself to the few ideas and facts he knows of the natural order, and not finding among them our Church, he concludes that she is nothing. But we tell him, and we have

been anxious to show him, that she does not lie in that order. She accepts nature, and honors it as the work of her God, but in her distinctive character she infinitely transcends it, is a far greater, richer, and nobler world above it. Certainly he finds her not in his philosophy. She is attained to by no unassisted human philosophy, for all human philosophy is limited to our natural ideas; but we do not propose her as something he can discover and know by philosophy. Natural reason, aided by the most creative imagination, could never have conceived of her existence, or of the stupendous mystery of God made man. Her existence can be known only as revealed to reason by God himself. Revelation, in most cases, is needed even for our intellectual and moral guidance in the natural order, but that is only a small argument in its favor, and would never of itself warrant the conclusion that a revelation has been given us. The real value to us of revelation can be appreciated only when the revelation has been made to us, and only from itself. Without revelation we should never have known the fact of the Incarnation, or the importance, nay, the necessity of revelation, for we should have had no conception of the world it brings to light. We tell you the revelation has been made, and that we have it. We tell you that by it is revealed to us the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church as the Spouse of Christ, a supernatural order, a regenerated humanity, a humanity living a supernaturalized life—the life of the Son of Man—who also is the Son of God, and through whom we have received the precious promise, that if we are faithful, we shall not only be called, but shall be the sons of God, seeing God as he is, and partaking of his divine nature. Here is what we tell you has been revealed to us by our Lord through his Church, and this, if it has been revealed, is true, and assuredly worth knowing and believing. We do not ask you to believe it on our word; we do not ask you to believe without good and sufficient reasons; but we do ask you as you love your own soul, as you love your own flesh even, to inquire, If God has not really and truly revealed what we say to his Church, and made the promised good accessible to every one who has a free and willing mind, a loving and obedient heart?

But unhappily our contemporary, not believing in the

Incarnation, cannot believe in the Church or any supernatural order, and falls avowedly back on natural religion. Yet he cannot rest even there. Having no revelation to enlighten and strengthen reason, he is led to distrust even reason itself. He contends that certainty, even on the most important points of natural theology and morals, we not only have not, but cannot have. To a practical difficulty we suggested in regard to the Mormons and the Abolitionists, he replies:

“ We are frank to say, that the difficulty which Mr. Brownson thus urges is a real one. We have felt it and have been perplexed by it. And had we acted upon the principle that nothing should be accepted as truth till every difficulty in the way of its belief had been fully removed, we could never have assented to the proposition that God speaks to man through conscience and reason. But we have acted upon a different principle. When there is a great preponderance of proof in favor of a doctrine, we have felt that we might accept it, even though obnoxious to objections which we are not wholly able to remove. There are several points in theology, the reception of which is attended with real difficulty, but are at the same time supported by such a weight of argument as to force the assent of the mind, in spite of the difficulty. Such, for example, is the doctrine of the personality of God. We have never met with an intelligent person who would not confess that the reception of this great and fundamental truth is attended with difficulties; yet its denial virtually amounts to atheism. It is difficult to believe that God is a person; it is ten times more difficult not to believe him to be a person; and while such is the preponderance of argument, we do not permit ourselves to hesitate in the matter of belief. We have never read the Christian author who claims that the external or historical argument for Christianity is equal to a demonstration. From the nature of the case, historical testimony must have a degree of uncertainty.”—pp. 365, 366.

In matters of mere prudence, where no vital principle of duty is involved, the degree of certainty, that of an overbalancing probability, with which the Reviewer is disposed to put up, may answer. But only think of its being a matter of opinion whether the *personality of God* be a truth or an error, that is, whether there be a God or not, since a non-personal God is simply no God at all. If there be a God he must have every perfection, the last complement of rational nature; but how can he have that, if he wants personality? Uncertainty as to the

personality of God is uncertainty as to the existence of God, and uncertainty as to the existence of God is uncertainty as to all things, for God is alike the first principle in being and in science. The historical argument for Christianity leaves no reasonable doubt; but what must we think of the Christian minister who has only a high, a preponderating probability in favor of the religion he professes? As long as he has not absolute certainty, he doubts, and must say that it is possible and not absolutely improbable that he is deceived, and Christianity may turn out to be a cunningly devised fable. If a faith in Christianity that is absolutely certain be not possible, then all faith is out of the question, and no man should presume to call himself a believer. I know it is impossible for God to lie, and as certain as it is that he cannot lie, so certain I know it is that my religion is true. I can say with sober truth, "If I am deceived, O God, thou hast deceived me." I know there is certainty, whether the historical argument gives it or not.

But the Reviewer pushes his argument still further :

"We are prepared to show, that the principle on which Mr. Brownson predicates the necessity of an infallible organization or church, is false. That principle we take to be this: In moral and religious things, in matters of moral and religious truth and practice, there must be *certainty*. It is indispensable that there be an instrumentality which can assure man what is true and right without the possibility of mistake. The whole notion of an infallible interpreter grows out of this presumed necessity. There would be no objection to the position—which, however, we do not intend to take—that the State should decide when its claims come in contact with the claims of the individual, provided it were certain that its decision would be just. But this certainty is not affirmed, either of the State or the individual; and hence there must be some other power of which certainty can be affirmed. Such, we make no doubt Mr. Brownson will say, is the Catholic position.

"Now we affirm, not only that this certainty is unnecessary—not only that it does not exist, but that in the nature of things it *cannot* exist. We are aware that the individual whose argument we have been calling in question, is versed in the whole range of speculative philosophy—perhaps no man in this country is more so. He knows intimately the chronological and philosophical relations of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, and Reid; and as he reads this, the tack-and-tack process of thought which these eminent names represent, is distinctly in his mind's eye. He knows with what

severity of logic Berkeley, reasoning from the principles of Locke, annihilated the material world, and with what still more remorseless logic, Hume threw uncertainty upon all kinds and degrees of knowledge. He knows the necessity, which the scepticism of Hume exposed, of laying a new foundation for knowledge, and how this foundation being laid by Kant, the superstructure of the Common Sense school—which may be said to have begun with Reid and to end with Hamilton—was reared. Aware of our author's familiarity with these things, we assure our readers, calmly and deliberately, that Mr. Brownson will not, in the *strict* sense of the term, claim certainty for any doctrine or precept of the Catholic Church. On the contrary, we think he will say, that beyond the simple phenomena of consciousness—of which certainty, if the word is allowed to have any meaning, must be affirmed—there is no such thing as strict certainty. And we further assert, that should our author some day take a notion to the Berkeleian theory, he will demonstrate the non-existence of matter with quite as much conclusiveness as he now argues for the infallible Church.

“It is often complained that speculative philosophy has developed so little that is positive and satisfactory. It should be set down to its credit, that it has exposed so much that is unsatisfactory; and by making clear the conditions and limitations of human knowledge, has put a check upon that too confident dogmatism in which the human spirit so loves to indulge. It would give us surprise should our Catholic author not prove among the most prompt to acknowledge its benefits in this particular. Now if philosophy has made any thing clear, it is that strict certainty can be affirmed only of those phenomena, including of course their subjects, which are attested by consciousness. A shade of doubt rests upon the objective validity of these phenomena. There is a *theoretical* uncertainty touching all objectivity. Sensible reality cannot be demonstrated; and the more remote alleged facts are from consciousness, the greater the doubt that is necessarily involved. The great distance which divides all historical and most logical matter from the seat of cognition, necessarily gives a degree—sometimes a very great degree—of uncertainty to all that is predicated of outward testimony, or that is reached by a process of reasoning. Now, much of the pretensions of the Catholic Church depends on historical evidence; how Mr. Brownson can affirm certainty of what is sustained by such evidence, and still claim to be philosophically consistent, is more than we can understand. Farther, even admitting that the decisions of the Church are infallible, most of the processes whereby its communications are *published*, cannot also be infallible. How many things must be trusted, before a decision, made in Rome, can be assumed to be known in Boston,—things, too, which no intelligent Catholic will aver to be without the liability of mistake. And liability to mistake in the matter of communicating a truth, extin-

guishes the whole doctrine of infallibility. All that can be said is, that a degree of certainty can be had sufficient for practical purposes. It is not demonstrably certain, for instance, that there is an external world. Nevertheless, as the mass of men find it convenient to trust their senses,—as it would be awkward to act on the supposition that all that is seen, felt, and heard, is only ideal,—it may be assumed that there is certainty enough to answer every useful purpose. It is indeed matter of history, that Berkeley, after he demonstrated the existence of matter to be theoretically uncertain, bought a farm in Rhode Island. At best, Mr. Brownson can establish no more than a practical certainty for the decisions of his Church; and we can get enough of this for our purpose through reason and conscience. Practically, then, we see not how we could be gainers by substituting his medium of truth for our own. The claims of his Church do really seem to us any thing but philosophical. These claims presuppose a certainty which in the nature of things is impossible.”—pp. 369-371.

Here the Reviewer takes boldly the sceptical ground, and expressly maintains that in moral and religious matters certainty is not only unnecessary, but absolutely impossible. Will he tell us, then, whence it is *certain* that certainty is unnecessary and impossible? If we have and can have no certainty, it must be *uncertain* that certainty is either impossible or unnecessary, and it may be, that it is both necessary and possible, which, we take it, is very much like a contradiction in terms. If there be no certainty for man, no man can be certain that he is uncertain. He must even doubt that he doubts, which is absurd, for no man can doubt that he doubts. Certainly, we hold, that in matters of moral and religious truth and practice there needs to be certainty. Surely in those matters certainty is necessary, if anywhere. “Now, we affirm,” says the Reviewer, “that this certainty is unnecessary, not only that it does not exist, but that in the nature of things it cannot exist.” How does he know that it is not necessary? How, furthermore, does he know that in the nature of things it *cannot* exist? His theology and philosophy do not give it; but that only proves that he cannot obtain it from them, as we have told him, over and over again, not that it is unnecessary or impossible. The systems of speculative philosophy, he argues, cannot supply it, therefore, we should argue, do not seek it in those systems. What have we all along been endeavoring to

prove to our Reviewer, but that the certainty needed is not derivable from philosophy? This is our thunder, which we will beg him not to steal. And, because speculative philosophy cannot give the needed certainty, we have argued the insufficiency of philosophy, and the necessity of a higher and more competent teacher, to wit, the Church. That certainty in matters of moral and religious truth cannot be obtained from speculative philosophy, is a good reason for not seeking it in speculative philosophy, but we submit that it is no reason at all for pronouncing it unnecessary or impossible.

“There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamed of in your philosophy.”

The certainty we seek comes through revelation and grace, not speculative philosophy.

“Aware of our author’s familiarity with these things, we assure our readers, calmly and deliberately, that Mr. Brownson will not, in the *strict* sense of the term, claim certainty for any doctrine or precept of the Catholic Church.” Familiar as he is with these things, Mr. Brownson, we assure *our* readers, not only will, but does claim, in the strict, nay, strictest sense of the term, certainty for every dogma and precept of the Catholic Church. The Reviewer, had he done us the honor to read our philosophical essays, would never have been so rash as to write, “We think that he too [Mr. Brownson] will say, that beyond the simple phenomena of consciousness—of which certainty, if the word is allowed to have any meaning, must be affirmed—there is no such thing as certainty.” We have written pages on pages to prove the contrary, to prove that we can be and are just as certain of the existence of the object as we are of the subject, of external reality as of the internal “phenomena of consciousness.” If we have done nothing else, we have refuted Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, and vindicated the reality of human science,—redeemed philosophy from the charge of scepticism. In its own sphere, in relation to its own proper objects, reason is a certain light, for its light is the light of God, the true light, which lighteneth every man coming into this world. In the name of philosophy we protest against the Reviewer’s disparagement of human reason. Reason can prove with certainty the existence of

God, the immateriality and immortality of the soul, and the freedom and moral accountability of man,—all those great truths which constitute natural theology, and which serve as the preamble to Christian faith or revelation; and hence we throw no doubt on what is called natural religion. But the certainty we claim for every doctrine and precept of the Church we derive not from speculative philosophy, and it is a certainty which the humblest believer has in as high a degree as the profoundest philosopher, for it comes to us by grace through the medium of revelation, and rests, in the last analysis, on the veracity of God. We are not certain because we have demonstrated the truth of the dogma or the precept by speculative philosophy, but because we have the highest authority reason can have for asserting that God himself has revealed the dogma and enjoined the precept.

“Much of the pretensions of the Catholic Church rests on historical evidence.” That is news to us. If the Catholic undertakes to prove to the unbeliever the claims of his Church, he must, indeed, to a considerable extent, rely on historical evidence; but not on that evidence does the Church herself and for herself rest her claims. She knows as well from her own internal consciousness, from her own interior life, that she is God’s Church, and is what she claims to be, as our Reviewer knows that he is a man. The Church is a living body, informed by the Holy Ghost, and is a real person, having her personality in the Word made flesh. Christ lives in her, and teaches at all moments in and through her, infusing his knowledge and grace into her, in some sense, as the Word infused knowledge and grace into the humanity he assumed when he became incarnate. For herself, she has the witness in her ever present, and has no occasion to go beyond her own consciousness, if we may so speak, to know the validity of her claims, or the dogmas or precepts revealed by our Lord. If she consults historical documents, if she appeals to records, to the teaching of fathers and doctors, it is not because she needs to learn for herself the tradition of faith and morals, but because she operates *more humano*, and because she wishes to enlighten and convince those who need to be set right. The historical evidence she adduces is never adduced as the reason why her dogmas are to be believed or her precepts

obeyed, but as reasons for not refusing to hear her voice and to obey her authority, in the case of those who would question her claims. The reasoning, whether historical or philosophical, removes the obstacles to assent, but is never the ground of the assent itself.

But "even admitting the decisions of the Church are infallible, most of the processes whereby its communications are *published*, cannot also be infallible." We give the Reviewer credit here for saying the best thing he could. "How many things must be trusted before a decision, made in Rome, can be assumed to be known in Boston—things, too, which no intelligent Catholic will aver to be without liability of mistake?" Well, how many things? "Liability to mistake in communicating a truth extinguishes the whole doctrine of infallibility." A liability to mistake, on the part of the Church, certainly extinguishes her infallibility, but not a liability to mistake on the part of some one else. If the Church can render infallible decisions, her infallibility is secured. We have an infallible teacher and judge, though we may not have infallible hearers or recipients. But we never heard of any one pushing the infallibility of the Church so far as to imply the infallibility of every individual Catholic. If the Church renders in faith or morals an infallible decision, all that is necessary for the Catholic in Boston to have an infallible faith, is that the decision she has rendered be duly authenticated; and does the Reviewer mean to maintain that this cannot be done with strict certainty? There is not the least practical difficulty, when the Church makes a decision, in communicating it without mistake, by human means, any more than there is by the Church through her doctors teaching the world what is her faith. It may be I cannot demonstrate the fact, for no fact is demonstrable; but I can prove it with as high a degree of certainty as demonstration itself gives, and that is all the case demands.

But the point to which I wish to direct attention, is the fact, that to escape the force of our reasoning, the Reviewer not only falls back on natural religion, but even on skepticism. He feels that his only refuge is in throwing doubt on human reason, and falling back on what he calls *practical* certainty; that is to say, no certainty at all, but simple probability. What stronger evidence could he give

that he feels that, outside of the Church, he has no solid ground on which to stand? Yet we cannot go with him in his skepticism. We do not admit that human reason is worthless, or that even in the act of divine faith, it performs no part. Faith is an act of reason, of reason elevated and assisted by grace indeed, but reason still, with all its native rights and capacity, and reason performing all its proper functions. The most fatal doubt is the doubt of reason, because it is only to us as reasonable beings, revelation is addressed. Yet it is a remarkable fact that they who assert the sufficiency of reason, are the first to declare its insufficiency, and to fall into skepticism. Why is this so? Reason is a natural light, adequate to the wants of man in the natural order. How is it, then, that they who deny the supernatural and seek to confine themselves to the natural, invariably find natural reason insufficient for them? It is because men are not, as a matter of fact, in a state of pure nature; it is that they are under a supernatural Providence, and have everywhere reminiscences of a supernatural revelation which surpasses the strength of natural reason. Every man bears about with him, whether he knows it or not, the evidence that God has revealed to the world an order of life above our natural life. The revelation has been made, and man is nowhere, not even in the savage state, what he would have been if left to the simple lights of natural reason. The sound of the Gospel has gone out into all the earth, and reverberates in all hearts from first to last, as a prophecy or a tradition. The intimation of a God-man, of the fact of the Incarnation, as a fact that is to take place, or that has taken place, has in some form reached all the sons and daughters of Adam, and man is nowhere what he else would have been. It, with the universal strivings of grace, excites hopes and fears, and develops wants in all hearts to which neither natural reason nor natural strength suffices. Our Lord has a witness in all hearts, and in all hearts there are cravings, there are hopes which only the great fact of the Incarnation, the elevation of human nature to be the nature of God, can satisfy. Here is the grand fact; man has, universally, glimpses, though brief and dim they may be, of something more than nature, and which render him too large for the natural order. He has an ideal which natural reason has

never given him, and which by natural reason alone he can never realize. He finds, when he falls back on nature alone, natural reason too small for his wants, and feels the necessity of another, and a higher, and a clearer light. Not finding reason equal to demands which she never originated, he denies her dignity and worth even in her own proper sphere.

In this fact, that man universally has an aspiration to the supernatural, generated by the revelation God has made to the world, and some rays of which have reached all men, is to be found the explanation of that other fact that nowhere is man able to confine himself to pure natural religion. A nation of pure Deists has never existed. Men will have more or less than Deism; and when they cannot have Catholicity they will have dæmonism. In all the worships of which we have any record, we find a reminiscence of the Incarnation as a fact of prophecy or of history, corrupted or travestied, no doubt, but in some form borne witness to. Even dæmonism is but a travestie of Catholicity, Christianity perverted and burlesqued, the Devil trying to divert to himself the worship due to the Son of Man, God Incarnate; for it is against our Lord in that he is Son of Man, rather than against him in that he is Son of God, that Satan makes war. His spite is against the Son of Mary, the man-God, whose place and office he is ambitious to usurp.

But it is time to bring this discussion to a close. The Reviewer intimates that it is closed on his part. It is now closed on ours, unless he rejoins. He has shown courtesy, candor, and ability in his several articles, and if he had had a good cause, his success would have been unquestionable. In our answers to him we have aimed not at obtaining a victory over an opponent, but at bringing out and elucidating the truth on the subject under discussion. We have aimed to show what in the Catholic sense is the Church, and to direct the minds of our rationalizing friends to her living beauty and grandeur, to her origin in the Incarnation, and her place and office in the providence of God. We have wished not to prove to them that reason is worthless, or what they hold on her authority is bad, but that what we have is infinitely superior to what they have, infinitely higher and better. We have not asked them to fall lower, but to rise higher; not to take narrower

but broader views; not to give up the liberty they have, but to burst into a higher and a truer liberty; not to give up any good they have, but to aspire to a good infinitely above their loftiest dreams. Whether we have succeeded or not it is for them and our readers generally to decide. Whether our labors will bear fruit is for the disposition of Him in whose service and for whose glory we have endeavored to perform them.

ART. V.—LITERARY NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

1. *An American Dictionary of the English Language; containing the whole Vocabulary of the First Edition in two volumes, quarto; the entire corrections and improvements of the second edition, in royal octavo; to which is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation on the Origin, History, and Connection, of the Languages of Western Asia and Europe, with an Explanation of the Principles on which Languages are formed.* By NOAH WEBSTER, LL.D. Revised and enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich. Springfield (Mas.): G. and C. Merriam, 1857. 4to, pp. 1376.

THE peculiar merit of the present edition of Webster's Dictionary is, that in all those words in which the author innovates upon the usual orthography of the language, both modes of spelling are given. This is a considerable improvement. As to the general merits of the work itself as an etymological and defining dictionary of our language, we suppose there can be only one opinion among competent judges, namely, that it is decidedly the best English dictionary that has ever been produced. As a defining dictionary, we have from the publication of the first edition been in the habit of consulting it, and we have in no instance found it gravely at fault, and in most cases we have found its definitions remarkably clear, philosophical, and exact. The great merit of the definitions is in the fact, that in most cases they are referred to the primitive meaning of the word defined, and so arranged and expressed as to show at a glance the relation of the secondary and remoter senses in which it has come to be used with that original meaning. The definitions, in short, give at least a clue to the history of the word, and throw, at the same time, a flood of light on the philosophy of language, and through it on the philosophy of the mind and things in general. To the man who knows how to use it, it is perhaps the best text-book of moral and intellectual philosophy that we have. If to be a good philologist, a sound philosophy be necessary, philology, again, is the best introduction to the study

of philosophy. In pronouncing, as we unhesitatingly do, Dr. Webster's Dictionary the very best defining dictionary any language we are acquainted with can boast, we are far from expressing our approbation of every definition in the case of particular terms. The objections we should urge, bear more particularly, however, against the "additions and improvements by Professor Goodrich," not so much against the original work of Dr. Webster; and for ourselves, we prefer the royal octavo edition, published by the author himself. Professor Goodrich has given the work a sectarian bias, from which the original work was comparatively free. As an example, we refer to the word *ascetic*.

As an etymological dictionary the work has very great merit. With regard to Dr. Webster's theory, which derives the whole vocabulary of all languages from some thirty or forty primitives, we have some doubts, and though defended with much learning and ingenuity, we think it rather plausible than solid. Up to a certain point we are disposed to go with him, and to accept his conclusions as to the origin of the vocabularies of the whole class of languages he considers, in comparatively few common primitives, but we cannot go with him all lengths. His etymologies in some cases are very doubtful, in a few fanciful, but in most cases they are highly creditable to his philological attainments, and such our own limited researches in his favorite science have tended to confirm.

As a spelling dictionary we do not rate the work so highly. Analogy is, for the most part, in Dr. Webster's favor, but usage is against him, and to some of his innovations there are grave orthoëpal objections, which have been pointed out by his opponents. It is true that in large classes of words the orthography of our language is unsettled, and in both Great Britain and this country reputable usage differs. We prefer, in orthography, Worcester to Webster, as departing less from what we consider the better British usage.

Nor do we hold in very high estimation Dr. Webster's work as a pronouncing dictionary. We like his system of notation, but he follows in pronouncing rather American than British usage, and increases rather than lessens the difference which has existed and still exists in the manner of pronouncing our common language between Americans and Englishmen. In matters of language we, notwithstanding our sturdy Americanism, think it is for the American to follow the English, not the Englishman the American usage. We derive our language from England; England does not derive hers from us. If we mean to be English as to our language, we must recognize England as its fountain-head, and seek our standard, so far as usage gives law, in the usage of English rather than American scholars. Englishisms belong to the language, Americanisms do not.

But notwithstanding these criticisms, we regard Dr. Webster as

having rendered important services to our language, as, upon the whole, its greatest lexicographer, and we cherish his memory with a just patriotic pride. He was a true American, and he has by his various labors, his industry, his learning, done honor to the land of his birth. We cannot accept his Dictionary as a standard of orthography and orthoëpy, and protest against its being used as such in our schools and by our printing-houses; but we regard it as a great national work, respectable for its etymologies, admirable for its definitions, and as such, demanding our gratitude to the author. More we cannot say in its favor, and less we could not without violence to our own feelings and honest convictions.

2. *The Memorare: a Collection of Catholic Music; containing Six Masses, a Short Requiem Mass, Vespers, and a variety of Miscellaneous Pieces, suitable for Morning and Evening Service, and for Family or Private Devotion. With Accompaniment for Organ or Piano-Forte.* By ANTHONY WERNER, Organist and Director of the Choir of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. New York: S. T. Gordon. Philadelphia: Beck & Lawton. Cincinnati: Truax & Baldwin. 4to. pp. 271:

THIS collection of Church Music was much wanted, and we greatly doubt if there is any one among us who could have prepared it in a more satisfactory manner than Mr. Werner has done. Several of his own compositions, one of which is an entire Mass, and his additions to those of other composers whose works he has selected, have much merit, and prove Mr. Werner to be a thorough artist. We have also a Mass by Palæstrina, to whom we are said to owe it that music has not been altogether rejected from our Church service. An *O Salutaris* by Jacquin, and a *Pie Jesu* by Michel, show him not ignorant of French contributions. We may also mention Lambillotte's showy and brilliant *Quam Dilecta*. The *Memorare* by Henry de Bombelles is perfect; its music is a prayer, more expressive than words. As a general rule, the music contained in this volume is such as will give satisfaction to those who are unwilling to hear what they call the operatic style of music in church. Among them is the author of this collection, and with them we must also rank ourselves. We object to no style of music, provided it is good in itself; but we believe that as there is one style of eloquence appropriate to the bar, another to the popular assembly, and another to the pulpit, so there is a style of music that is, and another that is not, appropriate to the solemn services of the Church. For ourselves we like neither what is called the operatic style of music, nor the operatic style of performance in the services of the Church, which makes us feel for the time that we are assisting in the Academy of Music at the performance of *Norma*, *La Sonnamb*

bula, *Don Giovanni*, or *Robert le Diable*, rather than that we are engaged in the solemn worship of God. Every true style of music is good in its place, and for its purpose, but not equally good in all places and for all purposes. There are different classes of emotion, all well in their way, but not all equally proper to be excited at all times and in all places. Church music is designed to awaken the spirit of prayer, praise, and devotion, and it should not by its character or its associations transport us from the church to the theatre. It need not be sad, dull, or monotonous; it may be cheerful, joyous; but it should be so with the cheerfulness of faith, and the joy of divine hope and love.

But we have only indicated our own opinion and preferences. We hope at an early day to be able to discuss the subject at length, and to offer some suggestions for the consideration of our choirs, and the improvement of their performances. In the mean time we most warmly recommend the Collection before us to all who are interested in music as an accompaniment of the public worship of God.

3. *Balls and Dancing Parties condemned by the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, Holy Councils, and most renowned Theologians of the Church: Advice to Young Persons regarding them.* From the French of Abbé Hulot. By a YOUNG MAN. Boston: Donahoe. 1857. 16mo. pp. 216.

THE title alone of this book (albeit not so freely translated from the French as to become good English) should make us pause amid the gaieties and luxuries to which we yield ourselves without reflection or hesitation, and for a moment ask ourselves whither these pleasures are leading us. It may not be within our province to teach moral theology; but it is unquestionably our right, if not our duty, to beg those who are running headlong into the snares which the Devil sets for them, to pause before they are so deeply entangled that escape is no longer possible. M. Hulot's little book may go to the extreme limit, and almost seem to have been written against womankind in general, but it contains no little truth, and if it errs, it is not on the dangerous side. There is no great danger of young people going too far in their renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Our sponsors renounced them for us when we were baptized; but many of us seem to consider that as sufficient, and to think that we are under no obligation to do what they have done for us.

As to the authority of the Church and her councils, forbidding dances, such a prohibition would undoubtedly apply, if our wives and sisters were to dress themselves like ballet girls, and assume their indecent postures. Such dancing is forbidden by the law of God, and by the sense of decency inherent in all men. Our waltzes,

polkas, redowas, &c., together with the dress, or rather undress, essential to them, seem a sort of compromise between the stately old minuet and the lascivious dances forbidden by the Church, and are not improperly censured as dangerous by the Abbé Hulot.

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4. *Chanticleer: A Thanksgiving Story of the Peabody Family.*
By CORNELIUS MATHEWS. With Illustrations by Darley.
Sold by William S. Mathews, Bookseller, 107, Fulton-street,
New York. 16mo. pp. 130.

THIS we understand to be the first of a series of moral and interesting fictions. The work is already known to the public, and cannot be too widely circulated. It serves to freshen in our memories what is worthy in our national traditions, to open the heart, to elevate the moral tone, and make the community happier and better.

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5. *Lectures on the Evidences of Catholicity: delivered in the Cathedral of Louisville.* By M. J. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Louisville. Second edition revised and enlarged. Louisville: Well and Levering. New York: Dunigan & Brother, 1857. 12mo. pp. 440.

THIS is a second and enlarged edition of a work which we noticed in favorable terms on the appearance of the first edition some years ago. The author, the venerable and learned Bishop of Louisville, Ky., is well known to our readers and the Catholic public generally. After the illustrious Archbishop of Baltimore, he has made the largest contributions to our growing literature, of any living prelate in the country. His *Miscellanea* we reviewed a little over a year ago, and made the volume the basis of our remarks on the "Mission of America." Dr. Spalding is eminently a popular writer. His style is free, easy, natural, rich, and frequently eloquent, adapted at once to the taste of the more cultivated and to the apprehension of the uncultivated reader.

The work before us is a serious, solid, and learned work, evidently written not to gain applause, but to do good. Perhaps there is no great originality in the conception, and no special novelty in the argument. The author has not attempted a new method of dealing with non-Catholics, as has Father Hecker in his *Questions of the Soul* and *Aspirations of Nature*, two works which we have heretofore reviewed at length in these pages, or as we have ourselves incidentally done in detailing the intellectual process by which we came to the door of the Church and knocked for admission; he has not attempted to lead his readers to faith, through the caprices of a vague sentimentality, or the mazes of a subtle metaphysics, not generally intelligible; but we look upon this, in view of his design, as a high merit. The peculiar feature of these lectures is the attempt of the author to show the parallelism between the argument for Christianity and

that for the Church, or to show that whatever argument may be used to prove the Christian revelation itself is equally an argument for Catholicity. This is not difficult to do, for if any thing is certain, it is that Christianity and the Church are identical, and there is really no such thing as proving the one without proving the other. We think we have settled that question in our discussions with the *Universalist Review*, brought to a close in our present number.

The author draws his arguments for Catholicity from the nature and attributes of Christianity; the commission of our Lord to his Apostles and the Rule of Faith; the fulfilment of the Apostolic commission in the conversion of nations; miracles which have never ceased in the Church; the Catholicity and unity of the Church; the sanctity of the Church; its apostolic antiquity; its infallibility; trials and triumphs of the Church; her Papal constitution, with six other sources which he names. It will be seen by the learned reader that the author pursues the ordinary line of argument, but there is much originality and new matter introduced in its development. No earnest-minded man can follow the argument, from the beginning to the conclusion, without being intellectually convinced of the truth of our holy religion, and, therefore, we can commend it to all inquirers as admirably adapted to guide them, if serious and well disposed, to the fountain of truth and the haven of rest.

The book will often fail to convince the non-Catholic reader, no doubt, because non-Catholic readers are, to a fearful extent, blinded by prejudice, and perverted by their false theories and speculation. The fault will not be found in the book, but in the reader. The Protestant may speculate on religious subjects with perfect recklessness, but he rarely, if ever, reasons on them. Indeed, as to religious matters, he has well-nigh lost the use of reason. The first principles of reason have become obscured in his mind, and for the primitive truths which are the basis of all reasoning and the light of all intelligence, he has substituted certain prejudices or fancies of his own. He flies from logic to fancy, from reason to feeling, from dogmatism to skepticism, and the reverse, according to the exigencies of his case. All objections to our religion have been refuted a thousand times over, and the whole of our religion has been proved over and over again, in the clearest, fullest, and most conclusive manner conceivable; and yet the Protestant mind, shut up in the narrow cell of its own ignorance and prejudices, still continues to protest, to cavil, and to betray its littleness and dim-sightedness.

6. *The Saints of Erin; Legendary History of Ireland.* By L. TUCHAT DE BARNEVAL, Professor in the Lyceum of Douay. Translated from the French by JOHN GILMARY SHEA. Boston: Donahoe. 1857. 12mo. pp. 308.

WE are exceedingly unfortunate with regard to Mr. Shea's books, whether translated or original. A paper in Cincinnati, which

is any thing but friendly to us, and which takes its cue from any source sooner than from this Review, published, some weeks since, a half-serious, a half-laughing squib upon this *Legendary History of Ireland*, and forthwith out comes the author in a card, and casts the blame upon us, who had then never seen nor heard of this wonderful, and we will say, most amusing book, and hints pretty broadly that there is a conspiracy, at the head of which is the Editor of this Review, to deprive him of his literary reputation. All this is nonsense. Nobody dreams, or has ever dreamed, of depriving him of any reputation, literary, or otherwise, he may have acquired. As a correspondent for various Catholic or semi-Catholic papers, he has liberally used his opportunities to express his opinions of others, not less deserving than himself, and has shown no strong disposition to defend their reputations. If others have shown no special favor towards his publications, and have spoken of them according to their merits, he has no right to complain.

Mr. Shea is an industrious and hard-working man in the field of literature, and is, under many respects, deserving of high esteem and commendation; and we are far more disposed to encourage than to discourage his labors. We have commended or censured his various publications that have come under our observation, according to our own judgment of their merits or demerits. Some of his publications we have unqualifiedly praised; others we have commended only with certain reserves; and none of them have we condemned outright. We censured severely Mr. De Courci for certain contributions we had seen of his in the *Univers*, *apropos* of his and Mr. Shea's "Sketches of the *Ecclesiastical History of the Church in the United States*;" but our censures of those contributions were not intended to apply to the History. It is true that the History did not please us; it was not well written; it was marked by a narrow spirit, contained many inaccuracies, and was lamentably defective. It was partial, one-sided, and written apparently for the glorification of France, not in the service of the Church in the United States. Yet the fault we found was with Mr. De Courci, not with Mr. Shea, his translator. Yet Mr. Shea saw in our criticisms hostility to him personally, and the evidence of a determination to injure his literary reputation! We had no such determination, and it was with sincere regret that we saw his name, the name of an American, of one American born and American bred, associated with that of Mr. De Courci on the title-page of such a work as that imperfect History.

We make these statements not in our own vindication, for we owe Mr. Shea no apology or explanation, but from a generous regard for his literary success, and to disabuse his mind of the silly notion that there is any conspiracy against him. Why should we or anybody else conspire against him? He is not in our way, and we cannot feel that what is given to him is so much taken from us.

The field of Catholic literature is broad enough for him and for us too. As a Reviewer, we have to pass judgment on a great variety of books, and the error that can be laid to our charge is, that our judgments are often too favorable,—rarely, if ever, that they are too severe. We are guided in our judgments by our strong desire to encourage Catholic talent wherever we discover it; but we cannot wholly overlook the demands of good taste, and of a sound and elevated literature.

As to this *Legendary History of Ireland*, we think it very amusing; but were we an Irishman, we are inclined to believe we should regard it as written to burlesque our country's history, and to bring her noble army of saints into contempt; yet it may have been written in good faith, and the author may have thought he was really adding to the glory of the land of his ancestors. If our Irish friends are pleased with it, we have little fault to find with it. Yet we cannot but think, surrounded as we are with keen-sighted enemies, who are constantly accusing us of superstition, the book is not precisely of the sort best calculated to serve the interests of our religion. We do not like the fables it gathers round, and the mythical character it gives to the great St. Patrick, Ireland's apostle. It is fitted to weaken our veneration for him, and to shake our confidence in Irish annals. Every poetic people, as the Irish are, surrounded their saints and heroes with fables more or less ingenious, more or less edifying, but they should never be incorporated into what purports to be history.

7. *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness; or, Narratives of Shipwreck and Indian Captivity.* Gleaned from early Missionary Annals. By JOHN GILMARY SHEA. Boston: Donahoe, 1857.

THIS volume contains an account of the shipwreck of Father Charles Lalemant, Father Philibert Nayrat, of the Society of Jesus, and others, off Cape Breton, in 1629; the captivity of Father Isaac Jaques, of the same Society, among the Mohawks, in 1642; captivity and death of René Goupil; the death of Father Jaques; captivity of Father Bressani, of the Society of Jesus, 1644; voyages and shipwrecks of Father Emmanuel Crespel, Recollect of the Order St. Francis, translated from the French, and accompanied by introductory and critical notes, by the Editor, Mr. Shea. The work is interesting and valuable as showing the labors, sufferings, disinterestedness, and self-sacrifices of the early missionaries in their unwearied efforts to evangelize the North American Indians—efforts deprived in great part of their permanent fruits by the passage of Canada from the possession of France into that of England, by the peace of 1763. The work needs no commendation of ours. It is an interesting, and an edifying volume, for which we render Mr. Shea our cordial thanks.

8. *The Progress of Slavery in the United States.* By GEORGE M. WESTON. Washington, D.C.: For the Author. 1857. 12mo. pp. 301.

WE can speak of this book as ably and temperately written; as full of valuable statistics and information, and decidedly the least offensive work we have seen from the anti-slavery side in our country. We hope our saying so much will not call forth another *avertissement* from our pro-slavery friends, and afford another illustration of the respect for freedom of thought and freedom of speech they entertain. If any thing could make us turn abolitionist, it would be certain threatening letters which we have received from well-known and distinguished Catholic friends for venturing to express a plain doctrine of our religion, and a few plain and well-known maxims of law touching the question of slavery. But it is impossible for us to be abolitionists, unless we lose our senses. All we ask of the slaveholding portion of our American population, is the opportunity of abiding by the Union and defending to each section its constitutional rights, without necessarily committing ourselves for slavery or abolitionism. Yet we will tell our friends who have threatened us with the loss of subscribers, unless we retract the opinions we have expressed, or at least keep silence on the question of slavery, that when we commenced this Review we made and recorded a resolution that it should honestly and faithfully express our convictions, and that not one word should ever be printed in its pages for the sake of gaining or of avoiding the loss of a subscriber. Those who do not like the Review are free to drop it; but it is useless for them to try by arguments addressed to our pockets, to force us into compliance with their wishes, when we do not happen to approve them. Subjects open to us as a Catholic and citizen to discuss, we shall discuss whenever, in our judgment, we can by so doing effect a good or avoid an evil; and we shall never, knowingly or willingly, be a party to any attempt to gag the press, where its freedom is lawful, and free discussion is allowed us by our religion, and guarantied by the Constitution.

Who Mr. Weston is, we do not know, but we do know that he has written a very able book, and one which both those who are opposed to, and those who are in favor of, the extension of negro slavery, may read with profit. The future fate of the negro race on this continent, Mr. Calhoun assured us had occupied no little of his thoughts; and we think it should occupy no little of the attention of every statesman and Christian, whether North or South. In this book we find some valuable hints, which, in calmer and less exciting times, might be worked out with advantage. Yet in the present agitation on the subject of slavery, and the manifest ill-will springing up between the North and the South, and threatening civil war, and perhaps the dissolution of the Union, we think it the duty of moderate men, of all parties, carefully to

abstain, as far as practicable, from all discussions likely to inflame that ill-will, and to unite to throw oil on the troubled waters of public opinion. It will require great forbearance on all sides, and the most consummate prudence in all parties to carry the Union through the present dangerous crisis. Extremists of all complexions should now be silent, and all who really love the Union should now rally round it, and make all the concessions compatible with its maintenance in its essential character and integrity. And when we speak of concessions, we mean that the South must make them as well as the North, and the North as well as the South; neither section must attempt or aspire to govern without the other; and no countenance should be given to those in either section, who really desire, if such there be, to sever the Union.

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9. *St. John's Manual: a Guide to the Public Worship and Services of the Catholic Church; and a Collection of Devotions for the Private Use of the Faithful.* New York: Dunigan & Brother. 1856. 18mo. pp. 1201.

WE are very late in noticing this excellent Manual, which has been before the public nearly two years. Although it contains several Litanies not approved by the Church, as do nearly all our manuals, it is, to our judgment and taste, one of the very best of the "monster" prayer-books which have been published. For our own use we prefer to all other prayer-books we are acquainted with, a small Manual published by Dunigan & Brother, last summer, entitled *Little Flowers of Piety*, which one easily carries in his vest pocket. We are not, for ourselves, in favor of huge prayer-books, in which is crowded every possible form of devotion, and many forms of devotion hardly any one ever uses. We think so many devotions hinder rather than aid the growth of a truly devotional spirit, and that we pray more and better when we confine ourselves to a few simple prayers, than we do when we have so large a range to choose from. Variety baffles choice, and we become distracted and listless in the midst of such a multiplicity of devotional exercises. Nevertheless, these "monster" prayer-books are the fashion, and it is useless to say a word against them. Publishers find their account in them, and perhaps purchasers too; and if we must have them, we think the one before us is among the very best.

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10. *The Star of Bethlehem: a Manual of Prayer, compiled from Approved Sources.* By the Reverend TITUS JOSLIN, with the Approbation of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D., Archbishop of New York. New York: O'Shea. 1857. 18mo. pp. 774.
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11. *The Visitation Manual: a Collection of Prayers and Instructions, compiled according to the Spiritual Directory, and the Spirit of St. Francis de Sales.* Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1858. 18mo. pp. 672.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING LITERARY NOTICES

OF

WORKS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

La Major, Cathédrale de Marseille. Par CASIMIR BOUSQUET, Membre Correspondant de l'Académie Impériale du Gard, &c., &c. Marseille: Olive. Londres: D. Nutt, 1857. 8vo. pp. 675.

OF the maritime cities of France, none to the classical antiquary is fraught with higher interest than that of Marseilles. Founded by the Phocæans, 600 years before the birth of Christ, it served them as a place of refuge from the tyranny of Cyrus; and speedily thereafter, becoming the grand mart for all the surrounding countries, was the parent of numerous noble colonies, and was long renowned for the cultivation of literature and the arts, preserving its liberty under the Roman power, and oftentimes acting as an independent republic. From the days of Tarquin to those of Constantine she withstood all the might of republican Rome, and all the sway of the Cæsars; and, commanding the commerce of the world, spread over it the coinage of her own mint.*

But while Marseilles possesses such claims upon the attention of the classical, it has still stronger ones upon the Christian archæologist. It is a well-supported tradition, and the legend is of universal credence in Provence, that Marseilles was the first among the cities of Gaul that received the Christian faith; and the story runs, that to the persecution of a family of Jewish converts,—the especial friends of our Blessed Redeemer,—she was indebted for this blessing. The family was that of Lazarus, who, with his sisters SS. Martha and Magdalene, accompanied by the mothers of SS. James the Greater and the Less, St. Joseph of Arimathea, and others, having been exposed in a frail bark, without sails or oars, were by the providence of God wafted safely to the mouth of “the blue rushings of the arrowy Rhone.” On their arrival, they dispersed in different

* See Essay by M. Carpentin, illustrated by M. Famin, in the *Revue de Marseille* for July, 1857. This serial, conducted by an association of accomplished scholars, not for their own profit, BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR, is now in the fourth year of publication. As we cannot expect, from the apathy of Catholics, to see a similar work in this country, we earnestly commend the labours of these gentlemen to all who estimate the union of learning and taste with works of practical charity.

directions, preaching the Gospel ; and St. Lazarus, remaining at Marseilles, became its first bishop ; governing his see, according to the Breviary of the Church of Marseilles, for about thirty years. His remains were transferred to Autun, but his head is still preserved at the scene of his episcopate. These traditions, although frequently sought to be controverted, carry with them most abundant probability ; and the subject, *pro et con.*, has been exhausted in the erudite work of the Abbé Faillon, "Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madelaine en Provence," two volumes in quarto.

Impressed with a due sense of the *genius loci*, M. Casimir Bousquet, a gentleman of landed estate at Marseilles, who employs his time in illustrating the history of his native city, has dedicated one of the series of his "Monographies Marseillaises" to an account of its cathedral church, La Major. This very ancient edifice, after sustaining endless reparations, has passed away with the year now fled, and on its site, through the pious munificence of Napoleon III., a new cathedral, on a scale commensurate with the memories of the past and the exigencies of the present time, has been commenced. The progress of demolition has materially assisted M. Bousquet in tracing the early details of the construction of La Major ; and he has brought to his task talents, taste, and zeal ; while the chivalric tone of religious feeling that pervades his pages imparts a gracefulness to what, in other hands, would have proved little better than a dry recital of heavy facts.

By all the authors, ancient and modern, who have discussed the topography of Marseilles, it has been successively asserted that the cathedral was built upon the spot previously occupied by the Temple of Diana, the tutelary deity of the Grecian refugees of that city. But by none of them was any proof adduced in support of their statement, the accuracy of which it has been reserved for M. Bousquet to show. This he has done incontestably ; establishing the fact of the existence there of a noble Christian basilica as early as the fourth, and the subsequent construction over it of the late cathedral towards the middle or end of the eleventh century. The latter edifice was built in the Roman style ; the new one is to be erected in accordance with the rules of the Romano-Byzantine. Before the Revolution of 1789, it contained thirteen chapels ; at the time of its demolition, only seven secondary altars were served. For the elaborate architectural and monumental details, the volume of M. Bousquet must be consulted.

In the mass of illustrative matters connected with La Major, M. Bousquet cites several singular orders for the reformation of the dress, and the behaviour of the canons, and other officers of the cathedral, during the thirteenth century. The former, like many more at that period, appear to have been carried away by vanities of attire, preposterous in laymen, but perniciously offensive in ecclesiastics. In the following century, a special regulation of the chapter was passed to put a stop to a most intolerable abuse on the part of the sacristans, who had farmed out the duties of their offices to inferior clerks, by the avarice of whom the services of the church were starved and neglected.

According to Muffi, quoted by M. Bousquet, the clergy of the cathe-

dral anciently observed the custom of annually eating a roasted lamb upon Easter-day, in remembrance of the festival and of the resurrection of our Lord. This ceremony was practiced after Tierce had been sung; and during the repast the Reader read the first book of the "Morals," and the last of the "City of God" of St. Augustine, which treated largely of the resurrection of the flesh. When this custom was abolished does not appear; but the Armenians observed a somewhat similar one in the year 1560; for on Easter-day there was hung up in their church a roasted lamb, of which the bishop, attired in his pontifical robes, the clergy, and the people, each eat a bit. But this was shortly after suppressed by one of their bishops, who had been a Dominican monk.

There was another agneian observance of very early date connected with this church. The provost of the chapter gave, at his own expense, a lamb to the choristers on Holy Saturday, after midday. The donor presented himself at the threshold of the cloisters, holding the animal: he then let it loose on the place before the church porch, and the choristers, at a given signal, ran after it. He who caught it became the owner; but he was bound to kill it, and distribute an equal portion to each of his colleagues.

During the horrible outrages of 1794, when the churches were ordered to be closed by the revolutionary ruffians, the reliques of St. Lazarus and others belonging to La Major, were officially, by the faithful clergy, intrusted to the care of M. Leyton, their vicar. But soon perceiving the risk to which those treasures were exposed by being left in the custody of a humble priest, his reverence confided them to the guardianship of M. Marron, consul-general for the republic of Venice at Marseilles. This excellent man, by force of his own personal character, as well as of his official position, was harboured from suspicion on the part of the villains; and he was thus frequently enabled to save from death many religious and clergy who found a temporary asylum under his roof. On one occasion, however, when a Capuchin was concealed there, his abode was outraged by a party of distrustful *sans-culottes*. M. Marron, having had warning of this domiciliary invasion, invited some friends to dinner, and induced the friar to exchange the costume of his order for that of a cook. About dinner-time, the exploratory visitors arrived, and apologizing for the intrusion, requested to be satisfied of the non-existence on his premises of any suspected persons. Wholly undisconcerted, M. Marron showed them over the house, from cellar to attic, not omitting the kitchen where the holy Franciscan was carefully attending to his new culinary duties in perfect security. In the following year, when freedom of worship was proclaimed, the reliques were restored by M. Marron.

An amusing incident is recorded to have taken place in the winter of 1564, when Charles IX. visited Marseilles. On the day after his arrival, he went to La Major to hear Mass, attended by the Queen his mother, the Duke of Anjou, Henry King of Navarre, the Cardinals of Bourbon and of Guise, the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, and other great lords and dignitaries. When they arrived at the door of the church, his majesty perceived that the King of Navarre, who had adopted the Lutheran heresy, would not go in; whereupon, with a smile, he suddenly seized Henry's

black velvet cap, embroidered with gold and studded with precious gems, and threw it into the church. Henry was obliged to enter to pick it up, and was pleased to laugh at the trick.

The biographies of the respective prelates who have held the see, and the lists of the several inferior dignitaries connected with it, are ample and minute; and the entire volume makes a useful, as well as instructive, addition to the many contributions to a history of Christian France which have recently appeared.

Library of Old Authors. London: John Russell Smith. Fcap. Svo. 1857-8.

1. *Hallelujah; or, Britain's Second Remembrancer, &c.* By GEORGE WITHER. *With an Introduction.* By EDWARD FARR.
2. *The Iliads and Odysseys of Homer.* By GEORGE CHAPMAN. *With Introduction and Notes.* By RICHARD HOOPER, M.A. 4 Vols.
3. *Miscellanies upon Various Subjects.* By JOHN AUBREY.
4. *The Works of Richard Crashaw, Canon of Loretto.* Edited by W. B. TURNBULL.

OF this elegant series of the writings of our approved early authors,—so creditable to the taste and judgment of Mr. Russell Smith, by whom the works are selected as well as published,—we have now before us six new volumes of equal, if not indeed of increased, interest to those previously issued. And it is pleasant to find, by the list of proposed additions, that sufficient encouragement has been given to warrant a continuance of many more books of a similar character and value. We shall take a short survey of the present ones in their order of publication.

On a previous occasion, when noticing Wither's "Hymns and Songs of the Church," we had reason to commend the fidelity and care bestowed by the editor, Mr. Farr; and we expressed our hope that the rest of the many works of the same author would meet with that gentleman's resuscitating care. That such is his intention we are glad to have notified in the introduction to the present volume; for the delicacy and heart-affection embodied in the flowing numbers of his verse, and the vigorous energy of Wither's prose, are not surpassed by any in our language: and few are more competent to appreciate these, or likely to do justice to them, than Mr. Farr. This second instalment of his labours, the "Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer," is not only the rarest of Wither's works, but of English books; and it is believed that, with the exception of the one in the British Museum, no other copy is known to exist than that formerly belonging to Mr. Heber, and now to the Rev. Mr. Wrightson, who, with the true spirit of the gentleman and the scholar, permitted its use for this reprint in Mr. Smith's collection.

In writing the "Spiritual Songs and Moral Odes," of which this volume is composed, Wither's intention was to counteract the pernicious

effects of the loose, profane, and indecent poetry so prevalent in the age wherein he lived; assisting in this design the views of Herbert, Quarles, Sandys, and others. "For the like prevention," says he, "I have also laboured according to my talent; and am desirous both to help to restore the muses to their ancient honour, and to become a means, by the pleasingness of song, to season childhood and young persons with more virtue and piety: to that end I composed these hymns and songs; taking the advantage of times, persons, and occasions, in hope that by using various means, I shall at some time, upon some occasion, in some persons, prevent or dissolve the devil's enchantments by these lawful charms, which may be read or sung to that purpose as occasion is offered, and as my readers are affected. In my personal hymns," he continues, "I arrogate not to instruct men of all qualities or degrees on each point of their duties, neither to dictate all meditations pertinent to them in the exercise of their devotion; but I rather offer some principal duties and occasions of thankfulness to the remembrance of those who know them, and the knowledge of them to such as are altogether ignorant, in hope that one or the other, if not both, may be benefited thereby. The like I profess in my hymns appropriated to times and occasions. And perhaps, they who need instruction shall find here and there dispersed most of those duties which are pertinent to Christian men and women of every degree and condition; peradventure also, the publishing of these helps and remembrances may, by God's blessing, increase necessary knowledge in those who most want it, and that honesty and piety which is lately decayed." Never, indeed, at any period, were moral remedies more required than when Wither poured forth the strains of his "Hallelujah."

Where so much is beautiful, it is difficult to select. We feel *l'embarras des richesses*. But the following, previously made known to us by the late Dr. Southey, is one which we admire so well, that we give it a preference, it may be, from old associations:—

“FOR A WIDOW OR A WIDOW DEPRIVED OF A LOVING YOKE-FELLOW.

“That such as be deprived of their most dear companions may not be swallowed up in excessive grief, and so forget their Christian hopes and duties, this hymn teacheth a moderate expressing of their natural passions, and remembers them of things not to be forgotten in their sorrow.

“How near me came the hand of Death,
 When at my side he struck my dear!
 And took away the precious breath
 Which quicken'd my beloved peer!*
 How helpless am I thereby made!
 By day how grieved, by night how sad!
 And now my life's delight is gone,
 Alas! how am I left alone!

The voice which I did more esteem
 Than music in her sweetest key,
 Those eyes which unto me did seem
 More comfortable than the day;

* Companion.

Those now by me, as they have been,
 Shall never more be heard or seen ;
 But what I once enjoy'd in them
 Shall seem hereafter as a dream.

All earthly comforts vanish thus,
 So little hold of them have we,
 That we from them, or they from us,
 May in a moment ravish'd be ;
 Yet we are neither just nor wise,
 If present mercies we despise,
 Or mind not how there may be made
 A thankful use of what we had.

I therefore do not so bemoan,
 Though these beseeming tears I drop,
 The loss of my beloved one,
 As they that are deprived of hope ;
 But in expressing of my grief,
 My heart receiveth some relief,
 And joyeth in the good I had,
 Although my sweets are bitter made.

Lord ! keep me faithful to the trust
 Which my dear spouse reposed in me,
 To him now dead preserve me just,
 In all that should performed be ;
 For though our being man and wife
 Extendeth only to this life,
 Yet neither life nor death should end
 The being of a faithful friend.

Those helps which I through him enjoy'd,
 Let Thy continued aid supply ;
 That though some hopes in him are void,
 I always may on Thee rely.
 And whether I shall wed again,
 Or in a single state remain,
 Unto Thine honour let it be,
 And for a blessing unto me."

We do not envy him who can unaffected peruse these lines.

Paulo majora canamus! From the peaceful and Christian songs of Wither, we overleap nigh thirty centuries, and listen to the warlike and stirring strains of that "Prince of Poets," "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," as rendered in the incomparable version of George Chapman. We say incomparable, and, we may almost say, not to be equalled ; since to the present hour we do not possess one single translation—Sotheby's not excepted—that can at all approach it. Those, *so called*, of Cowper and of Pope may give an idea of the subject designed by their original ; but they do not, in the very slightest degree, attain to or represent the spirit, the character, or the sense of the text of Homer. Let any one take the trouble of comparing a passage of the original Greek with the

paraphrase of Pope, and then turn to the same as it is reflected by Chapman in our pure old vernacular, and he will incontinently anathematize the Swan of Twickenham by all the deities of Olympus. As illustrative of this position, let us take—at random—that passage in the “Iliad” descriptive of the parting of Hector and Andromache,* so long one of the favourite “elegant extracts” in our Specimens of English poetry, and the manuals for elocutional teaching in our school days,—and let it be shown whether it is in *that* or in *this* that the original is to be recognized and felt :—

“Andromache cried out, mix’d hands, and to the strength of Troy
 Thus wept forth her affection : ‘ O noblest in desire !
 Thy mind, inflamed with other’s good, will set thyself on fire.
 Nor pitiest thou thy son, nor wife, who must thy widow be,
 If now thou issue ; all the field will only run on thee.
 Better my shoulders underwent the earth, than thy decease ;
 For then would earth bear joys no more ; then comes the black increase
 Of grief, like Greeks, on Ilion. Alas ! What aid survives
 To be my refuge ? One black day bereft seven brothers’ lives,
 By stern Achilles ; by his hand my father breath’d his last,
 His high-walled rich Cilician Thebes sack’d by him, and laid waste ;
 The royal body yet he left unspoil’d ; religion claim’d
 That act of spoil ; and all in fire he burn’d him complete arm’d ;
 Built over him a royal tomb ; and to the monument
 He left of him th’ Oreades (that are the high descent
 Of Ægis-bearing Jupiter). Another of their own
 Did add to it, and set it round with elms ; by which is shown,
 In theirs the barrenness of death ; yet might it serve beside
 To shelter the sad monument from all the ruffinous pride
 Of storms and tempests, us’d to hurt things of that noble kind.
 The short life yet my mother liv’d he sav’d, and serv’d his mind
 With all the riches of the realm, which not enough esteem’d,
 He kept her prisoner, whom small time, but much more wealth, redeem’d,
 And she, in sylvan Hypoplace, Cilicia ruled again,
 But soon was over-rul’d by death. Diana’s chaste disdain
 Gave her a lance, and took her life. Yet, all these gone from me,
 Thou amply render’st all ; thy life makes still my father be,
 My mother, brothers, and besides thou art my husband too,
 Most lov’d, most worthy. Pity then, dear love, and do not go,
 For thou gone, all these go again ; pity our common joy,
 Lest, of a father’s patronage, the bulwark of all Troy,
 Thou leav’st him a poor widow’s charge. Stay, stay then, in this tow’r,
 And call up to the wild fig-tree all thy retired power ;
 For there the wall is easiest scal’d, and fittest for surprise,
 And there th’ Ajaces, Idomen, the Atrides, Diomed, thrice
 Have both survey’d and made attempt. I know not if induc’d
 By some wise augury, or the fact was naturally infus’d
 Into their wits, or courage.’ To this great Hector said :
 ‘ Be well assured, wife, all those things in my kind cares are weigh’d.
 But what a shame, and fear, it is to think how Troy would scorn
 (Both in her husbands and her wives, whom long-train’d gowns adorn),
 That I should cowardly fly off ! The spirit I first did breathe

* Pope’s—“ Too daring prince, ah ! whither dost thou run ? ” &c.

Did never teach me that ; much less, since the contempt of death
 Was settled in me, and my mind knew what a worthy was
 Whose office is to lead in fight, and give no danger pass
 Without improvement. In this fire must Hector's trial shine ;
 Here must his country, father, friends, be, in him, made divine.
 And such a stormy day shall come (in mind and soul I know)
 When sacred Troy shall shed her tow'rs for tears of overthrow,
 When Priam, all his birth and pow'r, shall in those tears be drown'd.
 But neither Troy's posterity so much my soul doth wound,
 Priam, nor Hecuba herself, nor all my brothers' woes,
 (Who though so many, and so good, must all be food for foes),
 As thy sad state, when some rude Greek shall lead thee captive hence,
 These free days clouded, and a night of captive violence
 Loading thy temples, out of which thine eyes must never see,
 But spin the Greek wives' webs of task, and their fetch-water be
 To Argos, from Messeides, or clear Hyperia's spring ;
 Which howsoever thou abhorr'st, Fate's such a shrewish thing
 She will be mistress ; whose curs'd hands, when they shall crush out cries
 From thy oppressions (being beheld by other enemies).
 'Thus they will nourish thy extremes : 'This dame was Hector's wife,
 A man that, at the wars of Troy, did breathe the worthiest life
 Of all their army.' This again, will rub thy fruitful wounds,
 To miss the man that to thy bands could give such narrow bounds.
 But that day shall not wound mine eyes ; the solid heap of night
 Shall interpose, and stop mine ears against thy plaints, and plight."

In like manner, take the "Odyssey," and see also after how different a fashion Chapman sets before us the merry ingenuity of Ulysses' escape from the den of Polyphemus—albeit it was no joke to the savage monocolist—which so charmed us in boyhood, and still in maturer years relaxes our grim-visagedness, when we chuckle over the dexterity of Mr. No-Man.

"He took, and drank, and vehemently joy'd
 To taste the sweet cup ; and again employ'd
 My flagon's powers, entreating more, and said :
 ' Good guest, again afford my taste thy aid,
 And let me know thy name, and quickly now,
 That in thy recompense I may bestow
 A hospitable gift on thy desert,
 And such a one as shall rejoice thy heart.
 For to the Cyclops too the gentle earth
 Bears generous wine, and Jove augments her birth,
 In store of such, with showers ; but this rich wine
 Fell from the river, that is more divine,
 Of nectar and ambrosia ! ' This again
 I gave him, and again ; nor could the fool abstain,
 But drunk so often. When the noble juice
 Had wrought upon his spirit, I then gave use
 To fairer language, saying : ' Cyclop ! now,
 As thou demand'st, I'll tell thee my name, do thou
 Make good thy hospitable gift to me.
 My name is No-Man ; No-Man each degree
 Of friends, as well as of parents, call my name.'
 He answer'd, as his cruel soul became :

'No-Man! I'll eat thee last of all thy friends;
 And this is that in which so much amends
 I vow'd to thy deservings, thus shall be
 My hospitable gift made good to thee.'
 This said, he upwards fell, but then bent round
 His fleshy neck; and sleep, with all crowns crown'd,
 Subdued the savage. From his throat broke out
 My wine, with man's flesh-gobbets, like a spout,
 When loaded with his cups, he lay and snored;
 And then I took the club's end up, and gored
 The burning coal-heap, that the point might heat;
 Confirm'd my fellows' minds, lest Fear should let
 Their vow'd assay, and make them fly my aid.
 Straight was the olive-lever, I had laid
 Amidst the huge fire to get hardening, hot,
 And glow'd extremely, though 'twas green; which got
 From forth the cinders, close about we stood,
 My hardy friends, but that which did the good
 Was God's good inspiration, that gave
 A spirit beyond the spirit they used to have;
 Who took the olive spar, made keen before,
 And plunged it in his eye, and up I bore,
 Bent to the top close, and help'd pour it in,
 With all my forces. And as you have seen
 A ship-wright bore a naval beam, he oft
 Thrusts at the auger's froope, works still aloft,
 And at the shank help others, with a cord
 Wound round about to make it sooner bored,
 All plying the round still; so into his eye
 The fiery stake he labour'd to imply.
 Out gush'd the blood that scalded, his eye-ball
 Thrust out a flaming vapour, that scorch'd all
 His brows and eye-lids, his eye-strings did crack,
 As in the sharp and burning rafter brake.
 And as a smith to harden any tool,
 Broad axe, or mattock, in his trough doth cool
 The red-hot substance, that so fervent is,
 It makes the cold wave straight to seethe and hiss;
 So sod and hiss'd his eye about the stake.
 He roar'd withal, and all his cavern brake
 In claps like thunder. We did frighten'd fly,
 Dispers'd in corners. He from forth his eye
 The fix'd stake pluck'd; after which the blood
 Flow'd freshly forth; and, mad, he hurl'd the wood
 About his hovel. Out he then did cry
 For other Cyclops, that in caverns by
 Upon a windy promontory dwell'd,
 Who, hearing how impetuously he yell'd,
 Rush'd every way about him, and inquired,
 What ill afflicted him, that he expired
 Such horrid clamours, and in sacred night
 To break their sleep so? Ask'd him, if his fright
 Came from some mortal that his flocks had driven?
 Or if by craft, or might, his death was given?
 He answer'd from his den: 'By craft, nor might,
 No-Man hath given me death!' They then said right,

‘If no man hurt thee, and thyself alone,
That which is done to thee by Jove is done;
And what great Jove inflicts no man can fly.
Pray to thy Father yet, a Deity,
And prove, from him, if thou canst help acquire.’
Thus spake they, leaving him.”

As Homer has by Chapman been styled the Prince of Poets, so Chapman, with equal propriety, may be designated the Prince of Translators. And, indeed, where can we find versions of the classical authors in any respect like the old ones? On this subject Mr. Hooper, the very painstaking and searching editor of the present reprints, justly expatiates in his elaborate Introduction; and he gives us the welcome information that a fifth volume, containing Chapman’s other translations,—the Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, &c.,—will shortly be added to the series. Had Mr. Smith published these five volumes only, he would have been entitled to the gratitude of all who desire the maintenance of sterling English literature.

The next book on our list is *toto cælo* removed from its predecessors; yet, in its own class, it has enjoyed a well-established celebrity among our records of ghost lore and the marvellous, although, strangely enough, until now no edition since the last in 1784, has been published. The present, by an anonymous editor, has a brief but exact memoir and portrait of Aubrey prefixed to it.

The last volume which we are called upon to notice at present, is that which contains the complete works of Richard Crashaw, and includes, what no previous edition possesses, the *whole of his Latin poems and sacred epigrams*. The editor has endeavoured to make the volume in all respects a suitable companion for the rest of the series; and if in this attempt he shall have failed any how, he has at least the merit of having laid the foundation for others gifted with more ability to do justice to an author too long neglected. No Catholic of any taste for the beauties of his own literature, but must rejoice in the facility which he now has of acquiring at so moderate a price the writings of men like Southwell and Crashaw.

As we write, six new volumes have been delivered to us, containing the dramatic works of Webster, edited by Mr. Hazlitt, in four volumes; and those of John Lilly, by Mr. Fairholt, in two. Our notice of these must be deferred until the next number of Brownson’s Review.

The Lamp. An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, &c., devoted to the religious, moral, physical, and domestic improvement of the working classes. 1857. Dolman.

This excellent and cheap periodical, the circulation of which we are glad to hear is rapidly increasing, commences a new year greatly improved both

in substance and appearance. Besides the concise biographies of eminent individuals, which of late have added so much to the utility of the *Lamp* as a book of reference, several tales by well-known authors, interesting to the young, and not ungrateful to more advanced readers, and illustrated by the graceful *burin* of Mr. Dudley, have been incorporated with matter of a more serious and religious character. It is fortunate in having received the unqualified approval of some of the most influential prelates and clergy, and has found its way even to Protestant drawing-rooms, by reason of the temper and taste shown in the very department where, however improperly so, offence is most frequently taken by those who differ from us. No pains have been spared by editor or proprietor to make its pages instructive and attractive.



BROWNSON'S
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1858.

ART. I.—*Annales Ecclesiastici quos continuat*
AUGUSTINUS THEINER. Romæ, MDCCLXVIII.

THE great Baronius, who laboured so successfully in the compilation of the Church annals, has found a worthy successor in the learned German Oratorian, to whose work we undertake to call the attention of our readers. The three folio volumes which have already issued from the Roman press, are the results of twenty years of research, in which, however, the materials for twelve other volumes have been prepared. These now published are confined to the pontificate of Gregory XIII., covering a period of thirteen years, from 1572 to 1585. Those which are to follow will embrace the reigns of all his successors, down at least to Pius VII. The mechanical execution of the work reflects credit on the Roman press, the type and paper being excellent, and the typographical errors few. The first volume is dedicated to the present Pope, whose munificence has enabled the author to perform the task imposed on him by his predecessor. Francis Joseph I., the pious Emperor of Austria, receives a well-deserved tribute in the dedication of the second volume; and the fortunate occupant of the French throne is honored in the third. These addresses are composed in good taste, and although highly eulogistic, are altogether free from exaggeration. In the work itself the author scarcely appears, unless to connect the documents by some brief narrative of facts. The fidelity with which he has discharged the duty assigned him is apparent from the

result, which is an exhibition by no means flattering of the state of religion in various countries at the period in question. It redounds to the honor of the Holy See, that she not only preserves with care the records of the various transactions of each pontificate, but spontaneously presents them for public inspection, long after all the actors in these scenes have passed away; thus manifesting her entire confidence that their impartial examination will prove honorable to the memory of the Pontiffs. A false delicacy or a narrow policy would withhold much that is here exposed to public view; but the enlarged statesmanship of Rome shrinks from no avowal of facts, however painful; she being fully conscious that her position is to maintain truth and combat vice, and that whatever checks and disappointments she may experience, she is in the main divinely guided and sustained, and sure to prove victorious. Even the frailty of some of her rulers serves to confirm her claims to supernatural protection.

Gregory, whose pontificate is described, was brought up to the bar, and in the pursuit of his secular avocations was not faultless; but having passed to the sanctuary, he merited praise for exemplarity of conduct as well as for learning. He was above seventy years of age when St. Pius V. passed to his reward. At the very opening of the conclave he was unanimously, by acclamation, chosen to succeed him; a thing extremely rare, if not unprecedented. Ranke testifies that as pontiff "his life and conversation were not only blameless but edifying." But half a century had passed since the great revolt, misnamed a Reformation, had broken out in Germany, and already entire provinces had been separated from the Church, and the ties which still connected the others with Rome, were weakened by the spreading infection of error and the great relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline. The chief sees were the prey of secular princes, who sought them as appanages for their younger sons, some of whom already nurtured heresy in their hearts. The cathedrals had among their canons men of suspected principles—sometimes avowed Lutherans—so that in one case the office of provost or dean became an object of special contention as determining which party should be in the ascendant, the Catholics being otherwise only equal in number. The election of bishops devolved on the chapters, and for the most

part were influenced by princes, or high nobles; whence *postulations* were made of men canonically disqualified, oftentimes of youth, sometimes of infants; in consequence of which the Holy See was forced to leave the sees vacant for years, if it rejected the postulation, whilst the individual *postulated*, in the mean time took to himself the revenues; or to acquiesce in an arrangement pregnant with danger to religion, if not absolutely ruinous and disgraceful. Gregory exercised great prudence in circumstances so critical. He resisted perseveringly when a person of suspected principles was proposed. He dispensed with the rigor of the canons, when there was a well-founded hope that the necessary precautions would be adopted to secure the administration of the see by a competent prelate. He waited further information, when doubt arose; and he yielded a reluctant consent, when, in the absence of certain grounds for refusal, he had reason to apprehend unfavourable results. To judge of the wisdom which directed his acts, we must attend to the difficulties which surrounded him. His confirmation of Gebhard Frúchses, elected Archbishop of Cologne, was unfortunate, and made notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pious Duke of Bavaria, who knew him to be unsound in faith, and of relaxed morals; but Gregory had not before him such evidence as might authorize him to reject the election. The subsequent apostasy of Gebhard, with a view to legalize his union with the fair Agnes, daughter of the Count of Mansfeld, whom he had seduced from her boarding-school—a Benedictine convent—proved his unworthiness for the high office. It does not appear that he had been consecrated, since he took only the title of elect and confirmed. The Pontiff, after unsuccessful efforts to reclaim him, hurled anathema against him, and enlisted the services of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria to drive him from the palace and the cities dependent on the see. A faithful prelate soon filled the vacant chair.

The shameless disregard of the law of celibacy in many parts of Germany is manifest from the work of Theiner; yet several, even of those who bore the episcopal title, were not in sacred orders. When proposed for a see, even though not canonically qualified, they often usurped the administration and title of *postulated*, and continued in the enjoyment of its revenues, until they chose to pass to the

marriage state. These they sometimes retained for years after this transition, as was the case with Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick, postulated for the see of Halberstadt. He even entered into a compact with the canons of his cathedral, by which they agreed to allow him the revenues on condition that he should support therefrom his wife and children, and that these should have no claim on the Church after his death. This compact shows that the canons were completely at his mercy, or under his influence, and were wholly regardless of the interests of religion.

Gregory exerted all his zeal to extirpate scandals. His letters breathe a spirit of purity, which he studied to communicate to all the ministers of religion. He incessantly exhorted the bishops to eradicate concubinage, and he urged secular princes to lend their aid to punish transgressors. It may occur to some readers that the discipline of celibacy is scarcely to be maintained, if such disorders arise from it, and so great difficulty attend its enforcement; but since it comes down to us from the Apostolic times, it is now too late to examine its expediency. The marriage of clergymen clearly unfits them for those sacred functions which are peculiar to the priesthood, and withdraws them from the free exercise of charitable or necessary offices. It is only in the Catholic Church that heroic examples are given of zeal and devotedness, because unmarried priests are solicitous of the things of the Lord. A married clergy may be respectable, orderly, exemplary, but an unmarried clergy can alone prove adequate to apostolic missions and to enterprises that require great sacrifices. Purity, disinterestedness, devotedness, are the proper fruits of celibacy; scandals and disorders are to be ascribed to the unruly passions of men, for which marriage is not always an effectual remedy. But we must not suffer ourselves to dwell too long on this single topic, although prominent among the objects of the zeal of the illustrious Pontiff, who, in this respect, rivalled the zeal of the seventh Gregory.

Among the means adopted with a view to restore discipline, and to maintain faith in Germany, the establishment of colleges under the direction of the priests of the Society of Jesus holds a chief place. The Pontiff sought to have them everywhere erected, and strongly urged princes to favor and support them. The testimony which he bears to

the piety and zeal of the fathers is of the most distinguished character. From their body he selected several for embassies of great importance to religion. The venerable Peter Hund (called Canisius, according to the prevailing style of Latinizing names) was commissioned to treat with various princes in the name of the Pope. Possevin, another Jesuit, was specially charged with a mission to the court of Sweden, in the hope of bringing to maturity the happy dispositions of the king. His labors also extended to Poland and Russia. Besides the colleges in Germany, Gregory erected a German college at Rome, which he placed under the care of the Society. The results of these institutions of education were most satisfactory, and the apostolic labours of the fathers concurring, it may well be acknowledged, that they proved an effectual check to the progress of the misnamed Reformation. The Edinburgh Review, and other Protestant periodicals, have long since made this avowal. Other religious orders share this praise with them, as is clear from the commendations of the Friars Preachers, given by Gregory to the princes of Germany; but it is beyond question that the sons of St. Ignatius stand pre-eminent. Theiner does not dissemble the important services rendered by them to religion.

The looseness of principles which at that time prevailed appears from the pertinacity with which some professing Catholicity claimed or sought the privilege of communion under two kinds, without observing the conditions which Pius IV. had attached to the concession. The Duke of Cleves enjoyed it as a personal favor. He was desirous that his young son should continue to possess it, and had great reluctance to consent that he should present himself at the sacred table for the first time after the ordinary manner. Gregory, through the agency of Canisius, succeeded in dissuading him from continuing a practice so favorable to the Hussites, or Calixtines, who maintain that both kinds are of divine right essential to the sacrament. It will surprise our readers to learn, that the Emperor Maximilian repeatedly implored the Holy See to rescind the prohibition of St. Pius V. directed to the Archbishop of Prague, to ordain priests cherishing that error, which the emperor judged might be tolerated, lest the sectaries should be left without baptism, absolution, and other necessary aids of religion.

Gregory, not willing to give him a direct repulse, delayed a final decision, until he should have learned all the circumstances of the case from the archbishop.

The enlightened Pontiff at all times strenuously urged the maintenance of the Catholic faith in all its integrity, and was most attentive that no countenance should be given to the errors of innovators. His action in this respect will not be approved of by those who profess liberality, or rather latitudinarianism, but whoever reflects that the Catholic faith had for ages prevailed, and that the churches and religious establishments had been erected by the munificence of the faithful, will not be surprised that the high guardian of Catholic interests should strenuously oppose every attempt to disturb order, and destroy unity, knowing that its success would result in the sequestration of church property, the appropriation of the churches to sectarian purposes, and the manifest violation of vested rights and sacred trusts. Liberty of conscience on the lips of innovators did not then mean merely the right to worship God according as each one's conscience might dictate: it was license to teach heresy from Catholic pulpits, to substitute the Calvinistic supper for the Eucharistic sacrifice, on the very altars erected for the divine oblation, and to enjoy in the mean time the plunder carried away from the sanctuary. No wonder then that the faithful Pontiff reminded princes of the oaths which they had taken to maintain the Catholic faith, and the rights of Holy Church, and forbade them, as they valued their salvation, and the souls of their people, to give countenance to strange and perverse doctrines.

During the reign of Gregory the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated. Some light is thrown on the origin of this sanguinary measure by the official communications contained in this collection. Philip II. of Spain, irritated by the support given by Coligny to the rebels in Flanders, appears to have directed his ambassador at St. Cloud to suggest to the French king, that it was time to restore public order by the summary punishment of Coligny and the other leaders, who kept the kingdom in a state of anarchy. Theiner doubts whether this communication was made directly to Charles; but he does not hesitate to charge the Queen-dowager Catharine and the Dukes

of Angier and Guise with directing the assassination of the Admiral, in consequence of the suggestion. From an official statement of the nuncio, it appears to have been known to him. He seems to have thought that if the attempt had been successful, there would have been no further bloodshed. The massacre was suddenly resolved on by Charles, at the instigation of the queen and the dukes, under an apprehension of personal danger to the royal family, in consequence of threats by Coligny and his partisans. It is clear that religious considerations had no share in the cruel decree. The public thanksgiving of Gregory, when the news reached Rome, regarded the preservation of the royal family, and the final defeat of desperate machinations against religion and the throne. He certainly was not a man of blood. Although from principle opposed to any concession to innovators, he nowhere recommends the adoption of sanguinary measures to suppress them. A pleasing instance of kind feeling towards the Jews is given in a letter which he addressed to the master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, with whom he interceded for Jewish prisoners taken five years previously in a naval engagement, and recommended that whatever ransom they might offer should be accepted, and themselves restored to liberty. Such practical beneficence is more valuable than abstract theories of liberality.

The collection before us contains many most important documents having reference to the state of Catholics under the dominion of Elizabeth. Person, the Jesuit, Allen, the President of the English college at Douay, the Bishop of Ross, the devoted minister of his imprisoned sovereign, Mary, Queen of Scots, the Earl of Desmond, Lords Arundel and Paget, and various others, contribute their quota to the history of their times. The heroic constancy of the confessors of the faith appears from their communications. More than fifty thousand refused to attend the Protestant service, even though fines and penalties of various kinds were unrelentingly inflicted on recusants. Priests and laymen lingered in prison; many perished on the scaffold. The unsuccessful efforts made to liberate the Scottish queen are also narrated. The information thus furnished being derived from official documents and other communications not originally designed for the public eye, is of the most

trustworthy character. We can only refer our readers to the work itself, with the assurance that their careful perusal, or rather close study of the three ponderous volumes will be amply rewarded.

We congratulate the learned author on this great contribution to ecclesiastical history, and hope that he will soon publish the continuation, which is to reach to our own times. We pray that he may be spared to revise and enlarge the annals given to the public by his predecessors Raynald and Laderch, as he purposes. When he shall have accomplished all this, it will be time to rest from his labors.

ART. II.—1. *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe, &c.* By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. In two volumes. Vol. I. The Peasant Proprietors. London: 1850.

2. *London Labor, and the London Poor; a Cyclopædia of the condition and earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work, and those that will not work.* By HENRY MAYHEW. Vol. I. The London Street-Folk. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 531.

THE first time that we had the honor and the happiness of holding a private interview with the present venerable Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX., about five years ago, he remarked to us, with that beaming smile and heaven-lit countenance which distinguish him from all other living men: "There are three countries which are devoted to the worship of Mammon more than all others; first, the United States, second, England, and third, Belgium." While we were struck with the general truth of the playful remark, our pride as an American citizen prompted us modestly to suggest the amendment, that England should be placed first, and our own country second, on the list of Mammon-worshippers. The Pontiff did not reject the amendment, nor did he positively accept it, and the subject was quietly

dropped. And now, calmly reviewing the subject, we are by no means clear that the Pontiff was not entirely right. At any rate, the race after wealth between the mother country and her most hopeful daughter may be set down as a doubtful one, the latter probably evincing more ardor in the pursuit, and the former more steadiness and endurance—the fruits of more mature age and longer experience. The facts which will be stated in this paper may perhaps throw some light upon this question.

However this may be, one thing is quite certain, that Mammonism is undoubtedly the characteristic spirit of the age; and more strikingly so in England and America than in any other countries in the civilized world. The minds of men are nowadays directed to the accumulation of riches, with an ardor which seems unquenchable, and with an energy which never tires. The eagerness for wealth is paramount, and controls every other feeling. Boys in their teens catch the infection. From the first dawn of manhood to the waning evening of old age, the gold-fever continues to increase in strength, if not in violence; and the tomb alone finally heals the raging malady, by receiving its victim in its cold embrace. To listen to the world, one would believe that the great end and aim of our creation, and of our whole existence on this earth, is to make money, and then leave it—we know not to whom. Considering the spirit of this age, even among professing Christians, it would seem almost incredible that the Man-God, in his Sermon on the Mount, should have uttered the memorable saying: “YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON.” And yet, even if he had not said it, the common sense and experience of mankind would prove it true, beyond any possibility of logical contradiction. Mammon is an exacting and jealous master; he requires the whole heart and soul of his worshippers, and thus leaves no room in it for any other object of adoration.

Notwithstanding all this, it is curious to observe, that perhaps the most plausible, at least the most seductive, popular argument against the Catholic Church, is based upon the alleged fact, that in Protestant countries the people are, in general, more wealthy, more comfortable, and more intelligent in the art of accumulating riches and securing respectability, than they are in those countries

where the majority of the people is Catholic. The argument, with all its pretension, is manifestly the most shallow sophism. Even admitting the premises, the conclusion would not follow, unless it could be first made to appear that Christ promised wealth and worldly respectability to his followers, and made them the distinctive marks of his Church; which no one will be absurd enough to maintain. The contrary is the fact. He inveighed against the rich, and he pleaded with divine eloquence for the poor. The first words uttered in his great Sermon on the Mount, invoked a blessing on the poor, and pronounced a woe on the rich: "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of Heaven;" "But woe to you that are rich, for you have your consolation."* Among the proofs of his divine mission which he alleged to the disciples of John, one of the most striking is this: "The poor have the gospel preached to them."† Thus the argument—if argument it can be called—would appear to prove the contrary of what it is intended to establish. It would prove, if you admit the fact which is its basis, that Protestant countries are fairly entitled to the woes, and Catholic countries to the beatitudes of Christianity, according to the principles laid down in the sublime philosophy of Christ. To this conclusion the adversaries of the Church are heartily welcome, together with all the "consolation" it may afford them. Those who thus place their trust in riches "have received their reward."

In comparing Catholic with Protestant countries, we may examine the relative condition of the middle and higher classes, or that of the lower orders and the poor, who constitute the bulk of the population throughout Europe. If we take the former point of comparison, Protestant countries will probably bear off the palm; which, if it proves any thing, would only tend to show that in them Mammon is probably worshipped more, and consequently God less, than among their Catholic neighbours. But if we adopt the wider and more correct basis of comparison, that which looks to the relative condition of the mass of the population, embracing the poorer and the laboring classes, Catholic countries are vastly better off than those the majority of whose population is non-Catholic.

* St. Luke, vi. 20, 24.

† St. Matthew, xi. 5.

This important fact has been clearly established by Mr. KAY, in the work under review; and we purpose in this paper to lay before our readers some of the more striking facts and arguments which he alleges to prove his position. From what we have already said in our previous notice of his volume, on the comparative education of the people in England, and on the continent of Europe, it will have been gathered, that being a thorough Englishman, and a bigoted Protestant, his testimony as against England, and in favor of Catholic populations on the European continent, is wholly unexceptionable, and the result of facts too clear to be obscured by sophistry, too palpable to admit of denial.

So far as the condition of the poor in London is concerned, another highly intelligent English Protestant, HENRY MAYHEW, fully confirms the conclusions of his countryman. His "London Labor and London Poor" contains a thorough analysis of the life, habits, and social condition of the London "Street-Folk;" and we venture to say, that no other capital in all Christendom exhibits so great an amount of brutal ignorance and moral degradation as does this great Babylon of Protestantism. No one who peruses attentively the startling developments of Mayhew can come to any other conclusion.

As the question which treats of the relative condition of the poor in different European countries is one of great interest, and as its settlement depends entirely on evidence, we shall be pardoned if we furnish numerous and occasionally copious extracts from Mr. Kay's volume on the "Peasant Proprietors" of Europe; the more so as his work was in its facts too damaging to Protestantism to be deemed suitable for republication in this country. Mayhew's first volume on the London Poor was, indeed, republished by the Harpers; but if other volumes of the intended series have been given to the American public, we have not been made aware of the fact.

But before we go into the evidence, we must say a word on its logical bearing upon the great question of the Church, as between Catholics and Protestants. If Catholicity be true, and Protestantism false, we should be prepared to find more of Mammonism in the latter, and a better condition of the poor in the former. Where Mam-

monism is most highly cultivated and most fully developed, the poor are necessarily the most wretched; for Mammonism and pauperism go hand in hand, the former leading directly to the latter. The tendency of Mammonism is to accumulate wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the many. It operates as a monopoly. The greater the love of riches among a people, the greater necessarily will be the horror of poverty, and the greater the contempt with which pauperism is viewed by the Mammon-worshippers. Thus, in Pagan Rome, during the period of the persecution, the Christians were taunted with their poverty, and were called *lucifugaces*—light-shunning—because they were compelled by the tyranny of their wealthy and *refined* persecutors to seek shelter in the Catacombs. And the very *argument* which was alleged against them by their Pagan persecutors, is now brought against us by our *Christian* adversaries! But we answer our objectors precisely as they answered theirs: that poverty is no reproach, but rather a source of benediction from heaven; that Christ came to preach the Gospel to the poor,—to soothe their sorrows and alleviate their sufferings, both of body and of mind; and to make them cheerful in the midst of privations, by teaching them to disengage their hearts from the things of earth, and to lift them exultingly towards heaven.

The logical inference from these principles is, that a religion which discharges these kindly offices towards the poor, which does not disparage and sneer at poverty, but rather cherishes and sustains it, and which thereby contributes to ameliorate the condition of the poor, is much more likely to be the religion of Christ, than one which thinks, speaks, and acts towards the poor in a different spirit altogether. If then it should turn out, that the poor are more generally cared for, and are better off, in Catholic than they are in Protestant countries, the fact affords a very strong argument in favor of Catholicity. That such is the case we will now proceed to show from the evidence furnished by Mr. Kay, which is fully corroborated by that of Mr. Mayhew.

Mr. Kay starts out with the following *thesis*, or statement, which may be viewed as containing the gist of his opinion on the whole subject, arrived at after long and diligent inquiry and much laborious research:

“ If the object of government is to create an enormous wealthy class, and to raise to the highest point the civilization of about one-fifth of the nation, while it leaves nearly three-fifths of the nation sunk to the lowest depths of ignorance, helplessness, and degradation, then the system hitherto pursued in Great Britain is perfect ; for the classes of our aristocracy, our landed gentry, our merchants, manufacturers, and richer trades-people, are wealthier, more refined in their tastes, more active and enterprising, more intelligent, and consequently more prosperous, than the corresponding classes of any other country in the world. But, if we have enormous wealth, we ought to remember that we have enormous pauperism also ; if we have middle classes richer and more intelligent than those of any other country in the world, we have poor classes, *forming the majority of the people of this country*,* more ignorant, more pauperized, and more morally degraded than the poorer classes of most of the countries of Western Europe. And here it is where Englishmen might well afford sometimes to forget their pride in their own country, and to learn a lesson from other lands.

“ It is this side of the foreign picture which I propose in this work to describe ; not that I forget wherein our country is first among the nations, but because I remember wherein other countries have outstripped us ; and because I believe more good is done by exposing our negligence, and by examining the grounds of our prejudices, than by idly flattering ourselves that we have done all that we can, and that the results are fully satisfactory. I do not hesitate, then, to affirm,—and the proof of this affirmation I shall immediately show,—that the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the peasants and operatives of those parts of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France, where the poor have been educated, where the land has been released from the feudal laws, and where the peasants have been enabled to acquire it, is very much higher, happier, and more satisfactory, than that of the peasants and operatives of England ; and that while these latter are struggling in the deepest ignorance, pauperism, and moral degradation, the former are steadily and progressively attaining a condition, both socially and politically considered, of a higher, happier, and more hopeful character.” †

He ascribes this vast superiority of the peasantry in continental Europe over the similar class in England, chiefly to two causes: the general diffusion among the former of elementary education, and the abolition of the old feudal tenures, with the consequent general division of landed property among the people. His drift is, to arouse the rulers of England to a sense of the vital importance of

* The Italics are his.

† Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.

improvements, which have been successfully introduced almost everywhere else within the boundaries of civilization. England, he not only admits, but he clearly proves, is far behind the age in the march of social improvement; and as an Englishman loving his country, he would fain awaken her from her lethargy of ages, to persuade her, if possible, to shake off the trammels of feudalism with which she is still bound, to induce her, by a more liberal system of legislation, to make it *possible* for the down-trodden and degraded masses of her population to better their material and social condition; in a word, his object is to shame England into *beginning* at last the race of improvement with her more advanced European neighbors. It will be observed that in the countries of Europe with which he compares England, the great majority of the population is Catholic. In two of them, France and Austria, not only the government, but almost all the people, are Catholic, so far as they are Christians; while in the rest of Germany, in Holland, and in Switzerland, at least one-half the population still clings to the ancient faith; which, in their cases at least, has thus proved no hinderance to the march of improvement, according to the abundant evidence furnished by our English Protestant author.

Of the different public educational establishments in Europe we have already spoken, and we have shown how very far, in this respect, England is behind her Catholic neighbors. Of the manifold difficulties which embarrass the tenure and transfer of landed property in England, our author treats at considerable length. The English laws on this subject are designed mainly to guard the great privilege of primogeniture, which necessarily keeps the landed property in the hands of the favored few, shutting out the great body of the people from its possession. In their cumbersome machinery and intricate technicalities, these laws would appear to have been framed for the express purpose of mystifying the masses of the population. In this respect England has probably progressed less than any other country in Christendom, hardly even excepting Russia, with its millions of serfs, bought and sold with the soil! * When we read the numerous details furnished on

* There has been lately some talk of the Czar's intention to abolish or mitigate the serf system.

this subject by Mr. Kay, we are forcibly reminded of Bleak House and the Circumlocution Office of Dickens, as well as of the curious incident recorded in the Pickwick Papers, portraying the utter amazement into which Samuel Weller was thrown, on being informed and convinced by a forlorn prisoner for debt, in the Fleet prison, that he had been utterly ruined by having had a rich legacy left to him ! Of the English laws regulating real estate, Mr. Kay says :

“They are so technical, and are based upon so much antiquated learning, and upon so many almost-forgotten customs, that it is quite impossible for any one who has not made himself master of a great deal of the old learning connected with them, to understand them. If a system had been expressly devised, in order to keep every one but the studious part of the legal profession ignorant of its objects and meaning, none could have been better fitted to effect this end than our present landed property laws.” *

“In Great Britain and Ireland, in Russia, and in some parts of Austria alone, as many of my readers are aware, the land is still divided, and, so to speak, tied up in few hands and in immense estates ; and in these countries alone the old laws relating to landed property, which emanated from the feudal system, and which tend to prevent the subdivision of estates, still continue in force. These laws effect this end by means of the extraordinary powers which they confer on the owners of land. They enable an owner of land to prevent the sale of the land by himself during his own life, by his creditors, and by any successor or other person, for many years after his own death,” †

The exception of Russia may pass. That of “some parts of Austria” may possibly refer to Hungary some years ago, when Mr. Kay wrote, and perhaps also to Austrian Poland, or Silesia. It is well known that Kossuth, treacherously abandoning his own peasant class, joined the aristocracy, and raised the banner of revolt against the Austrian government, in defence of the feudal privileges of the Hungarian nobility, as against the rights for which the Hungarian peasantry were struggling. The Hungarian rebellion, at least in its commencement, and in the principles which originally prompted and animated its movements, was a struggle against Austria for the maintenance of antiquated feudal rights, including the exemption of the nobles from taxation, and in so far it was directly at war

* Vol. I. p. 37.

† Ibid. p. 38.

with popular rights and freedom, which Austria sought to uphold. Such having been the case, it is easy to conceive how Kossuth found so many sympathizers in England; but it is more difficult to explain how he was so warmly greeted in this great republic, the land of equal liberty to all, and exclusive privileges to none. Was it because Austria was Catholic, and Kossuth, with his principal abettors,—at least the earlier ones,—were Protestants; and that religious bigotry led our people to act inconsistently with their own avowed principles? If it be so, it would not be the first, nor even the hundredth time in history, when anti-Catholic bigotry, and blind hatred of Rome, so obscured the understanding and agitated the heart, as to cause men, otherwise intelligent, to act as if they were for the time being bereft of the first elements of common sense! From Titus Oates there is not a very long stride to Louis Kossuth, Honorary Vice-President of the American Bible Society, and general political charlatan!

Of the tenure of landed property in other civilized countries, our author furnishes the following account:

“Now in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Lombardy, the Tyrol, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, and in a great part of Italy and America, the law does not allow the proprietor of land a power of preventing his property being sold after his own death. In all these countries the old feudal system of primogeniture, entails, long settlements, and intricate devises of land, invented in order to keep great estates together, to preserve the great power of the feudal aristocracy, and to prevent the land getting into the hands of the shop-keeping and peasant classes, have [*has?*] been, since the first French Revolution, entirely swept away. In *all* these countries, every proprietor of land is allowed to sell or dispose of it as he likes during his own *life-time*. In *all* these countries, if the proprietor dies without having sold his land, and without having made a will, the law divides the land, after his death, among his wife and *all* his children, instead of giving the whole estate to the eldest son. In *some* of these countries, the proprietor is allowed to devise his land to whomsoever he will; but even in these cases, he cannot prevent his successor disposing of it as he pleases. In France, Switzerland, and the Rhine provinces, however, the proprietor (although he may dispose of his land as he chooses, *during his life-time*) cannot devise it, as the law gives each of his children a right to a certain share of all the land their father dies possessed of.”*

* Vol. I. p. 53.

The influence of this division of the land into small farms upon the industry and habits of the people has proved to be most happy. The small peasant proprietors labor with cheerful alacrity, because they know and feel that the fruits of their toil are their own. A system of garden-like culture is applied to these small farms, with every foot of which the proprietors are acquainted, and every foot of which they make available. General industry is thus stimulated, and the laborers sing cheerfully at their work, which is viewed as a labor of love. In all these respects, there is a wide difference, or rather a marked contrast, between the lower and laboring classes of continental Europe, and the corresponding classes in England. This is established by an unanswerable array of facts spread over the pages of our author.

The most thoroughly cultivated of these small farms, as well as the most beautiful, are those of France, Belgium, and the Rhine provinces, where the proprietors are Catholics. In regard to the social condition and agricultural progress of the French peasantry, Mr. Kay says that "all English travellers and all writers are agreed" upon the three following facts: 1, "that the industry of the peasant proprietors is quite marvellous, that they seem to spare no pains which can by any possibility increase the fertility of their farms, and that it is a wonderful thing to see how enthusiastically both men and women labor on the farms; 2, that the cultivation of the farms in France is very beautiful, and that the fields are cleaned, weeded, manured, and irrigated, as if they were so many gardens; and, 3, that the clothing of the peasantry is very good and comfortable." He adds: "Even those who are the most inveterately hostile to the division of landed property bear evidence to these facts; while all the French authorities concur in stating, that the character of the clothing of the peasantry has very considerably improved of late years."* He elsewhere freely admits, on the authority of "all travellers in France," "that the French peasants are well and comfortably clothed, that their dress exhibits considerable taste and refinement, and that it is in every way much better and very much more comfortable than that of our own (English)

* Pp. 350, 351.

laborers.”* And he bears similar testimony in regard to the superior industry, cheerfulness, refinement, and taste, as well as comfort in dress, of the laboring classes generally, on the continent of Europe over those of England. He dwells with seeming delight on the superiority of the Belgian system of agriculture, and quotes numerous authorities on the subject.† Our limits will not permit us to enter into the details, nor are they deemed necessary to our present purpose.

It will be more interesting to glance at the comparative social and moral condition of the poorer classes in England and on the European Continent. We will begin with the children; for childhood is the most interesting, as well as the most important period of life. Every one who has travelled in Europe must have been struck by the beaming smile and winning graces of childhood, particularly in France and Italy. In passing through these countries, you see, at a glance, that the children have been carefully taught politeness, kindness to strangers, and especially great respect to parents, and to old age generally. Instances of rudeness seldom meet your view, even in their ordinary games and amusements, and more seldom, if ever, in their intercourse with persons older than themselves. We have known French and Italian children, even of the poorer classes, cheerfully put themselves to great inconvenience and go considerably out of their way, to guide travellers to particular and sometimes distant localities, and then, with a graceful bow and smile, which would have done honor to much older persons, decline the proffered gratuity. The education of such children had not certainly been neglected. Is it so in the United States? Is it so in England, which is so much in the habit of boasting her superior civilization and decrying her neighbors? Mr. Kay draws the following picture of childhood in England among the poorer classes.

“Of the children of the poor, who are yearly born in England, vast numbers never receive any education at all, while many others never enter any thing better than a dame or a Sunday School. In the towns they are left in crowds until about eight or nine years

* P. 230.

† Pp. 157, 214, 218, &c.

of age, to amuse themselves in the dirt of the streets, while their parents pursue their daily toil. In these public thoroughfares, during the part of their lives which is most susceptible of impressions and most retentive of them, they acquire dirty, immoral, and disorderly habits; they become accustomed to wear filthy and ragged clothes; they learn to pilfer and to steal; they associate with boys who have been in prison, and who have there been hardened in crime by evil associates; they learn how to curse one another, how to fight, how to gamble, and how to fill up idle hours by vicious pastimes; they acquire no knowledge except the knowledge of vice; they never come in contact with their betters; and they are not taught either the truths of religion or the way by which to improve their condition in life. Their amusements are as low as their habits. The excitements of low debauchery too horrible to be named, of spirituous liquors which they begin to drink as early as they can collect pence wherewith to buy them, of the commission and concealment of thefts, and of rude and disgusting sports, are the pleasures of their life. The idea of going to musical meetings, such as those of the German poor, would be scoffed at, even if there were any such meetings for them to attend. Innocent dancing is unknown to them. Read they cannot. So they hurry for amusement and excitement to the gratification of sensual desires and appetites. In this manner,—filthy, lewd, sensual, boisterous, and skilful in the commission of crime,—a great part of the populations of our towns grow up to manhood. Of the truth or falsehood of this description any one can convince himself, who will examine our criminal records, or who will visit the back streets of any English town, when the schools are full, and count the children on the doorsteps and pavements, and note their condition, manners, and appearance, and their degraded and disgusting practices.”*

This is truly a startling picture, and it argues very badly for the refinement and morals of the lower classes of the English population. In a note, our author here adds: “Lord Ashley informs us, that there are thirty thousand such children as these in London alone!” Other English writers and authors of Official Reports publish similar facts. Mr. Mayhew fully confirms the statements of his distinguished countrymen as to the utterly degraded condition of the children of the poor in London. His detailed description of a certain class of low theatres, called “Penny Gaffs,” which are especially designed for the poorer youth of both sexes, of the coarse and obscene representations therein

* P. 33, *seqq.*

exhibited to applauding audiences, as well as of the scenes daily and nightly enacted in a large class of the London lodging-houses, reveals a state of morals among this numerous class of children in London which almost staggers belief, and fills us with utter amazement that such things can be in the capital of a country, boasting, more perhaps than any other, its superior Christianity and civilization! The passages are too long for our limits, besides being a little too broad for publication, and we can merely refer to them.* We shall probably have occasion to quote this author hereafter.

The appearance, dress, and manners of the peasantry on the continent of Europe are in singular contrast with those of the same class in England. Mr. Kay bears the following testimony in regard to the peasant girls of Germany and Switzerland,—and the same remark may apply with even greater force to the peasant girls of France, Italy, Belgium, and other Catholic countries :

“ An Englishman taken to the markets, fairs, and village festivals of these countries would scarcely credit his eyes, were he to see the peasant girls who meet there to join in the festivities; they are so much more lady-like in their appearance, in their manners, and in their dress, than those of our [English] country parishes.”†

The same contrast exists, in a marked degree, between the general bearing of the poorer classes in continental Europe and in England. The former have a manliness, an independence of manner, denoted by the mien and step and style of address, and withal a courtesy towards those with whom they come in contact, which you will seek in vain among even the better portions of the English peasantry. This contrast appears on the surface, and it is seen at a glance by even the most casual observer, and the fact is questioned by no respectable traveller. The politeness exhibited by the French, Belgian, German, Spanish, and Italian poorer classes is, perhaps, their most striking characteristic ; as, on the contrary, rudeness, churlishness, and a suspicious shrinking from conversation with strangers, and with those occupying a high position in society, are distinctive traits of the English laborers and poor. What

* See *London Labor and the London Poor*, pp. 41, 262, *seqq.*

† P. 31.

Mr. Howitt says of the difference between the English and the German peasants, especially those belonging to the Rhenish provinces, may apply to almost all the class of laborers and of the poor on the European Continent :

“ The English peasant is so cut off from the idea of property that he comes habitually to look upon it as a thing from which he is warned by the laws of the great proprietors, and becomes in consequence spiritless, purposeless. * * * The German *bauer*, on the contrary, looks on the country as made for him and his fellow-men. He feels himself a man ; he has a stake in the country as good as that of the bulk of his neighbors ; no man can threaten him with ejection or the work-house, so long as he is active and economical. He walks therefore with a bold step ; he looks you in the face with the air of a free man, but of a respectful one.” *

On this striking passage Mr. Kay comments as follows :

“ This latter observation is singularly correct. The manners of the peasantry in Germany and Switzerland form, as I have already said, a very singular contrast to the manners of our peasants. They are polite but independent. The manner of salutation encourages this feeling. If a German gentleman addresses a peasant, he raises his hat before the poor man, as we do before ladies. The peasant replies by a polite ‘ pray be covered, sir,’ and then in good German answers the questions put to him.” †

We have often marked a singular elegant courtesy extended to the poor by the higher classes throughout Catholic Europe, and we have been greatly edified by the kindly feelings thus constantly kept alive between the highest and lowest grades of society. In these and other European countries which we have visited, rank and riches are regarded as no valid titles for treating with neglect, much less for disparaging and insulting the poorer classes. This is nowhere more striking than in Spain, Italy, and France. The usual style of address by a French gentleman to a poor man, even in expostulation or reproach, is “ *mon enfant*—my child !” It is not so in England, nor even in this country. The haughty reserve and selfish insolence of the English aristocracy and gentry towards those belonging to the lower classes are, perhaps, the most striking

* *Rural and Domestic Life in Germany*, p. 27, quoted by Kay, p. 159.

† *Ibid.*

features of English society. A poor man is an outcast from this *elegant* society; if he were a miserable leper, he could scarcely be viewed with greater contempt or horror. Practically, poverty is there regarded, not merely as a misfortune, but as a crime not to be forgiven. Thus is raised and constantly kept up an icy barrier between the higher and lower English classes, a barrier almost as high and impassable as that existing in our Southern States between masters and slaves! The English peasantry submit to their fate, not cheerfully like our slaves, but sullenly and churlishly. "Spiritless and purposeless," they plod along their weary journey through life, having little of the man save the form, and being but one remove above the mere animal creation! That this is no exaggeration will appear from the following rather extended testimony of Mr. Kay, who quotes with approval from the London Morning Chronicle:*

"Taking the adult class of agricultural laborers (in England), it is almost impossible to exaggerate the ignorance in which they live, and move, and have their being. As they work in the fields, the external world has some hold of them through the medium of their senses; but to all the higher exercises of intellect they are perfect strangers. You cannot address one of them, without being painfully struck with the intellectual darkness which enshrouds him. There is, in general, neither speculation in his eyes nor intelligence in his countenance. The whole expression is more that of an animal than of a man. He is wanting, too, in the erect and independent bearing of a man. When you accost him, if he is not insolent—which he seldom is—he is timid and shrinking; his whole manner showing that he feels himself at a distance from you greater than should separate any two classes of men. He is often doubtful when you address, and suspicious when you question him; he is seemingly oppressed with the interview while it lasts, and obviously relieved when it is over. These are the traits, which I can affirm them to possess as a class, after having come in contact with many hundreds of farm laborers. They belong to a generation, for whose intellectual culture little or nothing was done. As a class, they have no amusements beyond the indulgence of sense. In nine cases out of ten, recreation is associated in their minds with nothing higher than sensuality. I have frequently asked clergymen and others, if they often find the adult peasant reading for his own or others' amusement? The invariable answer is, that such a sight is seldom or never witnessed. In the first place, *the great*

* P. 582, *seqq.*

bulk of them cannot read. In the next, a large proportion of those who can, do so with too much difficulty to admit of the exercise being an amusement to them. Again, few of those who can read with comparative ease have the taste for doing so. * * *

“Let it not be said that this picture is too strongly drawn. *The subject is one which does not admit of exaggeration.* Did space permit, or could any good purpose be served by it, I could adduce instances almost innumerable of the profound ignorance in which this class of British subjects is steeped. There is scarcely a field in the agricultural districts, which does not exhibit a living illustration of it. Search any county throughout the South and West, and the examples start up around you in hundreds. I have found it so in all those which I have traversed—from Salisbury to the Land’s End—from Portland-hill to Oxford—in the vale of the Torridge, and in the vale of Aylesbury—by the Thames, the Severn, the Frome, the Stour, the Exe, the Camel, and the Plym. Where all is bad, it is sometimes difficult to point out the worst.”

We doubt whether any other country in Christendom contains a population so utterly degraded as this; and let it be borne in mind that the class whose melancholy condition is here portrayed comprises the great majority of the English people! England sends out her millions annually for the conversion of heathens in far distant countries; would it not be a much more enlightened charity to apply the amount to the vast mass of worse than paganism within her own boundaries?

The character of the amusements of a people is a very good index of their condition, material, social, and moral. The people must have relaxation and amusements of some kind or other, and the kind selected is strongly indicative of their character and social position. Now, we are willing to abide this test in the comparison between the English poor and those on the European Continent. The amusements of the latter consist in promenades, and musical concerts, in beautiful and tastily laid out public gardens, where all classes of society meet on pleasant evenings, mingle on terms of equality, and, dropping the rigid forms of social etiquette, give way to cheerful and refined enjoyment. On such occasions, you seldom or never witness any disorder. You hardly ever meet with drunkenness or riotous brawls; the whole scene is one of unrestrained and innocent enjoyment. This is more particularly the case, as we have had occasion to know from observation, in the *alamedas* of Spain,

and in the public gardens, villas, and walks of almost all the great cities of France and Italy. Mr. Kay witnessed the same pleasant exhibitions in Germany. The following passages from his work are peculiarly interesting, as exhibiting the contrast in this respect between the English poor and those on the European Continent :

“Can any Englishman imagine the inhabitants of the filthy cellars, alleys, and courts of our towns, or the peasants of our villages, sitting in Kensington or any other gardens, mixed up with the gentry of our metropolis and with the officers of our army? The idea seems to us preposterous,—so low, so poor, and so uncivilized, are our poor ; and yet assemblies of the same classes of society may be seen by travellers in Germany almost every summer evening. In most of the towns in Germany and Switzerland, public promenades have been made and planted with avenues of trees, under which the citizens stroll or sit on the summer evenings, listening to the bands which play on the promenade, reading and talking over the newspapers, drinking coffee or beer at some of the many refreshment rooms always erected near, and enjoying life and the society of their fellows. These resorts are by no means used exclusively by the wealthier classes, as almost all amusements are in England ; but mingled up with the richer classes on week-days, and especially on Sunday evenings, may be always seen crowds of the lower classes, with their wives and children, enjoying themselves at least as much as any of their richer neighbors.”*

Now let us see what are the amusements of the poor in England :

“In England, it may be said that the poor have no relaxation but the ale-house and the gin-palace. It is a sad thing to say of any people ; but, alas ! it is too true. The good old country games of the times of our forefathers are forgotten. The class of yeomanry or small proprietors which used to keep them up have disappeared. The cricket matches, wrestling matches, running matches, shooting matches, and dances, which formed some of the healthy sports of our peasantry in former times [*Catholic*], are now, so far as the peasantry are concerned, abandoned and forgotten ; and the commons and greens, where they were once held, have been nearly all enclosed. * * * It may therefore be said that, as a general rule, our peasants have no other amusement or relaxation than that unhealthy and demoralizing one—the tavern. There they acquire intemperate habits ; there they spend a great part of the earnings of their families ; there they excite one another to rick-burnings, to poaching, and to low debauchery ; and there the

* Pp. 240, 241.

younger men learn all manner of debauchery from the older and more hardened frequenters."*

Among a class so utterly degraded and so brutally debauched, we should not expect to find much religious sentiment or practice; and accordingly we discover that their religious condition is most deplorable. Mammonism and religion are closely allied in England, and wherever Mammonism enters, the poor have no rights nor privileges; "as the operatives in Lancashire are in the habit of saying, 'There is no church in England for the poor, there is only a church for the rich.'"[†] The poor are seldom visited by the Protestant minister, and the bulk of them never enter a church! Says Mr. Kay:

"Of the operatives in Lancashire, and of the workmen in our great towns, there is not—and I speak after considerable experience and numerous inquiries—there is not *one out of every ten* who ever enters any church, and still fewer who attend regularly."[‡]

It is a remarkable fact, that while Mammonism grinds the poor in England, and virtuously bars the entrance of the churches against them, the Catholic Church is in England, as everywhere else, the sweet and tender mother of the poor, whom she is in the habit of receiving as the favorite member of Christ's mystical body on earth. The best friends of the poor in Protestant England, even at the present day, are those very Catholic priests, whom English law pursued and hunted down, like wolves, for nearly two centuries! Bigoted as Mr. Kay is, he could not refrain from seeing and acknowledging this fact so honorable to the Catholic Church. Here is his testimony:

"In the Roman [Catholic] churches, there are no closed pews and reserved places. In their churches, all men are treated as equals in the presence of their God. In the Roman [Catholic] churches the poor are welcomed with an eagerness which seems to say,—the Church was meant especially for such as you; and in the Roman Church, many of the priests are chosen from the body of the poor, in order that the ministers of religious consolation may be able the better to understand the religious wants of their poor brethren."[§]

"The Roman Church is much wiser than the English in this respect. It selects a great part of its priests from the poorest classes of society, and educates them gratuitously in great simplicity of habits. The consequence is, that they feel no difficulty

* Pp. 231, 232.

† P. 592.

‡ P. 416.

§ P. 593.

in mingling with the poor. Many of them are not men of refined (!) habits themselves, and are not therefore disgusted at want of refinement in others. They understand perfectly what are the wants, feelings, and habits of the poor. They know how to suit their demeanor, conversation, teaching, and actions, so as to make the poor quite at ease with them. They do not feel the disgust, which a more refined man cannot help feeling,* in being obliged to enter the low haunts of the back streets and alleys. It is singular to observe how the priests of Romanist countries abroad associate with the poor. I have often seen them riding with the peasants in their carts along the roads, eating with them in their houses, sitting with them in the village inns, mingling with them in their village festivals, and yet always preserving their authority.”†

Mr. Mayhew fully confirms the above statement in regard to the almost total want of religion among the English poorer classes. Of the numerous class of Costermongers in London, he ascertained on good authority that “not three in one hundred had ever been in the interior of a church, or any place of worship, or knew what was meant by Christianity.”‡ The only class which had any religious faith or practice was that of the poor Irish street-sellers, who were generally regular in their attendance at church.§ “An intelligent and trustworthy man,” not a Catholic, gave him the following account of the religion of the Costermongers, and of the difference between the English and Irish street-sellers :

“The Costers have no religion at all, and very little notion, or none at all, of what religion or a future state is. Of all things they hate tracts. They hate them, because the people leaving them never give them any thing, and as they cannot read the tract—not one in forty—they are vexed to be bothered with it. And really, what is the use of giving people reading before you have taught them to read? * * * I think the city missionaries (Protestant) have done good. But I am satisfied, that if the Costers had to profess themselves of some religion to-morrow, they would all become Roman Catholics, every one of them. This is the reason:—London Costers live very often in the same courts and streets as the poor Irish, and if the Irish are sick, be sure there comes to them the priest, the Sisters of Charity—they are good women—and some other ladies. Many a man that is not a Catholic has rotted and died without any good person near him. I am not a

* Deliver us from such *refinement* in ministers of the Gospel, which was intended to be preached especially to the poor.

† P. 420.

‡ P. 21.

§ P. 498.

Catholic myself, but I believe every word of the Bible, and have the greater belief that it is the word of God because it teaches democracy. The Irish in the courts get sadly *chaffed* by the others about their priests,—but they will die for the priest. Religion is a regular puzzle to the Costers. They see people come out of church and chapel, and as they are mostly well dressed, and there is very few of their own sort among the church-goers, the Costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable, and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it. It is a mystery to them.”*

We cannot refrain from transcribing one more passage from Mr. Mayhew, in which he remarks in a very sensible manner on the hypocrisy of seeking “to evangelize the heathen abroad,” while there is such a mass of unmitigated paganism at home, for the enlightenment of which nothing whatever is done! This degraded class live more like animals than like reasonable men—we will not say Christians. For, as he observes, “Only ONE-TENTH—at the *outside* one-tenth—of the couples living together and carrying on the costermongering trade, are married! * * * There is no honor attached to the marriage state, and no shame to concubinage.”† Here is the passage referred to:

“And yet it has been shown that the consciences of the London Costermongers, generally speaking, are as little developed as their intellects; indeed, the moral and religious state of these men is a foul disgrace to us, laughing to scorn our zeal for the ‘propagation of the Gospel in *foreign* parts,’ and making our many societies for the civilization of savages on the other side of the globe appear like ‘a delusion, a mockery, and a snare,’ when we have so many people sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism round about our very homes. It is well to have Bishops of New Zealand when we have Christianized all *our own* heathen; but with 30,000 individuals in merely one of our cities, utterly creedless, mindless, and principleless, surely it would look more like earnestness on our parts, if we created bishops of the ‘New Cut,’ and sent ‘Right Reverend Fathers’ to watch over the ‘cure of souls’ in the Broadway and the Brill.”‡

The religious sentiment and practice of the peasantry in Catholic countries are in as marked a contrast with those of Protestant England, as are the faith and piety of the poor London street Irish with the barbarous heathenism and utter depravity of the London Protestant Costermongers. What Mr. Kay says of the piety of the German and

* P. 21.

† P. 20.

‡ P. 101.

Swiss Catholic peasants, may be said with still greater truth of that which distinguishes the laboring classes in most parts of France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and especially in the Tyrol, a portion of the Austrian empire. The following is his testimony in regard to the religious habits prevalent among the lower order of Catholics, in Germany and Switzerland :

“ In Germany and Switzerland the peasants rise a little before five. They then take a cup of coffee and go out. The Romanist (!) churches and cathedrals are all open, and services are performed at five. *Most of the Romanist peasants go in to prayers before going to their labor.* It is a curious sight to see the women deposit their milk-pails, and the men their farming-tools, at the doors of the Romanist churches, go in to prayers, remain there about a quarter [*half?*] of an hour, and then, taking up their pails and tools, start for the fields and cattle. The priests of the canton of Freiburg in Switzerland told me that they were obliged by turns to rise between four and five in summer, in order to perform the early matins [*Mass—the most enlightened Protestants understand about as much of our services as an intelligent Hindoo!*] at five for the peasants. At about eight, the peasants return home for breakfast.”*

The agricultural and poorer classes of England, according to Sismondi, are daily deteriorating in their social and material condition, while “ the peasants of France are improving and rising in the social scale.”† “ The comparative results of the English and French systems,” according to Reichensperger, “ may be inferred from the fact, that in every 100 inhabitants, there are in France, according to Lawatz, 7, but according to Villeneuve only 5 paupers ; in Prussia, according to Schmidt, 3½ paupers ; while in England there are from 16 to 20 !”‡

Mammonism is directly responsible for this degradation of the poorer classes in Protestant countries, and especially in England. As Mr. Kay says, “ in no country in the world is so much time spent in the mere acquisition of wealth, and so little in the enjoyment of life and of all the means of happiness which God has given to man, as in England.”§ This hunger and thirst after money pervades all classes, and consumes, like a raging fire, all the better feeling, and the warmer sympathies of our common nature. Each of the higher classes of the population is always in a

* Pp. 161, 162.

† Quoted by Kyp, p. 332.

‡ Quoted *ibid.*

§ Pp. 300, 301.

fever of discontent, the middle classes seeking the wealth and aping the manners of the aristocracy; "but this emulation cannot reach the lower classes, partly because of their inferior intelligence, and partly because of the utter impossibility of the peasants of England ever rising in the world, by any exertion or present self-denial, however great."* We repeat it, the great curse of English society, and the one which is, we greatly fear, destined to blight our own at no distant day, is MAMMONISM. This raging fever of avarice dries up the very fountains of charity for the poor, whom it heartlessly consigns to the dreary prison of the work-house,—the only *charity* which the human heart, rendered callous and *metallic* by Mammonism, can possibly devise for those who are unhappily destitute. Capital is the worst task-master and the most remorseless tyrant that the poor can ever have.

If the condition of the English poor is lamentable, that of the Irish is still more wretched. Systematically plundered and oppressed for ages, the Irish peasantry have no reasonable incentive to industry; for if they improve their holdings by enterprising industry, the fruits of their toil are snatched from them and their children by that remorseless cormorant and engine of Mammonism, the English law. Our candid Englishman is free to acknowledge all this. After summing up the manifold and atrocious evils which oppress Ireland, he says:

"Such is the frightful, the appalling result of our long government of Ireland. We have made it—I speak it deliberately—we have made it the most degraded and the most miserable country in the world, and we wonder that the Irish should rebel against such a system of misgovernment! All the world is crying shame upon us, but we are equally callous to our ignominy and to the results of our misgovernment. Hitherto we have done nothing to effect a change."†

Mr. Kay devotes several chapters of his interesting work to the social and moral condition of the poor—that is, of more than half the population of England and Wales. He enters into minute details, some of which are too broad for our pages; and he exhibits in abundance, reports of commissioners appointed by parliament, of benevolent Pro-

* Pp. 300, 301.

† P. 318.

testant associations and individuals, and of parsons of the Church of England, all going to prove conclusively his *thesis*, which he utters "with sorrow and shame, but with not less confidence in the assertion," that "the English peasantry are more ignorant, more demoralized, less capable of helping themselves, and more pauperized, than those of any other country in Europe, if we except Russia, Turkey, South Italy, and some parts of the Austrian empire."* We cannot enter into the details, without swelling our essay into a volume; but we must briefly refer to some of his statistics exhibiting the moral condition of the English and Welsh peasantry. This condition is indeed horrible, more so even than we were before prepared to believe. The best of his statements are bad enough, the worst we dare not republish, for fear of wounding delicacy, or shocking fastidious taste.

In general, it may be said without exaggeration, that the lower classes of England and Wales are morally degraded and rotten, to a degree which almost passes belief, both in town and country. The flagrant immorality and the utter brutishness of the poor and of the operatives in the English towns are surpassed, if possible, by the degradation of the laborers in the agricultural districts. There can be no exaggeration on this subject. The official reports so often made to parliament on this subject unhappily leave no room for any exaggeration. The English operatives in the manufacturing towns, and in the collieries, are slaves in all but the name; and in a material, social, and moral point of view, they are worse off, and more utterly degraded, than are the black slaves on our Southern plantations! They are the victims of Mammon; and Mammon has no bowels of mercy. Says Mr. Kay:

"I speak with deliberation when I say, that I know no spectacle so degraded, and if I may be allowed to use a strong word, so horrible, as the back streets and suburbs of English and Irish streets and towns, with their filthy inhabitants; with their crowds of half-clad, filthy, and degraded children, playing in the dirty kennels; with their numerous gin palaces filled with people, whose hands and faces show how their flesh is, so to speak, impregnated with spirituous liquors—the only solaces, poor creatures, that they have!—and with poor young girls, whom a want of religious train-

* P. 359.

ing in their infancy, and misery has [have] driven to the most degraded and pitiful of all pursuits. Go to London, reader, or to Manchester, or Liverpool, or Preston, or Norwich, or Nottingham, or York, or Chester, or to any of our large and increasing manufacturing or commercial towns, and see if my description is exaggerated. An hour's walk in any one will suffice to convince you of its sad truth. And are you then willing to aid in stimulating this system? Greater evils never threatened civilization and religion, than the great cities which have been springing into existence within the last one hundred years. If we would save civilization, religion, and the morality and happiness of our people, we must reform our towns."*

But what is most remarkable in the moral condition of the English peasants, is the fact to which we above alluded, and which is established by full and trustworthy statistical returns, that many of the agricultural counties and districts of England and Wales are even more corrupt, if possible, than the large commercial and manufacturing towns! We confess that we were not prepared for this startling statement, which Mr. Kay establishes by undeniable evidence.

"One remarkable fact, which singularly illustrates the evil effects of our moral system, is, that notwithstanding the extraordinary numbers of workmen crowded together in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, and notwithstanding the moral infamy which those towns suffer from the continual influx of wretched beings driven thither by want from our rural districts and from Ireland, *the annual proportion of criminals to population is very considerably less in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, than in many of our agricultural counties!* The supposition that the proportion of crime to population is greater in the manufacturing than in the rural districts, is one which has been taken for granted by many writers, but which is totally unfounded. The reverse of this proposition is the truth."†

We know of no other country in the civilized world, if we perhaps except Protestant Sweden, of which the same thing may be said with truth. When the agricultural population of a country exceeds in moral depravity that of the towns, we may well believe that the cup of that nation's iniquity has been filled up to the brim, and that it requires a miracle of divine power and grace, equal to that which operated the resurrection of Lazarus, to bring it forth from the tomb where it is festering in rotteness, even to the very marrow of the bones!

* Pp. 373, 377.

† P. 383. The Italics are his.

Mr. Kay probes this foul ulcer of English depravity to its very core. He traces it to its true causes; the Mammonism of the English aristocracy and gentry, which refuses to the English laborers sufficient lodging-houses for comfort, or even common decency, and the cold apathy of the Anglican Church Establishment, which utterly neglects and despises the poor, after having become enriched by the sacrilegious robbery of the property of the Catholic monasteries and churches, which were, in the good old Catholic times, the principal resource and the sacred heritage of the poor! In regard to the lodging-houses, it is almost inconceivable that in any Christian country, such dens of wretchedness and moral iniquity, as Mr. Kay conclusively shows them to be, should be tolerated for one moment. We will furnish a *portion*—we dare not give the whole—of one extract from his pages, in which he is speaking of the vagrant lodging-houses;—they remind us of similar establishments in China, as described by the Abbé Huc:

“These lodging-houses, which are to be found in most of our towns, consist of long low rooms, filled with beds or mattresses, upon which the vagrants of all ages and both sexes sleep, two or three in one bed or upon one mattress. These rooms are unventilated, seldom cleaned, filthy, and close, beyond comprehension to those who have not been into them. In these dens, the vagrants, pickpockets, beggars, and, in fine, all the homeless wanderers of our streets, sleep crowded together. Old men and young men, old women and young women, and, worst of all, children of all ages, from the infant at the breast to the boy who is just ripening into the felon, are crowded together. The scenes which take place in these places are horrible, &c.”*

The cottages inhabited by the laboring classes in the manufacturing towns and in the agricultural districts, afford little better accommodation to their inmates, and but little better protection to delicacy and purity, than do these miserable dens established for the poor by the *munificence* of the greatest government (?) on the face of the earth! Mr. Kay establishes this by a cumulative evidence, into which our narrow limits do not allow us to enter in detail.† Of course, in such a state of things,

* P. 430.

† He devotes more than a hundred pages to the subject. P. 349 to 479.

delicacy, purity, and chastity are wholly out of the question. In this respect, Wales is perhaps even worse than England. In many parts of Wales, among the lower, and sometimes even among the better classes, female chastity before marriage is rather an exception to the general rule and custom of the country! This shocking custom is winked at or openly defended by poor-law guardians; and, according to the testimony of the Rev. J. W. Trevor, a Protestant minister, "is avowed, defended, and laughed at, without scruple or shame, or concealment, by both sexes alike!!"*

A horrible consequence of this utter degradation and wide-spread immorality, is a vice in which England stands præeminent in infamy among all the nations of the earth, whether savage or civilized, if we except China; we refer to the awful prevalence of infanticide! Here too Mammonism comes in, as the principal motive to the unnatural and monstrous murder of helpless children by their barbarous parents. Let us hear Mr. Kay, first remarking that the facts connected with this subject have lately come out prominently before the English public in consequence of the awful disclosures made at the trial of Mary May for infanticide:†

"Another sad symptom of the condition of the poor in our towns is the use they make of the Burial Clubs. In some of our towns the degradation of many of the poor is such, that parents often cause the death of their children, in order to obtain the premiums from the societies. * * * It has been clearly ascertained that it is a *common practice* among the more degraded classes of poor in *many* of our towns, to enter their infants in these clubs, and then to cause their death either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! What more horrible symptom of moral degradation can be conceived? One's mind revolts against it, and would fain reject it as a monstrous fiction. But, alas! it seems to be but too true."‡

He proves it true by a mass of testimony which cannot be gainsaid or successfully controverted. This fact alone speaks volumes for the utter rottenness of English morals, especially among the poorer classes. The Reformation in

* Pp. 575, 577. See many similar statements, *ibid.*

† For a detailed account of these disclosures, and of the whole revolting subject, read Kay, p. 433, *seq.*

‡ Pp. 433, 434.

England first robbed the poor of their patrimony, and then *reformed* them into degraded slaves, but little elevated above the brute creation!

With this startling picture of English morals before our eyes, can we wonder that Mormonism made so many recruits to its foul ranks in England and Wales? This thoroughly *reformed* and *enlightened* country, which has for three centuries been boasting its superior civilization, and sneering at its less fortunate, because "priest-ridden" neighbors, constituted a fitting theatre for the zeal of the Mormon apostles, who there succeeded in making proselytes by thousands, and transporting them in ship-loads to our shores. To the honor of Catholic Ireland, France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, be it said, that not one Catholic of any of these countries ever became converted to Mormonism! This striking fact is suggestive of much wholesome reflection. It presents an incontestable evidence of the superior moral tone of Catholic countries over those whose people are for ever boasting their superior enlightenment, because of their having embraced the glorious Reformation. To the glory of Catholic nations be it said, that they are not yet sufficiently *enlightened* to turn Mormon. We have now completed our rapid analysis of the two interesting volumes of Mr. Kay on the educational, material, social, and moral condition of the poorer classes in different European countries. The English edition which we have used was brought to this country, as we have been informed, by a high dignitary of the Anglican Church in the United States. The work was probably intended for republication here, as an additional evidence of the superiority of the English over all other people, and as furnishing conclusive proof of the benefits conferred on the mass of the English population by the richly endowed Anglican Church, established by Act of Parliament. But a hasty perusal of the volumes soon convinced the ecclesiastical dignitary in question, that the evidence all tended in the opposite direction, and that the work contained too many wholesome truths to make it suitable to our market, or profitable to our publishers. Hence it was quietly dropped, and we met with it by accident. If any one of our Catholic or more liberal-minded Protestant publishers would think proper to give one or both of the volumes to the American

reading public, for the two volumes may be said to be distinct essays on connected subjects, he would be doing a service to the cause of truth, and he would, we have every hope, meet with sufficient encouragement to secure him from loss, and perhaps to make the investment profitable. To such a publisher we will gladly furnish facilities for the publication.

In order not to extend this paper to an unwarrantable length, we have said comparatively little of the interesting researches by Mr. Mayhew on "London Labor and the London Poor," which is exceedingly graphic and instructive in its ample details in regard to the condition of the poor in the great modern Babylon—the English metropolis. The book is, in fact, a kind of daguerreotype of London life among the poor. As every Christian heart must beat with sympathy for the more destitute classes, and as the examination of the causes which have led to their destitution or degradation in particular countries must be a favorite occupation of the Christian philanthropist, we shall be pardoned if, in a future number of the Review, we revert to this subject, and present an analysis of Mr. Mayhew's interesting and suggestive work.

M. J. S.

ART. III.—*Conversations of Our Club, reported for the Review by a Member.*

CONVERSATION III.

"I HAVE been reading," remarked Mr. Winslow, "some articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, by an American in Rome, intended to enlighten the Roman Court as to matters and things in this country, — our political institutions, the character and tendency of our people, and the prospects of their conversion afforded by the rise and multiplication of sects, the farthest removed possible from Catholicity. The writer has a hopeful disposition, is full of enthusiasm, and seems to see every thing *couleur de rose*. He does not seem to be aware that Rome is not likely to fall in love with 'Young America,' and that one

of the worst methods he could take to gain her confidence would be to prove that Catholics here have a strong tendency to embrace the extreme democracy of the American people."

"Rome is wise," added De Bonneville, "and is not likely to see in the rejection of all revealed truth, in the falling back on pure nature, and seeking their good in the senses alone, promise of speedy conversions to Catholicity. Rome, too, has had some experience of Liberalism, and is strongly inclined to regard it as the exponent not of a Catholic but of an anti-Catholic spirit. An alliance of Catholicity and modern Liberalism does not strike her as natural or desirable. Men must be governed, and to be well governed they must have developed in them the spirit of loyalty.

"They must," continued Mr. Winslow, "have in them the spirit of obedience,—a clear, distinct recognition of authority and submission to it as authority. They must act, not from the spirit of self-sufficiency, of disobedience, but from the spirit of obedience."

"That is," interposed De Bonneville, "from true loyalty. But as far as I have been able to observe, your countrymen have no such word as loyalty in their vocabulary, no such principle as that word stands for in their hearts. To be 'leal-hearted,' is not, it strikes me, an American characteristic. The American has great self-reliance, 'a gude conceit o' himsel';' but, barring a certain flunkyism in the wealthier classes, no respect or reverence for any thing above himself. I was discussing with an American gentleman the other day a grave philosophical question, when a sprightly lad, some fourteen years of age, who I am sure did not understand a word we said, broke in with 'I differ with you in opinion, Mr. De Bonneville.' I was silent of course. Your very boys hold themselves competent to dispute with your graybeards, and claim the right to hold and act from their own opinions without the least regard to wisdom, learning, age, position, or experience. You reverence nothing, and even your gallantry towards the fair sex is rather a prurient fancy than a genuine respect for the dignity of woman. To a stranger, a foreigner like myself, you seem absolutely deficient in reverence, and unable to appreciate true dignity. I hear,

at your public meetings, striplings speaking with surprising self-confidence on grave political and financial questions of which they absolutely know nothing, save a few cant phrases. With you nothing is venerable, not even the Mother of God, nay, not even God himself, and the only indication I can discover that your religious nature is not wholly obliterated, is the fact that some of you now and then do fear the devil, and are afraid of taking his name in vain.

If that," interrupted Winslow, "were said by a countryman of mine, I should allow its truth, but it goes against my patriotism to hear it from a foreigner!"

"Mr. Winslow has, after all, a slight feeling of nationality," interposed O'Flanagan, "and is a little impatient, when he hears foreigners tell even the truth of his countrymen; let him pardon then the sensitiveness of my countrymen, when they hear foreigners saying not what is true, but what is false of Ireland and the Irish."

"Let us have no more of that," interposed Father John. "Truth is truth, let who will speak it, and he who recoils from it is no true man. The shield has its reverse side. The writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* has, possibly, not given the whole truth, and he may have given too favorable a picture of the American people; but he has raised a voice in favor of his countrymen, where few voices have been raised but in their disparagement. He has done well in presenting a picture of the bright side of the country, and in telling those things favorable to us, which are not usually told in the Catholic press of Europe. Catholic Europe has hardly yet learned to do us justice, and is very far from estimating us according to our real importance as a nation. It is only a few years since this same *Civiltà Cattolica* represented American society as a mixture of Indians, Negroes, and the descendants of European settlers; and the devout people of France and Italy still, very generally, when they hear talk of *Americans*, suppose the savage or Indian tribes are meant. They have not yet learned that there is a great and independent nation here, originally of European descent,—a civilized nation, with a polity, laws, institutions, and a national character of its own, with a larger population than England, Scotland, and Ireland, and almost as large as the population of

France or that of the empire of Austria, and in trade and commerce ranking as second only to Great Britain, and surpassing even her in her tonnage.

“Moreover, Catholic Europe has not been alive to the influence this American nation is likely in the future to exert on European thought and institutions, especially through England, and still more from its position on the Pacific, on Japan, China, and the whole of Eastern Asia, and Oceania. The two great conquests for the Church now to make are Russia and this same American nation. Russia is virtually Catholic at heart, and though schismatical is not heretical. Nothing in her case is needed but her reconciliation with the Chair of Peter. That reconciliation, if not opposed for political reasons by France and Austria, I regard as neither difficult nor distant. That reconciliation, once effected, secures the destruction of the Mahometan power, and the conversion of old Asia. The conversion of this American nation secures this Continent and its islands to the Church, the faith and worship of Christopher Columbus, and Americus Vespuccius. To the Catholic, after the restoration of Russia to unity, there is no conquest to the faith so important as the conversion of the people of the United States. I am, therefore, pleased, that our friend at Rome has done what he could to call the attention of Catholics abroad to its importance.”

“All that is very well,” replied Winslow, “but I cannot understand how Rome can infer the feasibility of the conversion of the country from such movements as those of Brook Farm and Fruitlands, inspired by a socialistic, not a Christian spirit, and contemplating a heaven on earth, through gratification of the senses or passions, not a heaven hereafter through supernatural elevation of man to union with God.”

“Every man,” answered Father John, “has his own point of view, and his own idiosyncrasies. The movements our friend alleges are not in my view representative movements, and to me they have very little significance, for they were not indigenous, and did not spring spontaneously from the American mind and heart. All the movements of the sort amongst us have been produced by foreign speculations, or by foreigners coming here for the purpose of realizing their dreams. Even the Valley of the Cross move-

ment in North Carolina was only an echo of the Puseyite movement in Great Britain. I never could attach to these things the importance attached to them by the author of the *Questions of the Soul*. They are important, however, in so far as they indicate that our people are not satisfied with the forms of Protestantism they now have."

"It seems to me," interposed Dieffenbach, "that they are something more. They indicate a tendency on the part of the American people to get rid of shams, to dispense with cant, and to fall back on simple nature, and yield themselves to its pure instincts and lofty aspirations. Men cannot remain contented with pure nature, for it aspires to something more than itself; it tends instinctively to Catholicity. It is easier to convert a man from pure nature, than it is from Calvinism. Hence I see a favorable sign in the very tendency of the American people to unbelief,—to pure nature."

"I cannot agree with Mein Herr Dieffenbach in that," remarked O'Flanagan, "and it seems to me a bit of a bull, to suppose men are brought nearer the Church by being removed farther from her. It is no easy matter to make an impression upon a mind that has rejected all belief in the supernatural, and has succeeded in persuading itself, that there is and can be nothing on which to rely but nature alone. Men who have lost all belief in Christianity, and have fallen back on simple nature, usually seek their good from nature alone, that is, from the natural order, and become selfish and sensual. They devote themselves to temporal and sensible goods, and become deaf to all religious appeals, blind to all spiritual truth, and dead to all moral convictions. Let a nation lose all trace of supernatural life, the last remnant of its belief in a supernatural order, and it has lost all public and private virtue, and has and will acknowledge no God but the world, no good but sensible good. Instead of following pure instincts and yielding to lofty aspirations, it becomes the slave of concupiscence, and bears as its fruits, covetousness, murder, contention, wrath, hatred, sensuality, and all manner of vice and crime. It follows the lower instincts, the senses, the corrupt desires, and becomes a Sodom or a Gomorrha."

"Mr. O'Flanagan is right in the main," replied Father John. "No man, is brought nearer the Church by being

removed further from her, and a serious, earnest Protestant people are preferable to a purely infidel people. They are too, in my judgment, more easily converted. Sincere and earnest Protestants have always some elements of Catholic truth, and that truth forms a basis on which you can construct your argument. They *mean* to be Christians, and, if sincere, when convinced that to be Christians they must be Catholics, they will become Catholics. The chief obstacles we have to encounter in converting this country, do not arise from the Protestantism, but from the infidelity of our countrymen, or rather from the fact that with too many of them Protestantism is only another name for unbelief, or the rejection of all belief in revealed religion. We can now hardly treat Protestantism as a religion, even a false religion, and we are obliged, for the most part, to reason with Protestants as if they were downright infidels. But I look upon this as a disadvantage, not as an advantage.

“It strikes me,” interposed De Bonneville, “that there is always hope of regaining a people that still retains some hold on Christian tradition, but that we may abandon in despair a people, once Christianized, that has completely broken with that tradition. As long as a Protestant people means to be Christian, and retains a belief in the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace, and the Sacraments, we have some hold on them, and can influence them by showing them that their Protestantism leads to infidelity, and the principle of their dissent from the Church, if logically carried out, would require them to reject everything distinctively Christian. But when they have avowedly shaken off all Christian belief, when they have consciously fallen back on nature alone, you can no longer influence them by proving that Protestantism leads to infidelity, or that to be Christians they must be Catholics, for they have no intention, no desire to be Christians. No doubt, large numbers of the French philosophers of the last century renounced their infidelity on their death-beds, and died in the communion of the Church; but it must be remembered that they had been baptized in their infancy, and had been believers in their childhood, and had subsequently smothered rather than extinguished the faith they had received. No doubt, the author of *The Questions of the Soul*, as well as the

author of *The Convert* came to the Church through a speculative rejection of revelation ; but a careful analysis of this experience, as they have published it to the world, proves that they never wholly broke with Christian tradition, and never wholly lost the memory of their childhood's faith. They for a time saw nothing but nature on which to rely, but the grace of God never permitted them to rest there, and all unconsciously were they practically influenced by the brief and mutilated Christian instruction they had received."

"What Mr. De Bonneville ascribes to tradition and instruction, I should be disposed to ascribe to human nature or human reason itself," remarked Dieffenbach. "Nature is too often underrated, and we too often overlook the fact that the human heart is naturally Christian, as says Tertullian. Nature left to herself aspires to the truth, aspires to God, and natural reason sees clearly the necessity of the supernatural. Hence it is that men cannot rest in purely natural religion. The free and full development of their reason of itself leads to the recognition of something higher, makes them long for supernatural guidance, and prepares them to receive and follow such guidance when given. God is himself in immediate relation with the soul, is himself the immediate light of reason, and hence he continually enlightens us interiorly, and conducts us to the truth."

"In the natural order, if you please," replied Father John ; "but you forget that Christianity, though it presupposes the natural, is itself in the supernatural, and is in no sense indicated by the natural. Without natural reason, we could not be the recipients of revelation ; but God makes his revelation to, though not through, natural reason. The light of his immediate presence constitutes reason and renders us rational creatures ; but the light of God in revelation is his supernatural light, which illumines us immediately only in the beatific vision, and never in this life, for in this life we live by faith, not by sight. Mr. Dieffenbach's doctrine is uncatholic, as well as unphilosophical, and makes no difference of order between the natural and the supernatural, and would imply that the supernatural is only a higher and fuller development of the natural."

"Tertullian, indeed, says," interposed Winslow, "that

the human heart is naturally Christian, but he meant it only in what theologians call *sensus compositus*. Tertullian, as many of the early writers of the Church, understood by nature, not pure nature, but nature as it exists prior to its elevation through the gift of faith received in baptism, prior to regeneration, or the birth of the soul into the supernatural order. But even prior to regeneration, nature actually exists in no man as pure nature, for it has never been wholly divested of the tradition of the revelation made to our first parents. From this tradition, however corrupted, mutilated, or travestied, all men have some indications of a supernatural order, some glimpses of a supernatural destiny, and wants and aspirations which are impossible to simple nature, entirely abandoned to its own lights."

"That is true," added Father John. "Strictly speaking, it is inexact to say that the human heart is naturally Christian, for whatever is distinctively Christian is above nature, though accordant with nature. Christianity accords with reason and satisfies our natural desire for good; but not therefore do we naturally desire it, or can we by our own natural reason attain to it. The supernatural must, in some degree or form, be revealed or be presented to reason, before the reason can conceive of its existence or its possibility. Nature alone, without revelation, is not equal to the conception of the supernatural; for to conceive the supernatural without revelation, nature would have to go out of its own order and enter the supernatural, and therefore would itself be supernatural in its power. If, then, you could obliterate all traces of a supernatural revelation, divest a man wholly of all Christian tradition, and reduce him to pure nature, he would and could have no thought and no aspiration transcending the natural order. He might desire to know more than he does, he might have unsatisfied wants and desires, but never would he think of seeking their satisfaction in a supernatural order. These natural instincts and lofty aspirations appealed to in our arguments for Christianity may exist, but they are not purely natural, and they spring from reminiscences of the primitive revelation preserved in language, and which is retained in its purity, fulness, and integrity only in the Speech of the Church."

“It seems to me, also,” remarked O’Flanagan, “that Mr. Dieffenbach makes no allowance for the effects of the Fall, and regards our nature, morally and intellectually considered, and as still in its original integrity, with its face turned towards the truth, and its primary and instinctive motions towards God. This I apprehend is not the case. By the Fall reason lost its dominion over the flesh, and we find now that we more readily follow concupiscence than reason and conscience; virtue demands now always an effort, and restraint is always necessary to save ourselves from yielding to temptation and rushing into vice. It is the fact that our non-Catholic population are losing that portion of Catholic truth retained, though inconsistently, by the earlier forms of Protestantism, and are breaking almost entirely with primitive tradition, that renders their conversion in very large numbers well-nigh hopeless. The heathen in ancient or modern times, corrupt, mutilate, or travestie, but they never entirely lose the tradition of the supernatural. The Catholic missionary has not to convince them that there is a supernatural order; he has only to show them that it is found in the Church, and the Church only. So is it with what are called Orthodox Protestants. But so is it not with the rationalists, with unbelievers. They not only reject the Church, as founded on Peter, but even the tradition of the primitive revelation incorporated in some manner into every language and speech of men. They fall back on nature alone, and regard as an illusion every reminiscence of the primitive supernatural revelation which may now and then come up unbidden to their minds. How are you to reach them by argument? You cannot by natural reason alone, or from nature in its present state, prove the fact of the Fall; and there is no logical process by which you can conclude the supernatural from the natural. You can convict no man of logical inconsistency, who plants himself on nature, and resolves to live the life of nature alone.”

“Hence by mere logic,” interposed Father John, “you cannot reach the purely natural man, for pure nature is, and must be, as the work of God, consistent with itself. We can prove, but we cannot demonstrate, the fact of revelation to the man who falls back on pure nature. We can show that nature does not suffice for man

in his present state, but we cannot show that nature does not suffice for nature, or natural reason for natural reason; for God might have created, had he so chosen, nature and reason as we now find them, without creating for man a supernatural order, or appointing him a supernatural destiny. The naturalist says he has done so; the Catholic says he has not. The question between the two is a question of fact, not a question of logic; and the Catholic can, in the nature of the case, prove his assertion only as any other matter of fact is proved, that is by testimony. I mean, he can do it only in this manner in the case of the man who plants himself on nature alone. In the case of old-fashioned Protestants, Jews, Mahometans, and Gentiles, it is different, for they accept reason and nature in the *sensus compositus*, and in some form confess the supernatural. In their case we have in the actual state of their reason, the premises of an argument for Catholicity; but in the case of those who have eliminated, as our unbelievers have done, all that is derived from tradition, and reduced it to pure natural reason, there is no basis for such an argument. It is, therefore, that as a Catholic even, I regret to find the American people breaking away from the older and less unevangelical forms of Protestantism, and lapsing into pure rationalism, transcendentalism, socialism, or naturalism. It is not from those who thus break away we are to obtain accessions to our ranks. In my judgment, we should rather join with the less unchristian portion of the Protestant world in a warfare against these, than with these against those who still acknowledge the supernatural order."

"But our friend at Rome," added Dieffenbach, "believes that man has a religious nature, and that when he finds that he cannot satisfy that nature in Protestantism,—when he finds that his only alternative is Catholicity or no religion, he will become a Catholic. This is wherefore he thinks that the dissatisfaction with Protestantism and the search after something better, manifested by the founders of Brook Farm and Fruitlands,—by the Mormons, Swedenborgians, and Spiritists, &c., are encouraging signs to the Catholic missionary."

"There may be something in that," replied Father John, "and I, for a considerable time, was disposed to

take that view myself. But wider observation and experience do not confirm it. Our converts do not generally come to us from the ranks of those who have shaken off all religious belief, and have retained only their simple religious nature. In England and the United States the majority of converts are from the Anglican communion, and those who come to us that were not originally of that communion, generally come to us through it. Our true course, it seems to me, is the one the Church has always appeared to approve, which has generally been pursued by our controversialists and missionaries, not that of seeking first to drive the misbelieving or heretical into complete apostasy, with a view of converting them afterwards, but that of recognizing and confirming the truth they still possess, and showing them that the complement, unity, and integrity of that truth can be found and held only in the Catholic Church."

"Father John, then, it seems," remarked O'Flanagan, "regards rationalism, transcendentalism, and downright unbelief as worse enemies to the Church than simple heresy."

"Certainly," replied Father John, "but not therefore do I regard them as invincible, or even the conversion of their adherents as utterly hopeless. I regard the prevalence of rationalism, transcendentalism, socialism, scepticism, infidelity, among our countrymen, an unfavourable circumstance, and one which renders their conversion vastly more difficult, but not impossible. Our friend sees encouraging circumstances where I do not find them, but I as firmly believe that our religion is destined to prevail here as he does, and I have no sympathy with those who say Americans cannot be converted. I was lately dining with a party of American converts, among them was an ex-Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an ex-Priest, and an ex-Deacon of the same Church, the latter of whom had been educated a Congregationalist,—one who had been a decided unbeliever, and another who had been through all the extremes of modern speculation and philosophism. Nearly all the phases of the American mind were represented in our little party, from the highest form of Puseyism to the lowest form of infidelity, and yet we were all firm Catholics, meeting in the unity of faith, and the unity of love. The party was a practical answer to those who doubt the possibility of the conversion of the American people,

for the majority of the party were real Yankees, New England born and New England bred. The grace of God that had reached and converted them, can reach and convert others. I sympathize with our friend's hopefulness, although I may not share all his views, or expect the conversion of the country from any direct efforts to effect it. It will come gradually, but in time it will come, from the increasing numbers and weight of the Catholic population, by the efforts of the venerable bishops and clergy to make the faithful here a model people, by the gradual diffusion of knowledge in respect to Catholicity and Catholic things, by the prayers and good example of the faithful, and by the grace of God silently operating upon the hearts of the people. Years will elapse before much progress is apparent, but nevertheless the work of conversion will go on; individual after individual will be gathered in, till at length the nation will find itself Catholic, and taking its rank among Catholic nations."

CONVERSATION IV.

"Catholicity," remarked O'Flanagan, "hardly holds its own in this country, notwithstanding its apparent increase. The number of Catholics now in the country is not equal to the number of Catholics who have migrated hither and their descendants. Our losses are greater than our gains by conversions."

"Our losses are great," replied Winslow, "but that is not what discourages me, for they are due to accidental and temporary causes, every day becoming less operative, as the numbers of the clergy, churches, school-houses, hospitals, and asylums increase. Neither am I one of those who despair of seeing the Church prevail here; but I cannot persuade myself that any general conversion of the American people will take place till they moderate their democracy."

"Democracy," interposed De Bonneville, "is fatal to genuine loyalty, and a people destitute of loyalty are not easily converted to Catholicity. They have no tendency to it, and necessarily find it repugnant to their habits and dispositions. Our friend at Rome, perhaps, is not mistaken in his hopes of the conversion of the country, but he seems to me mistaken in regarding its democracy as one of the circumstances favourable to it."

“ Mr. Calhoun, the great South Carolina statesman, remarked to me one day,” answered Father John, “ that we made a great mistake in this country, when we substituted the word Democracy for the word Republican. Words are things, and from the habit of calling ourselves democrats we have come to embrace democratic notions. The American people in 1776 were republican, but not democratic, and the Federal Constitution was, in 1787, avowedly formed with a view to checking the tendency to democracy which had begun to manifest itself in several of the States. The government of the country was not originally, and is not now, purely democratic, because under it the people have no right to alter or amend the constitution, whether of State or Union, save by virtue of a constitutional provision, and in the way and manner the constitution provides. When the constitution is formed, and has gone into operation, the convention of the people which formed it is dissolved.”

“ But,” asked Dieffenbach, “ are not the people sovereign? and does not the sovereignty inhere in them, and persist in them even under constitutional forms?”

“ That,” replied Father John, “ is the democratic doctrine, but it is not the American doctrine, or was not when our civil and political institutions were adopted. The sovereignty inheres in the organism, and can be exercised only in accordance with its laws. The error of our politicians has been in overlooking this fact, and assuming that the sovereignty, after the constitution, persists in the people outside of the organism, and that their will, expressed any way, through or not through the organism, is supreme, and is to be regarded as the sovereign will. This doctrine came into vogue under General Jackson’s administration, and is the fruitful source of lawlessness and disorder. I do not think this doctrine favourable to Catholicity any more than to good government, for it is essentially opposed to all law as law, and substitutes for the government of law the dominion of arbitrary will. Pure democracy, like pure monarchy, is the government of mere will, and all government of mere will is a despotism under a monarchy, and anarchy under a democracy. The radical difference between democracy and republicanism is, that the latter places sovereignty in the organism, and subjects its exercise to law,

while the former places it in the people outside of the organism, and leaves its exercise without legal restraint. Democracy is the absolutism of the people; republicanism is a government limited and subjected to a constitutional organism. Republicanism is freedom; democracy is incompatible with freedom. It either does not govern at all, or it governs arbitrarily. The worst tyranny France ever suffered was under the Jacobins, those pure democrats of the last century. The American institutions are not democratic, though the American people are becoming democrats, and giving their institutions a democratic interpretation, or altering them in a democratic sense. Hence our grave political danger."

"This danger," added Winslow, "our friend at Rome does not seem to be aware of, and hence he gives a wrong impression of the country."

"Perhaps," replied Father John, "he did not think it necessary to dwell on it; perhaps also he does not regard it as so threatening as it really is; perhaps he is more democratic in his own personal convictions or tendencies than we who are somewhat his seniors, and are no longer subject to the illusion of mere names; but, undoubtedly, the point he wished to impress upon the minds of his readers is, that in this country there is as yet much real freedom, and full legal freedom for the Church, which is, undoubtedly, not only a fact, but a fact favourable to the growth and expansion of Catholicity amongst us. He did well to dwell on this fact. The Catholic can well accept and defend as favourable even to his Church our institutions, according to their original intent. What he has to guard against is, presenting them as favourable to the Church in the sense it has now become the fashion to interpret them,—a fashion which makes them just what the dominant sentiment of the country for the time chooses. The danger the Catholics run here, is the taking of that sentiment as the constitution, and following it out in our political action, instead of resisting it, and doing all in our power to bring the practical interpretation of our institutions back to their original republican meaning. Restore in practice the republican theory of our institutions,—I have no reference to the Republican party, so called,—and then the Catholic can heartily accept them, and praise and defend them with all the patriotism and loyalty congenial to his heart."

“Till then,” replied Winslow, “I do not see how Catholicity is to make much progress among the American people, and till it has made great progress and gained a controlling influence, I see not how we are to return practically to our republican theory.”

“I see,” rejoined Father John, “and admit the difficulty. I do not believe it an easy matter to convert a democratic people, and if their conversion depended on human efforts alone, I should despair of it. Pure democracy is, as M. De Bonneville holds, fatal to genuine loyalty. Loyalty can exist only under a government of law, embodied either in a constitutional organism or in the legitimate prince. Loyalty has been much weakened, and well-nigh destroyed, in Great Britain since the expulsion of the Stuarts and the accession of the Hanoverians. It is nearly dormant with us, and threatens ere long to sleep the sleep of death. Democracy cherishes a proud, conceited individualism, and at the same time a mean and cringing servility to popular opinion. Under a democracy, as our own experience proves, the individual forms an exaggerated estimate of himself, is in relation to other individuals self-sufficient, conceited, saying virtually to each one of them, I am as good as you, and a great deal better too, while he is deplorably deficient in true independence of thought and action in face of the public. The thoroughpaced democrat, haughty and overbearing to his equal, is a timid slave before public opinion. He puts the people in the place of God, and takes whatever is popular to be lawful and right. He asks, Is it popular, will the people—which means his party—support it? If so, all right, go ahead! To stand well with the public, with one’s party, or one’s set, is the highest aim. As the questions are to be decided by votes, and votes are counted, not weighed, the appeal must be made to the many. Hence democracy has a natural tendency to reduce all virtue and all intelligence to a dead level. The mass of the people in our country are perhaps more intelligent, at least in political matters, than the lower classes in most European countries; our educated and cultivated classes are far below the corresponding classes in any European state. Indeed, our educated classes do not compare favorably with the educated classes of Mexico, and some of the South American states. There is little in our

community to stimulate exertions for the higher degrees of excellence. To rise too high is to rise out of reach and out of sight of the multitude; only inferior men, commonplace men, can hope to secure the popular favor. No man of first-rate attainments or first order of abilities can hope to be elected President of the Union. Your Harrisons, Polks, Taylors, Pierces, Buchanans, carry it over your Clays, Calhouns, and Websters. The candidate is selected, not because he is fit, but because he is or is presumed to be available, and he is the more available the less the weight he carries. Look at the recent delegations in Congress from Massachusetts and New York, or to their representatives in the State legislatures, and say if a high order of intelligence and public and private virtue are not a positive disqualification. High scholarship, profound, discriminating original thought, are not and cannot be appreciated by the great mass of the people, and our authors to be popular must be superficial, commonplace, vapid, bombastic, or intense. What rises above the common level rises above the common intelligence. The reduction of all to the level of the mass, the self-sufficiency, and the obsequiousness to popular opinion, so manifest among us, are, no doubt, unfavorable to the conversion of our countrymen, because Catholicity requires true greatness, true independence and manliness of character, love for our equals, respect for our superiors, firmness of purpose, and loyalty to truth, to right, to justice.

“I see little in the American character as it has been developed under our democratic theory, to encourage my hopes as a Catholic. The tendency of the American people, with individual exceptions, is not towards the Church, but from it. All this I concede, yet I do not despair. First, because I rely on God, and he will not withhold his grace; and, second, because I rely on the gradually increasing weight and influence of the Catholic population in the country, and the new and stronger elements they introduce to neutralize those I have alluded to.”

“That last consideration is one which I expected Father John to overlook,” remarked O’Flanagan, “for I did not suppose those who are making so much ado about converting the country, made any account of the some two or three millions of Catholics, of various nationalities, already settled here.

“ I have nothing to do with their various nationalities,” interrupted Father John. “ When we are speaking of Catholicity there is no question of nationalities. The Catholic religion is Catholic, not national, and overrides, as occasion requires, all nationalities. In converting a country Providence adapts means to the end. Excepting the few Catholic settlers of Maryland, soon deprived of their Catholic freedom, and subjected to Protestant intolerance,—almost as soon as the colony was organized,—the United States were originally settled by Protestants of the intensest kind, and nowhere was hostility to Catholicity more bitter or universal than among them. One of the grievances alleged by the colonies against the mother country, was the liberty allowed in Canada to the French Catholics, to retain and practise their religion. When we became a nation, we recognized the principle of religious liberty indeed, not through the influence of Catholic France, as M. Henri de Courcay contends, nor through any good-will to Catholicity, nor yet through any love of religious liberty itself on the part of Protestants, but because no Protestant sect was strong enough to make itself a State establishment, and because Catholicity was looked upon at the time as virtually dead, and incapable for the future of making any conquests, or of manifesting any vitality. Moreover, at the time the leading men of the country had very little belief in any religion, and followed Voltaire and other unbelievers in advocating toleration, believing that by tolerating all religions, they could make an end of them. They held that no religion can long stand, or exert any influence, unless supported by the State, as a State establishment. Under these circumstances, with an intense hatred of Catholicity, fearing or disdaining to investigate its claims, caring little for any religion, and about entering upon a course of material prosperity, perhaps unparalleled in the world’s history, nothing but a miracle of divine grace could have called their attention to the Catholic religion, and gained them to the faith, unless a Catholic population should migrate hither. and bring the faith with them. They would nowhere have tolerated or listened to the missionary. The Church among them could not begin with the missionary, and it needed a foreign born laity, zealous for the faith, to form the first congregations, and to erect the first churches.

Except in a very few localities, the descendants of the original Catholic settlers were too few to sustain missionaries, and conversions numerous enough to do it in any locality could not be counted on. The foreign immigration invited here by that very material prosperity which had become the god of the American people, thus became, in the Providence of God, the means of giving us a Catholic population, and the Church a firm footing on our soil.

“That this foreign immigration has been faultless, that it has had solely religious interests at heart, or that it has been a fair representation of the intelligence, respectability, and worth of the Catholic populations of Europe, no man pretends. It has been composed in great part of common laborers and servants, poor and illiterate; but this, strange as it may seem, has been an advantage, not only because they were the more likely to adhere to their faith in a hostile country, but because they were less likely to alarm Protestants as to the spread of Catholicity. Protestants would tolerate Catholicity in these humble classes, apparently without personal or social influence, when a much smaller immigration of the more intelligent and influential classes would have excited their unrelenting hostility. The Church was looked upon simply as the church of poor, ignorant, and superstitious foreigners; and as these foreigners were very necessary to the development of our material prosperity, she was tolerated, and in some instances supported, for their sake. She grew up, so to speak, under the shadow of Protestant contempt, for while these classes were comparatively few, and strangers, nobody dreamed of their making conversions from the American population. The common opinion was that Catholicity could not live in our Protestant atmosphere; that the first, at farthest the second, generation born here, would be absorbed in the general non-Catholic population of the country. Through this foreign immigration it was believed the Church could gain no permanent footing here, and must needs die out when the immigration should cease. It was not then worth one's while to prosecute them, or to abridge their religious freedom. What to a superficial observer might have seemed in the outset a great disadvantage, and likely to strengthen the prejudices of the country against Catholicity, has proved to be the best, and, as far as we

can judge, the only practicable means of introducing and establishing the Church on a solid basis, as one of our institutions.

“These poor, illiterate laborers and servants, adhered to their religion; they supported the clergy; they built churches; they provided for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. They became permanent settlers, citizens of the country; married, prospered, brought out their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters; and, aided by European events and the continually increasing demand for labor by our works of internal improvement and the extension of our manufactures, trade, and commerce, they in a few years have swelled into a Catholic population that is counted by millions, growing in intelligence, in respectability, and influence, in proportion to the increase of their numbers. The Catholic body may be exposed to annoyances and vexations from the anti-Catholic spirit of the country; but it is now too large and too important to be overlooked, and too numerous to be banished or massacred. The material interests of the country cannot afford to sacrifice the Catholic population, and it cannot as yet dispense with foreign immigration. Catholics may almost be said to fill the lower strata of our society in all the free States, and they are every year rising and filling the middling ranks, while not a few have already reached the summit of our social hierarchy. The Church has gained a footing, and is every day taking a more influential position in the country. The two thousand churches, the nearly two thousand priests, and a Catholic population of at least two millions and a half, afford a very respectable basis for missionary operations. It is through these, through their example, influence, and silent but effectual exertions, that prejudice is to be softened, hostility disarmed, and interest excited.”

“But you forget, Father John,” said Dieffenbach, “that this Catholic body, large as it is, and zealous as it may be, is separated from the American community by difference of national origin, manners, and customs, and to some extent even of language. The Church they support is still regarded as the Church of a foreign body in the American community, and is not an exponent of any element of the American national life. Your Catholic body does not act on the American body, and you want, it

seems to me, a larger infusion of the American element. Instead of relying on this foreign body, you should direct all your efforts to the conversion of Americans, who have the sentiment of American nationality, and thus Americanize the Church."

"Undoubtedly," replied Father John, "it is desirable that the Catholic body should be or become American, so far as to avoid all that is repugnant to a just American national sentiment; but I want the Church Americanized no more than I want her Irishized, Germanized, Englishized, or Gallicized. The Church always suffers from having imposed upon her the form of any nationality. Nationalism in religion is only another name for Gentilism, or heathenism, and is in its essential nature anti-Catholic. There is no need of anxiety for the support of American nationality. It is abundantly able to take care of itself. In addressing foreign-born Catholics, it is always proper to advise them to be on their guard against unnecessarily offending the national sentiment, but for their sake, not for the sake of American nationality itself. The Americanizing of the Catholic body does and will go on of itself, as rapidly as is desirable; and all we have to do with it is, to take care that they do not imbibe the notion that to Americanize is necessarily to Protestantize. The transition from one nationality to another is always a dangerous process; and all the Americanization I insist on is, that our Catholic population shall feel and believe that a man may be a true American, and a good Catholic. In my own judgment, the Americanization of the Catholic body goes on as rapidly as is compatible with the interests of religion, and perhaps even more rapidly than is desirable.

"It is a mistake to regard the Catholic body to-day as a foreign body in this country. It is not so. The great majority of them, if not American born, are American citizens. This country is the home of their interests, the home of their children, and the home of their affections. They are as much identified with the country and its interests as are non-Catholic Americans. Catholicity is now as much at home here as Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, or Methodism. The Catholic body has here an American organization, and depends on no foreign state. It has its American sees, its provinces, its bishops, and holds its

councils, subject to no foreign power or jurisdiction, except the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, who as spiritual head of the Church, by Divine appointment, is no more a foreigner in the city of New York than he is in the city of Rome. The Church is here in all her integrity, and here as elsewhere she must act as the Church. Her first care is due to the faithful already here, and she cannot neglect them for the sake of engaging in direct efforts for evangelizing the non-Catholic population. The conversion of the country, it is evident to every one who knows the spirit and temper of the American people, can go on for the present, humanly speaking, only gradually, and as influenced by the presence of the Church here, and the example of devout Catholics. The first step is to provide amply for the spiritual wants of the existing Catholic population, and to bring them up to the level of their religion in their practice as well as in their faith.

“ This is a country in which the laity must do more to promote the interests of religion than they are accustomed to do elsewhere. The American people, not yet evangelized, hate or despise Catholicity, regard it as hostile to their republicanism, as degrading to human nature, as a spiritual thralldom, as a debasing superstition, or as a worn out, dead, and buried institution. They are indisposed to examine its claims, to ascertain its doctrines, or to put themselves in communication with Catholics. The more lax of the Protestant sects are profoundly indifferent to the question, and neglect all Catholic publications; the more rigid exercise a strict vigilance over their members, and prohibit them from reading anything in defence of Catholicity. The study of the Protestant ministers is to shut out the light from their people, to keep them in profound ignorance of our religion, and to perpetuate their unfounded prejudices against it. The non-Catholic people will neither hear nor read, or if they do either, it is not to learn what we really believe, but to catch something which they may present to our prejudice. These are obstacles that can be overcome only by personal intercourse, by personal acquaintance with Catholics, and by being forced to observe more closely their intelligence and virtue. It is only as our numbers and influence gradually increase, only as the fruits of Catholic life become more abundant and manifest, that

these obstacles will give way, and the missionary be able to gain access to the non-Catholic mind. Hence it is that the laity have here a great responsibility, for they have here, each in his own sphere, a missionary work to perform, preparatory in some sense to that of the priest."

"It seems to me," remarked O'Flanagan, "that some of our converts in their zeal have talked too much about the conversion of the country. Catholics have never converted a country by saying they were going to do it. Too many proclamations are unwise, and tend rather to defeat than to accomplish one's purposes. God makes use of human instruments in converting a nation, but it is he after all, not the instruments, that convert it, if converted. It is never well to forget that all depends on his grace. There is no surer method of failing than to place our dependence on human agency, or reliance on our own well devised schemes. God has his own ways, and his ways are not our ways. He seems to take pleasure in bringing to naught our wisdom, and accomplishing his purposes by means that it never entered into the mind of man to devise, Who would have seen in the act of the Legislature of New York authorizing the construction of the Erie and Champlain Canals, a measure for the evangelization of the United States. Yet, in the providence of God it has been made to contribute powerfully to that end. It inaugurated a system of internal improvements which created a demand for labor that the country itself could not supply, and thus led the way for the migration hither of foreign labor, while this foreign labor could be supplied only by the Catholic populations abroad oppressed by Protestant governments. The introduction of the factory system by absorbing the surplus American female labor, and the abolition of negro slavery in all the Northern States, opened a demand for maid-servants, which could be supplied only from Ireland or Catholic Germany, and no class has contributed more to the growth of our religion here than our Catholic servant girls. Indeed, our religion has been planted here, and has sprung up and flourished by means adopted without any direct efforts to that end. Man, in what he did, had other purposes, and Providence has made it contribute to his. The foreign immigration to whom we owe it, under God, that the Church is here, did not migrate hither for the purpose of

introducing and spreading Catholicity in a non-Catholic country. They were not even led by their religion to come hither. They came for worldly reasons, to improve their material condition, yet God so ordered it that they brought their religion with them, and retained it. These facts should induce us to do our duty in our own sphere, and leave it to Providence to convert the country in his own way."

"It is our duty," replied Father John, "to coöperate with Providence according to our means and ability. I feel no less interest in the conversion of the country than do they who say and write so much about it, but I see nothing at present to be done for it but to operate on, and with the Catholic population we already have, to save as far as possible our children from apostasy, and to do all we can to make all who profess to be Catholics worthy of the name. I see little that Rome can do to aid us, except to see that we have good bishops, and that they maintain proper discipline and use their best efforts to rear up and sustain a body of zealous, faithful, and efficient priests, numerous enough to meet our wants. I see no need of enlightening Rome on the institutions of the country, on the nature of the heresies rife among us, or the prospects of Catholicity in the United States. In providing for the legitimate wants of the Catholic population as Catholics, Rome will provide for the wants of the country. Rome is prepared to sustain and encourage us in every legitimate effort for the promotion of Catholicity here, we can make. I like the things our friend at Rome has said in his articles, but I attach no great importance to them except as they tend to give the Italian people a juster view of our national character and institutions. I should have been better pleased if the excellent and patriotic writer had taken more pains to separate genuine American republicanism from the false liberalism of Italian, French, and German Revolutionists, and entered a stronger protest against the wild radical spirit that is ruining his own country, and affording an excuse for absolutism in Europe. We Catholics are placed between two fires, and are obliged to present a double front. We have to defend ourselves on the one side against absolutism, and on the other against radicalism, and we are constantly in danger while opposing the one to be regarded as accepting or defend-

ing the other. The writer of the articles in question shows more sympathy than I feel with American democracy, but no more than I feel with American republicanism, or free constitutional government, in which the people have in some form an effective voice in the management of the national affairs. But let this pass. Every one who studies the Catholic population in this country, though he has to deplore some scandals, many losses both of children and adults, must admit that it is becoming every day stronger, better organized, more homogeneous, and more compact, increasing in intelligence, literature, science, weight, and influence. It is no longer in a condition to be despised or ignored. It forms a large and integral portion of the American people. It has its weight in both the world of business, and the world of politics. It is every day acquiring social influence, and thus forcing Catholicity upon the attention of non-Catholics. It forces individuals in all parts of the country to think about the Church, to inquire into her claims, to learn what are her real doctrines, and thus disabuses them of many of their prejudices.

“The undeniable failure of Protestantism has also its influence with the more serious and better disposed portion of Protestants. There is a feeling in all Protestant sects, that Protestantism has not as yet fulfilled its promise, is not all that one asks of religion, and that man has wants it does not meet. There is a secret misgiving that it is not all that it professes to be. It cannot be denied that spiritual things are fostered less by a Protestant people than material things, and this excites reflection. It is seen, too, that the old Church stands, that she has survived Luther and his associates, that she has survived the revolutionary horrors of the last century and the present, that she is making now conquests, and every day chronicles a new martyr, that she flourishes in free states even more than in despotic states, and can prosper when disconnected from the state, and deprived of all state patronage. Seek to disguise or explain the fact as they may, they are forced to admit that the Church is living to-day, is as vigorous and perhaps even more powerful, has even a stronger hold on men's convictions and consciences than she had in the sixteenth century, when Luther, amid the shoutings of his pupils, burned the Papal Bull

condemning his heresies. This wonderful tenacity of life, this ever-renewed youth and vigor of the old Church, leads the thoughtful and earnest Protestant to reflect on his Protestantism, which extends itself only by colonization or the sword, and lives only a spasmodic life. At one time, under Peter I., Protestantism seemed likely to invade Russia, and gain a footing in the Greek schismatic world; but during the last thirty years the Russian Church has resisted the Protestant tendencies which threatened its destruction, returned to orthodoxy, and become less indisposed to a reconciliation with Rome. What hope for Protestantism? what hope that it is to constitute the religious future of mankind?"

"There is in every Protestant community," added Diefenbach, "an interior doubt of the future of Protestantism. In Germany it has gone to seed; there is no life in its root, and its power is preserved far more as a political and social than as a religious institution."

"While in France," added De Bonneville, "Protestants have dwindled down to less than a million, to about eight hundred thousand souls. In Geneva, the Rome of the reformed, Catholicity has been reintroduced, another church was added the other day, and a very notable portion of the population profess the old religion. It is true Piedmont has given Protestants full liberty of worship, and they have erected a temple at Turin; but they make few proselytes, and are already divided, and fighting one another. Italians may become infidels, and reject all religion, but they will never become Protestants."

"These facts," continued Father John, "will impress themselves more and more on the minds of our Protestant countrymen, and dispose them more and more to listen to what we have to say for ourselves. Gradually their prejudices will soften, and they will learn somewhat of the Catholic system. Their vigilance will relax, they will begin to read Catholic books with an honest intention, one after another will be converted, till at length the horror of Catholicity will in a great measure be lost, and Catholics be recognized as standing on the footing of social equality, and placed in a position to exert their legitimate influence. The exterior obstacles to conversion will then be removed,

and direct efforts to persuade the mass of non-Catholics to embrace willingly our holy faith may then be made with fair prospect of success. But till then our most practical and effective method of rendering the country Catholic will be to confine ourselves in our direct labors to our own population, to the work of giving them that high character for intelligence and piety, for wisdom and sobriety, for principle and manly conduct, which cannot fail to command the respect and win the confidence of all loyal hearts and good citizens."

CONVERSATION V.

"It seems to me," remarked O'Flanagan, "that in Father John's theory there is a quiet assumption that the Catholic body in this country is wanting in intelligence and virtue, and that it must be elevated in a worldly point of view, before it can exert its proper influence on the non-Catholic mind and heart. I cannot help thinking that he is not only unjust to our existing Catholic population, but disposed to attach undue importance to worldly position and respectability, and to rely beyond measure on mere human agencies. The Catholic population of the United States have, undoubtedly, their faults, and faults which are the more marked because they are very different from those of the Puritan world; but they are at least equal in intelligence and virtue to any other class of American citizens. It is a mistake to suppose that they are all poor, low, ignorant, vicious, without position or influence in the American community. It is not wealth, worldly position, or worldly respectability that renders Catholics especially influential in extending or sustaining religion. The poor have always been its firmest adherents, its most efficient missionaries, and its brightest ornaments. The rich, the noble, the great, the respectable, have always been the first to abandon the Church, or to betray her to the mercy of her enemies. That Ireland is Catholic to-day is due, under God, almost exclusively to her poor and down-trodden peasantry, and to her clergy taken chiefly from their ranks. Elevate in the social scale the poor Catholic peasants who have migrated hither, give them the ambition and the opportunity to

become wealthy, and to take an active and influential part in society and politics, and you only relax their hold on their faith, and cause them to lose in simplicity and fervor all they gain in worldly respectability. As soon as they find themselves able to associate on terms of equality with the upper classes of non-Catholic American society, they grow ashamed both of the land and the religion of their fathers, become liberal, as they call it, and suffer their children to imbibe the no-religion of the country. Exceptions there certainly are, but this is the rule, and I believe no small portion of the Catholic population of the Union will remain Catholic only so long as they remain in the humbler classes of society."

"The poor," added Winslow, "are the heirs of the kingdom, and one great excellence of our religion is, that it not merely pities the poor and flings them a few crumbs from the rich man's table, but it leads us to love and respect them. It places them not below but above the rich, and although it concedes that it is possible for the rich to be saved, it represents it as easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for them to enter into the kingdom of Heaven. By the blessings it pronounces on the poor, by the honor it bestows on them, and the small account it makes of worldly wealth, greatness, and distinction, it lays the axe at the root of our more worldly passions and propensities. The poor and humble are under Catholicity our nobility, our aristocracy, if I may use the term. They are the special friends of our Lord. They are, under God, our firmest reliance, and it is through them, not through the rich and the great, that this country will be converted, if it is ever converted. God always chooses for carrying on his work the instruments the world despises. The Stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner. The apostles were fishermen and publicans, the lowest and most degraded classes among the Jews. The Jews, of all people the most despised by the Romans, were chosen to be the first missionaries, and to form the first congregations in the Roman Empire. The subjugated and contemned Gauls and Italians converted their proud and haughty Barbarian conquerors. The Irish, impoverished and oppressed by the proud and overbearing Anglo-Saxon, are,

we may believe, selected as the instruments for Catholicizing England and the United States. God works not as men work, and he chooses to carry on his work precisely with those instruments human wisdom would reject."

"I see," interposed De Bonneville, "no good to come of discussions of this sort. It would be better to leave the question of converting the country to solve itself. I am a Catholic, but I leave the care of religion to the curé. I have no vocation to be a propagandist, and little sympathy with the proselyting spirit so strong in recent converts. I enjoy my faith and practise my religion for myself, without interfering with the faith and worship of my neighbor; to his own master each must stand or fall. I dislike religious controversy, and leave the conversion of heretics and infidels to our good missionaries. In France all religions are placed on a footing of perfect equality before the state, and we have no quarrel with our 'separated brethren,' who though separated are still our brethren. The only thing we labor to do is to moderate the zeal of the Ultramontane party, to restrain the bigotry and intolerance of those hot-headed Catholics who are always insisting that theirs is the only way to heaven. I worship God according to the dictates of my own conscience, and leave others to worship him according to the dictates of theirs. Why should I disturb them? Why should I force my faith upon their unwilling attention, destroy their good faith, and thus peril their soul's salvation? They will not accept the Catholic faith even if presented to them, and it is better to leave them in their good faith, to be saved through invincible ignorance."

"Ignorance that is vincible," replied O'Flanagan, "is neither invincible nor inculpable, and no man is in a salvable state who has the disposition to reject the truth when presented. That there is invincible ignorance with regard to some things of secondary importance, and that invincible ignorance excuses from sin in those matters whereof one is invincibly ignorant, I concede; but I have yet to learn that one is or can be saved by invincible ignorance. Ignorance, according to St. Augustine, in those who can know and will not, is itself sin; in those who cannot know it is the penalty of sin, and therefore is in neither no excuse, but in both just cause of damnation. Salvation lies in the supernatural order, and is not secured in the unsupernatu-

ralized by the simple negative merit of not sinning. It is the reward of supernatural virtue, and is bestowed only on positive supernatural merit. If M. De Bonneville's doctrine about destroying the good faith of non-Catholics be true, our Lord must have committed a great mistake, when he sent forth his apostles, and commanded them to go into all the earth and preach the Gospel to every creature. Our missionaries to non-Catholics, or to heathen nations, fall into a great error, and endanger the salvation of souls, by destroying good faith in error, teaching the truth, and dispelling ignorance. It is our friend, however, I apprehend, that is in error, and an error in excuse of which he can hardly plead invincible ignorance. The Church in this world is and must be the Church militant, and precisely because she is and must be propagandist, and therefore aggressive. Our Holy Father, Pius IX., has enjoined more than once upon the bishops of France and Italy to be careful to teach those confided to their care, the absolute necessity of the Catholic faith to salvation. If the Holy Father is to be credited—a matter which some of you in France deem it French to doubt—it is a matter of the last importance that all should be taught, and thoroughly taught, the Catholic faith. Zeal for the instruction and conversion of unbelievers and misbelievers is the natural fruit of Christian charity. Your polite academicians, your distinguished scientific and literary men, who are so complaisant to heretics and infidels, so shocked at religious earnestness, and so respectful to religious indifferentism, seem to me to have very little of the spirit of the Gospel, and to be in a fair way of being damned, if not for their want of faith, at least for their lack of charity. It is because the upper classes of society, those who are in possession of worldly wealth and distinction, are usually ready to fraternize with the cultivated heretics and infidels of the same social class, and to look with haughty indifference or contempt on the earnest and untiring efforts of Catholic zeal and charity to spread the faith and extend the empire of Christ on the earth, that I turn from them, and place my dependence on the poor and simple, whom the world despises."

"The wealthy, cultivated Catholics in our own country," interposed Winslow, "are by no means the most earnest

laborers for the spread of the faith, and the conversion of non-Catholics. They are very amiable, very polite, very hospitable; but they are so mixed up with non-Catholics in their business, in their amusements, their social relations, that under a propagandist point of view they are the least efficient part of our Catholic population. They are timid, always trembling lest they be compromised, or hear something that will displease their non-Catholic friends, or that will compel them either to give up their faith or to stand up manfully in its defence. They have a mortal horror of the bold, uncompromising Catholic publicist, who is in downright earnest, who believes the question is one of life and death, and with all the energy of his soul insists on Catholics being Catholics. They cannot endure him who insists on the Catholic faith in its integrity, who brings out in their full strength, without disguise or apology even, the unpopular dogmas of the Church, and dares call those outside of her communion by their proper names. He is eccentric, imprudent, too severe, goes too far, and gives needless offence to our 'separated brethren,' and needless trouble to his own friends. They demand French politeness, and French euphuism, and turn pale when they are forced to acknowledge Catholicity presented in bold, fearless, energetic, and uncompromising tones. They want Catholicity emasculated, deprived of all virile force, rendered weak, effeminate, soft, sentimental, speaking only in a subdued and apologetic voice, conceding the superiority to heresy and infidelity, but begging to be excused because they make it a point of honor not to desert the religion of their fathers. Woe to the luckless wight who in his simplicity dares assert the Papal supremacy, and maintain, what Catholic faith obliges him to maintain, that out of the Church no one can ever be saved. His very orthodoxy is more offensive to them than the heresy of their non-Catholic friends."

"In all Catholic countries," added Dieffenbach, "you find a similar class, and more influential for evil than they are here. They have no *Catholic* public spirit. In their way they are often very pious, very devout; they make many novenas, are seen in every procession, observe punctiliously all the precepts of the Church, touching fasts and abstinence; but they are imbecile and cowardly

whenever called upon to take an active part in defence of their religion, or in the promotion of Catholic interests. Literature, science, the ruling political and social influences in France, with almost her entire population nominally Catholic, are notoriously and scandalously anti-Catholic. In Sardinia—where the whole body of the people, with a few individual exceptions, are Catholic, or profess to be Catholic, and are and will be nothing else—the Catholic electors want the spirit, the energy, the life to use the freedom the Constitution gives them, to get possession of the government, and prevent it from being administered in a sense hostile to religion. In Belgium the Catholic majority permit the anti-Catholic minority to outvote them, and a Catholic Minister of State, frightened by a few street brawls, throws up, in great trepidation, the seals of office, and suffers the administration to pass into the hands of the bitterest enemies of his Church.”

“But you forget,” said De Bonneville, “that our Lord said the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.”

“I know,” replied Dieffenbach, “that he said so, and that it is so, but I do not know that he approved it. He commended the unjust steward for his worldly prudence; I do not recollect that he commended the children of light for their lack of prudence. What he said, he said to rebuke, not to commend them; for when he sent forth his disciples, he told them that he sent them forth as lambs among wolves, and they must be as wise as serpents and as simple as doves. I know no reason why Catholics should neglect the wisdom of the serpent any more than the simplicity of the dove.”

“I will not deny,” interrupted Father John, “that it is hard to restrain one’s indignation at the weakness and timidity of Catholics in Europe, who, in their contests with the revolutionists during the last seventy years or more, have failed to prove themselves in the stronger qualities of our nature, a match for their opponents. From Luther down, they have allowed themselves to be beaten, subdued, and enslaved by minorities. They seem not to have learned that there are times when active courage is as pleasing to God as passive courage; when it is as much the duty of the Catholic to stand up, and fight manfully for his

religion as it is to kneel down and pray. But I attribute the timidity, cowardice, and shameful surrender of Catholic interests, which so frequently excite our indignation, to the fact that the people since Luther's time have been in leading strings, and have been accustomed to rely on authority to defend them and their religion, and have formed no habits of self-reliance. Whether rich or poor, learned or unlearned, they have never felt that the defence of Catholic rights and interests depends on them, or that they, as the laity, have any responsibility in the case. They have counted on the questions that came up being settled by negotiation between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and have taken no further trouble about them. They, therefore, have never acquired those habits of vigilance and self-help which we find so strong in the Catholics in the East, in Ireland, and, to a great extent, in the United States.

“ The great body of the Catholic population have rarely been sufficiently instructed in their religion. I do not mean that the bishops and clergy have neglected to teach them the Decalogue, the Sacraments, and the Precepts of the Church; but they have not generally been taught with any thoroughness Christian faith and morals in their relation to the prevalent errors and heresies of the time. The laity need in our times a far more thorough instruction in the faith and its relations than they have ever hitherto received. They need, in addition to the usual instructions in Christian doctrine and morals, to be taught the bearings of faith on the peculiar errors and tendencies of the age, and especially to be made acquainted with those points of faith, and those decisions of the Church, which condemn them and strengthen us to resist them. They need full instruction in relation to the supremacy of the spiritual order in face of the temporal, the essential Papal constitution of the Church, and the absolute necessity of the Catholic faith to salvation, for these are three points on which Catholics in our day are strongly tempted to mutilate, conceal, or explain away Catholic truth. The whole body of the faithful need, also, to be instructed, that the day when they could rely on princes or civil governments to protect the faith, any farther than its protection is involved in the protection of the rights of

the citizen and the preservation of the peace, has gone by. There are no longer any Catholic states. The prince, as such, has thrown off the Christian law, and fallen back on the law of nature, and holds by the same title as held the old pagan emperors of Rome. The Church is almost everywhere virtually, if not formally, separated from the state, and has, and can have only, her own freedom and independence as a spiritual kingdom in regard to her own subjects. Catholic interests have now to be defended, sustained, or promoted, in their relations with the temporal order, by Catholics in their quality of citizens, not in their quality of Catholics, far less by the negotiations of the Church, in her corporate capacity with the temporal sovereign. Hence, the people, the laity, as well as the clergy, need to know and comprehend these interests, so as to be able to act understandingly and efficiently in their behalf. Hence, also, the necessity of developing the active powers of their nature, and cultivating in them those high, manly qualities which will enable them to match their enemies with their own weapons and on their own ground. The interests of religion require in them the highest and strongest secular virtues, as well as excellence in the more distinctively Catholic virtues."

"With all deference to the practical wisdom and sagacity of the bishops and clergy, it seems to me," added Diffenbach, "that they have never fully comprehended or accepted the changes introduced by Luther and his Reformation. Luther's movement only accidentally attacked the doctrines of the Church. Its real character was the denial of the distinction between the clergy and the laity in the government of the Church, and the definition of doctrines. It transferred the discussion of religious and theological questions from the narrow enclosure of the schools to the broad arena of the public, from scholars prepared by their studies to discuss them on their merits and in all their depth, to the uneducated, ignorant, and presumptuous multitude. It was no doubt a great evil to make on scientific questions the appeal from the scientific to the unscientific, but as it has been made, we cannot now withdraw it, and confine the discussion again to the schools and scholars. The evil has been done, and we must submit to it. We cannot help ourselves. The printing

press, the journals, and the common school system will perpetuate it, and render abortive any attempts we may make to restore the old mediæval order. The *disciplina arcani* is henceforth impracticable, and we must accept publicity as one of the conditions of our existence. Such being the fact, we can overcome the evil done by Luther's movement only by thoroughly educating and instructing the laity. Indeed, it is remarkable how important a part Catholic laymen in late years have played in the defence of Catholic doctrines and Catholic interests. The first effective blow struck in literature against the infidelity and revolutionism of the last century was struck by laymen. The clergy could hardly gain a hearing till De Maistre, De Bonald, and Görres had spoken, and turned the current of public thought. At the present moment in Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States, some of the ablest and most effective defenders of Catholicity and Catholic interests are laymen. I find nothing gratifying to my Catholic feelings in the fact that it is so, but the fact, however we may deplore it, indicates clearly enough the conditions that must henceforth be complied with. The laity must be instructed, and rendered able to defend by their own knowledge and understanding, in subordination to the hierarchy assuredly, Catholic doctrines and Catholic interests when assailed. The reliance must now be placed on the intelligence of the many, not alone on the intelligence of the few. We cannot war successfully against the democratic spirit of modern society, and true wisdom requires us in some sense to accept it and to turn it to the advantage of religion. Lamennais had a glimpse of the truth, although he coupled the truth he saw and asserted with gross errors, which made it necessary for the Church to condemn him.

“The fault I find with a portion of the clergy is that they either do not see the new order that has sprung up since Luther, and has been rapidly developed in the last century and the present, or they fancy that they can successfully resist it. But successfully resist it they cannot without a miraculous intervention of our Lord, on which we have no right to count. God in his providence has suffered the order to spring up, and it is not likely that he will intervene by a miracle to suppress it. The clergy, then, it seems to me, must accept it, and make the best of it.

“To make the best of it, they must train the laity to understand the questions at issue, and to a feeling of deep responsibility in regard to them. They must educate the laity in a strong and masculine Catholicity, and instead of contenting themselves in making them parrots, they must study to make them thinking, reasoning men, to quicken their understanding, to develop their reason, and bind them to their faith by intellectual conviction as well as by routine, or even grace divinely vouchsafed them. A larger amount of religious instruction must be given the laity, a higher and a more liberal intellectual culture in relation to faith and morals must be given them, than has hitherto been deemed necessary. A more generous confidence must be placed in the common mind, and more reliance placed on individual reason and conscience. They must rely more on interior light and conviction, and less on mere exterior authority, than has for a long time been customary. Rationalism will never be suppressed by the suppression of reason, or the race of socialists extinguished by neglecting real scientific culture.”

“Individual reason and conscience,” interposed Father John, “must be asserted in face of the civil authority, for that has no right to bind either; but for that very reason we must be all the more careful to assert the supremacy of the Church over both. The independence of individual reason and conscience in face of the temporal prince is the principle of anarchy, and would lead to all manner of disorders, unless they were at the same time a full and practical recognition of the plenary authority of the Church. But the authority of the Church, unlike that of the state, is spiritual, not material or physical, and enlightens as well as commands. It does not suppress individual reason and conscience, it enlightens them, and directs them to the true and the good. Hence the more absolute the authority of the Church over them, the more free they are; and the more truly enlightened they are, the more unreserved will be their submission to her authority. This shows that the Church must always seek, and can never fear the intelligence of her children. The great enemy she has always and everywhere to combat is ignorance. She has not always, indeed but seldom, been able to give to her children the full and thorough instruction, now so necessary, for she

has been frequently thwarted by a barbarism not to be removed in a single generation, and almost always by the temporal prince jealous of her influence, and afraid of the intelligence of his subjects. The defects in the education of the faithful hitherto given cannot be denied, but they are not chargeable to the Church, though to a certain extent churchmen are answerable for them, inasmuch as they have, like Cardinal Wolsey, been more intent on serving their King than on serving their God, and have been more ready to take their cue from the court, than from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. As the line between Cæsar and Peter is more clearly drawn in our day, and as the incompetency of Cæsar in spirituals is more generally understood, and more frankly admitted even by Cæsar himself, the necessity and the practicability of a more full and adequate instruction of the great body of the laity in their religion, especially in its relations with the temporal order, must be more generally seen and admitted by those whose special duty it is to carry out the precepts and wishes even of the Church of God. The press honestly conducted, under a proper sense of responsibility, by men who are above the petty ambitions and petty jealousies of little men, by men who are up to the level of their position, and equally free from a tendency to a false liberalism and from a slavish servility to routine, by men of generous culture, enlarged views, who understand their age and their religion, offers a medium for that sort of education and instruction of the people I contend for, far superior to any hitherto possessed by the Catholic world. Through it the faithful may be taught the philosophy of their religion, learn its place and office in this world, its rights in relation to the various speculations and tendencies of the age,—learn also true Catholic politics, and be stimulated and encouraged to the defence of Catholic interests. It cannot and ought not to supersede any of the old and established means and methods of instruction, for they have been instituted by our Lord himself, but it may be ancillary to them, as philosophy itself is ancillary to theology.”

“But Father John,” rejoined O’Flanagan, “is still insisting on human means, and appears to me to overlook the fact I have alleged, that the support and prosperity of religion do not depend on human agency. God founded

the Church, God takes care of her, and he uses as his instruments not rich men, wise men, noble men, or learned philosophers, but the poor and simple."

"God founded the Church, and takes care that she shall never fail," replied Father John; "but the Church, though his Church, and informed and sustained by him, operates *more humano*. Conversion is the work of grace, and yet even by grace no man is converted against his own will. Man has his part to perform, and if he neglects or refuses to perform his part the work will not be done. The doctrine of irresistible as of inamissible grace is a Calvinistic, not a Catholic doctrine. The Church represents the Incarnation, out of which she springs, and therefore requires the coöperation of the human, so that though there are two wills, the one human and the other divine, there shall be no discrepancy or contrariety, but perfect concord and union between them. The poor are the especial care of the Church, but not the poor alone are called. She opens her communion to the rude, the simple, the unlearned, and lavishes upon them the treasures of supernatural grace; but she has a place and a use too for the learned. God calls the poor, the lowly, the simple; he calls also the learned, the philosophic, and the great. St. Paul was not deficient in the learning, the science, and the philosophy of his age. St. Justin Martyr was a learned Platonist, and St. Augustine stands at the head of all ancient and modern philosophers. All the great Fathers were the great men of their age, men who in genius, in ability, learning, eloquence, science, were at the highest level of the human mind in their times, and who dare say, that they rendered and still render no service to religion. Is it of no moment to her to have had her Basils, her Gregories, her Chrysostoms, her Hilaries, her Ambroses, her Augustines, her Leos, her Damians, her Bernards, her Bonaventuras, her Alberts, her Thomases, her Scotts, her Vasquez, her Suarez, her Valentias, her Bossuets, her Fénelons? Was she not served by Leo I., Gregory I., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII., Julius II., and Sixtus Quintus, men of high attainments, lofty character, and eminent administrative ability, before whom the greatest of your temporal sovereigns seem dwarfed and insignificant?

"You tell me the poor are the last to give up their faith.

It has been so in Ireland, it was so in France, in Belgium, but not so in England. The old nobility, the survivors of the wars of the Roses, the gentry, were the last to abandon the old Church and accept the new Gospel at the bidding of the court. The middle classes, traders, artizans, the well-to-do burgesses, if there is any difference, have thus far in the history of religion been the most reluctant to receive and the most prompt to renounce the Church. The Church finds her best friends and her firmest supporters among the high who are satisfied with their worldly position, and the low who aspire to no higher worldly rank. The class between, mammon and place worshippers, are and always must be those who offer the greatest resistance to the Church, and afford her the least consolation. In this class germinated the Protestant Reformation, and it was by siding with them in those European countries where they were strongest that the sovereigns were able to cast off the authority of Rome and establish the Protestant Gospel.

“The serious obstacle to the conversion of this country is in the fact that they who in other countries are called the middle class, are here the great body of the people. Recent immigration has given us a Catholic lower class, but we have not yet a higher class. We have no nobility, and hardly a gentry. The mass of our people are the English middle class, and here, even more than in the mother country, mammon worshippers. An American metropolis is only an English provincial town. This constitutes not only the great obstacle to conversion—for people wedded to the world, bent on riches, or on political distinction, will not become Catholics, though they may be excellent Protestants, or still more excellent Nothingarians—but it also constitutes the chief difficulty in preserving our existing Catholic population faithful to the Church. We lose adult Catholics through the influence of mammon. While our Catholics are poor, labourers and servant-girls, they are faithful, and most of them as good as the day is long, but when they begin to prosper in the world, they, or, if not they, their children, fall in with the mammon worship of the country, and become no better than Protestants. This is a temptation against which our Catholic population have not as yet been sufficiently on their guard.

“The respectability on which I count is not the respec-

tability which rests on wealth or place for its basis, but that which rests on intelligence and virtue. The non-Catholic community looks upon poverty as a crime, and punishes it as such, and we can hardly hope to see them seeking any other respectability than that which rests on worldly wealth, or worldly success. But our Catholic population is not yet clean gone; it still has a conscience, a Christian sense, and is able to appreciate moral respectability, and to reverence worth, though living in obscurity and clothed with rags. Through them the Christian standard of respectability may and will be erected in this country, and with the increase of their numbers, their intelligence, and their Christian virtues, they will have a great power in protecting their children, and a greater influence in checking mammon worship among non-Catholics, and in disposing them to listen with more reverence and docility to the teachings of the Church."

ART. IV.—*Public Instruction, or Reflections on our own Collegiate System as it actually exists.*

WE took occasion in the number of this Review for July last to venture the suggestion that the system of education in Catholic colleges does not fully meet the wants of that portion of the Catholic body who have the means and the disposition to give their sons a liberal education. In doing this we felt assured that we were opening a question which every intelligent Catholic would be very glad to see dispassionately and thoroughly examined. The discussion regarding rudimentary or common-school education—a subject which for years has been prominently before the attention of the public—appears to have at length aroused the community to a just sense of their responsibility and stake in the matter. This discussion has displayed the ready qualities of agitators, who unblushingly assume the facility of speaking and writing on any side of a subject to be alone a sufficient warrant for proffering counsel respecting the action of a community on one of their most vital interests. Happily the general exercise of good sense and sober reflection has hitherto prevented this involuntary and impertinent

interference, from ending in an alarming suspension of the established relations of good neighbourhood, or in a hopeless disorganization of the entire social system. It has also enlisted men of ability, sagacity, and experience, among whom we may be permitted to mention the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York, and the Right Rev. Bishop of Louisville, who are eminently qualified to tread a path between conflicting views that may yet lead to an intelligible settlement of the question, and with whose assistance it may be placed on a basis satisfactory to all.

We cannot avoid, sooner or later, a similar discussion on higher education. The pressing necessities of a whole community will demand a solution; the informal conversation of general society will take a definite shape, and freemen will resort to their most accustomed way of expressing themselves, in regard to the internal and external arrangements of an institution, of which they are at once the patrons and the beneficiaries. We propose to offer some remarks on the present condition of this higher education among the Catholics of this country, for the purpose of unfolding our views as to the modifications most urgently required, and also as to the interest that should properly be manifested in the subject on the part of the community. The latter point seems to us of peculiar importance in order to place this species of education on a permanent foundation, to harmonize its equipment with the place which it holds in the economy of instruction, and to make it worthy of the prominent social position our Catholic community must necessarily occupy in the republic.

We can never judge correctly of the worth of any system whatever, unless we are able to form a clear conception of its several parts, and to inspect their adaptation to the end for which they are designed. There must be an original system, embracing all the details and the mode of their operation. A political system is suggestive, at a glance, of its different but coördinate functions, their powers limited or otherwise, and the manner in which they attain their end. No specific object whatever can be effected by co-operation, except there be some intelligible adjustment of parts united together and acting harmoniously in producing the desired result.

The arrangements for collegiate, or, as we say, liberal

education, are all embraced in a system complete and harmonious in all its parts. These arrangements comprise distinct kinds of official position, having diverse and well-defined duties. As was said in our former article, a college is a public institution of learning, favoured by the law, with express functions in the economy of science, and possessing within itself all the powers requisite for discharging them. Taking it for granted that all the powers necessary for such an institution have been clearly expressed, and that the institution is ready to go into operation, it may now be demanded, what is its object? what its mode of procedure? and on what it relies for ultimate success? These questions lie at the very threshold of inquiry into any system of public instruction. They are evidently worthy of consideration, and they may be considered with the more freedom as they have no relation to individuals. They respect the system alone, and all the qualities and circumstances of that system may be treated of, whether original or derived, simple or complex, sound or unsound, without calling in question in the slightest degree the zeal, the abilities, or the experience of those by whom the system is operated. No system is so perfect as not to fall far short of the sanguine hopes of its framers; and none can be so unskillfully devised, or so defective in itself, that the self-sacrificing efforts of high-spirited men will not save it from entire failure. The question is not whether industry, ability, and experience can or cannot be ascribed to this individual or to that, but whether they are not all exerted in our present collegiate system under circumstances which hinder instead of favouring their proper success.

Our present collegiate system did not, at one bound, spring equipped into existence; nor was it, like the systems in operation around it, derived from the institutions of Great Britain, which, although withdrawn from Catholic control and direction, are even in our day administered, for the most part, in accordance with the statutes of their Catholic founders. So far, indeed, as a system of instruction, we are at a loss to ascribe to it any origin whatever. Presumptively Continental, and French from the description and style of its organic parts, there is little in common between it and public instruction on the Continent, or in the university and colleges of France. In many essential

points it is even more dissimilar to them than it is to the institutions of Great Britain. From the little of resemblance that it bears to any other system of either near or remote antiquity, we should be led, for quiet's sake, to consider it indigenous to the soil on which it flourishes. The aborigines, however, although speaking sententiously in the pages of Cooper, possessed only rude systems of any kind, and were familiar with no other text-book than the one whose bright page nature herself unfolded to their eyes.

The scope of our argument does not permit so easy a solution. Our present collegiate system, on its face, is ecclesiastical. It is appurtenant to various religious orders, or to the ecclesiastical polity of the Church at large. Adapted primarily to rudimentary instruction in the science of theology, and equipped in accordance with such a design, it was the offspring of necessities whose call was louder than could be that of collegiate education proper. In the absence, present and prospective, of the latter, the theological seminaries which from time to time arose to meet the wants of the former were obviously adapted to furnish instruction, to the general student, in Greek, Latin, and geometry. To their directors the Catholic community of the day gladly committed the education of their children. Very soon, a flourishing condition led not a few of these institutions, although unendowed, to make successful application to various State Legislatures for the power of conferring degrees. Such action on the part of the executive officers may have been premature. Taken, as it probably was, in view of the number and character of the students attracted by their brilliant scholarship, of a conspicuous local proximity, and of the frequent instances of pecuniary aggrandizement in the Catholic community, the step appears to have been in harmony with the spirit of enterprise which enters so largely into our American character. When to these obvious inducements is superadded the willing ear given by our Legislative bodies to applications so supported, a failure on the part of the officers to avail themselves of the opportunity offered might well have appeared to be an omission from the system of the very pinnacle of instruction. So constituted, however, it would be an error of no common magnitude to seriously examine our

institutions from this new point of view. The distinction implied by the new designation is not practically important. The point to be considered is that there has been no adoption of the economy of collegiate education.

The principle of established classes and terms of admission, of regarding every pupil as a candidate for a degree, of uniform statutory regulations, of matriculation and of residence, does not enter into the system. Though empowered to confer degrees, they are rarely conferred or applied for. The relations formed by students with the college are not essentially different from those between a well-grown child and the schoolmistress of a neighbouring village. The institution continues to be an educational omnibus wherein the votaries of science enter unceremoniously, and continue up the ascent as far as suits either their curiosity or convenience, and no farther.

The designation has come to be applied, indifferently, to all institutions to which boys are sent from home to be educated, and every new institution prefaces its claims to the patronage of the community by the sounding title of COLLEGE. These institutions, so designated, are in fact only large boarding-schools, with the privilege, in some instances, of conferring the degree of Bachelor of Arts. This is done at the termination of the course of studies, which is divided into several classes, to the study of each of which an entire year is set apart. Pupils of all ages are received, and to each is furnished board, instruction, and a more or less assiduous care and supervision, inasmuch as the officers assume a responsibility for the moral conduct of the pupil.

In the almost total absence, from the system, of the economy of collegiate education, we are occasionally forced to bring forward and refer to that economy as exhibited in the institutions of our country which are not Catholic. It is by no means for the purpose of invidious comparison that the points of dissimilarity are contrasted, for in the absence of an absolute standard of collegiate education all merit is relative, and inferiority in one respect in one class, may be counterbalanced by preëminence in another. The system of other American colleges was derived from the Universities of Great Britain, and it is important in a discussion of collegiate education to see clearly in what particulars our system departs from one which, to the great majority of our youth, is that of the mother country.

In the non-Catholic American colleges, endowment of some nature precedes establishment, and is the basis of action. This foundation has been in many instances munificent. In the absence of individual liberality, the general estimation of learning is successfully appealed to, and thus the basis of instruction is formed for a new locality. This appeal is made with as confident an assurance of success, as under other circumstances accompanies appeals made for the erection of edifices for divine worship, or for asylums. The students of these colleges form relations with the body in their individual capacity, as such they bind themselves to the observance of the statutes, and are in some manner members of the body.

In our Catholic institutions the student is not recognized as a free agent. He signs no statutes or by-laws requisite for carrying out the express object of the institution, from the fact that it would puzzle the wit of a human being to devise a code of statutes suited to every grade of responsibility that is attracted thither. No such code exists. In the former the course of instruction is limited to four years, and the vacations, some three in number, occupy three months in each year; in the latter, the course extends to seven years, and as regards theological students to ten; the vacation is annual and of some two months' duration. So that the rational principle in the one case, that the student goes up to college to attend term, is reversed in the other, wherein he comes down from college to spend the Dogdays at home. The Catholic colleges of recent date have been established by alumni of the older ones, and thus a system that in its best aspect could only have been provisional has become the almost invariable model followed by all our institutions, in their arrangements to promote the purposes of education.

The body corporate or collection of individuals, to whose discretion is committed the power of conferring degrees as well as the care of the property of the institution, has many examples in the daily walks of life. The simple statement that a well-ordered system for public education presupposes the existence of such a body, is sufficient for the general reader. This body is created by the Legislature, and its members are generally authorized to fill the vacancies that occur in their body. The duty of con-

ferring degrees, of appointing and removing officers, of framing by-laws for the government of the society, and the custody of the property of the institution, properly belong to this corporation. From the fact that in Catholic colleges property is the result rather of annual prosperity than of any contribution or bequest of individual munificence, or Legislative grant, this authority is in great part merely nominal. The members of the college exercise, or are supposed to exercise, it over themselves. This is an exception, but an unimportant one, to general practice. The trustees of any institution of learning usually are not practically acquainted with the working of a system of education, are engaged in the pursuits of active life, and therefore rely on the experience of the faculty or officers of instruction. The discharge of their duty is in general limited to fiscal arrangements, and does not actively influence for good or for evil, the working of the system itself.

The executive officers of a college are usually a President, Professors, and Tutors. In many, if not in all Catholic colleges, there is a substitute body of executive officers called *Prefects*, for the especial oversight and care of the moral conduct of the students. Owing, as has been already stated, to the ecclesiastical groundwork and superstructure of our Catholic institutions, the period for which the principal offices are held has no defined limitation. Their incumbents are gentlemen of the clergy; and when in a former article on this subject, it was urged that the claims of religious guidance and teaching are made paramount to those of collegiate instruction, the reference was to this feature of the system. The relations of these gentlemen with the institution are subordinate to their relations with different and remote ecclesiastical superiors. The exigencies of these superiors may constrain them, at any time, to direct these officers to form a pastoral relation which at once works a dissolution of their previous relations with collegiate instruction. Our Holy Father, the Pope, has again and again transferred the Presidents and Professors of colleges, from their chairs to places of high oversight and dignity in the Church.

The office of Teacher is held for a longer or shorter period, as the incumbent, who is completing at the same time his studies in divinity, may have advanced towards

the termination of his course. The office of PREFECT is annual.

The superintendence of the working of the system rests wholly with these officers. The President, besides being the principal executive officer, is at the same time at the head of some department of instruction, and master of the preparatory department; not unfrequently he is, in addition, director of a seminary, and pastor of a neighbouring congregation. To each Professor is committed a particular department, and in some instances a pastoral charge in the adjoining district. The instruction imparted by the teachers ranges from the capacity of childhood to that of ripe adolescence and early manhood. The faculty of the college have the general care of the discipline of the institution, whilst in practice the whole devolves on the President. This, we believe, is the practice at Eton, and Rugby, and Winchester, and was that of the colleges in this country during the ante-revolutionary period of their existence.

Prefect among the ancient Romans was a title common to officials of every grade, up to the king or emperor. He might be the governor of a province, the marshal of a prison, or a schoolmaster. From a passage in a classic author it would seem that in one instance the prefect was a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself.

This title reappears in the history of France in connection with the exercise of the royal authority in the provinces. It may have retained its general application, and may have also been used to designate a French schoolmaster. We are not sufficiently familiar with the details of the system of professional collegiate education in France to state the precise relation of the office implied by the title to the discipline of a college, if such a relation exists there. The question, however, is not practically important; the incumbent of the office has been familiar to the students of our Catholic colleges for half a century. In their regard, he is the substitute of the President and Faculty for the preservation of general order during the annual session; appointed by the executive officers, he divides with them the responsibility of the oversight and moral conduct of the students, or rather wholly relieves that body from the personal supervision primarily resting with them.

From the impossibility of devising a code of rules to

have a uniform application, the discipline of our colleges is as arbitrary as that of a district school, without the same checks on its excessive exercise. This office in its relation to the business of teaching in our colleges, does not involve that aptitude on the part of its incumbents for imparting instruction which its classic signification implies. If the office, so modified, were to be generally revived and reintroduced, the title of the boatswain of a cruiser, or of the provost-marshal of a brigade, would be better than that of *Prefect*. This office is an anomaly in any system of education with which we are familiar. That its exercise is more than a novelty is manifest. In Catholic colleges the parent establishes relations with the principal alone, or with the faculty of instruction. The methods of discipline pursued by the latter may at times appear to be harsh, or even arbitrary, and yet not exceed or overstep the rational limits of their delegated authority. According to all recognized systems the principal may be aided by assistants, ushers, or as in the case of a faculty, by associates. When, however, the substitution of authority is so practically absolute, as it is in the case of the office of *Prefect*, in some of our colleges, its exercise should be based on the existence of some relation between the parent and that officer. No such relation exists. We are at fault, as has been stated, in tracing back our system to any of the recognized European systems from which it may have been derived. Its features, moreover, are not to be discovered in the institutions spoken of by Horace, where he shows us that "the great boys sprung from noble centurions, with sachel and tablet swinging on their left arm, went to the school and settled their accounts monthly." Its prototype is not in the eager crowd that followed the "sophist's stole" in the Porch or in the Grove. He who learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel must have been attracted by the gentle manners of the teacher, to have borne so grateful testimony of the fact. And "all the learning of Egypt," as faintly shadowed forth in the wise counsel of Jethro, the priest of Madian, to his kinsman, testifies that disorder even in religious guidance and teaching, or in moral influence, is not a good thing, that speciality and subdivision are the pillars of order, heaven's first law; and that the blessings of peace

descend most refreshingly when each one is in his appropriate place.

In the older institutions these officers of instruction are appointed by the corporate body. The idea of pecuniary compensation adequate to the services rendered by them does not enter into the system, and, as far as they are concerned, that instruction in whole or in part is eleemosynary. If the number of students is large, the excess of receipts is appropriated to the erection of buildings, to the employment of other professors, or to the increase of the *matériel* of instruction. The relations of teachers and professors with education being only provisional or temporary, there is, of course, the least possible encouragement to individual exertion or to high attainments. For, whether the professor has natural gifts suited to the office of teacher, or has them not, his labours will be proportioned to the brief, transient, and sometimes imposed tenure by which it is held.

Our Catholic colleges so constituted assume the responsibility of conducting education from its rudiments to the immediate preparation for one of the learned professions. In addition to what is acquired in the preparatory department, this embraces instruction in Latin and Greek, in Mathematics, in various branches of Natural Philosophy, in Rhetoric, in Physics, and in Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. In addition to education, our colleges also furnish board for the student; assuming the responsibility not only of moral guardianship over him, but, in the case of youth of a tender age, of a much more assiduous care. As far as the mere *matériel* of the arrangements for this purpose is concerned, we do not know that there is any thing to be desired. In this respect our Catholic colleges will be found to be so far in advance of most other American colleges as to leave no room to institute a comparison. But the president and professors, besides having their pastoral charges, practically relieve themselves of the major part of this supervision, by transferring the burden impliedly assumed by them to an officer of their own naming, the PREFECT.

A special moral influence is ascribed to the theological students as a body, but on what precise grounds we have never been able clearly to perceive. Their relations to the institution or to the business of education, although absolute, are less strict than are those of other students. They

are not like the fellows of the universities of Great Britain, part of the body corporate and of the institution, and jealous of its interests ; nor are they in the category of the young man who managed to defray the expenses of his board and lodging by exerting a moral influence in the family. For, apart from their personal worth and valuable qualities, their position is preëminent and of right, and, does not involve the special exercise of any moral influence whatever. If by this assumption it is meant that these gentlemen are diligently engaged in endeavouring to reach a high and praiseworthy object, such claims can attract the attention of unreflecting credulity alone, for the same general influence is exerted under like conditions by every man, woman, and child in Christendom. There is, besides, interposed between the usual influence they might be supposed to exert and the object of it, the office of Prefect, which traverses the operation of any such influence. There is then no body of men permanently connected with the institution who are supposed to exercise a special care over the morals and discipline of the younger members of the college. Under these circumstances, it is clear that this responsibility has been assumed without the means necessary to carry it into effect.

It is usually supposed by parents, and especially by Catholic parents, that their sons at colleges conducted on the boarding-school plan, are under a sort of parental supervision. They consequently send their children to such institutions at a very early, sometimes at a tender age. The system of our colleges is, however, so comprehensive, that a young man may be admitted to them after having spent some years of active life in the less intellectual affairs of men. Thirty-five is only an extreme age for the immediate preparation for a profession. Here then are students of very dissimilar ages, associated together and pursuing the same studies. They should properly be subjected to the same rules, for the necessity is apparent of subjecting every member of the same society to the same regulations. It is obvious, however, that the rules suitable for one party must be unsuitable for another. Raising that part of it farthest advanced in years to the dignity of theological students, and transferring the remainder to the arbitrary and at times harsh and excessive rule of the PREFECT, is a

plain confession of the difficulty, but by no means a proper avoidance of it. Such is our present system; while it has many good points, it is clear that the carrying of it into practical effect is attended with greater and more insuperable difficulties than to most persons would be apparent at first sight.

The commencement of studies at a college is marked by a large number of accessions; they countervail an equally large number who since the close of the past collegiate year have been withdrawn by parents. The same increase and diminution, perhaps, has occurred in the teaching body. Students are assigned to their respective classes; the new ones to such classes as on examination will be found suitable to their acquirements,—to a desk, a bed, a place in the Commons Hall, and to the surveillance of the PREFECT. The daily recitations, each occupying an hour, are such as are usual at a large boarding-school. In the upper classes and in theology instruction is carried on by means of lectures. One annual course of study is separated from that which immediately precedes it by a vacation of some two months, which occurs in the summer. During this time students revisit their homes, or remain and occupy their time under slight restrictions, as they think most agreeable. Examinations are held at the close of the year of all the students, in all the studies to which they have attended. These examinations are conducted with care, and occupy altogether a considerable portion of time. The students who have not been found deficient, or who have not in the interval been withdrawn by parents, are at the commencement of the next ensuing year advanced to a class farther on in the course. The students who have thus advanced through all the seven classes are candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. When this degree is conferred the relations of the student with the college are dissolved, save in the case of theological students, who then commence the study of theology, and proceed regularly to the farther degree of divinity. The course of studies is appointed by the body corporate. These are so nearly alike in all our principal colleges, that a detail of them is unnecessary.

The use of rewards as a means of exciting youth to the pursuit of knowledge, is one to which instructors of expe-

rience and desert, are constrained to yield a reluctant assent. This acquiescence on their part is coupled, however, with so many provisos as to render a proper application of this stimulant a matter of circumspection and skill. There is no trace of its adoption by teachers of former ages sufficiently clear to enable us to throw around it the *prestige* of antiquity. The rod was universally recognized as the only catholicon. The enlarged boundaries of natural science may have induced competition, and with competition came novel methods of instruction. One of these was the substitution of moral influence and rewards in place of the rod, as a means of stimulating industry and application. The exercise of this influence requires a combination of rare qualities, which are not always possessed by the same individual, and are scarcely the subjects of acquisition. Whether a man shall have them or not, is not a matter of mere volition. An obvious abuse, then, to which this method is open is, that, in the absence of a capacity in the teacher to exercise this moral influence, it rests entirely on too weak a foundation. It would be manifestly absurd to chastise an entire school for the delinquencies of a minor part of it, or to dose a whole family in order to cure one of its members of a light or even infectious disease. And no less equally absurd will it appear to some minds, to remedy the exceptional instances of idleness and inattention in a well-ordered institution, by converting it into a hunting party for the session, with a number of rewards in full view. To remedy an evil of incidental occurrence, the application should be special and not general. The use of rewards in the collegiate system of this country is, we believe, limited to the distinctions of Commencement day, and to the prizes established in rare instances for preëminence in a particular department. In the universities on the continent of Europe, the natural enthusiasm of the students does not stand in need of the superfluous excitement. The system of Great Britain is so intimately blended with the whole social condition of its people, that the rewards of its universities do not furnish an apposite illustration. The influence exerted by that system on the university career of an English student stands alone in the annals of education. A period of life naturally enthusiastic and exuberant, is scarcely a fitting

one to be acted on beneficially by such incitements. Apathetic reaction follows close on excessive and prolonged application, and, in the large majority of instances, the attainment of the coveted prize is the last that is heard of the successful competitor.

That some present appreciable earnest of future professional usefulness or success is a strong and healthy impulse to diligence and propriety of conduct is not denied. Such a consummation is never absent from the mind of a young man in our theological seminaries, or in the military academy. The rewards annually distributed in our institutions, however, are badges of rudimentary education, and do not comport with the dignity of colleges. They may be to the students a salvo for the petty hardships of the session, or, like the holiday gifts presented to children, may serve to throw a bright halo of cheerfulness around the exercise that marks the close of a scholastic year.

The operations of a college are generally so far removed from the observation of society, and are besides so difficult to be comprehended, even by persons in whose very midst it flourishes, that the sketch here presented will not prove to have been unnecessary. It was necessary in subjecting our collegiate system to a rigid criticism, to give the reader a general knowledge at least of its present condition. We have therefore submitted, with more or less of detail, the foregoing outline. We now proceed to point out the features of the system which seem to us but ill-adapted to meet the expectations of the parties most interested in education.

A system of public instruction has its origin in the general usefulness of mental cultivation, and the obvious inadequacy of individual instruction to surround itself with the means necessary for effecting that usefulness. A school is established by a teacher for his own benefit. The amount of knowledge that he imparts, the period of his labours, their value and price, is an affair which remains with him and the parent. A collegiate establishment is based on a foundation of individual or general benevolence, exhibited in a more or less munificent provision of means, to be devoted exclusively to the support of institutions. To it is committed the power of conferring academical degrees, or open testimonials of literary and scientific acquirement.

Whatever be the merits of the controversy that has enlisted the talents of Madame Dacier, Boileau, Grimke, and the Abbé Gaume, and of their respective adversaries, it is beyond our scope and intention to renew it here. The public consideration that formerly attached to these degrees has, in some measure, disappeared. The regulations that only opened the doors of the professions on their presentation have been greatly modified. Some even profess to see written, in the new ideas of the dignity of labour, of the worth of men as men, of the dangers of privilege, of society without subject classes, the story of the decline of classical influence on literature. It is enough for us that there is everywhere displayed an eagerness to enter on the collegiate course which negatives the supposition that the value of this testimonial has depreciated; the pursuit of a professional career is no longer the sole motive for the possession of a cultivated intellect. New heights have been scaled, and new depths have been fathomed, where men can hope to fill profitably their day of usefulness. Our collegiate institutions are no unimportant part of a social system, from which the aristocratic element was originally eliminated, or from which it entirely disappeared in the shock of the Revolution. The living principle of that element, the transmission of estates by entail, has not only been extinguished by statutory enactment, but our judicial tribunals have repeatedly traversed the natural unwillingness of the wealthy to conform to the novel provisions. A good education in a generous course of study has come to be considered by men of reflection the best inheritance they can possibly leave to their sons, and discrimination in the choice of systems becomes, therefore, a matter of grave responsibility. It is clear that if such a course has been pursued with diligence and industry, the testimonial should have a favourable influence on the position of a young man just entering on the duties of active life. It shows that he has completed a course of study which in the community is recognized as the standard of a liberal education. It conciliates, in advance, the good will of all. It shows on its face that it has been conferred in consideration of merit and attainments, and of a certain period of life devoted to liberal studies. The power of conferring these degrees has been vested solely in collegiate institutions, and it is

evident that the literary and intellectual character of a community in general must be affected by the nature of the acquirements which this testimonial is made to represent.

The amount of liberal education requisite for a part of a community, cannot be advantageously adopted as a measure of general attainment. The encouragement of all indiscriminately to reach such a standard, would not only traverse natural inclination and produce a number of ill-educated men, because educated without any aim; but the ability readily to adapt such acquirements to active pursuits is inversely to their number and variety. Such a measure is manifestly incapable of meeting the wants of individuals whose minds are susceptible of high cultivation, and of the great mass whom the partiality of parental fondness would send up to acquire it equally. Such a system of collegiate education must unavoidably produce a large amount of half-educated talent, which is a stumbling-block to the intellectual strength of the community whose sympathies have been enlisted in its behalf.

The true office of public instruction is, then, to cultivate well more than ordinary natural endowments of mind. Men point with a just pride to conspicuous positions not only in a community, but in general society, which are filled by the highest order of intellect, cultivated by liberal study, and matured by a thorough knowledge of the collected wisdom of ages. They point also to some institution of public instruction as the well-spring from which this cause of general estimation was derived. This talent, so ripened, did not, as a rule, belong to any particular division of society, least of all to that surrounded by the gifts of fortune. The means, however, for a generous discipline of the mind are very expensive, so expensive that in the absence of private munificence, they are usually provided by the government. If the provision were to be overlooked by both, the amount of talent so generally diffused would, for all but the wealthy few, remain undisciplined, and become lost, if not hurtful to society. The contribution of means towards the erection of an establishment of such general benefit soon follows an intelligent appreciation of its advantages. The design is not to teach one science rather than another, not to educate the poor or the rich, not for the eleemosynary distribution of a surplus of Greek and Latin to all

who may be attracted to receive it, but to nurture and develop the highest talent of the community at large; to cause the brightest rays of science to light up the way of those whose natural endowments give promise of usefulness, as leaders of the national thought, directors of the national arm, or teachers of the national heart. The nature of the responsibility that devolves on the corporate body of a college is apparent. Its members are intrusted with all the means contributed by the community for this specific purpose. They appoint and remove all college officers; they confer degrees, appoint the course of studies; and from time to time change, amend, and modify it. Consequently, to some extent, the literary character of the community will have impressed upon it such leading features as they may please to give it. When the means at the disposal of such a body are ample, they have practically the direction of that ability on the part of teachers, which in the universities of Europe is sought out by pupils. The position which they occupy is, indeed, important, and if the literary character of the community is unmarked, on whom but this body, in the first instance, does the responsibility rest? It is scarcely necessary to say, in passing, that these remarks apply to the discharge of the duties of this office, such as we conceive it should be, not such as it really is. These duties are based on a provision of means for properly establishing and equipping an institution; and where none such have been furnished, this responsibility, if it exists at all, can be only nominal.

In proceeding to examine the condition of this body as it exists, and is a part of our system, and to observe how far it is the reflection of a knowledge of the theory and practice of instruction, of a capacity to adapt its requirements to the social system of which it is no unimportant part, of singleness and integrity of purpose, and of harmonious efficiency of action, we are met by the question, Is this body selected simply in view of their qualifications for this peculiar office, confessedly men of ability and ripe knowledge? Are they specially interested in the business of education? Do they in consequence of their official position make this subject their peculiar study? Have their arrangements for mental cultivation a peculiar adaptation to the social institutions of which they come in aid, or

would these arrangements suit equally well any other like institutions? Are the officers selected to fill the various departments of instruction selected with a view to their peculiar fitness? Is the business of instruction the main object of these arrangements, or are they collateral or subordinate to any other? Any one acquainted with the practical working of our collegiate system can answer these questions as well as if an answer to them were suggested here.

We were aware that the gentlemen connected with our collegiate institutions would be the last to take offence at the argument advanced in a former article, and did not consider it necessary to preface our remarks by any statement of the feelings of profound respect entertained towards them. The body of which we speak, although a necessary part of the proper framework of a college, exists only in our system to be called into action and energy whenever there is occasion. Its members are actually engaged in the arduous labours of instruction, and their hearts are in other work than the performance of nominal duties; nevertheless, these questions are important, and the absence or inaction of so important a part of the system, must be felt injuriously throughout all its departments, and leaves unsupported the impulsive, the forward, the confiding disposition of youth.

The collegiate system of the country, taken as a whole, is denominational; and from the large sums already invested in it, as well as from the existing jealousy of state interference beyond the express powers intrusted to its exercise, will, it is fair to infer, continue so. The corporate body of an institution is bound by the general polity of its confession. To this we by no means object. It has indeed, our hearty concurrence. True it is, that the beneficial results of an institution will be in proportion to the singleness of purpose with which it moves towards the attainment of a specific object, and that the degree of education will be more or less high, in proportion to the variety of objects on which its energies are expended. But this feature in our general system was not originally intended, nor yet has it been wholly fortuitous. It is one of those gradual developments, part social and part political, so peculiar to the English Constitution. Of its marked

character no one will doubt, who reflects that were the state to equip and set in motion a university forthwith, its halls would be neglected, nay, avoided. Not for the reason that it would be an assumption of power, but because it would be an innovation on the recognized system, in which the religious and secular elements are blended in harmony with the social and political requirements of the community. Whether this union is acquiesced in by the officers that have in charge the administration of this system, with a heartiness proportioned to the urgency of the reasons that led to its gradual formation, we have not the means of determining. That their good or ill opinion of it depends very much on the degree of good faith with which the implied terms of the union are observed by the correlative parts of the fabric, of which this system is at once the ornament and the support, it is natural to infer. The bearing of the subject, the different stages in its progress, the extent of its influence on the elements around it, and its aspects in our day, belong to the history of the country. Reference to it may be significant in this connection, as a leading feature of education other than Catholic, and as going to show that the religious element, in some form, enters largely into the system on which it is conducted. The origin of this relation in our system, as well as that of collegiate instruction itself, is of a comparatively recent date, but the points of departure are not so well defined. The advantages of the alliance in subserving the purposes of religion are manifest, but its usefulness to learning simply is not so obvious. With the general proposition, that the mere acquisition of scientific knowledge or of liberal education by youth, should be coördinate with the acquisition of a higher knowledge, and with their training to a wider freedom, we coincide in all its length and breadth. Nay, as matter of individual opinion we might go farther, and err, if at all, on the safer side. This, however, is not a matter of individual speculation; nor, to our apprehension, is the relation that subsists in our Catholic colleges, between learning proper and the religious purpose they are supposed to subserve, such as can be stated in the terms of a proposition. If this be so, the excess of the religious element may well be as injurious as its partial absence, and the more there is of it the worse learning is sure to be off. We are aware that, but for some

implied arrangement of this kind, our present institutions never would have existed ; but in the face of the indefinite grade of scholarship that it entails, as well as of the fact that it is not ordered with any regard to the social or political condition of the community in which it operates, and is therefore calculated to defeat the very object it proposes to effect, the precise terms of the arrangement cannot be too soon definitely settled.

For many reasons connected with the working of our colleges, of which the chief one is that the gentlemen who have them in charge, are, without exception, men possessed of all the rare qualifications so much to be desired in the instructors of youth, this oversight might be deemed superfluous. But as we have before urged, our system itself, more than any other, is one of transfer, vicissitude, and change, and therefore requires a constant supervision.

The relations of officers not only with an institution, but with the interests of education, are brief and transient. Their services are pecuniarily gratuitous, or nearly so. Indeed, the system is not based on the remuneration for the labours that are performed in its multifarious departments. Observed from a merely human point of view, it is impossible to institute a comparison between the arduous nature of the service required, and the compensation, whether of value, of position, or of reputation, that follows its performance.

To all this many objections may well be urged. A moderate and well-considered reference in a *Baltimore Magazine* to a former article, suggests, among other things, that our colleges are yet in a state of formation, and that they are steadily progressing towards maturity. This may be true, and we have always adapted our remarks to this their inchoate condition. Without any pecuniary capital for an endowment, and almost without applicants for the degrees which they are empowered to confer, no salient point is displayed that can properly be made the subject of criticism. A college, however, is eminently systematic in the disposition and mutual dependence of its parts. The attainment of the specific object for which it is established depends rather on a proper organization than on the lapse of time ; and the latter, as in the case, amongst others, of *St. Mary's*, involves the closing no less than the final com-

pletion of its halls. It may also be said that these colleges are ecclesiastical institutions, established as such, and bound to pursue the object of their foundation. Here, again, our remarks may have no application. But if such be the fact, a clearer statement and a wider dissemination of it, than at present obtains, is on many accounts desirable.

It may be said that the means for the erection and endowment of an institution of public instruction must be contributed by the Catholic community; that to canvass the interest felt by it on the subject is at present premature, inasmuch as men are too much engrossed in the active duties of life to bestow on the enterprise the time and labour requisite to insure its success. If this be so, we concede that the hope, not only of improvement, but of completion, must be deferred. Not to start at all, in such an undertaking, is better than to fail. And we must wait until the community are ready to give to the education of their children, at least the same exercise of judgment, discrimination, and shrewdness, that they exhibit in the markets of the world.

If sufficient interest does not exist in the community to fully equip our present institutions of learning, or to establish institutions better suited to our wants, let the deficiency be ascribed to the proper source. Instead of pursuing the defects of the system through all its developments, and sympathizing with the sufferers from its vicious organization, let the community be aroused to a consciousness of the vital nature of their interest in the matter. All other difficulties will vanish as a mist, when the provision of means is the only question to be presented for solution.

But if it be premature to demand what we have proposed, then the system should be changed. It should be adapted to the grade of attainment which the community desire for their sons. The present system assumes that all who come up to college, come up for the purpose, except in case of impediment, of taking a degree at the end of the course. The number of students who actually demand the testimonial, as has been already stated, is comparatively insignificant. This artificial body, which we call a college, has then no appropriate functions to discharge, and it should be abolished. It is interposed between the community and their children for no useful purpose, and if it were once

removed, the rest of the system would be in a condition to perform well-recognized functions in the business of education.

The transient and uncertain tenure by which the Professors in most of our Catholic colleges hold their office is in itself a great evil, and the gratuitous nature of the services performed by them must preclude any very extended observation on the deficiency of the system under this point of view. Facility and expertness in any useful work are the result only of long and unremitted practice, and their importance in the peculiar and delicate task of instruction has no need to be pointed out. The effects of routine, and a mechanical performance of the duties of the recitation room, in repressing rather than leading forth the powers of the young mind, would suggest themselves, if they had not so many living illustrations.

In the universities on the continent of Europe the student is attracted by the fame or reputation of the teacher, and in this country by the standing or good repute of the college. This body must needs do that for the student which he is prevented from doing himself, and select the best teachers. Few persons can be found who are ignorant of the rudiments of learning taught in a district school, and yet not one in ten can maintain its discipline or readily impart what he knows. In proportion as the sphere of action becomes elevated, the qualifications demanded are higher and rarer. Besides a capacity to impart knowledge and maintain discipline, to excite a healthy emulation and diligence, the Professor should be patient and long suffering with pupils, prompt to act in concert with his fellows for the purpose of preserving order, and possessed of those manners and qualities that attach men who are required to act together to a common end. When the number of teachers is large, and each to some extent independent of the other, the chances of inharmonious action are increased. The consequences are not limited to a particular department, but spread over and influence the whole teaching body; and it may very easily happen that a whole college suffers for a period from the untractable disposition of a single teacher.

In not a few institutions these offices are filled by gentlemen who at the same time are qualifying themselves for the priesthood, or are actually in charge of congregations.

This diversion makes the education of youth a matter of secondary interest, and any reflecting man cannot fail to perceive that instruction so given is to a degree merely perfunctory, and falls far short of what it should be. Whether professors in our colleges are such as the requirements of education demand, we need not now inquire. Whatever the benefit derived by the course of education from our Catholic colleges, as now constituted, we owe to the ability, skill, and energy with which the Professors surmount the difficulties which arise from the absence of the provisions demanded to enable them to perform with ease their appropriate functions as teachers. We owe it to the men, not to the system. But in examining a system, which, properly equipped, ought to perform valuable service with ordinary care and assiduity on the part of its officers, the achievements of extraordinary self-devotion ought not to be counted on. Voluntary aid may go beyond, as well as fall short of the specific object to be accomplished; and a system, that is based on the supposed invariable result of appeals made to sentiments which, while they do honour to human nature, are not universal, cannot be too soon changed for one with a less uncertain support.

It is not our purpose to enter into any discussion of the course of studies proper to be pursued in a college or university. The classics and mathematics must, undoubtedly, always hold a prominent rank in such an institution, but less for their own sake, or as the end to be gained, than as means of cultivating and developing the mental faculties, of refining the taste, and forming habits of just reasoning. The course of studies, however, in our Catholic institutions, has not only been marked out but in many instances taught by scholars fresh from similar institutions in Europe, and of a higher grade of scholarship, than our own country affords. We do not know that this course needs any change, or is capable of improvement, unless the capacity of pupils here vary essentially from capacity of pupils abroad. It may be that the course is not adapted to the age at which pupils are received here, and demands for its completion a longer time than parents here usually permit their sons to remain under charge of the institution, and not improbably this is one reason why so many who fail to distinguish themselves, in the college halls, become eminently useful

and successful in active life, and that the most valuable education is frequently obtained in the college where there is but a small number of professors.

Here is the most difficult part of the subject. The combination of independent courses of instruction in one institution is to our apprehension fatally defective, and their proper distribution a preliminary step to improvement. No man at all aware of the hardships of individuals in some of our colleges imposed by the present arrangement throughout all its details, will question the necessity of some change. We believe this combination is confined in its practice to our Catholic colleges; yet they are free from the insuperable obstacles that beset the paths of other American systems. Notwithstanding the comparatively vast wealth and general favour of other colleges, the grade of scholarship in them is only superior to that of Catholic institutions, because it is the result of intelligent subdivision. The infant school, the open school of the district, the academy, the grammar school, the high school, and for peculiar localities and idiosyncrasies, the private tutor, are all parts of the system, and precede collegiate instruction. There, however, it stops. That it does not come up to the general capacity for mental cultivation is not only admitted, but is the fruitful theme of learned speculation for supplying the deficiency. Denominational education, however, in this instance can go no farther. Geographical divisions on political and religious questions must ever prevent any thing like a national education. With Catholics the reverse is the case. The Church knows no North or South, East or West. Political and social questions do not disturb her uniformity of motion or restrict the freedom of her action by the capricious boundaries of sectional division.

Mature age is sometimes self-taught or advances rapidly with but slight assistance; early manhood seeks knowledge from a love of truth, or from a kindred motive, and is enthusiastic in its pursuit; boyhood requires encouragement, rewards, and sometimes even the spur recommended by the wisest of men. The same manner of teaching cannot possibly be equally well adapted to students so widely different in age, nevertheless they are all assembled according to the present system in the same recitation room. This, as has been already stated, is disadvantageous alike

to instructors and to pupils. The relations, too, of students to each other and to the institution need to be well defined. The courses of study are so dissimilar that the pursuit of one is an intrusion on the decent and proper acquirement of another. If our colleges are in fact theological seminaries, to send thither students as yet of no particular science or vocation, is to obtrude them on an institution whose course of study is distinctly traced, and the progress made by either must be constantly impeded by the inharmonious action of each on the other. Nor does the evil stop here. The theological students at most colleges are not so often students of divinity, as candidates for that study. The number of them is no inconsiderable portion of the whole number of students, and the impropriety of the association is now apparent. It leads to an arrangement gratuitously unjust. All the members of a society pursuing the same course of studies should be subjected to a uniform set of rules, or the exercise of authority is arbitrary. Candidates for the study of theology, however, at our colleges occupy a position not simply of assistants, attendants, ushers, or any other well-recognized office in the economy of instruction, but one of arbitrary superiority. This is an aggravated wrong, not inflicted by one division of students on another, for both are sufferers in a common calamity, but of the system that brings the inharmonious departments not into association, but into collision.

Experience shows that in equipping our institutions as colleges, we have either gone too far or not far enough. Their eminently artificial construction presses like an incubus on the period of life, that needs only a substitute for the sympathetic, the protecting, the assiduous care of parental love. If some one of these colleges were to be equipped as a university, and the rest of them reëstablished on a preparatory basis, the different sciences and subdivisions of learning now crowded into each, would then find their appropriate places. Such a course, so far from disparaging the position of the officers of these institutions, would give it true dignity, and instead of diminishing the proper number of students, would elevate the character of all. The course of studies would not then be limited to the conventional term of four years, and the grade of scholar-

ship in the new institution would be absolute, and not the present superficial indefinite grade.

The erection of a university has for years occupied the attention of educated men in this country, but for obvious reasons it can be done only by the Catholic community. That it is a matter of urgent necessity for our own purposes, if not for the country at large, follows naturally from the line of argument we have adopted. Our present institutions are admitted to be inadequate to our wants, and a university is necessary to complete and crown our system of collegiate instruction. It is the only feasible mode by which an indefinite number of young men, after a preparatory course of a high grade, at our present local institutions, can receive a generous mental training. The radical defect of instruction would disappear, and the whole would at once exhibit an improved because a rational appearance. Other advantages to the cause of education which such a change is calculated to effect, might be suggested, but they will readily present themselves to the reflection of the reader. We might bring forward an outline of the course of studies to be pursued in the university suggested as a complement to our present system, and which would give such free scope to the energies and abilities both of professors and of pupils. But this is not necessary, for almost any one of our own present courses with slight modifications and additions would be as good as any we could suggest.

Our remarks have been made with the greatest freedom from the fact that the present system, although spread over the country, is really only provisional, and has not taken root and become interwoven with the feelings and sympathies of the community. The institutions that body forth its spirit start into existence wherever their usefulness as seminaries of learning gives promise of patronage, and disappear when the expectation has proved to be too sanguine. Although its movements display the presence of the forces that underlie the social fabric, their energy and harmony are the result of mutual convenience, rather than of a vital consciousness of exerting an influence that acts insensibly to form the life of the community. If the ideas and wants of the country have been misapprehended, and our colleges are silent monuments of the enterprising spirit

of their executive officers, a candid admission of so venial an extravagance will restore articulation.

The only feasible relief adequate to the grave nature of existing defects is in subordinating the secular elements of a liberal education to the Christian element, and affording a stand-point from which the working of the system can be accurately seen. Such a consummation will avoid the necessity on the part of a future apologist, of bounding from element to element with an agility which, while it exhibits dexterity and skill, is perplexing to the general apprehension, that presumes always in favour of the merits of collegiate instruction.

The arrangements for the preservation of order and for the physical well-being of students, have been incidentally referred to throughout these remarks, and before concluding we will briefly speak of them as a coördinate part of our collegiate system. This is a branch of the subject which, under an aspect of more or less awful severity, has at some period come home to the individual experience of all our readers, and the peculiarities that make the system in our colleges an exception to discipline in general will alone come under observation. Public instruction in its broadest sense, and as it is familiar to students on many parts of the continent of Europe, is but slightly conscious of this feature of the system, and its absolute necessity is inversely to the degree of the pupil's advancement towards mature age. In the entire absence from the education of the whole country of a university, collegiate education is obnoxious to the embarrassment, so often referred to, of uniformity of rule in dealing with students. The leading principle on which it is based, presupposes that the relations of the students to the institution will have been dissolved, at least before the period of life at which young men are socially considered able to take care of themselves. Hence, the institution impliedly assumes the responsibility of the supervision and moral character of the student. The point of view from which we have been obliged to examine the system brings forward in bold relief the merits of this particular part of it. The arrangements of our institutions, as far as the physical well-being of the student is concerned, are based, we believe, on the supposition that he ought, in his new abode, to receive a degree of care and

supervision as high as was exercised in his regard while at home. These dispositions, which relate to the natural requirements of youth, and display the peculiar features of the family circle, are, as has been already stated, such as the most vigilant parent could desire. This is as it should be. Boys are separated from the sympathies and restraints of home at an early age, or under conditions of local seclusion and inexperience that are equivalent to it. The question with parents does not relate so much to the reputation of the college or institution, by whatever name it may be known, as to its living exponents, Who is the master, or president, or professor? Who in the neighbourhood sends his son thither? These are questions to any one of which a satisfactory answer is sufficient, in a majority of instances, to lead to a change in the aspect of the situation appropriated by nature to the especial nurture of youth, that will have an influence for good or for evil on the whole aftercourse of life. The inducement, although of the most slender kind by itself, is nevertheless significant of the view of one party. In addition to this more obvious supervision, boys at an early age are acted on by an imperceptible influence proceeding from the teacher and personal to him. The literal details of instruction are but a part of the teacher's ability. The carriage, manners, habits, in a word, all those dispositions of mind and body, which formed aright give symmetry and erectness to the character of the future man, are moulded under his inspection and through the medium of his personal intercourse. When this medium is reduced to the mechanical precision of rule, its influence is eminently inauspicious on the elastic and confiding temperament of youth. The proper occupation of the leisure hours, that alternate with those of study and recitation, is no unimportant part of a boy's training; and the natural tendency to dissipate the time of relaxation in vicious excitements, or in rude and hazardous amusement, is to be anticipated. If, however, this tendency has to be acknowledged, the teacher himself must avoid it by leading off in the recreations of the pupil. The charming variety which the aspects of nature, and the sober avocations of men in the field, on the highways of business, at home, and abroad, all present to the curiosity of youth, does not lie beyond the possibility of the teacher to enlist in his service.

This kind of supervision, or something equivalent to it, is required by youth such as in four cases out of five go to make up the number of students in a Catholic college. The very principle of recognizing them in the relation of children alone, demands it, and we are met at the very threshold of an examination of this part of the subject, by the question, What number of students such as these can possibly derive advantage from this supervision? This inquiry would be unnecessary in the case of a college proper, inasmuch as the student himself forms relations with the artificial body, and whether there be one hundred or four hundred, the principle of the system is adapted to the contingency. The supervision referred to, in theory at least, formed part of the preparatory training called for by the statutes of the college. One of the leading inducements very properly held out by every respectable boarding school, is the limited number of its pupils, and if we mistake not, the arrangement is adopted by one or more Catholic colleges. The number in question depends not so much on demonstration as on the absolute requirements of a given period of life, the circumstances of condition and locality, and the means at the command of an institution to fulfil with ease these requirements. It is a natural deduction from such a statement. The number then to which this care and attention can properly be given, is within the bounds of calculation. Any one at all conversant with the theory of education, or who has had experience in teaching, can compute it, as well as if it were done here. It would fall far short of the number of students in the most prominent of our colleges.

This plethoric condition, which is generally considered an evidence of the prosperous advancement of the institution, can be traced to a variety of sources, any one of which is alone sufficient to account for excess of some degree. The absence throughout the country of schools of a less pretentious grade, whose discipline is in harmony with Catholic predilections, is sufficient to produce it. Boys are precipitately sent hundreds of miles to obtain that, which, under more favourable circumstances, their neighbours obtain for their children in the nearest flourishing village. Our Catholic community are not ostensibly better off in this respect than are their brethren in the West Indies and South

America, who are led, by the reputation of the country for educational facilities, to send their sons in such large numbers hither. Whilst Oxford and Cambridge alone supply the higher intellectual wants of the whole British Empire, the number of grammar schools, somewhat analogous to our colleges, is very considerable. In England there are four or five hundred, the majority of them of old Catholic foundation. Ipswich, established by the munificence of Cardinal Wolsey, was, perhaps, the last of a long series of local foundations, that witnessed the liberality of the olden time in behalf of learning, as well as the peculiar feature in the bestowal of it. The arrangements for general supervision at our colleges, so far as the disposition of the edifices are concerned, are most inartificial; and their efficiency depends mainly on the ambulatory vigilance of the prefect. Exhibiting many of the elements of monastic education, and of modern popular training, the results of our system do not display the advantages of either; and would appear to show that their combination, if not impracticable, is unskillfully attempted.

A highly artificial position at college is no better suited to healthy development and growth, either of mind or body, at this period of life, than it would be at home. Change of place and circumstances facilitate the training of a pupil, thus placed more completely under the influence of the teacher, whose especial office is to form the life of the pupil from personal intercourse with himself; but it cannot transmute the requirements of the situation which the pupil has just left, much less obviate them altogether.

Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt

is no less applicable to the period of adolescence than it is to that of maturity. The condition of the pupil is unchanged by the transfer to a new situation, and in proportion as the aspects of the latter bear a resemblance to the features of the one that is fresh in his recollection, will that condition be developed aright. An exclusive devotion to the office of teacher to the extent of its capacities, would require the officers of our institutions to forego the opportunity of self-improvement, and the discharge of other duties having an equal if not superior claim on their time and attention. Hence the necessity of adopting a peculiar

mode of supervision and disposition of hours allotted to study, which strikes the casual observer as unnatural. It substitutes the routine of mechanical employment for the influence proceeding from the voice, the behaviour, the manners of the speaking man. When to this is added the circumstance, that the artificial body of which we are speaking is a community of itself, isolated in a measure, even from the world immediately around it, and separated from the influences that shape the conduct of individuals in general society, the plain inference is, that so heterogeneous a community will grow up under the reaction of the manners, habits, and customs of so exceptional a condition—one that has but little relation to that which preceded it, and none at all to the wider one that is to follow after.

A simple reference to a general claim set up in behalf of our institutions, the admission or denial of which is almost equally perplexing, will appropriately bring these remarks to a close. The unavoidable defects of our system, and the consequent increase of the risks that, in the judgment of men of experience, attend public education in its best estate, are supposed to be more than obviated by the peculiar moral influence that is claimed to be exerted by the officers and teachers. This is a leading inducement, and on the part of many parents the sole one, to the selection of our present institutions. So far from disparaging the value of this influence, or from gainsaying the exercise of it, we look upon it as a fundamental element in the training of youth; one to which all other elements are justly subordinate. We cheerfully concede the high estimation claimed for this influence, and that college officers are not unadvised of the extent to which their position involves its exercise. We know that the subject is to them a central point, around which are ranged much anxious thought, much solicitude, and an intelligent disposition of means, to anticipate rather than to remedy. We do not desire to increase by the weight of a feather the thoughtful consideration they bestow upon it. The general exercise of this influence is, however, a part of the teacher's office, and has been from time immemorial; and when the radical defects of so specific a subject as the collegiate education of youth are in question, the claim so advanced admits of being supported by a statement of the positive advantages that

are derived from it. In the absence of such a statement, the results can in a measure be reached, by an examination of the means by which this influence is exercised, and of the impediments that cause it to fall short of what it might otherwise effect. This we have endeavoured to make in detail, as the various aspects of the system successively presented themselves to our view. In addition to what has been already said, it is obvious that the beneficial exercise of this influence should tend not only to relax the vigilant surveillance that attends it, but to render such surveillance comparatively needless; and that a resort to harsh and excessive measures is incompatible with the efficiency of so benign an auxiliary to the proper training of youth. Whatever may be the value of this influence to the alleged subjects of it, its happy consequences when proceeding from them, have been so often the cause of congratulation that a reference to it will not be inappropriate. The pupils who go to compose the body of students at one of our institutions are the sons of Catholic planters, merchants, farmers, and often of professional men. They have been, for the most part, assiduously and carefully nurtured, and have acknowledged the restraints which a circle of relatives and friends imposes on an early period of life. It may well consist with the laws of psychology that boys such as these, with the mild and liquid dew of youth yet on their manly brows, do exert a great moral influence. If, as the poet sings,

Heaven lies about us in our infancy,

some traces of its wayfaring should be apparent in early boyhood. And so it is; for the great dramatist, in the striking colloquy between the minion Hubert and the child-nephew of King John, has only touched a chord that vibrates in unison with the sentiments of every human breast. Indeed, the duty of exerting this general influence in regard to youth is of universal recognition,

Maxima debetur pueris reverentia,

was the expression of a profane moralist, even before the denunciation of woe was made against him who would scandalize any of these little ones.

The importance of correct principles on the subject of Public Instruction cannot be over-estimated. Its benefi-

aries will in a few years take their place with the present generation on the great theatre of affairs, and after a time will succeed it. On the adequate provision of means for preparation and training depends, if not their success, at least the acquittance of the community from the discharge of a duty properly incumbent upon it. There is something, too, in the buoyant, confiding, and impressionable disposition of youth, such an eager expectation on the part of sympathizing relatives and friends in regard to the future of pupils who are only known for manly bearing and frankness, that impress us with the momentous nature of the subject. For many obvious reasons our institutions are not properly subjects of criticism; and yet it is but just that an intelligent community should possess itself of a clear knowledge of the operations of a system, under which their children are educated. We were bound to inquire as to its claims, to criticize its merits, and to examine its efficiency. This we have done without calling in question the integrity, the ability, or the personal worth of the gentlemen who are charged with the government of the institutions that exemplify the working of this system. This examination goes far to show that to their labours, effected in spite of, rather than in harmony with, its arrangements, are parents indebted for whatever is a source of gratification in the education of their children. If the action of our system has been contrasted with the more harmonious operation of one cognate to it, the comparison has served to show that the religious element is common to both, and can no more be eliminated from the one than it can from the other. It has also made manifest that if our public instruction is to be any thing but a name, it should of necessity advance beyond its present equivocal position. This contrast is significant of the fact, that if we are to keep abreast of the social intelligence of the country at large, the great aid to be derived from enlisting the enthusiasm of the community in the cause is not to be overlooked. It should be interested in the training of the genius that belongs to it. The state may favour and the Church may bless instruction, but neither will be distinctly responsible for any greater amount of it than will be adequate to the respective necessities of each. We have not thought it necessary to show that a system of public instruction must

be adapted to the institutions of the country ; that whatever range an eclectic spirit of acquisition may take, in adopting what is good in other systems, the whole should stand in harmony with institutions which it helps to support. In demonstrating that the religious element must be at the basis of any system of collegiate education in this country, and must even, as in the case of systems other than Catholic, by the mere *vis inertiae*, limit the extent of that education, we have shown that our present system is clearly within the terms of any such requirement.

It will not be denied that the just equilibrium of education is disturbed, by the inconsiderate and uncounselled impulse that impels so many parents to place their children, at a too early age, not only beyond their frequent if not daily supervision, but within the action of a highly artificial system—of a system that contemplates with a single eye the advantage of ripe adolescence and of early manhood. As far as an insuperable requirement demands that the education of a student and his guardianship shall be cared for at the same time, the great argument of necessity cannot be replied to. Nevertheless, the gradual unfolding of the mental faculties has its laws, and a system of instruction has an economy adapted to the stages of that development. All the different parts of that economy are preparatory to collegiate instruction, and the evil that college faculties find the greatest difficulty in meeting, is the want of thorough preparation on the part of students. In addition to the consequent increase of labour, it is shorn of half its returns ; the benefit otherwise to be derived from dealing with students of nearly equal attainments lost, and the grade of scholarship lowered throughout the country. The catalogues of any of our institutions show that, as far as attainments are concerned, fully four-fifths of their so-called students are incapable of forming appropriate relations with a college proper. Perhaps, indeed, not a few of them should be gambolling about the hearthstone, instead of incurring the hazard of being run over and trampled on, in the ardent emulation of a curriculum.

That the artificial erection of our institutions on the basis of the power to confer degrees, is disastrous to the best interests of education, is simply the statement of a fact, the correctness of which is verified by the experience

of more than one generation. The only purpose it has hitherto served, has been to merge the responsibility of the chief executive officer of an institution in the practical irresponsibility of the body corporate. The tacit admission of the combination of independent courses of study is incompatible with the rational operation of any system, and is alone sufficient to account for any evil consequences that may ensue. It sets at defiance unity of action which produces efficiency, detects error, reconciles discrepancy, and attaches the consequences of remissness to the proper department or officer.

The indiscriminate education of students of no particular science or vocation, with candidates for the science of Theology, has, we believe, been shown to be a grievous impediment to the proper advancement of both. Such an arrangement, however, may be one means of increasing the number of candidates for the latter science. That a consummation so devoutly to be wished for would be attained by a disposition of things more in harmony with the elementary principles of the American character, we do not for a moment doubt. The one now under consideration, is only calculated to defeat the attainment of such a result. The arrangements for the discipline and moral character of the students have, on a critical examination of the whole subject, been found to depend mainly for their efficiency, on the ambulatory office of *Prefect*. Practically, as far as the students are concerned, this officer holds, during the annual session, the executive authority of the body corporate in commission, and yet, singular enough, the office itself is an anomaly in any system with which men of education are familiar. That the exercise of authority so arbitrary and perhaps unwarrantable, is injurious to the students and in the long run to that officer himself, must be apparent. One point requires a passing notice inasmuch as its importance was rather a matter of inference than of positive statement. The annual sessions of our institutions by no means favourably contrast with the regular terms of other colleges. The former has the effect of weakening the natural bonds and ties of the student at a very early age, without his forming any proper ones to compensate the loss. The vacations should be at least two in number, three would not injure either the pupils or the institution.

When the large amount of Catholic genius and talent, already in the country, the isolated positions of our present institutions, and their defective equipment and education, are all considered, the idea of a University as a solution of the difficulty presents itself not as a fitting pinnacle to the dome of a flourishing system of instruction, but as a spontaneous aid to an interest whose condition is no mean exponent of social position, which is a valuable adjunct or an unseemly projection in proportion as it harmonizes with the wants and the institutions of the country.

The province of reparation is not with the sound parts of an object but with the defective, and the office of criticism has led us to speak exclusively of that which may properly be amended. That there are many excellent features in our system of education is proved by the steady and increasing patronage of the community. These remarks have extended farther than was at first contemplated; but a thorough examination of the subject has not admitted of our saying less. They were commenced in a spirit of frankness and candour, and are closed with the confident trust that their tenor and scope will not be wholly unserviceable to the proper equipment of public instruction.

ART. V.—*Brownson's Exposition of himself.* The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. Philadelphia: Walker. January, 1858.

OUR readers are aware that the Editor of this Review published a book last November, entitled *The Convert, or Leaves from my Experience*, in which he gives an account of his religious and mental experience from early childhood to his reception into the Catholic Church, in October, 1844. This book is not an autobiography, for it gives scarcely any particulars of the author's exterior life; nor is it, properly speaking, a polemical or controversial work. It simply narrates the principal events of the author's intellectual career, and gives, always in a narrative form, the reasons why he joined this sect or school, and why he abandoned it for another, and finally those which destroyed his con-

fidence in the whole Protestantism system, or no-system, and induced him to submit to the Church of Rome. It is not for us to pronounce any opinion on its merits, or the importance of its facts and opinions, or on the value of its reasons; but we may say, that the book is an honest book, and is written with kindly feelings towards the author's former friends, as far as we can discover, without any wrath or bitterness on the part of its author.

As the author gives with his accustomed freedom reasons for joining and renouncing different sects and schools, his work could not, of course, be very complimentary to those he has renounced, and could hardly fail to offend some grave pretensions, and wound some deeply cherished prejudices. Our venerable contemporary, *The Princeton Review*, the able and learned organ of the Old School Presbyterians, appears to have been seriously *exercised* by the account the author gives of his Presbyterian experience, and its issue for January last contains an elaborate review of *The Convert*, evidently designed to do all that an Old School Presbyterian organ can be expected to do to neutralize its damaging effects on Presbyterianism. The Reviewer evidently regards the book as likely to do harm to his sect in particular, and feels himself called upon to guard the Presbyterian young ministers and students against its Papistical influence. We have read his article with some curiosity and with due attention. It is clever, adroit, and probably is as good as the case admitted. It is not very courteous, very sweet tempered, or very fair, but we suppose it harmonizes with the manners and taste of an Old School Presbyterian, who has inherited the spirit of Calvin, Beza, and Knox, if not their learning, their theological science, and philosophical and logical ability.

It is difficult to reduce the Reviewer's article to a systematic form, or to bring its various loose and rambling statements to a logical test. The Reviewer writes with a singular contempt of the categories as well as the rules for the composition of a discourse, essay, or dissertation. It is difficult to get what he says into a state in which it admits of a formal reply. It lacks unity, has no central or mother principle, and is for the most part made up of loose, disjointed, and contradictory sentences. But we must take what the gods give us, and do the best we can with their gifts.

A great part of the article is apparently devoted to the very agreeable task of disparaging, as far as possible, the character, and invalidating the testimony of the author of *The Convert*, and the rest is devoted to an attempt to refute the charges he brings against Presbyterianism, and his reasoning in favour of Catholicity. The personal part is the least important part, and will not detain us long. Neither the author nor his friends have any thing to fear for his personal character, or any call to enter upon its defence. He himself has said in *The Convert* all that is to be said in his disparagement, and all that needs to be said in his vindication. Yet we cannot pass over this part of the article in absolute silence, for there are a great many people in this world who cannot understand the expressiveness of silence. We let the Reviewer speak for himself:

“Mr. Brownson has long been noted for attempting bold and reckless feats as a writer upon literature, philosophy, politics, and theology. This audacity, combined with a considerable power of expressing himself in classic, nervous English, has given him a place among our American notabilities. On his own showing, he has, by turns, been the adherent, expositor, and defender of Universalism, Infidelity, Atheism, Materialism, the Communism of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright, St. Simon and *St. Hilaire*, the Eclecticisim and Pantheism of Cousin, together with the social, political, and ecclesiastical theories which thence emerge. After this tortuous course, becoming ‘every thing by turns, and nothing long,’ he very rationally concluded that the best use men can make of their intellects is to submit them to infallible and authoritative guidance. From historical and philosophical considerations, he reasoned himself into the belief that the Roman Pontiff alone possesses those prerogatives of infallibility and authority, which are sufficient to keep him out of those vagaries into which and out of which his unaided reason had so long been worming its way,

to find no end,

In wandering mazes lost.”

This is rather clever, though a little too flippant. But who is this *St. Hilaire*? The author mentions no such founder of a system which he followed. Surely he confesses to having followed systems enough to render it unnecessary to invent new ones for him, and charging him with following a system he never heard of. He accepted and defended the Eclecticisim of Cousin, but never his Pantheism, as all who are acquainted with his writings can bear ample testimony.

That his course was "tortuous" may or may not be true, but if it was, the fault must be charged to the Protestantism in which he was born and bred. Protestantism does not furnish a man true principles; it gives him a false point of departure, and he must make many a turning and winding, before he can East himself, and get his face set in the right direction. "He concluded that the best use men can make of their intellects is to submit to infallible and authoritative guidance." Not a bad conclusion we should say. Does the Reviewer think differently? He professes himself, as we shall see, to have infallible and authoritative guidance. Does he hold himself free to resist it? or degraded in yielding to it?

"He appears to have forgotten that the Scriptures are the ultimate, the only infallible guide, sufficient to make 'the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' Despairing of any adequate light from these, he does not seem ever to have 'searched them, whether these things be so.' So far as we can see, although he strenuously insists to the contrary, he had recourse to the Roman Pontiff in a mere 'fit of intellectual despair.' His argument was simply this: The consequence of trusting mere human reason is endless vacillation and scepticism. The consequence of relying on the Bible, without the Pope, is the sects and divisions of Protestantism. The only alternative, therefore, for those who crave unity and stability, is implicit submission to the Pope. Extremes meet. The rankest Rationalism and Infidelity are on the margin of abject submission to the most stolid and domineering hierarchs—just as in the civil state, the anarchy of mobs is the immediate precursor of absolute despotism. He judged well, that in matters divine we need a divine guide. He showed his wonted facility of educing great conclusions from slender premises, when he judged the Pope of Rome to be such a guide, rather than the sure word and very oracles of God himself."

We cannot understand how Dr. Brownson could forget, what he never knew, that "the Scriptures are the ultimate, the only infallible guide." He shows very clearly in his book that of themselves alone they are not such a guide, and the Reviewer himself does not hold them to be. They are even for the Reviewer such a guide (p. 139) only when interpreted to him by "the Spirit of God." All Protestantism that pretends to rise above bald Rationalism, or dry formalism, resorts to Enthusiasm or Illuminism, and seeks its guide not in the Scriptures alone, but in the

alleged interior light and operations of the Holy Ghost. The reasoning the Reviewer ascribes in this extract to the author may be very conclusive, but it is not the process by which he came to the Church. The author says and shows that he did not come to the Church by an act of intellectual despair, and the abnegation of reason. He became a Presbyterian in that way, the only way, we apprehend, in which any man ever deliberately becomes a Presbyterian; but he came to the Catholic Church in and by the exercise of his reason, aided by the grace of God. The Reviewer forgets that he has just said in the preceding paragraph, that "from historical and philosophical considerations he (the author) *reasoned* himself into the belief that the Roman Pontiff alone possesses the prerogative of infallibility and authority."

"The rankest rationalism and infidelity are on the margin of abject submission to the most stolid and domineering hierarchs." There is truth in that, as the author himself proved by his abject submission, in early life, to the Presbyterian Church. "He judged well, that in matters divine we need a divine guide." And not finding that divine guide in Presbyterianism, he renounced it, and ceased henceforth to respect it. "He showed his wonted facility of educing great conclusions from slender premises, when he judged the Pope of Rome to be such a guide, rather than the sure word and the very oracles of God." Nay, he showed this facility far more strikingly, when from the professions of Presbyterians he concluded the Presbyterian Church to be the Church of God. We must add, with the Reviewer's leave, that the author did not judge "the Pope of Rome to be such a guide, *rather than* the sure word and the very oracles of God." It was precisely because he judged that the Pope or the Church gives "the sure word and the very oracles of God," that he became a Catholic, and submitted to the authority and teaching of the Pope, as the visible head of the Church, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

"It requires no slight courage in one man to set himself up as the expounder and champion of the multitudinous and contradictory systems which our author has successively espoused and repudiated. But it requires still greater courage to attempt, as he has done in this volume, to vindicate his moral integrity and intellectual

consistency in such a course. It was somewhat of an exploit to appear as the advocate of nearly every type of opinion, except evangelical truth—to career through the whole compass of fatuous error, from the credulity of Atheism to the credulity of Superstition. But it is a still more prodigious exploit for such a man to undertake to expound and justify himself.”—P. 118.

With a single reserve we agree in this with the Reviewer, and so, we presume, does the author of *The Convert*. As we understand the matter, one reason which induced him to write his book was to show, as a warning to others, the rashness and audacity of which he had been guilty. But it is a gross mistake to suppose that the author wrote to vindicate himself, or to justify his various aberrations, except in relation to Protestants. Before Catholicity, before the Church, before God, he can only smite his breast and exclaim, *Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa!* but before Protestantism, which gives us only false principles, a false starting-point, and no guidance but our own feeble understanding, or an illusory illuminism, in studying either the book of nature or the book of revelation, he has no confession to make. On Protestant principles, or in view of the position in which Protestantism places one born and bred in its bosom, he maintains that his course; tortuous as it may have been, is perfectly justifiable. Catholics may censure him, but not Protestants; for only on the supposition of the truth of Catholicity did he do wrong, or fall into any serious error. No doubt, he sinned against common sense, but so sins Protestantism itself, especially Old School Presbyterianism. The pot must not call the tea-kettle black. No man is allowed to stand on his own wrong. Dr. Brownson had as much right to dissent from the Presbyterian Church as Luther had to dissent from the Catholic Church, and as good a right to concoct a doctrine, or erect a Church for himself, as the Reformers had for themselves. Once erect rebellion into a principle, and all rebellion is justifiable. Rebels must cease to be rebels, before they have the right to arraign any one for his want of loyalty or obedience.

After all, the attempt of the Reviewer to disparage the intellectual or moral character of the author, on the ground that, after leaving Presbyterianism, and before becoming a Catholic, he embraced various forms of error, and was

associated with various socialistic, communistic, or other unchristian movements, can serve the purpose of our Reviewer only momentarily. In his view, Old School Presbyterianism is the best and only true form of Protestantism, and he cannot count it a matter of much consequence, what form of Protestantism a man embraces after renouncing that. The only alternatives he leaves are, to be a Presbyterian, a Liberal Christian, or a Catholic; for he cannot expect a man who has known Presbyterianism, especially Old School Presbyterianism, to take up afterwards with Oxford or Mercersburg, Andover, or New Haven, with Methodism, or with the Baptist sect. When, then, our author renounced Presbyterianism, nothing remained for him but to be a Liberal Christian of some sort, that is an unbeliever, or to become a Catholic. Why blame him, then, for taking the only alternatives left him? Does the Reviewer think it strange that a man who could not be a Presbyterian should become an unbeliever, or that, becoming an unbeliever, he should run into all the errors and absurdities confessed by the author of *The Convert*? Does the Reviewer think that, having become a liberal Christian, or an unbeliever, the author did wrong in not remaining one? Of course, not; he even applauds his renunciation of all the systems and doctrines he held between his rejection of Presbyterianism and his conversion to Catholicity. Only two things, then, are really open to the animadversion of the Reviewer, namely, the solidity and sufficiency of the reasons the author assigns on the one hand for rejecting Presbyterianism, and on the other, for embracing Catholicity. These reasons, whether good or bad, are independent of the personal merit or demerit, the errors or changes of the author of *The Convert*, and speak for themselves. The Reviewer can do or say nothing to his purpose, except what tends to refute them. To prove that the author often acted hastily, rashly, is nothing to the purpose, for he confesses and deplors that he did so, especially when he joined the Presbyterian Church. The fact that he did so, does not weaken the reasons he assigns either for renouncing Presbyterianism, or for accepting Catholicity. He does not assign the fact of his conversion as a reason why others should be converted; he relies on the reasons which availed to convince him, and which are intrinsically as strong in the

case of others as in his. It is, then, mere trifling, or at best an attempt to draw off the attention of the public from the real question at issue, to dwell on the author's personal character, or to parade against him the errors and absurdities which he confesses, but which even the Reviewer concedes he renounced on becoming a Catholic, and no longer holds. The only pertinent question is: Do the reasons the author assigns justify him in renouncing Presbyterianism and embracing the Catholic religion? This is the proper and only proper question for the Reviewer. The Reviewer is half aware of this, and makes a feeble attempt to prove the insufficiency of those reasons. He first tries to throw doubts on the account the author gives of his Presbyterian experience. He does not, indeed, venture to deny positively any statement made in *The Convert*, but insinuates that what he says can be true only on the supposition that the author fell in with fanatics, New School men, or Congregationalists, whom he mistook for genuine Presbyterians. But there is no evidence that the Presbyterians with whom he met in Ballston, New York, were more fanatical than Presbyterians usually are; the division of the Old and New School Presbyterians had not then taken place; and the author, brought up in New England, was not likely to confound Presbyterians with Congregationalists. The pastor of the Church he joined studied his theology at Princeton, we believe, the Reviewer's own seminary, and belonged to a presbytery in full communion with the Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States, to which, if our memory serves us aright, he was a delegate in 1821. It will not do, then, to say that the Presbyterians *The Convert* describes were not genuine Presbyterians.

After citing at length the author's account of his reception into the Presbyterian Church, the Reviewer adds:

"There are things of a different sort in this account of his Presbyterian experience, which furnish internal evidence that he was drawing more upon his imagination than his memory. Who believes that any Presbyterian session would admit a person to the communion on the bare statement, that he had lost confidence in the sufficiency of reason, and therefore wanted an infallible guide? This is the sum of what Mr. Brownson assures us he announced to the pastor and session of the Ballston church. It is hardly to be believed that any Presbyterian session opened the door of

communion to any one who did not with apparent intelligence and sincerity profess faith in and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, of which Mr. Brownson soon gave deplorable evidence, whatever his professions, that he was destitute.

“He further tells us that his pastor agreed with him that the Article in the Confession, on fore-ordination, was harsh; and informed him that he had moved in the General Assembly to have it modified, in which he failed by only two or three votes. The possibility of any such vote in the General Assembly in favour of any material modification of that article in any stage of its history, seems to us extremely questionable. The New School innovators in their palmiest days never attempted this, however any of them may have promulgated speculative dogmas subversive of it.”—P. 134.

The facts are as stated in *The Convert*; whether the author's conversion was genuine or not, we do not presume to decide. The Presbyterian judges decided that it was, and joyously opened to him the communion of their Church. The Reviewer must, as they were Presbyterians, presume they were good Christians; and, therefore, according to his doctrine, under the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost. It will not do for him, then, to question their decision. They decided the author had received grace; and as on Presbyterian principles grace is inadmissible, the Reviewer must suppose he continued in grace during all his subsequent aberrations, and so continues even now, and consequently is sure of salvation. With regard to the vote on the article in the Confession, touching fore-ordination, the author merely states what his pastor, an Old School Presbyterian, we believe, told him. If the information was incorrect, the fault lies not with him, but with his informant. He never pretended to state it as a fact within his own personal knowledge. The Reviewer knows better than we what degree of credit is due to the statements of a Presbyterian minister.

Having disposed of these matters as well as the nature of the case admitted, the Reviewer approaches closer to the real questions in issue:

“Mr. Brownson's main object, however, is to make out that Presbyterianism imposes a worse bondage than Romanism, not only in relation to life and manners, but in regard to reason and faith. He claims that it has all the disadvantages without any of the advantages of the Romish system. It does not claim infallibility, or that its tenets should be believed merely upon its own

authority. It asserts the infallibility of God speaking in his word, and that the evidence for all articles of faith is found in that word; that they are to be believed upon God's authority, manifested in his word, and not on the authority of any uninspired church, prelate, or pontiff: therefore that true faith receives them not because they are found in the Confession, but because, though stated in the Confession and proved therein from the word of God, they are first affirmed in the Scriptures. Therefore we receive them not upon the testimony of man, but of God; not as the word of man, but as the word of God. And without assuming to be infallible, we have that confidence that these are the doctrines of God, that we are ready to stake our eternity upon them; and to take the responsibility of refusing to admit to communion, or call by the Christian name, those who deny the most essential of them. In regard to these—all which have immediately to do with our enjoyment of the favour of God—we have the sure word of prophecy; sure not only in itself, but in our apprehension and belief of it. The promise is sure to all the seed. We know in whom we have believed, and that he is able to keep that which we commit unto him. We know the things that are freely given us of God. We know and are persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We know, too, that he that believeth not this gospel shall be damned; that if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, he is anathema maranatha; that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. We know that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; that if any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature; and that if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. We know this and much more, even all the integral elements of our religion, not because the Pope says so, but because, thus saith the Lord in his word. Yet, while we know this, we are not inspired messengers of new truth not revealed in God's written word. We know it through eyes cleared of the film of sinful prejudice and blindness, and beholding it set forth in the sure testimonies of God. Nor do we assume to be infallible expositors of every part of the word of God, relative to minor and less essential matters. Much less do we assume the divine prerogative of lording it over men's faith, or of being invested with authority to command or enforce belief of any doctrines, by any pains and penalties beyond disowning as Christians those who disown the essential truths, or renounce the practice which constitutes Christianity. We call no man master, and are no man's masters. But we do claim to know and set forth what God himself has declared essential to salvation, not to believe and obey which ensures perdition. As the word of God has a radiance of divinity and evidence of inspiration, which binds all to whom it comes, to believe it on pain of eternal damnation, so we hesitate not to proclaim its cardinal requirements, as requirements of God, indubitably declared

in his word, and necessary to be believed in order to salvation. Yet we teach that these things are to be believed, not upon our authority, or because we say them, but upon the authority of God, and because he says them; and therefore that the believer must ground his faith, not upon any human creed or articles of man's composing, but upon the word of God; consequently, that he must look to the Bible as his ultimate creed, which gives to any human creed, or teaching, whatever authority it possesses; in short, he must found his faith not on any mere human word, but on God's word, and search the Scriptures whether these things be so, that his faith may stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. How then is occasion given for Mr. Brownson's great objection to the Protestant system? Does it not offer infallible authority for the faith it propounds, even the undisputed word of God, which the Roman Church concedes is such, and boasts of having kept entire and intact? And if it calls upon men to behold in this word the testimony of God to the truth it propounds, instead of taking it upon any mere human testimony, is this any hardship? If we grant the infallibility of the Pope, is it any easier to examine his rescripts, bulls, and mandates, than the declarations of God as recorded by the holy prophets, evangelists, and apostles? Must we employ our reason in judging of the meaning of the Scriptures? And must it not also be employed in judging of the meaning of a Papal dogma? Must we abide in one case what our reason discerns to be set forth, and not in the other? Or does the Pope address his decrees to us as irrational beings? What but sheer nonsense or ignorance then is it, for Mr. Brownson to talk, as he over and over again does, of abnegating his own reason in becoming a Presbyterian, while he acted with the highest rationality in becoming a Romanist? In the former case he was called to employ his reason directly in discerning the mind of God as declared in his word. In the latter, he resigned that function of reason to the Pope, but still was under the necessity of using it in discerning the import of his pronouncements. In the one case he yields his reason to what Protestants and Romanists alike concede to be the word of God; in the other, to a person whose inspiration all Protestants deny, and the tokens of which are to those of the inspiration of the Bible, less than the brightness of the glow-worm to that of the sun."—Pp. 134-137.

This long extract is a fair specimen of the Reviewer's doctrine and logic. It fully sustains the charges preferred in *The Convert* against Presbyterianism. The Reviewer concedes that the author judged well, that in divine matters we need a divine guide. The author tells us that he joined the Presbyterians, because he hoped to find such a guide in their Church. He renounced that Church after a brief trial, he tells us again, because he found that it neither did, would, nor could perform the office of such a

guide. It disclaimed all authority to teach, remitted the individual to the Bible; bade him take that, study it carefully, and understand for himself, and then it excommunicated him, if he did not happen to understand it in accordance with its standards. He found its spirit harsh, arrogant, and tyrannical, &c. Here are sufficient reasons, if true, for rejecting the Presbyterian Church. Are they true? In the extract we have made, the more important of them are virtually conceded, nay, confirmed and defended.

“The Presbyterian Church,” says the Reviewer, “does not claim infallibility, or that its tenets are to be believed upon its own authority.” If it does not claim infallibility, it is by its own concession fallible, and, therefore, may teach for the word of God what is not his word. Then, it has no teaching authority, for in matters of faith a fallible authority is no authority at all. The Reviewer concedes that in matters divine, and such are matters of faith, we need a divine guide. Whatever is divine is infallible. No divine guide can err, or lead into error. The Presbyterian Church, since it is fallible, cannot be divine; and, therefore, can have no authority, can be no guide in matters of faith. For it, then, to attempt to exercise authority in such matters, is an attempt at usurpation, to substitute the human for the divine, and to bring us into bondage to men instead of ushering us into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. But it does not “claim that its tenets are to be believed on its own authority.” Does this mean that it has and claims no authority in the case? Then it has nothing to do with faith, and is no divine guide, and has not a word to say in the matter. Or, does it mean that its authority is not the ultimate reason or ground of faith; that is, that it has no authority to make articles of faith, or to propose any thing to be believed as of faith, not revealed by God himself? If this is the meaning, the Reviewer only says of his Church what we say, and must say of ours. Catholic faith, objectively considered, is *Deus revelans et Ecclesia proponens*. The Church has authority to propose, can propose, and does propose as of faith only what is contained in the revealed word of God, transmitted from the Apostles to us. The Catholic claims for his Church authority not to make the faith, but to propose and define the faith originally revealed, for what is not a *revelatum* cannot be of Catholic faith; and we believe what she proposes

and defines, not because she proposes and defines it, but because God has revealed it. The point is not whether you disclaim all right or pretension on the part of the Presbyterian Church to propose tenets to be held on its own authority, but whether you claim for it authority to determine what God himself has revealed, to be believed not precisely on its authority, but on the authority of God. Do you disclaim for it this authority? If you do, then you must hold yourselves perfectly free to follow your own judgment in determining what is or is not the word of God. If you are thus free, for it to come in and excommunicate you for not determining according to its standards, as you know it does, would be outrageous tyranny—the very tyranny charged by our author against you? Your liberty would be a mere mockery, nay, a temptation and a snare? If, on the other hand, you claim for it authority in determining what it is God has revealed, we ask whether, in so determining, it is fallible or infallible? If the latter, you agree with us in principle, and claim for the Old School Presbyterian Church what we claim for the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, and the question between us is simply a question of fact, not of law. But this you cannot say, for you concede, and your Church concedes, that as a Church it is fallible, and does not claim infallibility. You must say, then, that in determining what it is that God reveals, your Church is fallible, and may propose as revelation what is not revelation. If this be so, pray tell us, if it allows its members to reject what it proposes and defines to be of faith, and to do so uncensured? If so, what have you to say against Andover, New Haven, Mercersburg, Oxford, or even Cambridge? But you know it is not so, for it tries and excommunicates for heresy those who reject the Presbyterian standards. If it is fallible in proposing and defining the faith, and yet acts and judges as if it were infallible, the author, it seems to us, was right in his charges, and had a sufficient reason for renouncing the Presbyterian communion; for to be subjected in matters of faith to a fallible, is to be subjected to a mere human authority, which is intolerable bondage, gross mental and religious thralldom, which no true man will willingly submit to.

“It—the Presbyterian Church—asserts the infallibility of God speaking.” Indeed! Does anybody deny that

God speaking is infallible? "And that the evidence for all articles of faith is to be found in that word"—that is, we suppose, in God speaking—*Deus revelans*. But what is the evidence that this or that article alleged to be in the word of God, or to be God speaking, really is so? Here is a link wanting in the Presbyterian chain of evidence. "That they are to be believed on God's authority." Undoubtedly, if at all, for nothing but his authority is sufficient warrant for faith. "And not on the authority of any un-inspired church, prelate, or pontiff." Certainly not. Every Catholic holds that; and it is one great reason why Catholics cannot accept Protestantism. "Therefore, he receives them not on the testimony of man, but of God; not as the word of man, but as the word of God." Very good; only you forget to supply the lacking link. How do you know that the articles of faith contained in your *Confession of Faith* are contained in the Scriptures, or in the revealed word of God, whether written or unwritten? Faith in the last analysis is belief on the veracity of God alone, or the belief that God is true, *Deus est verax*. But in order to believe an article because God has revealed it, you must know that he has revealed it. If you do not know that, in believing it you do not necessarily believe him. Here is the grand difficulty with your Presbyterianism. It tells us truly that God speaking is infallible, and to believe on his authority, or any thing, because he says or reveals it, is perfectly reasonable. It adds the truism, that when we believe what he reveals because he reveals it, we believe on his, not on human testimony,—his word, not man's word. But the difficulty is, that it has no authority to tell us what is or is not his word, what God has or has not revealed. We believe the *revelatum*, where we know that it is a *revelatum*, on the veracity of God; but how do we come to the knowledge of the fact that this or that is a *revelatum*? It is precisely here that the divine guide is needed, and it is precisely here that Presbyterianism leaves us without such a guide, to our own private judgments, or to a usurped, fallible human authority.

"And without assuming to be infallible, we have that confidence that these are the doctrines of God, that we are ready to stake our eternity on them." That you have such confidence we do not dispute, but that is not the question.

But if neither you nor your Church is infallible, how can you be certain that your confidence is not a blind, a foolish confidence, and that you are running a fearful risk of losing the eternity you are so ready to stake. "We have the sure word of prophecy—sure not only in itself, but in our apprehension and belief of it." How do you know that? Your Church is confessedly fallible, and may err in determining what are or are not the doctrines of God; and as you confess you do not assume to be infallible yourselves, how do you know that your assurance is not a mere subjective assurance, an illusion, nay, a strong delusion, which God permits, or, as your version says, "sends," as a punishment for your pride and rejection of his Church. "The promise is sure to all the seed." But how know you that you are "the seed?" Holy David tells us, no man knoweth whether he deserveth love or hatred. But be all this as it may, it does not meet the case. Whatever assurance you have, and whatever its value, it is an individual affair, rests on the internal state of the individual, and is not and cannot be given by the Presbyterian Church. It does not rest on its authority as teacher, or its capacity as a guide in matters of faith. It has nothing to do with it, yet without being able to declare that the doctrines are the doctrines of God on its own knowledge, or any knowledge it can use, it cuts off from its communion all who deny what it holds to be those doctrines. "And without assuming to be infallible, we have that confidence that these are the doctrines of God, that we are ready to stake our eternity upon them; and to take the responsibility of refusing to admit to our communion, or to call by the Christian name, those who deny the most essential of them." What is this but a full confirmation of the charge brought in *The Convert* against the Presbyterian Church.

"Nor do we assume to be infallible expositors of the word of God, relative to minor and less essential matters." Aha! then you do claim to be infallible expositors of the word of God relative to larger and more essential matters? Just now you disclaimed infallibility. Now it would seem that, up to a certain extent at least, you claim it. "Much less do we assume the divine prerogative of lording it over men's faith, or of being invested with authority to command or enforce belief of any doctrines by any pains and

penalties, *beyond disowning as Christians those who disown the essential truths, or renounce the practice which constitutes Christianity.*" How long is it since Presbyterians went further, and inflicted other pains and penalties than those here named? But let that pass. The passage proves the truth of the charge, that the Presbyterian Church, while it refuses to assume the responsibility of authoritatively teaching the individual, excommunicates him, if in his honest researches he comes to conclusions hostile to her standard of doctrine. "We call no man master, and are no man's masters." That, Mr. Reviewer, is equivocal, and sins by that figure of logic called in the schools, *ignorantia elenchi*. The question does not turn on what you, as individuals, claim or disclaim, but on what your Church claims and does. The authority is human, since you concede it to be fallible, and yet she does claim authority over men's faith, and the right to inflict on them the heaviest penalty known to the ecclesiastical law, that of excommunication, for not believing or for denying what she holds to be the essential truths of Christianity. It may be you are no man's masters; but if you have not as Presbyterians a *human* master, you give us a very false account of your Church. "But we do claim to know and set forth what God himself has declared to be essential to salvation, not to believe and obey which ensures perdition." Here you claim all that the Catholic Church claims, or ever has claimed, in the case. "Yet we teach that these things are to be believed, not upon our authority, or because we say them, but upon the authority of God, because he says them." All very fine, but not *ad rem*. Upon what authority is one to believe that God says them? "He must look to the Bible as his ultimate creed, which gives to any human creed whatever authority it possesses; in short, he must found his faith not on any mere human word, but on God's Word." All that we understand very well; but on what authority is one to take the fact that God says these things? "He must search the Scriptures whether these things be so, that his faith may stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." That is, the Presbyterian Church sends the inquirer to the Scriptures to learn what are the doctrines God reveals, and excommunicates him, if he comes to a conclusion contrary

to her standards. "How then," the Reviewer naïvely asks, "is occasion given for Mr. Brownson's great objection to the Protestant system!" Why, bless your soul, Mr. Reviewer, you have done nothing but confirm that very objection. "Does it not offer infallible authority for the faith it propounds?" Nay, that is not the question. Does it offer infallible authority that what it propounds is revealed by Almighty God, or is contained in his word? It does not, you are forced to concede that it does not, and yet you admit that it consigns to eternal perdition all who do not believe what it, on no authority at all, declares are the doctrines of God. The simple truth is, no form of Protestantism can consistently assert any Church authority in matters of faith; for to do so would be to condemn Protestantism in its very principle. The Protestant Reformation originated in rebellion against Church authority, and that rebellion can in nowise be defended, unless freedom of the individual in face of the Church be asserted. To deny that freedom is to deny Protestantism itself. This has been proved over and over again by so-called liberal Christians. But to assert it, opens the door to all manner of errors, to absolute heresies of doctrine, and places Theodore Parker on the same Protestant platform with Dr. Alexander, or Dr. Hodge. Protestants are condemned, if they would retain any fragments of revealed truth, to a perpetual self-contradiction, and to pull down with one hand what they build up with the other. It is a necessity of their position. They must stammer in their speech, and speak with a double tongue. They cannot afford to be consistent, to be logical, to be faithful to their own principles; for, were they so, they would either run into pure rationalism, or return to the Catholic Church. This is the lesson of Dr. Brownson's *Convert*. He aimed to be logical, and following the principle which Protestantism must assert in order to justify the Reformers in breaking away from the Catholic Church, he found himself running into rationalism, pure unbelief; recoiling from unbelief, from rationalism, and seizing and following the principles which Protestantism must recognize and maintain in order to have some semblance of religion, he was led by an invincible logic back to the Catholic Church. His variations and manifold changes were simply the effects of his struggles

to escape either alternative. There is no use in talking. Protestantism is not all of one piece, but is a patchwork of unbelief and Catholic tradition. If it assumes to be a Church, and to speak with authority in matters of faith or discipline, it condemns the Reformers, and abandons its own essential principle as Protestantism; if it accepts the principle of individual freedom in the face of the Church, and disclaims all authority in matters of faith, then it can take cognizance of no question of faith—require assent to no creed or confession, as a condition of salvation. It cannot, in such cases, say a single word, as a Church, on doctrines, or even on religious practice, without usurping an authority not its, and exercising in principle the grossest tyranny. The Old School Presbyterian is a respectable old gentleman, with many good qualities as a man, but he is necessarily placed by the nature of his Protestantism in a most sad dilemma. He has a lively horror of infidelity and the innovating spirit of modern times. He wishes to be conservative, to stand by the old landmarks, and to retain the essential faith of Christendom, for which we honour him; but he is obliged to stop short in his conservative tendencies, for his sect came fifteen hundred years too late to be the Church of Christ, and owes its existence to that very spirit of dissent and innovation he wishes now to resist.

The Reviewer having disposed of the grave objection, brought in *The Convert* against Presbyterianism, that is, disposed of it by confirming it, he attempts to show that a similar objection may be urged against the Catholic system. The grave objection Dr. Brownson brought to Presbyterianism, was that it disclaimed all infallibility, refused to tell him authoritatively what he must believe, sent him to the Bible to form, by his own honest study of its pages, his own creed, or to ascertain the doctrines God has revealed, and then pronounced him a heretic, and consigned him to perdition, if in the exercise of his judgment he happened to come to conclusions repugnant to her standards; thus both disclaiming and assuming authority, leaving him with all the responsibilities and disadvantages of private judgment, without allowing him any of the advantages of freedom. You are free, it said to him, to form your own creed from the Bible, and God forbid that I should dictate to you, or

undertake to tell you what you must believe, but if you form a creed different from mine, or fail to believe as I believe, I will cut you off from my communion, deny you the Christian name, and consign you to eternal perdition. This charge we have seen, the Reviewer really confirms, even while affecting to be very indignant at the author of *The Convert* for having brought it. Now he would fain persuade us that this charge may be retorted upon the Catholic Church. True, the Presbyterian, he concedes, must exercise his reason in determining the meaning of the Bible, but so must the Catholic in ascertaining the meaning of the rescripts, bulls, and mandates of the Pope, and the former is as easy as the latter.

Unhappily our Reviewer does not appear to have made any very profound study of the questions at issue between the Catholic Church and the several Protestant sects. Throughout his whole article, he proceeds on the assumption, that we Catholics hold that the Church, or the Pope as visible head of the Church, has authority to make articles of faith, whether they are contained in the revealed word of God or not. He assumes that we hold the Pope is sovereign arbiter of our faith, and can declare any thing to be an article or dogma of faith he chooses, and therefore that our faith rests solely on human authority, and not on the word of God. This, we must tell him, is not only a mistake, but a mistake which is not creditable to his theological science. He should know, then, that while we concede that the Church, and therefore the Pope, since he possesses in himself all the powers of the Church in their plenitude, has power to define and establish new articles of faith, we deny that either has authority to define, decree, or declare to be of faith any thing not contained in the divine tradition transmitted from the Apostles to us, not contained in the original deposit of faith, or in the word of God committed to the Apostles, and by them transmitted to their successors. The Pope does not make the faith, any more than the judge makes the law; he only declares it, and can make or declare to be of Catholic faith, only what is contained in the original deposit, only what has been really of faith from the beginning. He has, therefore, no arbitrary power in the case, and the Church in her decrees of new dogmas and articles, is restricted to the original

deposit of faith. The authority of the Church is in no case the ultimate reason or ground of our Catholic faith. In Catholic faith we believe the matters revealed, not because the Church says they are true, but because they are the word of God, and God cannot lie, deceive, or be deceived. Thus in our act of faith, the Catholic says, "O, my God, I firmly believe all the sacred truths the Holy Catholic Church believes and teaches, because thou hast revealed them, who canst neither deceive nor be deceived."

But though we believe not the *revelata* on the authority of the Church; yet we do believe on her authority that they are *revelata*, or the word of God. We do not, as the Reviewer imagines, believe the Church or the Pope is inspired to reveal truth, or authorized to make anything not divinely revealed, of Catholic faith; we simply believe that the Church, or, if you prefer, the Pope, in whom the Church culminates, is divinely appointed and assisted to keep, to promulgate, to define, and to declare what has already been revealed and made obligatory on all the faithful, by our Lord himself. If the Reviewer had known this, he would have seen that his flings at Catholics on the supposition that they reject the word of God for the Pope, are quite out of character, and pointless, save as against himself. We hold, as well as he, that nothing can be of faith but what is contained in the word of God. The point to be determined is not, whether we shall believe the word of God or not, for everybody who believes in God at all, knows and believes that his word is infallible truth. The point is to determine, by infallible authority, what is the word of God. Here is where the divergence between us and the Reviewer begins. His Church being confessedly fallible, cannot tell him what is the Word of God, and therefore leaves him, on this question, as he himself confesses, to his own private reason. We, on the other hand, say that our Church is a divinely appointed and assisted, and therefore an infallible guide in this very question, and able to solve it infallibly. The only difficulty in the case lies here. Once infallibly certain that a given doctrine is a divine *revelatum*, or divinely revealed, we believe it at once, by the simple force of reason itself; but if on this point we are not certain, are in doubt, we cannot believe the doctrine, because we are not sure that it is a revealed

doctrine. The fault we find with the Reviewer is, that precisely here, where the infallible guidance is necessary, and where alone it is necessary, his system fails us, provides us no authority or guidance at all, but leaves us to grope our way in the dark as best we can. On the Catholic system this difficulty is removed, by the infallible authority of the Church, rendered competent by the assistance of the Holy Ghost to declare what God has or has not revealed. If the Catholic system be true, it meets and obviates the precise difficulty in the case.

Not at all, contends the Reviewer, for it is as easy to ascertain by our reason the meaning of the Scriptures, as it is the meaning of Papal rescripts, bulls, and mandates. "If we grant the infallibility of the Pope, is it any easier to examine his rescripts, bulls, and mandates, than it is to examine the declarations of God, as recorded by holy prophets, evangelists, and apostles? Must we employ our reason in judging of the meaning of the Scriptures? And must it not also be employed in judging of the meaning of the Papal dogma? Must we abide in the one case by what our reason discerns to be set forth, and not in the other?" This reasoning concedes that the Presbyterian must rely on his private reason to ascertain the meaning of the Scriptures, which it will be well to remember, especially when we find, as we soon shall, that he claims the aid of the Holy Ghost in doing it. The Reviewer, however, proceeds on an assumption that we cannot grant him, namely, that all he has to do by his reason is to ascertain the meaning of the Scriptures. The point to be determined is, what is the word of God, or what has God revealed and commanded us to believe? The word of God is his word, whether written or unwritten; and whether written or unwritten, it is equally the proper object of Catholic faith. The rule of faith is always and everywhere the same. Men believed, and were true believers, before one syllable of the revealed word was written. The whole New Testament, as is evident on its face, was written after the Church was founded, and was addressed to believers for their instruction or edification. There must have been, then, in the beginning, and therefore there must be now, some means, independently of the Scriptures, of attaining to an infallible knowledge of the word of God,

or of what it is God has revealed. None but those who can read can, on the Reviewer's doctrine, know what God has revealed; and this, at one stroke, would exclude nineteen-twentieths of the human race from the possibility of being Christian believers, for not more than one-twentieth of the race know how to read. When the Reviewer has ascertained the meaning of Scripture, his work is very far from being done: he has still to settle the question that the writings he calls the Holy Scriptures, have been given by divine inspiration, and do really contain a record of "the declarations of God," a thing he can never do by his reason alone. The canon of Scripture cannot be settled by reason alone, for natural reason is not able of itself alone to judge whether an ancient writing be divinely inspired. He can settle it only by an appeal to the tradition of the Church, and even by that appeal only on condition that he recognizes the infallible authority of that tradition. That he cannot do, for that tradition condemns his Presbyterianism. He had to deny the authority of that tradition, before he could assert his Presbyterianism, and having denied its authority, he cannot now appeal to it. If it is authority on one point, it is authority on all points covered by it. This is the answer to his *semper ubique*, which he so rashly interjects. It is evident, then, that the Reviewer has to settle by reason alone, or interior illumination, the whole question of what is or is not revelation, or the matter to be believed on the authority of God speaking, — *Dei revelantis*. There is, then, in the outset, a very grave work for reason, on the Reviewer's system, that there is not on ours. On the supposition of the infallibility of the Church, all this work is done, all these questions are answered by her teaching, and all that we have to do in relation to this matter is simply to listen to what she teaches. Now, will the Reviewer pretend that it is as easy for him to do all there is on his system for him to do, as it is for us to do what we have to do, that is, to understand the meaning of what the Church with her own living voice tells us?

The Reviewer seems to imagine that we can arrive at the meaning of what the Church teaches only by reading and examining the Papal rescripts, bulls, and mandates. This is a mistake, Papal rescripts, bulls, and mandates, are

not ordinarily addressed to the body of the faithful, they are addressed to individuals, or the prelates of the Church, or if to the body of the faithful, only indirectly, through their pastors, and it is not necessary that the faithful as a body should examine or even see them. Then the Reviewer forgets that on the Catholic system there is an *Ecclesia judicans*, as well as an *Ecclesia docens*, and therefore that when any doubt arises, or any misconception as to the meaning of what the Church teaches, there is present a living authority ready to resolve the doubt, and to remove the misconception, which on the Presbyterian system is wholly wanting. But let the Reviewer speak again for himself:

“This matter of Papal infallibility is almost the only issue between Protestants and Romanists discussed in the book. And this is hardly so much discussed, as disposed of by flings at the Protestant doctrine, chief among which are the passages already quoted, in which he makes all the monstrous heresies of his life a logical sequence from it. He would plainly have his readers understand that these are justifiable, so far as the Protestant denial of Papal infallibility is justifiable. Fanny Wright libertinism is a clear logical sequence, he assures us, from the right of private judgment! Now, in regard to all this, the first question is, what is the private judgment asserted by Protestants? It is simply this: 1. Each one must judge for himself that the Bible is the word of God, not of man, upon the evidence it offers to him of being such, not merely upon the testimony of some other man. 2. He must also judge for himself that it teaches certain truths, and enjoins certain duties, not merely because some other man says so, but because he perceives that God utters these things in his own oracles. He may be much assisted by ministers and others, in bringing to his attention the evidences of the inspiration of the Bible, and of its asserting what it does assert rather than its contradictory. But still faith in the Bible as the word of God, and in Christian truth as taught in that word, is nothing else than a *judgment* or belief of the mind, that these things are so, upon the evidence presented, just as belief that the sun is luminous, or a stone is extended, is a judgment of the mind that these things are so, upon the evidence presented.

“Now, on the supposition that the Pope is inspired, must there not be private judgment to an equal extent? Must there not be a personal judgment upon evidence that he is inspired, and also upon the doctrines he teaches, in view of the evidence thereof? This cannot be gainsaid.”—P. 137.

Here it is concluded that on the Protestant system, “each one must judge for himself that the Bible is the word

of God, not of man, upon the evidence it offers of being such, not merely upon the testimony of some other man." But if you allow each one to judge for himself, you must allow him to judge for himself whether the Bible is or is not the word of God, otherwise you prejudge the case and in no sense permit him to judge for himself. If, then, he judges the evidence it presents is insufficient to prove that it is the word of God, he is free to reject it as such word. Here your rule of private judgment justifies "the monstrous heresies" you speak of. Each one, you say, "must also judge for himself that it—the Bible—teaches certain truths, and enjoins certain duties, not merely because some other man says so, but because he perceives that God utters these things in his own oracles." But suppose he has already judged that the Bible is not the word of God, and suppose that he fails to perceive that the certain truths and the certain duties you insist on are contained in it? When you bid a man judge for himself, remit him to his private judgment, you necessarily, unless you are mocking him, leave him to decide the case either way according as he judges proper. We know Presbyterians have singular notions of freedom. Thus they teach with regard to free will, that a man is free in sinning although he has no power to will not to sin, and concurs freely with grace even when he has no power to resist it. Also they teach that a man is free to judge for himself, that they leave him perfectly free to judge for himself, whether the Bible be the word of God, and if it be, what it teaches, but consign him to eternal perdition, if he judges differently from them. But these notions are repugnant to common sense, which denies freedom when either alternative presented is not equally free. The freedom to judge in accordance with a judgment already rendered, without the freedom to judge differently, is simply no freedom of judgment at all. If the Reviewer means what he really says, he must concede that in submitting the two questions he specifies to private judgment, he holds to a rule which justifies all the heresies Dr. Brownson fell into while a Protestant.

But this is not the precise point before us. "Faith in the Bible as the word of God and in Christian truth as taught in that word is nothing else than a *judgment* . . . that these things are so, upon the evidence presented." A

judgment, undoubtedly, but are they a *private* judgment, or does the belief of the mind that they are so, rest on private judgment? The Reviewer must be aware that a judgment is private or catholic, not simply because it is a judgment, or the judgment of an individual mind, but in that its rule or principle is private or catholic. Where the rule, principle, or evidence is private, restricted by the nature of the case to the mind judging, the judgment is a private judgment; but when it is a general principle of reason, common to all men, a public or catholic reason, the judgment is not a private, but, as we say, a catholic judgment. Though in receiving or in believing what the Church teaches there is a decided act of reason, a real judgment of the mind, yet it is not a *private* judgment, because its rule or principle is public or catholic.

This distinction, which is very real, answers the objection the Reviewer insinuates. On the Protestant system the questions, is the Bible the word of God, and what are the truths God has revealed, are remitted to *private* judgment, and the answers the Presbyterian gives to them are simply his private judgments, because he obtains them by no common, public, or catholic standard. The judgment the Catholic forms on the same questions is not *private* judgment, because its principle is not private but catholic, and there is a public tribunal before which it can be verified, corrected, if erroneous, and confirmed, if just. The supposition that the Pope is inspired, and all the other suppositions dependent upon it, may be dismissed at once, for that the Pope or the Church is inspired is no Catholic doctrine. The points of investigation are few and easy on the Catholic system in comparison with what they are on the Protestant. The Church is a living, visible, and present body, and no more to be mistaken than the sun in the heavens. Extending as a living body, one and indivisible, from the Apostles to us, she connects us by her faith and communion with them, so that in her we, as it were, shake hands with them, hear their voice, and commune with them face to face and heart to heart. There is, then, no room to doubt that her faith is theirs, and that it is their teaching we hear in hers. Of course, there is a judgment of the mind that she is the Apostolic Church, but that is a judgment as easily formed, and as little of a private judgment, properly

so called, as the judgment that England is England, France is France, or the United States are the United States. The Pope holds his authority *ex officio*, not as a private man; and in order to be assured of his authority to teach, we have only to be assured that he is Pope, that he is Bishop of Rome. Undoubtedly there must be a judgment of the mind that he is Bishop of Rome; but that is as easily formed as the judgment that Victoria is Queen of Great Britain, Napoleon III. is Emperor of the French, or James Buchanan President of the United States. Undoubtedly, there must be a judgment that the Church teaches this or that doctrine; but the Church by her pastors and doctors is everywhere present to state to the mind whether she does or does not teach it, and in language express to the point, clear, simple, and without any ambiguity. If the pastor errs, there lies the appeal to the Pope, who responds to the precise question raised, and in terms which cannot be misinterpreted. Thus is it with the Catholic, and there is obviously no foundation for the objection the Reviewer would insinuate. When one has embraced the Catholic system, and is in the Catholic communion, all his difficulties as to what God has revealed are over; but when one is in the Presbyterian communion they remain in all their force, and on no point does the Presbyterian Church abridge his labour, or remove a single one of his doubts or difficulties. He settles and can settle every question of faith without her as well as with her, even supposing her belief correct, but no man can say the same of the Catholic Church. With her your first difficulty is your only difficulty, that of identifying her externally with that Church of the Apostles which our Lord said he would found on Peter, and against which the gates of hell should not prevail.

The Reviewer, in order to prove that it is as difficult to ascertain the meaning of the Papal definitions and decisions as that of the Holy Scriptures, contends there are sects and parties in the Church, such as Jansenists and Jesuits, Cismontanes and Ultramontanes, &c., and even goes so far as to say, "it is doubtful, if at this moment the diversities among the evangelical bodies, as to what they insist upon are the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and practice, . . . as taught in the Bible, are greater than they are among

Romanists [Catholics] as to what, on the same points, is taught by the Pope. It is certain that the old Jansenist and Jesuit controversy embraces the most material of these, to say nothing more."—P. 138. The argument would be worth something, if the facts in the case were as the Reviewer supposes. But they are not so. The differences among Catholics, whatever they may be, are never differences on points which the Pope has formally defined, or as to the meaning of his definitions, but are differences on points on which he has not spoken. The differences between the so-called Gallicans and Ultramontanes, are differences touching points on which the Pope has not rendered an express and formal judgment, not differences as to the meaning of a Papal judgment rendered. The controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits was and is a serious controversy, touching the fundamental principles of the Christian faith; but it is not, and never was, a controversy as to the meaning of the Papal rescripts, bulls, mandates; or constitutions, for as to that meaning both parties have never disagreed. Moreover, it is not a controversy between two sects in the Church, for the Jansenists are a sect outside of the Church and the Jesuits are not a sect at all; and, in their controversy with the Jansenists, the Jesuits are simply Catholics, defending the Catholic faith, as held by the whole Church, against condemned heresies. We are surprised that a writer so well informed as an Old School Presbyterian ought to be, should venture, in so respectable a periodical as the *Princeton Review*, to assert that the Jansenists are a sect in the Church. Jansenism has been condemned by the Holy See as a heresy, and all who adhere to it are excommunicates, outside of the Church, not within her pale. That they call themselves Catholics, and seek confirmation from the Holy See, while holding fast their heresy, as does each new Jansenistic Archbishop of Utrecht, on his election, amounts to nothing; for the confirmation is never granted, and the solicitation is answered only by a new bull of excommunication. The Reviewer, therefore, proceeds on misinformation, and the instance he adduces is not in point. The controversy between the Jesuit Fathers and the Jansenists is no more a controversy between two sects in the bosom of the Church than is the controversy between us and the *Princeton Review*.

“But,” says the Reviewer, “a deeper question emerges here. What is the Church? and what are the notes or criteria by which it is known? These are hinge-questions on which Mr. Brownson observes a prudent retinency, unless he can incidentally touch some shallow prejudice.”—Pp. 138, 139. That Dr. Brownson does not fully discuss these questions in his *Convert* is very possible, for in that work he was simply giving some leaves from his own experience, not writing a systematic treatise *de Ecclesiâ*; but he has, as the Reviewer must be well aware, very amply discussed them, without any “prudent retinency,” in the pages of this Review, a periodical not, we presume, unknown to the Reviewer, though he takes care never to mention it. If he found any gaps in the particular work before him, it would have been easy for him to have supplied them by reference to other well-known and accessible writings of the same author.

But what is the Church according to the Old School Presbyterian Reviewer? “The Church whose faith we recognize,” he says, p. 139, “is the congregation of faithful men of every age and nation, who profess and practise the true religion.” Then it would seem that there are *faithful* who are not of the true religion. What does the Reviewer mean by *congregation*? When he says the Church is the congregation, &c., he must understand, if he uses language correctly, not the faithful scattered through all manner of sects and communions, but the faithful collected and united under some sort of regimen in one body or communion. If not so collected and united, there is no congregation, but a segregation rather. “Who profess and practise the true religion.” Then before you can determine the Church, you must determine the religion, that is, you must learn the Church by the religion, not the religion by the Church. How then learn what is the true religion? The Reviewer says:

“We agree that, while every man must judge for himself of every doctrine, whether it be of God; yet there is one faith of God’s elect, and the mind of every real Christian is infallibly guided into that faith, as to the substance of it, by the Spirit of God. He has an unction from the Holy One whereby he knoweth all things, i. e., he is enabled to see and receive all essential ‘things pertaining to life and godliness’ set forth in the word of God. If he deviates radically from this faith of the true Church, the people of God, his judgment is neither more nor less his own private or personal judgment, than if he adopts it. But it is evidence that

he is not guided by the Spirit of God. It betrays a wrong moral state. We do not hesitate to take the responsibility, as we must give account to God, of denouncing his heresy as anti-Christian, pernicious, and fatal, and of excluding him from church privileges accordingly. Does Mr. Brownson deem civil and physical pains and penalties desirable also? If so, let him say so. The Church, whose faith we recognize, is the congregation of faithful men of every age and nation who profess and practise the true religion. To renounce the faith of this Church, we indeed denounce as fatal. If it be asked, how *this* Church is known, we answer by those scriptural tests, doctrine and fruits. We are commanded not to receive those who come and bring not this doctrine; to try by a doctrinal test the spirits whether they be of God; and those are commended who try them which say they are apostles and are not, and find them liars. And if any have the clothing of sheep in this respect, but are really wolves, we are required to know them by their fruits. For in vain is it to cry Lord, Lord, and not do the things which he saith. If it be asked again, how we know what is the true doctrine and practice which distinguishes the true people of God; we answer again from the word of God. By this we know that we know Christ, because we keep his commandments. He that heareth and doeth these hath builded on a rock. All else is builded on the sand. Says John, 'he that is of God heareth us. He that is not of God heareth not us.' His people are those who have his word dwelling in them."—Pp. 139, 140.

Here we see the author claims the infallible guidance of the Spirit of God for every real Christian, and as he doubtless considers himself a real Christian, he holds that by virtue of the interior illumination of the Holy Ghost, he is infallible in all matters pertaining to "life and godliness." It is dangerous disputing with a man who claims to be infallible. But as every real Christian belongs to the Church, every member of the Church, according to the doctrine of our Old School Presbyterian, must in all matters of faith, in all things pertaining to life and godliness, be personally infallible. This is pushing infallibility a little too far for us, stanch Papists as we are. We hold the Church collectively and officially is infallible in matters of faith and morals, but we are not prepared to admit that individual members are personally infallible, even those who are the greatest saints. We hold the Pope, *ex officio*, as supreme Doctor of the Church, to be infallible, through the protection and assistance of the Holy Ghost; but we do not hold that even he personally, in his private capacity, as

a private man, or a private Christian, is infallible. It would seem that Old School Presbyterians claim to be each and every one of them a Pope, and more than we Catholics believe the real Pope to be. Perhaps it is the wish to be himself Pope that keeps the Old School Presbyterian out of the Church. But pass over this.

“The Church whose faith we recognize, is the congregation of faithful men, in every age and nation, who profess and practise the true religion.” Who are these? “The true people of God.” But who are the true people of God? They who profess and practise the true faith. But what is the true faith? “There is one faith of God’s elect, and the mind of every Christian is infallibly guided into that faith by the Spirit of God.” Does the Reviewer mean to assert that one can be a real Christian before having or being guided into that faith? But again, what is that “one faith of God’s elect?” “We agree that every man must judge for himself of every doctrine, whether it be of God.” Then is that “one faith” what every man for himself judges it to be? No. What then? That into which “the mind of every real Christian is infallibly guided by the Spirit of God.” But, my dear Reviewer, you move only in a vicious circle. This interior guidance you speak of is individual, private, “hidden” with God, and cannot be adduced as a note or criterion of the Church, because it is not externally discernible, and also because it requires itself to be tested. We must try the spirits, as you yourself concede, to see whether they be or be not of God. What is that test? The doctrine, you answer. Well, what is the test of doctrine? “The word of God.” The word of God as authoritatively professed by the Catholic Church? No. As each individual understands it for himself? No, for “there is one faith of God’s elect,” and he who deviates from it “gives evidence that he is not led by the Spirit of God,” and “we do not hesitate to take the responsibility of denouncing his heresy as anti-Christian, pernicious, fatal, and of excluding him from Church privileges accordingly.” But you cannot say a man deviates from that faith, unless you know what it is. What then, again, is it? That into which “the mind of every real Christian is guided by the Spirit of God.” We are back at our starting point. The test of the Church is the doctrine

and practice, and the test of the doctrine and practice is the mind of the real Christian. What is the test of the mind of the real Christian? What is the Church? "The congregation of faithful men, who profess and practise the true religion." How are these to be known? "We answer, by those Scriptural tests, doctrine and fruits." But how know you the doctrine and fruits which are the tests of the true religion? "If it be asked how we know what is the true doctrine and practice which distinguishes the true people of God; we answer again, from the word of God." As understood by whom? By everybody for himself? No, your only answer is, as understood by the true people of God. But who are these? Here begins over again the same series of questions, and the same series of answers, which leave us nearly as wise at the end as we were at the beginning. The Reviewer seems to us to mistake the Scriptural authorities he quotes. "God's people," he says, "are those who have his Spirit dwelling in them." No doubt of it; but that is not the question. Who are they that have his Spirit dwelling in them? "Beloved," says the blessed Apostle, "believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they be of God: for there are many false prophets gone out into the world." "WE ARE OF GOD. He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth us not. By this we know the Spirit of truth and the spirit of error." Here is the test. They who gather with the Apostolic communion and hear the Apostolic authority are of God; they who separate from that communion and hear not that authority are not of God. You must then test the Spirit by the communion, or the Church of the Apostles, not the communion by the Spirit, doctrine, or practice. It is the misfortune of Old School Presbyterianism that it is obliged to reverse the maxims of the Apostles as well as those of common sense.

The Reviewer offers some comments on the reasons Dr. Brownson alleges as those which induced him to become a Catholic. We make a brief extract:

"Mr. Brownson tells us how he was led to the doctrine of *Papal infallibility*. But he hardly pretends that one in a thousand is led to Popery by this route. He only claims that it may be of use to modern Pantheistic speculatists and skeptics. He does not pretend that it has any recognized place in Romish theology.

He informs us that the *archbishop* of Boston hesitated some time before he could receive one whose faith was founded on such a basis, and did not open the door of the church to him, until he placed himself more definitely upon Romish ground. Much of what he says is in the nature of a plea addressed to his fellow Papists to suffer the use of his new method which brought him to the feet of the Boston prelate, as likely to be effective with persons imbued with the skeptical philosophy of our times."—Pp. 140, 141.

Our Reviewer tells us by implication that he has the infallible guidance of the Spirit of God, yet he makes many, many mistakes which ordinary capacity and respect for truth, we should suppose, would have prevented. Dr. Brownson may or may not believe in Papal infallibility, but he says not a single word in his book of his conversion to a belief in it. We have a high esteem for the venerable bishop of Boston, and should be glad to have him receive the pallium; but we did not know before that he is actually an Archbishop. Whether the reasons which led the author of *The Convert* to the Church are those by which others are led or not, is a matter of no importance, since he does not give his as an exclusive method. The question for the Reviewer is not whether they are usual or not, but whether they are sound or not. We find no attempt on his part to refute them. He simply says, after having given a brief account of the process of reasoning that brought the author to the Church, "This is so exactly the method of transcendental ritualism, whether it leads to Mercersburg, Oxford, or Rome, it is hardly to be supposed that the author was exclusively indebted to his own invention for every part of it not derived from Leroux. It has long been the common property to several classes of ritualists."—P. 143. Possibly; and yet possibly the author did not know it, and does not know it even yet. We wish the Reviewer had named the class of ritualists that have brought out the philosophy and followed the method the author sets forth. We have no acquaintance with them, and have never before heard of them. There is no reason to doubt that the author is entitled to all the originality he claims, whether his views had previously been set forth by others or not.

The philosophy and process of reasoning, which, in connection with the undeniable historical facts in the case, led the author of *The Convert* to accept the Church as

authority for natural reason both as to herself and her doctrines, we can easily believe to be any thing but acceptable to an Old School Presbyterian. The author, say what you will of his originality, has given the principles of the philosophy of the spiritual life, therefore of a philosophy which harmonizes in all its parts with the Incarnation, and established as the principle of all dependent life, the very principle on which the Sacraments are efficacious, and therefore a philosophy which undoubtedly favours the views of both Mercersburg and Oxford, touching what they call the Sacramental system. The doctrine that all created life, whether in the natural order or the supernatural, is the resultant of two factors, object and subject, and that the form of the life is determined by the object, not by the subject, is in direct hostility to the essential principle of Old School Presbyterianism, that the Church derives her life from the faith of her members, and that the Sacraments are efficacious only by the virtue of the recipient. Assuming what must be conceded, that the principles of life in the two orders are analogous, and that both orders copy the same original type in the Divine mind, each in its degree, so that a correspondence between the natural and supernatural is possible, the philosophy of *The Convert* is a complete refutation of the Sacramental theories of Old School Presbyterians, and a strong presumption in favour of the Catholic doctrine. The philosophy of Old School Presbyterianism, in so far as it recognizes the activity of the subject at all, and does not resolve itself into pure pantheism, is mere psychologism, and places the sole activity there is in the fact of life, in the subject, leaving the object passive, that is, as if it were not. It is the subject that vivifies. The doctrine that the object creates the subject, and renders it active, living only by the presence and creative activity of the object, is incapable of being harmonized with the doctrine that the Sacrament is operative only by the faith and virtue of the recipient, and can be harmonized only with the doctrine that the Sacraments operate *ex opere operato*.

The process by which the author of *The Convert* was conducted to the Church, is not that usually insisted upon by Catholic apologists, we admit, but it does not conflict with it; and the Reviewer goes too far when he implies that

the Roman prelate refused to admit the author to the Communion of the Church without his taking a ground more distinctly Roman. Such was not the fact. The author merely tells you that the bishop of Boston, trained in a different school, did not accept the philosophy on which that process was based,—at least, so the author feared,—and therefore he did not dare, for reasons he assigns, explain to him that process. Neither the bishop of Boston nor any other bishop refused to receive the author on the ground stated; the difficulty was on the part of the author himself, in his own mind, in his own fears, which prevented him from dealing frankly with his instructor till he had confirmed his conclusion by another process furnished by Catholic theologians themselves. The process, though it had brought him to seek the instructions of the bishop, was then waived as not any longer necessary for his own mind. When the temple is erected, you no longer need the scaffolding. But it does not from this follow that process was not a legitimate one, that it may not be highly useful in the case of others, or that it is distrusted, far less rejected by the Catholic bishops.

The merit of the philosophy and reasoning sketched in *The Convert* is not that it enables one to conclude the Church, for that no philosophy can do. Philosophy is in the natural order, and is only the exponent of natural reason; the Church is in the supernatural order, and is not necessary to the existence or perfection of natural reason. Not being in the natural order, not necessary to its existence or its perfection as nature, the Church cannot be concluded from natural reason. The supernatural is neither included in nature or due to nature, and by natural reason alone we never do and never can demonstrate either its existence or its necessity. Its existence can be proved only by facts of a supernatural character, or evidences supernaturally supplied. It is not the pretension of the author of *The Convert* that he attains to the Church by philosophy alone. His process of reasoning starts from philosophical and historical *data* combined. The historical *data* are what he calls providential men and providential facts,—prophets, prophecy, and miracles. Its peculiarity and its special merit are in the fact that it recognizes the common principle of the two classes of *data*, or the perfect cor-

respondence of the natural and supernatural, and arrives at the Church as a form of life, as a living body, proceeding from the divine-human life of its Founder. Hence, by it the Convert, from the first moment of his recognition of Christianity, recognizes it as the Church, not as an abstract doctrine, and from the first moment of his recognition of the Church he recognizes her as growing out of and continuing, in some sort, the Incarnation. The Christianity to which the author was led, was not an abstract Christianity, or a Christianity slaughtered and dissected by schoolmen, but living Christianity, living in the Incarnate God,—a Christianity that in all and every part depends on the Incarnation, the Word made flesh. By bringing him to a Christianity that depends solely on the Incarnation, and grows vitally out of it, it brings him of necessity to the Catholic Church as the embodiment of that Christianity, and therefore excludes all except the Church of Rome, for she alone can claim to be Catholic. The Sacraments all depend on the Incarnation, and are modes or means by which the life which flows vitally from the Incarnation, in accordance with the principle of natural life, is generated, renewed, sustained, and augmented in the individual. Hence, the process of reasoning which starts from what the author calls the doctrine of life, and from the supernatural or miraculous *data* supplied by history, or by Providence in history, leads necessarily to the Catholic Church, through her doctrine of the Sacraments, and excludes from the Christian order of thought every form of Protestantism. We need not then wonder that our Old School Presbyterian is blind to its merits, seeks to disparage it, and tries to have it understood that the Catholic bishops themselves distrust it. But we should like to see him grappling with that process itself, and attempting its refutation. Let him do that, and he will soon find that there is much more in it than he has dreamed of, and that he must either deny those very facts of history on which he himself depends, and the very principle of all created and dependent life, or accept the sacramental system urged upon him by Oxford and Mercersburg, and through it the Incarnation, and then the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church.

The Reviewer complains that the author does not detail

in his book the other process, the one ordinarily urged by Catholic writers, he speaks of. There was no occasion of his doing it, for he had done it in this Review, to which he refers, and it may be found drawn out at length in the works of our theologians, several of which he names. Probably another reason why he did not give it, was that he proposed simply to give the process by which he himself was brought to the Church; and, also, because to have added the other process would have required a work double the size of the one he proposed to write.

The Reviewer marks as if something erroneous or absurd the doctrine put forth by the author, that by the Incarnation "human nature is made the nature of God." This indicates that the Reviewer does not accept the doctrine of the Incarnation; that he either does not believe that the Word was God, or that he denies that the Word was made flesh, that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh; and, therefore, according to his own confession and the assertion of the Apostle, he is governed by the spirit of antichrist. Does the Reviewer mean to deny that our Lord is one Divine Person in two natures—the one human and the other divine? Does he mean to deny that the hypostatic union is a real union, and that Christ is perfect God and perfect man? If perfect man, has he not human nature, and is not that human nature by which he is perfect man as much *his* nature as the divine nature by virtue of which he is perfect God? How shrink, then, from saying that in the Incarnation human nature is raised to be really and truly the nature of God? Did the Word, the Divine Person, assume human nature? Is that Divine Person God? If so, then human nature has been assumed, raised to be the nature of God. If you deny it, and say it was not the Divine that assumed the human, but the human that assumed the Divine, we leave you to maintain the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation against the Unitarians, as best you can. It is evident to us, and long has been, that comparatively few Protestants retain the orthodox doctrine on these two great mysteries, and that when they are not Tritheists, or Adoptionists, they are simply Sabellians, Nestorians, or Unitarians. The Mercersburg school, as the Oxford school, seems to us to have some orthodox views on these two mysteries, and hence their so-called Romanizing tendencies.

We have shown that the Old School Presbyterian moves in a vicious circle. The Reviewer attempts to prove that such is the case with us.

“We think the Romish prelates show their wisdom in discarding or ignoring this theanthropic theory. Perhaps Mr. Brownson, as he writes more especially for the skeptical speculativists of the age, and in self-explanation, has done the best thing he could in advancing it. He has certainly shown his polemical tact in keeping back the real argument on which Papists rely in support of Papal infallibility and authority. He well argues with his Papal friends, that the objections to this doctrine in the ‘non-Catholic’ mind lie beyond the reach of their ordinary methods. Their argument in this behalf is transparently vicious. They prove the Scriptures to be from God by the testimony of the Church. But how do they prove theirs to be the true infallible and authoritative Church? By the Scriptures, so far as they prove it at all. Whence did Mr. Brownson, for example, obtain proof, after waiving his divine-human theory, that the Church is ‘commissioned to teach all men and nations?’ Whence but from the commission given by our Lord, and recorded in the gospels? Here is the vicious circle so often exposed by the Reformed theologians to the discomfiture of their adversaries. These prove the Scriptures by the Church, and the Church by the Scriptures; i. e., they prove their premise by the conclusion they derive from it. There is no escape from this, unless they make the word of God the first and chief source of authority in divine things, and from that derive the doctrines, functions, prerogatives, and criteria of the Church. But this brings in upon them the dreaded necessity of private judgment as to what the Scriptures teach, before we reach the infallibility and authority of the Church. Still, if they assert, as they do, that the Church, in the person of the Pontiff, is the prime repository of infallible knowledge and authority, by which the inspiration of the Scriptures is proved; then, in answer to the question, how do we know which is the true Church, and that it has these prerogatives? they must refer us to the Scriptures. This, on their own showing, is the Book of God, and a true Church must conform to the criteria there given. Nor is there any other possible authority to which they can refer us for the notes of the Church, or for evidence that they have any better claim to be regarded as such than the Mormons. Try as they will, they cannot break this vicious circle; and they must fail, as was most fully shown in the numberless futile though ingenious devices to parry the resistless arguments of the Reformers *de circulo Pontificio*.”—Pp. 145, 146.

All reasoning in some sense is in a circle, because nothing can be in the conclusion not affirmed in the premises; but not every circle is a *vicious* circle. As the premises from

which the supernatural can be concluded do not lie in the natural order, Christianity, which is supernatural, cannot be demonstrated by natural reason, operating from natural *data* alone. We can demonstrate it only from supernatural *data*, or premises supernaturally furnished us, and therefore, in all our reasoning, we assume there is the supernatural, and that to some extent it is known. As the supernatural and Christianity are identical, all our reasoning in proof of the Christian religion, in some sense, proceeds in a circle. The supernatural, therefore Christianity, must be a fact, and a revealed fact, before we can begin to talk about it; indeed, before we can conceive of its actual or even its possible existence, for natural reason cannot transcend the natural order. All attempts to prove from natural *data* the fact of the possibility of the Christian religion, are fruitless, for God was not obliged to give us the supernatural, and might, if he had chosen, have created us, as we are now born. Gioberti labours to prove that man has a natural faculty, which he calls the faculty of the superintelligible; but the superintelligible and the supernatural are not the same. The superintelligible may be in the same order with the intelligible, and be superintelligible only in relation to us, through the incompetency of our faculties; but the supernatural is of another order, and no natural faculty can naturally rise to its conception. The revelation of it must precede the conception, and therefore, in a certain sense, all our reasonings about it, for it, or even against it, must and do assume the fact of its revelation. Perhaps, this fact alone, since we do all reason more or less about it, is a conclusive proof that the supernatural exists, and that God has revealed it.

Now, with regard to the charge of the Reviewer, we beg leave to say that, if we reason in a circle, it is not a *vicious* circle. We "prove the Church by the Scriptures," he says, "and the Scriptures by the Church;" but, even if so, we do not prove the Church by the Scriptures in the same sense in which we prove them by the Church. We take, when reasoning with those who admit the Scriptures, or profess to admit them, the Scriptures, not as the word of God, but as authentic historical documents, to prove the foundation and commission of the Church; and then, we take the Church, not to prove that the Scriptures are

authentic historical documents, but that they are divinely inspired, the written word of God. We deny not that there is here a circle, but that there is here anything resembling what logicians call a *vicious* circle. The argument used in *The Convert* the Reviewer concedes is not a *vicious* circle; the argument he accuses the author of suppressing, and which Catholic authors usually insist on, is just as little of a vicious circle. The author considered it defective for the non-Catholic mind in the present day, but not at all for the reasons the Reviewer imagines. That argument is not defective because it begins with the Scriptures, for that it does not; but because it begins with reason in a fuller and more perfect state than we now find it in most men, and does not show with sufficient clearness and distinctness the principle of the spiritual life, or of the correspondence of the two orders, the natural and the supernatural. In one sense, it is too rigidly logical, keeps at too great a distance from the supernatural, and does not draw enough on it in proving the reality of the Christian order. It attempts to prove the supernatural as an abstract dogma rather than as a life, and its author as a teacher rather than as a regenerator—the founder of a doctrine rather than the creator of a new order. The objection he urges is the reverse of that the Reviewer supposes, and it is an objection not to its logic, but to its practical efficacy with minds which have no confidence in logic, nay, have a horror of logic. If men were in our days more logical, less sceptical, and less unable to appreciate solid, rigid, and cogent reasoning, we should have no fault to find with the ordinary method. But, taking the mass of non-Catholics as we now find them, we want a method less abstract, and that draws more in advance on the life that is brought to light through the revelation itself. It is the supernatural life rather than the supernatural revelation that we would begin by proving. The Reviewer mistakes entirely the order of objections the author of *The Convert* suggests against that process, as he does the process itself.

The Reviewer apparently forgets that while he is making sad merriment on what he calls the “*circulo pontificio*,” he himself falls into the worst of all *vicious* circles. He takes the inspiration of the Scriptures to prove the inspiration of the writers, and then the inspiration of the writers to prove the inspiration of the Scriptures, and he has no

way of getting out of that vicious circle, but by an appeal to tradition, to what the Church has always and everywhere believed,—an appeal, as we have seen, fatal to him as a Protestant. We can make that appeal, but not an Old School Presbyterian, for with him tradition begins fifteen hundred years too late to be of any authority. The Reviewer finds the notes or criteria of the Church in doctrine and practice, and his notes or criteria of doctrine in the Scriptures. But he must prove the Scriptures to be divinely inspired writings, before they can be adduced as authority for doctrine and practice, and he must prove the inspiration of the writers before he can allege them as inspired writings. Then he must prove the inspiration of the sacred writers before he can establish his notes or criteria of the Church. Now, all we have to do in order to be able to assert our Church is to prove the Apostolic commission, and this and even more he must prove before he can assert the inspiration of the sacred writers. If he can prove that commission without falling into a vicious circle, nothing hinders us from doing the same. The Reviewer can take the Bible as authority, only on the authority of the commission given by our Lord to his Apostles. To establish that commission is the first step with him as well as with us, but when we have established that we have established all; but he has still to establish the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration, as well as the true meaning, of the sacred text. The commission of the Apostles establishes at once our Church, because she holds immediately and uninterruptedly from the Apostles. It is far less labour to establish the apostolicity of the Church, than it is to establish even the genuineness, to say nothing of the inspiration, of the Scriptures. Let the Reviewer understand that we are not reduced to the necessity of accepting the notes and criteria of the Church before we can assert or vindicate our own. We can assert our Church some stages before he can even approach the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures. It is far shorter and far easier to prove that she is the Church of God, than it is to prove that they are the word of God, because she must be proved to be the Church of God before they can be asserted to be his word.

The Reviewer evidently is not well acquainted with what we ordinarily allege as motives of credibility, and he seems

not even to understand what we mean by motives of credibility. We do not mean by them motives of faith or belief, as he supposes, but reasons which prove the Church credible. He says, p. 147, none of our "so-called motives to credibility or belief in the Church have any weight, except as they are derived from the Scriptures." This is, with his leave, a mistake, for the motives of credibility which he must adduce in case of the Scriptures themselves, amply suffice of themselves to establish the credibility of the Church. He is, as we have seen, obliged to establish the divine commission and inspiration even of the Apostles and sacred writers independently of the inspiration of the Scriptures, before he can use them as authority in matters of faith, and a small part of the reasoning he must resort to answers our purpose, and that reasoning is as open to us as it is to him, to say the least. But this whole question has been so often and so fully discussed in the pages of our Review, that it is wholly unnecessary for us to pursue it further on this occasion. The Reviewer as interested in the question, as a man of learning and intelligence, reads of course our Review, and to its pages, almost everywhere, we refer him, if he is not satisfied with what we have now said.

The question, what is the Church? is certainly the great question, but it is one that cannot be answered by neglecting the account the Church gives of herself. As the supernatural can be known only by means of itself, so what the Church is can be learned only from herself. The notes or criteria of the Church are and must be furnished in great part by herself, as the representative of the supernatural order. The proof that she is God's Church is in her history. The supernatural must prove itself, for it is only from the supernatural that we can learn the notes or criteria of the supernatural. She, and she alone, answers to the conception mankind ever since the Apostles have had of the Church of Christ, that of his body, in which he lives, and to which he communicates his own life. She proves she is what she professes to be by actually being and doing what she professes. She is not of yesterday; she is not a new kingdom just set up in the world; she has been in the world from the time of the Apostles, has inherited their doctrine and their authority, and the promises made to them. She derives from God through them, and fills

up the whole space of time between them and us. We might with far more propriety deny that the United States are the United States than that she is the Church, the Apostolic Church. Indeed, in another form or condition she has existed from the beginning of the world. Before the coming of our Lord she had her tabernacle among men, believed in him who was to come, preserved his revelations, waited for his coming, and prepared the world to receive him. Since his coming she has borne witness to his having come, has continued visibly in some sort his Incarnation, and has been to him his Spouse, his Beloved, his Beautiful One, and the joyful mother of his children. Her credentials are in her person, on her face, in her position, her beautiful love, her charity, her life, her power, her deeds. We will not here attempt to vindicate her claims. Eighteen hundred years have vindicated them, and her very existence to-day, in spite of all the malice of men and the rage of hell, is a triumphant proof that she is God's Church, and would be even were the Bible lost and its sacred pages forgotten.

There are many other things in the Reviewer's essay that we would comment on if our space would permit. We have not taken it upon us to refute everything the Reviewer alleges against the author of *The Convert*. He described Presbyterians and Presbyterianism as he found them, and stated nothing which he had not experienced. If Presbyterians are better now or elsewhere than were those he describes, he will rejoice to be assured of the fact. The Reviewer complains that the author is harsh and spiteful towards Presbyterianism; certainly, he does not give a flattering picture of it, but we think it appears in his pages to as good advantage as it does in the article we have been commenting on. We can conceive nothing more harsh, bitter, arrogant, or illiberal than the Presbyterianism of our Reviewer. He cannot allude civilly even once to the Catholic Church. He never calls her, even by way of courtesy, by her proper name, and speaks of her supreme visible head in terms and tones which betray a most deadly hate. All this we set down to his Old School Presbyterianism, for as a man we have no doubt he is well bred, cultivated, amiable, and estimable. If his Presbyterianism were out of the way, we have no doubt that we should find him a pleasant companion, an agreeable, a firm, and an affectionate

friend. We have found no form of Protestantism so unfavourable to the finer and more genial qualities of our nature as Old School Presbyterianism, and yet aside from their religion, we know many, many Presbyterians whom we could tenderly love, and highly esteem. It is only when the piety fit is on them, and they think they must be saintly, that we find them disagreeable. Hence we charge all that is sour, morose, arrogant, overbearing, or repulsive in their manners and conduct, solely to their Presbyterianism.

Speaking of arrogance, our readers cannot have failed to observe that our Reviewer has it in large measure, even for a Presbyterian. He has no Church, believes in no Church, but an aggregation of Presbyterians; has no authority, and confesses he has none, and yet he claims a power which exceeds that claimed by us for the Pope, as Vicar of Jesus Christ. Uncommissioned, without a particle of authority from God to teach, he yet presumes to have the right to declare what are and what are not the doctrines of God, and to deny the Christian name to those who do not accept the doctrines he declares to be essential. "We do not hesitate to *take* the responsibility," he says. What business has he to take any responsibility in the matter? Who authorized him to do so? Who made him a judge in matters of doctrine? A modest man would not *take* the responsibility, he would wait till it was imposed on him by one having authority. We know there were prophets, of whom the Lord says, "I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran;" but we have never learned that this was said in their commendation. Really humble men will wait till they are sent before they run.

The Reviewer contends that Dr. Brownson has injured his own reputation by his misrepresentation of Presbyterianism. We do not concede, and the Reviewer does not prove, that he has misrepresented it, but the Reviewer has misrepresented Catholicity, and in no instance represented it truly. Will that injure his reputation? He contends that the author cannot be trusted to teach Catholicity, because he shows himself ignorant of Presbyterianism. We might with greater force argue that the Reviewer cannot be trusted to teach Presbyterianism, because he proves himself grossly ignorant of Catholicity. But enough. We bring our re-

marks to a close. If the Reviewer will leave off personalities, and consent to discuss the questions at issue between him and us, dispassionately, calmly, fairly, on their merits, we shall be happy to meet him again. We have no doubt of his ability to do ample justice to his cause, if he will but keep cool, and exercise his reason instead of displaying his passion. We copy the closing paragraph of his article, as the one that does him less discredit than anything else in his attack on *The Convert*, and proves that, if his Presbyterianism were out of the way, or if he could forget his intense hatred of the Church, he would be a fair-minded critic, a liberal reviewer, and an accomplished gentleman. He would, no doubt, have done better, if he had had a better cause :

“ We take pleasure in adding that there are passages of great power and truthfulness in the volume, which we should be glad to quote, if we had room. In rising from sensism, materialism, and atheism to Romanism with all its errors, there is of necessity a process of sloughing off many heresies, and emerging into the light of many precious truths. His reasonings on some of these points are luminous, compact, and forcible. The argument by which he proves that Universalism logically ends in obliterating all ‘ objective distinction between virtue and vice ;’ his analysis of the pantheism of Cousin, and refutation of the psychology and philosophy of all those forms of modern transcendental idealism, which destroy objective truth and being ; his account of Dr. Channing and the Boston Unitarians ; his portraiture of *novi homines* suddenly become rich, and of the debasing effect of their coarse and flashy extravagance on themselves, their families, and society, altogether with many other touches of his strong and graphic pen upon various persons and things, give an incidental interest to the book, which, as to its main object—the exposition and vindication of himself and his faith—is a failure, not for lack of ability in the author, but from the stubborn character of his subject. He has proved, indeed, that we need an infallible guide. But he has not proved that guide to be the Roman Pontiff, in place of the Word of God.”

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- RECENT PUBLICATIONS.—1. A History of the Church in England, from the Earliest Period to the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850. By the Very Rev. CANON FLANAGAN. London : Dolman. 1857. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. The History of Ireland, from the earliest Kings of that Realm down to its last Chief. By THOMAS MOORE, Esq. New York : Dunigan & Brother. 1858. 2 vols. 8vo.

3. *Études philosophiques. Ontologie ou Études des Lois de la Pensée.* Par M. l'Abbé HUGONIN. Paris: Belin. 1856—1857. 2 tomes. 8vo.
4. *Études de Théologie, de Philosophie, et d'Historie, publiées par Les PP. Charles Daniel et Jean Gagarin de la Compagnie de Jésus, avec la Collaboration de plusieurs autres Pères de la même Compagnie. Tome 1.* Paris: Julien Laniel & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 458.
5. *Sancta Sophia ; or, Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation.* By the Ven. Father AUGUSTINE BAKER, O.S.B. New York: Dunigan & Brother. 1857. 8vo. pp. 412.
6. *The Complete Works of Gerald Griffin. With the Life of the Author by his Brother.* New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1857—1858. [This fine edition is now complete, and we hope to be able in our next Review to give it a full notice.]
7. *The Black Baronet ; or, Chronicles of Ballytrain.* By WILLIAM CARLETON. Boston: Donahoe. 1858. 12mo. pp. 480. [The best of Carleton's stories, except *The Poor Scholar*.]
8. *The Masque of Mary, and other Poems.* By EDWARD CASWALL. London: Burns & Lambert, 1858. 16mo. pp. 391. [We hope this volume will be republished on this side of the Atlantic.]
9. *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams, 1789-1801.* By WILLIAM HENRY TRESKOT. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 283.
10. *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy for 1858.* New York: Dunigan & Brother, 1858.
11. *The Mission Book ; A Manual for Instructions and Prayers. Adapted to preserve the Fruits of the Mission.* New York: Dunigan & Brother, 1858.
12. *Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections during a thirty-five years' Residence in New Orleans.* By THEODORE CLAPP, Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857. 12mo. pp. 419. [A volume full of interesting details.]

* * Our friends the Booksellers must bear with us this quarter for our seeming neglect. We have already exceeded by sixteen pages the usual dimensions of a single number.

The article on *Our Colleges* in the present number will not fail to attract attention. It represents the views of a considerable number of intelligent Catholics, whose virtues and position entitle them to a hearing. The questions raised have undoubtedly two sides, and if those who take a different view from the writer wish to reply, our pages are open to them. The subject is one which must sooner or later be discussed, and the more thoroughly it is discussed on all sides the better. The editor himself reserves for the present his own opinions on the subject.

BROWNSON'S
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1858.

ART. I.—*Protestant Revivals and Catholic Retreats.*

THE past few years have been marked in the Catholic community of the United States by the unusual number and the great success of the Retreats or missions which have been given by the members of several Religious Congregations, in almost every ecclesiastical province and diocese; both in our overflowing city churches, and also in the country parishes both large and small. These missions have thus excited the attention not only of Catholics, to a great part of whom they were something altogether new and strange, but also of the Protestant community, the preachers and editors particularly, who have been astonished to find such an engine at work in the Catholic Church, and have usually styled it a new masterpiece of Roman policy, a fresh proof of the superhuman cunning of the Man of Sin. The newspapers of the day have also chronicled within the past year an unusual series of religious Excitements or Revivals within several Protestant denominations. It is a singular fact that these Protestant Revivals have, to some extent, followed in the wake of the Catholic missions which have been given within the last six months; and have sprung out of efforts inspired by a spirit of rivalry which has been excited by the crowded congregations and the general enthusiasm witnessed in Catholic churches on these occasions. To superficial observers, there appears to be a close resemblance between these

religious movements in the Catholic and Protestant churches, and although we shall prove satisfactorily enough, in the course of this article, that this is a great mistake, yet there is doubtless a certain grotesque likeness in this as well as in other features of Protestantism to that grand Catholic system of which the former is only a poor imitation. As there is doctrine held in common with the Catholic Church by certain sects, episcopal regimen and a liturgy borrowed from her in others, so there is something in a series of special services and sermons continued for days and weeks in succession, in which the matters relating to the salvation of the soul and eternity are commended with especial earnestness to the attention of all, as practised in certain other sects, which is akin to the spiritual exercises of Catholic Retreats and missions. It seems not improper, then, to treat of both in the same connection, and in the remarks which follow on Protestant Revivals and Catholic missions, we shall endeavour to take up the question of religious excitement, its legitimate use, and its abuse, the points of resemblance, and the points of contrast, between the Protestant and the Catholic methods of handling this powerful instrument for working on the religious susceptibilities of the community.

Revivals are a product of English Evangelical Dissent. We do not hear of them within the old Lutheran and Reformed communions of Germany, France, and Switzerland; they are no growth of the English Church, and have never been much favored by its ministers. Although the Presbyterians of the Old School have sanctioned them to a certain degree, yet they have never prevailed to any great extent in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland and the United States. They have had their full swing only among the Evangelical Dissenters of England, and the Congregationalists, New-School Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists of the United States. George Whitfield, a deacon of the English Church, suspended by his bishop for his eccentricities, and who officiated as a dissenting minister of the sect of Lady Huntingdon or Calvinistic Methodists, may be regarded as their great father. He is reputed to have been a man of extraordinary eloquence, and by his preaching he excited numerous revivals in England and in this country, though warmly opposed by a portion

of the Protestant clergy. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was another great revival preacher, and the system of revivalism has found its most congenial soil in Methodism, of which it is a necessary part. Before the time of Wesley and Whitfield, however, the bosom of the Congregational community in New England had been agitated by powerful and widely-spread movements of this kind, chiefly under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, the noted divine and metaphysician. It is worthy of remark that Edwards and the other New England revival preachers had already started on a line of speculation, which subsequently developed by degrees into a peculiar system, widely different from the old Calvinism; until at length the powerful minds of Taylor, Fitch, Beecher, Hawes, and the other leaders of the New Haven school, gave it its present decidedly anti-Calvinistic character. The great revival preachers in New England and in the other States, such as Finney, Burchard, and Kirk, have generally belonged to this school, and the well-known Methodists Bascom and Maffit, and the Baptist Knapp, have had a similar theology. The old orthodox Congregationalists have had, however, during the early part of the present century, one of the greatest revival preachers of this country, the Rev. Asahel Nettleton, who desisted, nevertheless, for some unaccountable reason, from his labours many years before his death, and passed his time in a kind of studious and religious seclusion, very seldom appearing in the pulpit.

These revivals, and the general question of the propriety of employing excitement in religion, have been much discussed by the Protestant clergy. The High Church and the Latitudinarian sections have condemned them as fanatical. The more sober, grave, and dignified portion of the clergy have always been averse to the boisterous and extravagant forms of revivalism. Those who have been the most consistent and severe in condemning the use of excitement in religion and deprecating all popular outbursts of religious enthusiasm, have been the High Church clergy of the Episcopal Church. They love quietness and decorum in religion, grave and solemn liturgical services, churches dark and still, the ancient chant, chastened and finished discourses, tranquil meditation, and reading prayers by yourself out of a book composed by an old Church-of-Eng-

land divine. This spirit is no doubt derived from the Catholic Church, and in itself we are not disposed to quarrel with it. It is, however, too one-sided, narrow and exclusive. It leaves out of view the necessity of change and variety in religious exercises, and the necessity of more popular means for acting on the people, and for exciting those who have lived for a long time asleep in a state of profound religious lethargy, or buried in vice. And even some of the highest churchmen of the Episcopal Church have of late felt and acknowledged this to be the case. They have detected a great defect in their system; which, however, they are unable to supply. It cannot be denied that the Congregationalists, Methodists, and other sects, have had in this respect an advantage over the Episcopalians, and have had in their hands an instrument for working on the people, which they have used with energy and effect. Hence, many intelligent Protestants have held the opinion expressed by one of the most eminent literary men of the country, a regular attendant at the Episcopal Church, that "the Episcopal Church is the best for the educated class, and the Methodist Church for the mass of the people."

The principle of excitement is and must be made use of in all great movements in which men are interested. For example, this is the case in politics. What is eloquence but a powerful means of producing an intellectual, moral, and sensible excitement, as seen in the senate, in the courtroom, at the hustings, and in the popular assembly. Even those who deprecate excitement in religion, really employ it in another form. For what is the effect of grand architecture, solemn music, fine statuary and paintings, impressing ceremonies, beautiful poetry, devotional prayers and reading, but an *excitement*, more subtle and refined, but not less powerful, than that of stirring sermons, and popular devotions and exercises of piety. The whole class of these influences and impressions belong to *sensible devotion*. The essence of devotion consists merely in a supernatural faith in the truth revealed, joined with an alacrity of the will to do those things which belong to the service of God. But this, taken by itself alone, is something so purely spiritual and sublime, and when existing by itself so extremely difficult, and it involves such a perfect crucifixion of human nature, that it is far above the reach of any ex-

cept the most perfect and heroic souls. Sensible devotion, although in itself of little worth, very much open to delusion, and liable to great abuse, is nevertheless, as a general rule, a most necessary and useful auxiliary of solid devotion. Man is not a pure spirit, and is not entirely swayed by his reason. His nature is mixed and compound; he has a body, passions, and senses. The number of those whose reason is highly cultivated, and whose will is thoroughly disciplined, is small. Hence, the sensible element must enter more or less into the religion of man. It must exist in a certain degree in the religion of the most intellectual, the most spiritual, and the most perfect. And in proportion as these qualities are less highly educated, the sensible element must predominate more. Religion must appeal to the heart, rouse the passions, strike on the senses, affect the sensibilities. It must awaken enthusiasm, strike the chords that vibrate through the popular mind, take hold strongly on masses of men, and be able to master and sway the wills, not only of the educated, but of the ignorant, the gross, the debased, and vicious even. It appears, then, that we cannot condemn the revival movements of Protestant sects, on the mere ground that they employ excitement as a means of producing religious impressions. On the contrary, by so doing, Protestant preachers are only acting in accordance with human nature, and doing just what all other men do, who wish to interest masses of men in any kind of enterprise or undertaking, and to gain influence over them. The only question there can be, relates to the manner in which they make use of this excitement, and their ability to turn it toward its true and legitimate end in a successful manner. The different means by which a strong tide of popular enthusiasm in relation to religious subjects can be evoked, may be skilfully and prudently used, or they may be abused by extravagance and excess. The legitimate end for which such means ought to be employed—that is, to induce men to do those things by which they will be reconciled to God and secure their salvation—may be attained, or it may fail of being attained, and all this religious enthusiasm may be wasted and misdirected through the incompetence of those who guide its movements. Our object, then, in examining and criticizing the Protestant Revival machinery, must be twofold: first, to see with

what degree of skill and judgment it is managed ; and secondly, to see, whether, supposing an interest in religion and a sincere desire for salvation excited in the bosoms of a mass of men, they can really direct them to any certain and trustworthy means of making their salvation sure.

There is a very great difference in the methods employed by Protestant Revivalists. The more rigid their orthodoxy and their adherence to the older ecclesiastical forms of Protestantism, the more they are averse from anything violent, extravagant, and coarse in religious movements. Some of them, as, for example, the celebrated Mr. Kirk, are finished orators and polished gentlemen, careful to observe exterior moderation and discretion in all their proceedings. This class are usually more doctrinal in their preaching, and aim more at reaching the understanding and the deeper feelings of the heart, and less at impressing the senses and working on the nervous susceptibilities. This class of preachers shades off insensibly and by many gradations into the common sort of Methodist and other sectarian revival preachers, who rely principally for success on loud declamation, strong appeals to the passions, and all the artifices of the campground and the Protracted Meeting. The former produce a more refined species of excitement ; the latter revel in the wilder and more extravagant manifestations of religious enthusiasm, which often degenerate into the most revolting scenes of a gross physical excitement ; convulsions, trances, jerks, and crazy evolutions of every description, more worthy of Corybantes than of nominal Christians and civilized beings. It is impossible, however, to draw any precise line of demarcation between these two classes, or, differ as they may in doctrine and discipline from each other, to show any precise difference based on doctrine in their methods. Although one class appeals more to the senses than the other, yet we cannot say that this latter class rejects or avoids all appeal to the senses. The difference is rather in the refinement of the means used, and in the greater or less moderation observed in these appeals. Mr. Nettleton, the greatest Revivalist of the Old School, was very attentive to all the exterior arrangements which could affect the senses and imagination of his auditors, and usually arranged his desk and lights himself, with a view to effect, being especially careful to have the room quite dark when he

preached on a terrific subject, like Judgment or Hell. Another artifice of his was, to direct the choir to strike up the hymn "Stop, poor sinner, stop and think," just as the congregation were about leaving the church. Any one who has ever been at a New England college must remember the artifice brought into play there to get up the annual revival. The spring of the year, a poetic and sentimental time, was selected, when the heart and the imagination are peculiarly susceptible to all tender and touching impressions, when the hard work of the winter is over, and the rivalry and excitement of the Junior exhibition has not yet come on. Then, professors, tutors, and pious students went the rounds of the rooms, to rouse up the lukewarm professors and exhort the impenitent. On the evening walk in some secluded grove, when nature was just bursting into life around you, and the air was fragrant with the new grass and the fresh flowers, some friend would join you, and with a soft and winning voice, speak of the soul, of salvation, of the world to come, and exhort you to attend the prayer meeting to be held within the next hour. Prayer meetings were multiplied, the most popular and eloquent preachers among the professors exerted themselves to the utmost to preach the most impressive and touching discourses, day after day, for weeks in succession. Man is a religious being. He has a soul, a conscience, a longing after God and heaven. Moreover, he has always more or less of the grace of God, and there is a great deal of Catholic truth in the preaching of Protestant ministers, especially those called orthodox. It is no wonder, then, that a company of youth, many of whom are ingenuous and conscientious, and some of whom must necessarily suffer from inward remorse for their vicious and ungodly lives, should be powerfully affected, and that the excitement should spread rapidly from one to another. Strong religious emotion is the most pleasurable and absorbing of which man is capable, while it lasts. But it is necessarily short-lived, and the college revival usually terminates with the Junior exhibition. Most of the converts, too, have disappeared before the end of summer.

It would be easy to give a similar description of the revival in the city or the country congregation. But it is unnecessary, and would occupy too much space. The columns of the *Tribune* for last March will furnish any one

who desires it with ample details on this subject. Now, however rigidly the revivalists of this class may eschew the more vulgar artifices and clap-trap of religious excitement, yet, they do, nevertheless, in their way work on the senses, and the religious emotion they produce is to a great extent a mere sensible devotion, situated in the affective portion of the soul, and in the nerves. The eloquent voice of the preacher, his attitudes, his gestures, his eye, exercise a kind of magnetic influence; the tender and affecting hymn, the serious crowd, the tears and emotion that are visible in others, work on the sensibilities. There is nothing *per se* wrong in this. The understanding and the will in man are usually to be reached through his senses, on account of his complex nature, made up of spirit and matter. But the fact we are stating is true, and its bearing on our subject will be made plain in the sequel.

We have now simply to examine how far Protestant Revivalists are capable of directing the religious excitement which they create, with skill and judgment, and of directing it to a healthful and beneficial result for the soul.

The first grand error into which Protestant Revivalists fall, is producing an *excess* of excitement. They harp on the strings of sensibility too long and too incessantly, they appeal too much to passion and feeling, and they work on one passion so long that they exhaust it, and produce an injurious excess of emotion, or a reaction into insensibility. For instance, the emotions of fear and sorrow are played on without judgment, and harrowed up by the dreadful views which their black and unreasonable theology presents, until many of their unhappy victims are driven to a state bordering on madness or despair, plunged into religious melancholy, or thrown into a hardened recklessness and a state of sullen defiance of God. Looking at the matter merely as a question of prudence and expediency, this is wrong. It is not only a sin, but a blunder. In appealing to these, more sombre emotions of the soul, the preacher ought to use great judgment and discrimination in considering what kind of persons he is addressing; he ought to know when to stop, and he ought to modify and hold in check a too great excess of these emotions, by appealing to the opposite sentiments of hope, confidence in God, trust in the merits and the mercy of Jesus Christ, faith in the

efficacy of prayer, etc. Protestant preachers usually, however, overdo everything, and thus spoil their own work. If they speak to new converts, and appeal to the more joyous sentiments, they run into the same extreme, and play so long on the tender emotions, and try to rouse up such a rapturous and jubilant state of mind in them, that they get them often half delirious, and puff them up with the most dangerous illusions of spiritual pride. The upshot of the whole matter is, that they aim at excitement, feeling, emotion, sensible devotion, as their *end*,—as something good in itself, as the essence of solid devotion and true religion. They would wish to have a revival all the time, and to be always indulging in pleasurable religious emotions. Hence, they pass the long intervals between their revivals in trying to get one up, or in a kind of depressed and low-spirited groaning over their spiritual dryness, and longing for the next “season of refreshing.” All the spiritual books and biographies of the Evangelical school breathe this spirit. All are infected with that false and delusive spirituality described and condemned by every sound ascetic writer in the Catholic Church as the grand illusion to which false devotees and inexperienced beginners in the exercises of piety are exposed, and of which every one must be cured before he can take the first step toward solid perfection. This love of excitement and seeking after it for its own sake give birth to the most ridiculous extravagances and the most dangerous excesses, such as all sensible and judicious Protestants are ashamed of and condemn. The illusions of an over-strained nervous system and an excited brain are mistaken for the operations of divine grace, and the way is opened to the most absurd fanaticism. Take, for example, the history of the conversion of “Awful Gardner.” What more absurd than his own account of his shouting Hallelujah until he frightened his horse, and afterwards seeing a bright light, and testing the reality of it to his own entire satisfaction by stuffing his handkerchief into his eyes! Several instances are related in the secular papers of scenes of wild excitement prevailing during the recent revival, of shouting, leaping, and indulging in frantic gestures. Once or twice something of this kind was on the point of breaking out at the Burton Theatre Prayer Meeting, but was checked by the firmness of the presiding officer. Still worse conse-

quences than these have ensued in a number of cases in the United States and Canada; insanity, death from over-excitement, murder, and suicide. These are doubtless extreme cases. But it is a common and very natural effect of such undue excitement, that a reaction should take place in mind and body. Lassitude and prostration always follow an undue tension and excitation of the nerves. The bodily and mental health are injured. Some become completely indifferent to all religious subjects, and even feel a disgust for them; others sink into a settled melancholy; and not a few turn to sensual pleasures as a relief from mental wretchedness and prostration, and as a means of satisfying their morbid hankering after excitement. This element of sensuality lying hid in sensible devotion, is pointed out by all the standard Catholic ascetic writers. The subsequent effects of Protestant Revivals are, therefore, often extremely noxious in a religious and moral point of view; and intelligent Protestant ministers have often said that the whole country where the revivals of Mr. Finney, Mr. Burchard, and men of that stamp, have prevailed, resembles afterwards "a burnt district."

Another great defect is, the want of instruction in religious doctrines, the practical duties of Christianity, and the moral obligations. When an interest in religion is awakened, the occasion ought to be seized to feed the understanding, to impart solid instruction, to furnish the soul, whose appetite for the Word of God has been excited, with the solid, nutritious aliment of Divine Truth. All the religious and moral obligations ought to be clearly explained, sins and temptations pointed out, and a practical method laid down for living a moral, virtuous, and holy life. This is for the most part neglected by our Protestant Revivalists, who confine themselves to vague exhortations and incessant efforts to bring their subjects to "get religion," or "experience a change of heart," by which they become saints, and secure of heaven in a trice, without going through the tedious process of meriting eternal life by keeping God's commandments, and doing good works.

Closely connected with this, and springing from the same radically false principle, is the neglect of appeals to the *will*, intended to produce virtuous resolutions, and a salutary moral reformation in the individual. If certain

sensations and emotions are awakened, they are satisfied; and the greatest sinner may congratulate himself that all his sins are instantly pardoned. There is nothing said of a firm determination to sin no more, and to keep the Law of God for the future. Nothing of penance and satisfaction to God for past sins. Nothing of forgiving injuries; being reconciled to enemies; retracting slanders; *making restitution of ill-gotten goods*. In a word, if we except certain gross and obvious vices, which society does not tolerate in persons making a profession of piety, and which have to be dropped, there is nothing like a systematic aiming at a thorough interior, moral, and spiritual renovation; and an undertaking of the arduous business of combating evil inclinations, practising mortification, crushing sin in the bosom, acquiring virtue, and fulfilling the moral obligations of the Law of God.

Another great defect is, the entire absence of every thing liturgical and ceremonial. Episcopalians cannot stir beyond the narrow line of their rubrics; and when they have arrayed a number of ministers in surplices, and gone through their monotonous Matins and Even-Song, they are unable to do more. Besides, those of them who patronize revivals, drop, on such occasions, as far as possible, their Common Prayer, and seem delighted to indulge in a few extemporaneous prayers and services, like their Protestant neighbors. Outside of the Episcopal Church, the services of Protestantism are barren, dry, tasteless, and wearisome in the extreme. They have nothing brilliant, beautiful, majestic, or attractive. A little popular music and oratory is all they have. And that is by no means enough. In common times their prayer meetings and sermons are heavy and uninteresting. In a time of revival there is something more attractive and exciting in the fervid exhortations and prayers which follow each other in rapid succession, interspersed at intervals with a tender and affecting hymn, well sung, or some interesting narrative of "experience." But these things require and keep up a moral and nervous excitement, which is too great, and which demands some outlet, and needs to be relieved by something to vary the impression, and so draw the mind out of itself to some external object. Hence, as a mere matter of effect, the absence of ceremonies and liturgical forms is a very great error.

They relieve the mind, they soothe it, they vary its action, and, without distracting it from religious objects, they take off the strain of too continuous attention. They are also a most powerful means of gaining a hold on the minds of men, and especially the young, the thoughtless, the uneducated, and those of an imaginative and poetical temperament. In fact, they make an impression on all ; for human nature is in all, even the coldest, the most intellectual, and the most unimpressible. The want of them creates a terrible hiatus in the religious system of Protestantism, and one which can never be filled ; for when Protestants attempt any kind of ceremonies, they are sure to fail, and to make something altogether tasteless and unmeaning.

But we have not yet pointed out the radical and fatal vice in their whole system, which makes it one grand imposture and scheme of charlatanism. These revival preachers, when they have brought hundreds and thousands of human beings to ask the question—"What shall I do to be saved?" are unable to answer the question, and to give any positive and specific directions as to what must be done to obtain the pardon of sin and the grace of God. When they have excited the hunger of immortal souls for the Bread of Life, they have nothing to feed them with. They can preach conclusively, and eloquently, on the necessity of salvation, the duty of immediate repentance, and the misery of the lost ; they can exhort most fervently to come to Christ, in order to be saved ; but they can go no farther. What must be done in order to be converted ; how one is to go about the business of being regenerated ; what is meant by "coming to Christ"—are questions to which the sincere inquirer seeks in vain for a precise and intelligible answer. He is in the condition of Mrs. Stowe's Kentucky negro, who said, "The preachers tell me to go through the *do*, and to walk in the *way*, but I don't see no *do*, nor no *way*." An intelligent Protestant boy, who has since become a Catholic, once asked Mr. Nettleton what he should do to become regenerate. He replied, "You must pray." "But," said he, "you teach that the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord, and deserve hell. Of what use is it, then, for me to add to my sins by praying?" "Young man!" replied the divine, with an attempt at awful solemnity, "do you know in whose presence you are?" "Yes,

in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Nettleton." "No! you are in the presence of God! You are not quarrelling with *me*, you are quarrelling with God." This is a fair specimen of the answer one gets from a Calvinist, who can, consistently with his creed, give only one answer: "Do nothing, but wait for the irresistible grace of God, and if that is not given to you, you are not one of the elect, and must be lost." The only thing like a sensible direction we ever received from a Protestant minister, in our youth, was, to "take it for granted that you are a child of God, because you have been baptized, and claim your privilege." This is all very well for one who has never committed a mortal sin; but it is a Catholic, not a Protestant answer. And it is useless for one who has lost his baptism by mortal sin, since it does not tell him how to recover it. Our New-School theologians will not run themselves against the snags of Calvinism. They will allow to man the power to do something to prepare himself for conversion. But, after all, there must be some way by which one may pass from the state of sin to the state of grace. And when one has prayed sincerely, and made up his mind that he is willing to comply with the conditions of salvation, and yet does not feel any change in himself, and comes to a minister to ask what precisely he has to do now, in order to put himself in the state of grace, and have a reasonable security that he is just before God, and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, our New-School friend is in just as bad a quandary as the Rev. Mr. Nettleton himself. He cannot answer this question in such a way as to satisfy a reasonable man. The nearest approach to a precise answer was made by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, at the Burton theatre, and which was, as nearly as we can recollect, that one must determine to love God with all his heart for the future, and do everything from this motive of love. In Catholic language, this would be—"You must obtain the pardon of your sins, and the sanctifying grace of God, by making an act of Perfect Love." This is true, so far as this, that the perfect love of God certainly effaces sin, and sanctifies the soul. But it is a Catholic, not Protestant doctrine. It is, however, insufficient, for two reasons. In the first place, it is too high for the greater part of men, and Mr. Beecher has no authority for asserting the necessity of perfect love for justification. In the

second place, it leaves a man without any criterion for judging whether he has perfect love or not, and without any clear ideas of the way of attaining it. Merely making a resolution to love God above all things, and to do all things from love to God, is not necessarily actually loving him, for such a resolution may be a mere *velléité*; and one who undertakes such a sublime and perfect mode of life, will probably find himself breaking down very soon, and plunged in as great doubt and difficulty as ever, to know what he is to do to keep himself in the state of grace, and have a sure criterion for judging whether he is in grace or not.

The truth is, those who give themselves up to a revival, and profess to be converted, commit a most unreasonable and superstitious piece of folly. The greater part have no clear and distinct belief at all; and without going through any rational process, by which to arrive at a settled conviction of the truth and a clear knowledge of the conditions of salvation, they yield themselves to a blind excitement, trust without any ground in the declaration of the preacher, are hurried into some profession of religion, and trust in a purely subjective, imaginary, and totally delusive "experience," like the bright light seen by Awful Gardner, as the only evidence of having been regenerated, and passed through the mysterious change of heart which makes them from sinners into just and holy persons, perfectly fit to be translated at once to Paradise, without penance or purgatory. The consequence is, that a large portion, especially of the most intelligent and honest of the converts, wake up to the delusion they have been in, and abandon it after a short time, when they have reflected coolly on what they have been doing. They are full of indignation at the charlatan-ism of which they have been the victims, and conceive a great contempt for Protestantism and its ministers. But, unhappily, as they usually do not know the Catholic religion, they become more unsettled and sceptical than ever, and dismiss the whole subject of the future life and the ultimate destiny of man, as a thing so enveloped in obscurity that it is useless to seek to penetrate the mist that overshrouds it, and unwise to give one's self any further trouble about it. Thus, scepticism, indifferentism, irreligion, and sometimes positive infidelity, are the fruits of the revival system, and the natural result of the terrible

reaction caused by its morbid and misdirected excitement. To sum up in a word our condemnation of Protestant Revivals, their movers pretend to do a supernatural work, and to bring their followers into a state of grace, when they have no supernatural gifts whatever which they can impart to them, and can produce nothing beyond a subjective and evanescent excitement of the feelings.

We have already laid down the principle that a moderate and judicious use of religious excitement is not to be condemned, and may have good and salutary results. This principle is sanctioned and acted on by the Catholic Church, as is particularly seen in the Retreats and missions which are given by her clergymen of different orders, both secular and regular, with her full approbation. A certain superficial resemblance between a Catholic mission, when conducted with enthusiasm in a large and crowded congregation (especially of our ardent and demonstrative Irish Catholics), and a Revival, has sometimes been the cause that both Protestants and ill-informed Catholics have thrown on missions the aspersions of being imitations of the "Protracted Meetings" and revival operations of the Methodists and other sects. A momentary glance at their history will show, however, that in their origin and in their spirit they are purely Catholic. They are among the inventions of saintly and apostolic men in the Catholic Church, who had in view the renovation of piety and reformation of morals in those Catholic communities where in the lapse of time they had fallen into decay. We find them as far back as the foundation of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, in the 13th century; and one of the most celebrated of these early missionaries was St. Anthony of Padua, around whose place of preaching and confessing immense crowds, both of the nobles and the common people, used to encamp and pass the whole night, in order to hear him preach the word of God, and to receive the Sacraments at his hands. Sometimes, as many as thirty thousand received communion on one of his missions. St. Vincent Ferrer, in the 14th century, was even more famous and successful than St. Anthony. Rohrbacher relates, that he was called to this mode of life in a supernatural manner, while living at the court of Peter de Luna at Avignon, and he devoted the rest of his life to these "sacred expeditions,"

as they have been called by Pope Pius IX., traversing Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and even England, where he went by the special invitation of King Henry IV. St. Vincent usually devoted himself entirely to preaching and giving spiritual advice and instruction; but he was accompanied by a large number of secular priests, sometimes as many as thirty, who heard the confessions of the people. In more recent times, it is needless to enlarge on the well-known labors of this sort performed by Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice, F. Segneri, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Father Brydayne, Father Bernard, and a host of others in every country of Europe, and in the United States. In modern times, especially since the time of the great master in the spiritual life and consummate artist in the "*ars artium regimen animarum*," St. Ignatius, the whole work of Retreats and missions has been systematized. The celebrated "*Spiritual Exercises*" of the great contemplative of Manresa form the basis of Retreats, and in a more popular form of the course of Sermons for a mission. These exercises have been approved repeatedly by several Sovereign Pontiffs, and have received the united suffrage of the Catholic world. Missions also have received the sanction of the Church. Some of the most distinguished missionaries, as St. Vincent Ferrer, B. Leonard, St. Francis Regis, St. James de la Marche, St. Jerome of Naples, and St. Alphonsus, have been canonized, and the Missionary Institutes founded for the express purpose of giving missions, as the Congregation of the Mission, of the Most Holy Redeemer, of the Passion, of the Oblates of Mary, &c., have received the approbation of the Holy See. Among the Catholic practices condemned by the Jansenistic Synod of Pistoia are missions and the popular devotion connected with them, and this judgment of that petty little conciliabulum has been specially condemned by Pope Pius VI., in the Bull "*Auctorem Fidei*."* The present Pope has in various ways manifested his warm interest in missions,

* *Propositio enuntians "irregularem strepitum novarum institutionum quæ dicta sunt exercitia vel missiones forte nunquam aut saltem perraro eò pertingere ut absolutam conversionem operentur; et exteriores illos commotionis actus, qui apparuere, nihil aliud fuisse quam transeuntia naturalis concussionis fulgura;" temeraria, male sonans, perniciosa, mori pie ac salutariter per Ecclesiam frequentato, et in verbo Dei fundato, injuriosa.—Auctorem Fidei. LXV.*

and done everything in his power to uphold and encourage them. The Catholic bishops of every country have shown themselves most anxious to foster and promote missions in their dioceses. And we cannot refrain here from citing the opinion of one of the most illustrious members of the hierarchy, Cardinal Wiseman.

In one of the articles contained in his collection of Essays on various subjects, His Eminence writes: "We utter not only our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many more experienced in the missionary life, and the judgment of long attention to results attained, when we say that no greater blessing could be granted us than a body of priests devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the local overworked clergy of part of their labors, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means we have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and 'that odious Protestantism,' which 'sticks in people's gizzards,' [words of Mr. Froude,] be thence salubriously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Flaget has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favor of the *Œuvre de la Propagation*; and, though his tour has been limited, we have it on authority that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. We have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of movable missionaries, established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before his face during his own life-time, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of the earth; and subsequently practised by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties—some suggested by timidity, others by prudence—may, we

are aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, Where are the instruments and the means for such an undertaking?—the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? We answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be ever carried on—let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution, and we will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan based upon experience and approved methods for propagating truth and combating error.* Nothing can be more evident than that missions, in their spirit and their methods, are completely Catholic. Those who call them imitations of protracted meetings, revivals, and other similar doings of Protestant sects, betray their own profound ignorance. If there is any borrowing in the matter, the sects must have imitated the Catholic Church. And whatever resemblance there may appear to be, it reflects no dishonor on the Church, if the things themselves are good.

Revivals are attended with excitement, and so are missions. In this they are alike. But this is no objection against missions, unless it be proved that revivals are to be condemned, precisely because of the excitement they produce, and that all use of excitement in religious doings is noxious. This, we think, cannot be done. We believe, with Cardinal Wiseman, that sometimes, for the purpose of “arousing the slumbering energies of congregations,” “*stronger excitement is required* than the voice of ordinary admonition.” We admit that a mission is likely to produce, and is intended to produce, this stronger excitement in a congregation where one is given. But we maintain that in the Catholic Church this excitement is judiciously directed and moderated, and made subservient to a good end, that end being the preparation

* Art. on *Froude's Remains, Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 94-96.

of the soul for the supernatural gifts of divine grace. In the natural world perpetual calm and quiet are noxious. A thunderstorm, or a brisk shower of rain, is very useful for clearing the atmosphere and refreshing the earth. So it is in religion. Too great and long-continued quiet subsides into stupor and death. An occasional excitement is like a little mental electricity. The ordinary character of the services of the Church is calm and quiet. But in Lent and Advent of each year she seeks to make them more solemn and arousing in their character, and bids her priests excite the people to penance and prayer in a special manner. By her missions she arouses them more powerfully still. But these are occasional. In stationary and well-ordered congregations, it is only about once in from five to seven years that a mission can be given with salutary effect. Thus, the Church is careful not to overdo the matter, knowing that too frequent an administration of tonics and stimulants is as hurtful in the spiritual as in the natural order. But, in their proper place, she is not afraid to use them. Excitement is necessary for a large class, who are so far gone in spiritual lethargy, that nothing short of a powerful stimulant will have any effect upon them. The missionaries of the Catholic Church intend and expect to get hold of the worst, the most negligent, and the most vicious part of the population. Souls stupified by drunkenness, or obdurate through long impenitence, and sunk in sensuality, must be brought to reflect seriously, to do penance, and to renounce their evil courses. How is it possible to make the smallest impression on them, without something startling, interesting, exciting, which shall act as a counter-stimulant to the influence of vice and passion. Numbers, everywhere, have ceased to receive the Sacrament, to attend Church, to say their prayers even; are profoundly ignorant of their religion, and completely indifferent to it, and are bringing up their families without any religion, except a remembrance that they have been baptized and call themselves Catholic. How are such people to be drawn to the Church, instructed, and made good and attentive Christians, unless there is some powerful attraction to stimulate their curiosity, to work on their senses and feelings, and thus to prepare them to receive truth and to be brought to their duty? For such, missions are the necessary and almost the only means of

salvation. And even for the well-instructed and exemplary portion of a congregation, it is very salutary to listen to a series of sermons on the eternal truths, and a complete course of instructions, and to pass a few days in extraordinary exercises of devotion. For a small class habituated to meditation, no doubt, a calm, quiet retreat spent in solitude and silence, is more agreeable and more salutary. But these are few; the majority, even of the higher and more educated class, can only take part in, and be benefited by, what are called *popular devotions*, and the only way of giving them the benefit of the spiritual exercises is by means of a mission.

In comparing missions with Protestant revivals, the first thing obvious to the eye is, that the movement of popular enthusiasm in the former is far more widely spread and more powerful, and far more easily and certainly evoked than in the latter. Those Protestant ministers and others who have seen something of missions, and have published their ideas on the subject, have invariably expressed their astonishment at the wonderful power which the Catholic missionary has over the people, and the effects he is able to produce. Those effects are invariably produced, whereas it is but seldom that Protestant preachers can arouse any very great interest in their sermons and meetings, and produce what they call an "awakening." But take their most glowing accounts of the recent revival of last spring, certainly the most remarkable religious movement among Protestants in this country for many years, and they fall far below what has been going on steadily for years in the Catholic community. The greatest exultation was expressed that 6,000 persons attended the daily prayer meetings in New York city, and some 2,000 or 3,000 the one in Burton's theatre. During the missions given in New York within the past six years, St. Patrick's Cathedral, St. Joseph's, St. Peter's, St. Mary's, and St. Stephen's, were crowded and packed to their utmost capacity, every night for two weeks; and if they had been three times larger, they would have been equally crowded. St. Mary's, which may contain from 3,000 to 3,500, was crowded every morning at five o'clock, and again by another congregation at nine o'clock; and at night, not only was the church jammed full, but the streets

about the church were filled by a dense mass of persons unable to gain admittance. The communions in that church amounted to 7,700. The great cathedrals of Cincinnati, Baltimore, Albany, Pittsburg, and Buffalo, have been filled in the same manner on a mission. In the Pittsburg Cathedral, in 1855, the average attendance at the instruction at half-past five in the morning, was 3,000, and in the evening it varied from 5,000 to 8,000. Let missions be opened simultaneously in the ten largest churches of New York, and we will guarantee a daily attendance of 30,000, for two, three, or four weeks in succession. In the country, the same enthusiasm is seen, manifested in a different way. Often, farmers and country people will come in, a distance, of five, seven, ten, and fifteen miles, in mid-winter. Those who have wagons give a lift to as many of their neighbors as possible, and those who cannot ride, come on foot, sometimes starting from home at midnight. Our Protestant preachers make the greatest fuss in the world over a pugilist, a fireman, a brakeman, a policeman, a stray rowdy, or any kind of an individual popularly supposed to be a hard case. To a Catholic missionary it is a matter of course to have any number of such people. The mission penetrates into the worst haunts, the dirtiest lanes and alleys, and seizes hold of the hardest, and most neglected and abandoned portion of the community. It takes in children too, and carries them away completely, whether they are the innocent and well-taught offspring of respectable and moral parents or the wandering ragged urchins that roam the streets of New York. How often does a Protestant preacher see a child cry to go to Communion, or a rough untutored boy, burst into tears of contrition for his sins? This is no strange or unusual sight for the Catholic missionary. What proportion of a Protestant population can ever be brought to receive Communion in any Protestant sect by any kind of means even in the midst of a revival? Communions are counted among the most flourishing of their congregations, by scores and by hundreds, and hardly a church can be found that has a thousand communicants. In a Catholic community, where there are a thousand persons above twelve years of age, there will hardly be ten, often not five, sometimes but one or two, who do not receive the Sacraments during a mission. During the Jubilee of 1851.

in New York city, 75,000 adults went to communion. On the English Missions given by the Redemptorist Fathers within seven years past, 180,000 have received the Sacraments. We are not afraid to assert that fifty competent and zealous missionaries could within the same space of time, administer the Sacraments, with a regular course of sermons and instructions preceding and accompanying the same, to ninety-nine out of a hundred of the adult Catholics of the United States.

Powerful and impetuous as is this current of enthusiasm in the Catholic Church, in comparison with anything among Protestants; it is far more skilfully and judiciously managed. We are looking now merely at the philosophy of the matter, and postpone for the moment the question of the real good done. Catholic preachers are far more skilful in varying their subjects and discourses, giving them a regular order, appealing to different passions and emotions, and thus avoiding the error of wearing their hearers and exhausting their power of attention and feeling, by monotonous harping on one string. Then again, together with the more exciting sermons, plain, didactic, practical instructions are interspersed, addressed to the understanding, and thus advantage is taken of the appetite awakened, to feed the mind with solid information and wholesome doctrine on matters relating to morality and practical piety. In the sermons also on the eternal truths, the imagination and the feelings are aroused only that through them the reason and the will may be reached, and the deeper, more spiritual affections of the soul be excited. In this way, a morbid and excessive excitement of the sensibilities, which is necessarily transient and succeeded by disgust, is avoided.

We do not mean to say that there are no instances of ill-managed or mismanaged missions, and that there are no indiscreet, incompetent, unskilful men among Catholic preachers and missionaries. In the Catholic Church there is a wide margin left for individuality, and there is great necessity for prudence, a careful training, and the direction of wise superiors, in order that missions, retreats, and similar works may be successfully conducted. The best things may degenerate and become mischievous in bad hands. But this only shows the necessity of confiding the

work of missions, and the preparation and direction of those who are called to this peculiar department of the priesthood, to those who understand it thoroughly, and who are acquainted with the country, with the people, and with the circumstances amid which the providence of God had placed them.

The beautiful and attractive ceremonies of Catholic missions are admirably calculated both to increase the enthusiasm of the people, to draw crowds to the church, to make deeper and more permanent the impression of the sermons, and at the same time to allay undue or morbid excitement, and relieve the mind, by directing it from its own subjective moods to something out of itself. These external ceremonies have the same effect that walking out on a fine day in a beautiful country, or looking at the moonlit, starry heavens, has upon an anxious, sorrowful, or depressed mind that has been too much shut up within itself. Yet, they do not weaken, they strengthen, the impressions of religion in the soul. How touching it is to see, in the early part of a mission, the children of the congregation, sometimes to the number of five or seven hundred, dressed in white, full of earnestness and yet full of child-like joy, at an early morning hour, gathered together in the church to receive communion, their parents looking on with tearful eyes, and one of the fathers kneeling among them, reciting in a subdued and solemn voice the prayers and aspirations appropriate to the holy occasion, while the priest at the altar is proceeding with the Mass. What a spectacle for angels to contemplate with delight, and fitted to touch the heart of the coldest sceptic, the haughtiest philosopher, when they approach, rank after rank, and kneeling down at the communion rail, receive the bread of life, then returning to their places, join in the concluding prayers of thanksgiving, and are then dismissed, and scatter away in happy groups, their hearts filled with hallowing and sanctifying influences, while the gaiety of their youthful spirits is undiminished, and their cheerful, open brows are unshadowed by the least tinge of sadness or constraint.

Station yourself at early dawn in a remote gallery of some spacious and magnificent church while early Mass is going on, until the first rays of the rising sun begin to illumine the stained windows and throw variegated light on

the altar and on the mass of people kneeling in the nave, as the lights are extinguished, and the obscure, dark mass of worshippers come gradually out into the distinct light of day. Look at the Masses which are going on at different altars, the robed priests, the surpliced boys moving about the altars; listen to the little tinkling bell, and see the long lines of communicants pressing up to receive communion. Notice the varied and picturesque groups, gray-headed men, gentle maidens, children, grotesque old women in every comical fashion of hood and gown, making the stations, telling the beads, reading the prayer-book, crowding around the confessionals. What a contrast to the dull, cold formality, empty show, heartless pride, and wearisome tameness of Protestant services among the more decorous sects, and the vulgar fanaticism, the shouting, and anxious benches, prayer-meetings, and other clap-trap of the more ranting kind.

Enter one of our largest and most imposing cathedrals on the night of the Dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the Renovation of the Baptismal Vows. There you see the statue of the Queen of Heaven on a lofty throne, crowned with the most costly jewels, surrounded with lights and with a profusion of the most exquisite flowers. The baptismal font towers up at the side of the altar, decorated with the expressive symbols of baptismal grace: the altar is adorned and illuminated; the bishop, with his clergy in their most splendid vestments, with a troop of surpliced boys, and a hundred little girls in white, with wreaths on their heads and tapers in their hands, fill the sanctuary. As the missionary in the pulpit, having finished the discourse, kneels down to recite the prayer of consecration, eight thousand human beings, by one simultaneous movement, bend the knee and bow the head in veneration of Mary. The baptismal vows are renewed, and the roar of human voices ascends, repeating the promises made in that sacrament. Eight thousand tongues at once renounce the devil and swear allegiance to Jesus Christ; and then all falling on their knees, the priest raises his crucifix and gives them the Papal Benediction. The swelling chant of Magnificat or Te Deum ascends to Heaven, clouds of incense fill the sanctuary, the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament closes the solemn scene, and as the

priests retire from the sanctuary, the crowd linger, they continue to gaze with riveted eyes on the brilliant altar, or the font, as if Heaven itself were open to their view, and they are loath to depart. They would gladly die where they are rather than return to the wicked world. Intelligent and highly educated Protestants have repeatedly declared, after witnessing such a scene, that it was the most sublime spectacle they had ever witnessed in their lives.

The Confessional is another most powerful means of influence which the Catholic priest possesses, and which is in full operation in a mission. One of the princes of the royal house of Prussia, we have been told, attended the exercises of a mission while a student. He was greatly astonished at the remarkable effects he saw produced, and desirous of accounting for the fact that Catholic priests were able to produce these effects, while Protestant ministers were not able to do the same, unless on a small scale. "It cannot be," said he, "the learning, eloquence, or zeal of the preacher, for we can equal them in these respects; it must be, then, the power of the Confessional." There was much truth in the remark of the prince. In the Confessional, that vast crowd which fills the church passes slowly, one by one, through the hands of the priest, and those truths and admonitions which are given in general terms in the pulpit are applied here to the individual conscience. Here, also, to the believing Catholic, there is a specific and certain way of relieving his burdened conscience, and bringing tranquillity to his bosom. Thus, while the Confessional deepens and renders permanent the impressions of religious truth, it quiets that excitement which would soon prove hurtful, or wear itself out; it changes the current of the feelings, gives hope the ascendancy over fear, and diffuses through the soul a calm serenity. Hence, while in a Protestant revival the people become haggard, worn, and exhausted as it proceeds, in a Catholic mission they become more serene and tranquil as it approaches its close. The change is manifest even in their countenances, and although the interest in the exercises increases, yet the whole assumes a more joyous character. The reason of all this is, that the disturbed and alarmed conscience has found a precise and satisfactory means of regaining peace.

The effect of the daily and frequent celebration of the

Sacrifice of the Mass and the communion of the people is another thing peculiar to Catholic missions. The early morning hour, and the quiet, solemn, liturgical service, have something in them refreshing, invigorating, and soothing to the spirit. Then in the Communion the soul is strengthened by spiritual food. There is something objective, real, sensible. It is according to sound medical principles, and to sound common sense, that when a keen appetite has been created by a tonic, or by fresh air and exercise, a generous and abundant diet must be supplied. The fire must have fuel to feed on. So also the soul, stimulated by powerful spiritual appliances, and hungry after some supernatural good, cannot feed on excitement, or be sustained by its own subjective acts, but requires sustenance from without. In the Holy Communion it finds this; and thus the Sacraments are the proper complement of the sermons. The Sacraments have in themselves all that grace which the soul needs. When the soul is healthy, she wants nothing more. But when the soul is sick and languid, she needs to be purified and stimulated, that she may be prepared to receive her proper food with appetite, and to assimilate it in a due manner. But our Protestant revivalists, who have nothing sacramental in their system, act like those quacks who dose their patients with excessive quantities of brandy, or other powerful tonics, and then give them no solid nourishment. Body and mind are alike ruined by such a process.

We may reduce all that we have been saying in our foregoing remarks to this statement. In Protestant revivals, excitement is carried to excess, and made the end aimed at. In Catholic retreats and missions, it is wisely managed, and made simply a means. So far, for the mere philosophy of the matter. But, for the theology of it, we must resort to the principles of the Catholic Faith. And, tried by this unerring standard, Protestant revivals must be condemned as pretending to be the work of the Holy Ghost, but in reality having no supernatural grace, and therefore being an illusion, caused by a merely human and evanescent excitement. Retreats and missions must be approved, because they are a vehicle of the supernatural graces and gifts of God. The Holy Ghost is in the Catholic Church; the grace of God is with the preaching of the

Divine Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and all other acts of the ministry. The Catholic priest preaches with authority from Heaven; he proclaims a certain and divine faith; he can reconcile the sinner to God in the sacrament of penance, give him the body of Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the altar, and, if empowered to do so by the Pope, a plenary indulgence for his sins. He tells the sinner, who wishes to be reconciled with God, and to live in such a way as to be sure of pleasing him, and meriting heaven, what he has to do; and he tells him with authority and unerring certainty, as the minister of an Infallible Church. Retreats and missions have an extraordinary grace attached to them, because they were devised by saints, and have the sanction and blessing of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. For this reason it is, that they produce such wonderful and lasting results. It is by these results that they must be judged; by the moral and spiritual benefit which they impart to the individual soul and to a community. We have seen, already, how the system of revivals, and the whole system of Protestantism, breaks down under this test. With them, the ultimate point reached is an excitement of the feelings. In the Catholic Church this is regarded in itself as worthless. Feelings of sensible devotion do not constitute the essence of piety. Sometimes they proceed from nature, sometimes from the devil, and sometimes from God. When they proceed from God, they are not to be rested in, as an end, but to be accepted and used as an auxiliary means for the attainment of solid virtue. When, therefore, a Catholic missionary has drawn a crowded congregation to church,—when he sees them attentive to the truths of the Divine Word, serious, moved in conscience, perhaps weeping, and showing other signs of strong emotion, he does not rest there, and he is not at all satisfied with what he has gained. Each one of that multitude has to be brought, alone, to kneel at his feet, and disclose the wounds and diseases of his soul. There, he will not be let off with expressing a “trust in the merits of Christ,” or “indulging a hope,” or professing to have “passed from death unto life,” or even professing to be resolved to “love God with all his heart, and act always from the pure love of God.” It may be that he is already in the grace of God, as hundreds and thousands are, who come to the Confessional. If so, there

is no question of reconciling him to God now, and his confession, though a source of sanctifying grace to him, is a short and simple affair. But we wish to speak of the sinner; for it is for such, chiefly, that missions are given. Perhaps this sinner is a drunkard; if so, he has to renounce his drunkenness, and take the means of avoiding the occasion of it in future. Perhaps he keeps a vile haunt of drunkenness; if so, he must renounce his infamous business. He may be unlawfully married; and if so, unless his case comes within the reach of the Church's power, he must break these ties. Or he may be impure; and he must break off every unlawful connection, and renounce every such sin, even in thought or desire. He has calumniated some person, or is at enmity; he must go and make reparation, and be reconciled. He has committed an injustice; he must make restitution, even though it be of thousands of dollars. Thus, every one has to examine his conscience and life, to place the result before a spiritual judge and physician, and specifically to detect and renounce every mortal sin which he has committed. The Catholic missionary is not, however, satisfied with reconciling to God for the present moment all who are in the state of sin. He seeks to produce a permanent change in them. And he bends all his efforts to instruct them, to place in their hands means of perseverance, and to bring them to commence a holy and virtuous life, and to persevere in it until death. What the actual results of Catholic Missions are, could only be known by collecting the testimony of the pastors, in whose congregations they have been given, and of the people themselves. The immediate, practical results are manifest to all. The conversion of the most impious, the most negligent, the most vicious, and most completely abandoned, is obvious. The sudden and almost total cessation of drunkenness, and every species of disorder and immorality, is equally so. Great numbers of adults, even of those advanced in years, receive for the first time the Sacraments; and young people, particularly those living in the country and neglected by their parents, in great numbers are instructed and prepared for their first Communion. Restitutions are made in great numbers, and sometimes to a large amount. Occasionally, an instance which becomes necessarily public, finds its way into the papers. But the greater number of cases remain

for ever unknown. With few exceptions, the mass of the Catholic people who are reached by the mission receive the Sacraments with every appearance of sincerity and goodwill. It is impossible to doubt that the majority of them are really, for the time being, sincerely penitent, and in a state of reconciliation with God. This alone, by itself, is an immense good done. Jesus Christ died on the cross to give the grace of God even to those who by their own fault abuse and forfeit it. The Catholic priest should be animated by the same spirit, and be satisfied to destroy mortal sin, and communicate the grace and mercy of God to sinners, to the greatest extent possible, without considering how many of the souls benefited by his labors will be finally saved or lost. When a thousand, or five thousand souls receive the Sacraments, the question, how many of these will persevere, and be finally saved, is one that God alone can answer. The Catholic Church does not believe in irresistible or inamissible grace. She gives no one a warrant of his final salvation, on the ground that he has "experienced a change," or "been converted." She gives no security even to one of her own baptized children, who at present has a moral certainty that he is in a state of grace, that he will persevere. The kingdom of heaven must be merited by good works, and conquered by a long, hard, and victorious combat. When we inquire, therefore, for the permanent and final results of a successful mission, we are met by great difficulties. It is made an objection by some to missions, that their effects disappear, that the good produced is temporary, and that a large portion relapse into mortal sin. We concede, in part, the truth of the assertion. But the very same objection may be made against the sacraments of Penance, Confirmation, and Communion; against the Paschal Season, against the ordinary ministration of the Divine Word and Sacraments, against the sacrament of Baptism, against the Church, against the Cross of Jesus Christ, against the grace and mercy of God himself. The effects of all these are, apparently, to a great extent, nullified by sin, and swallowed up by the world. We must consider, moreover, two things. First, that the lowest stratum of our Catholic population consists of a very ill-instructed class of people, whose temptations are great, whose religious advantages are few, and who are plunged in many

miseries, both of soul and body. Many have been addicted to vice, and negligent of all religious duties, for years. It would require a miracle to transform, at once, such a class of people into perfect Christians. Again, a great portion of our Catholic population is floating and migratory, so that in a large city congregation, and even to a great extent in the country, one-half, two-thirds, or three-fourths of the congregation will be gone in the space of five years. Hence, the work of the priest is always beginning, and never finished; and, do what you will, you cannot see the permanent result of your labors. Where, however, there is a settled, permanent population, a good and well-prepared soil for the good seed, there the lasting fruits of a mission are plainly to be seen. In many parts of the United States there is a numerous class of educated persons moving in the higher and middling walks of life, in the Catholic community. There is, also, a far more numerous class of energetic and industrious emigrants, who are scattering themselves through the country towns, buying farms, and forming an agricultural class, remarkable for morality, for the domestic and family virtues, for industry and temporal prosperity, and for a certain wholesome and charming character of rural simplicity, innocence, frankness, and ignorance of vice. There is, also, the large class of pious and exemplary Catholics, employed as laborers and servants, or in other of the humble callings of life. On such the preaching of the Divine Word produces its most blessed effects, and especially on the rural population above alluded to. They and their children are often, to a great extent, uninstructed, and in former times suffered much from a lack of religious advantages. But they are most eager to avail themselves of the advantages of a mission, and they retain its graces, and manifest richly and abundantly its fruits afterwards. The Catholics of the United States, generally, have a great eagerness to hear the Word of God, and a great devotion to the Sacraments, when they are invited to receive them, and special facilities are furnished them. And much as we may see of sin and vice to deplore among them, yet it is undeniable that the impression of a mission upon them produces a great and general renovation of the spirit of faith and piety. It prepares the way for their pastors to labor with more fruit and effect among them.

An enthusiastic and successful mission gives the pastor a fulcrum, on which he can work with great power, and to great advantage; and it increases and extends, immensely, his influence over his flock. It lightens, also, the load of his labors in a great variety of ways. It is for this that missions are intended. Missionaries are for the aid and assistance of the local clergy, and missions are an adjunct to the ordinary and regular ministrations of the Church. That a mission does actually produce a very great improvement in a congregation, could easily be proved by the testimony of pastors. Some have testified, that for a year after a mission there was no drunkenness in the parish, where before it had been the prevailing vice; others, that the number of monthly communicants had been doubled. What proportion of those who have been reclaimed from a vicious life persevere afterwards, can never be ascertained. Every experienced missionary, however, and every parish priest, in a situation to know the facts, has personal knowledge of numbers of the worst and most wicked characters, who are permanently reformed, and who persevere in a Christian life. That a certain proportion do actually continue in the grace of God, which they have gained during the mission, and finally persevere, is beyond a doubt. And of those who relapse, very few fall back to the point where they were before. Though they relapse into sin, they do not become such careless and habitual sinners as they were before. Faith, conscience, and piety are quickened in them; they have taken up the habit of prayer, they attend Mass, great numbers make their Easter Duty, and others come, at least occasionally, to confession.

The mission is for them a *terminus a quo*, and the probability is much greater, that at the hour of death they will receive the last sacraments with good dispositions and save their souls. Look at the condition of the masses of the poor in our cities. Reflect on the state in which canallers, river-men, sailors, railroad operatives, and factory girls; the wives and children of drunken fathers and husbands; and many other classes of human beings to whom God has given the faith and baptism in the Catholic Church, are placed in relation to virtue, piety, and final salvation! Protestantism disowns, scorns, and neglects such souls, for the most part, and can do nothing with them, if she tries

her best. But the Catholic Church embraces them, and seeks to save them. The wonder is that she does so much, not that she does so little. And whoever will consider their condition, and the amount of good-will they show, in spite of all their misery and weakness, must believe that God will treat them with great mercy and indulgence. How many will eventually be saved, is a matter we do not wish to enter into. There is a great difference among theologians on this point. Some consider the number of the elect as small, relatively to the whole number of the adult faithful. Others regard it as very large. It is enough for us, that Catholic missions, in conjunction with the labours of zealous parish priests, are among the most powerful means for saving souls that God has given to his Church. The conversion of Protestants is also a frequent effect of missions, not lightly to be passed over. There is nothing so well calculated to arrest the attention of the Protestant community, and to make a favorable impression upon it; and this, experience has already abundantly proved, and we may hope will prove still more abundantly in the future. The conversion of Protestants is a frequent occurrence in missions. Within seven years, several hundreds, at least, among whom are many of the first grade of intelligence and social position, have been received into the Catholic Church on missions. And here we may conveniently observe, that the method of dealing with an individual on these occasions is just the opposite of the method of the revivalists, which we have above condemned as unreasonable and precipitate. In addressing Catholics, a Catholic preacher exhorts them to nothing which they are not already firmly convinced they ought to do, and the only object of his efforts is, to bring them to obey the dictates of their reason, their faith, and their conscience. In the case of a non-Catholic, he is not hurried into an unreasonable and imprudent act, on the spur of blind excitement, but he is carefully instructed and examined on the grounds of faith, and is received into the Church only on a calm and intelligent conviction of the truth, a firm and a reasonable faith in the Catholic doctrine.

Another objection against missions made by some is, that they cause people to become cracked or crazy. Very few such cases ever occur. When they do happen, the in-

dividuals are usually predisposed to it, and of that morbid temperament that the least unusual excitement sets them astray. The fault in such cases lies with the parties themselves, or their injudicious friends who allow them to attend the exercises of the mission. Every prudent priest would forbid them to do so. If a missionary happens to meet such a person, he does his utmost to soothe his mind, and to induce him to stay at home and keep quiet. Business, politics, study, and every other human pursuit may be followed to excess, and occasion derangement, and so may religion. In a vast institution like the Catholic Church, there must be some weak-minded and foolish people, and some mismanagers. And through the imprudence of individuals these incidental evils may and must sometimes occur. But they are not to be laid at the door of the Catholic Religion, or its institutions. On the contrary, for the scrupulous, the timid, and those who are unduly depressed in spirits and too much troubled about their spiritual condition, there is no remedy like the Confessional for calming, tranquillizing, and invigorating the soul.

The Catholic Church is the perfection of wisdom in a human and in a supernatural view. She is a masterpiece, unquestionably, as heretics and infidels are wont reluctantly to confess. But she is the workmanship of God, and her excellence is from him. The different sects, devised by men, and carried on by merely human skill, may have each something which is admirable and appears to give them a likeness to her. One may have a beautiful and impressive liturgy, a quiet and orderly discipline, and a method of administering the Church pleasing to the educated and refined. Another may have more popular ways, and a more working zeal. Another may have tenacity of doctrine, and a fourth a merciful and indulgent spirit. But the Catholic Church is able to combine everything into a perfect and majestic whole. The splendor of a princely hierarchy and the poverty of an austere monasticism, stationary bodies of parochial clergy, and movable corps of Missionaries, the sublimity of the highest philosophy and theology and the most popular forms of teaching and preaching, the calm majesty of liturgical worship, the routine of regular sermons and services, and the more exciting spiritual exercises of a mission; all these she is able

to unite in one harmonious system, and by these and a thousand similar means, she is able to accomplish every species of good, to reach every class and every individual, to adapt her methods to every age and every nation, and thus to accomplish her divine task of sanctifying and saving the world.

ART. II.—*Rome : its Ruler and its Institutions.* By JOHN FRANCIS MAGUIRE, M.P. New York : D. & I. Sadlier & Co. 1858. 12mo, pp. 471.

THE accomplished Irish gentleman to whom the public is indebted for the pleasing and instructive work whose title we have placed at the head of this article, has rendered a double service to his fellow-citizens. He has, in the first place, given a dignified answer to the numberless misrepresentations of Rome and her institutions with which Protestant periodicals teem, furnishing satisfactory evidence of their utter groundlessness, and supplying the well-intentioned with an antidote against the poison of the evil-minded and malicious. In the second place he has, though it may seem somewhat strange, done by his book for Catholics themselves, what he did by his visit to Rome for his own personal improvement, that is, he has removed from their minds many "imperfect," and some "erroneous" notions.

"I entered Rome for the first time on the morning of the 31st of October, 1856, the vigil of the great festival of All Saints. My great desire, paramount to all others—whether the gratification of curiosity or of taste—was that of seeing with my own eyes things of which I had, and I say it not without shame, imperfect, if not altogether erroneous notions.

"This is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that the sources of information respecting all matters Roman are tainted at the very source, and that the great body of the Catholics of these countries generally depend, certainly have hitherto almost exclusively depended, upon Protestant writers for what little they know of the Pope and his venerable capital."—Pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Maguire proceeds to enlighten his readers, and to disabuse their minds of prejudices by repeating what he

heard with his own ears, and saw with his own eyes. The first and greater part of his work is taken up with an account of the life of Pius IX., and the history of his acts and those of his false friends and open enemies, up to the present period of his eventful Pontificate. No statement is hazarded in rashness, or put forward in passion; and we can promise Mr. Maguire's readers that they will be fully satisfied that he asserts nothing of which he does not give full and convincing proofs. Much of his evidence is documentary, and derived from the most authoritative sources the case can possibly demand or admit of. Furthermore, this portion of the work is intensely attractive, and possesses the interest which attaches to an exciting romance. In fact, one of the most polished Italian writers of the present day has made the contest of Pius and the Carbonari, and the stirring events of 1848-49, the groundwork of an extensively popular work of fiction, the "Jew of Verona."

As an historical account of the reign of Pope Pius, and the various questions that have arisen since its commencement, Mr. Maguire's book ranks higher for truth, ability, and fulness of statement, than any work we have yet seen in any language.

The sketch of the various institutions of Rome, religious, charitable, and educational, and the brief but pointed reflections of the writer, are full of interest, and though the matter is old, the manner is new and attractive. The whole book is the work of an honest man, and a polished gentleman; and the style and tone of its language afford ample and satisfactory proof of the sincerity, as well as the earnestness of the writer. We hope the book is destined to have an extensive sale in this country, as it has already had in Europe, and we are sure that it will do valuable service in the cause of truth by dispelling prejudices cruelly unjust alike to their objects, and deeply injurious to those who hold them.

Our author complains, with reason, that the very sources of information respecting all contemporary Roman matters are tainted by bigotry and bad faith. But is this the true state of the case only in Great Britain? Are not we in these free United States puzzled and misled by even bolder and broader misstatements wherever Roman matters are concerned? And is not this the case throughout almost all

English Historical works to which all of us, Catholics as well as Protestants, are in the habit of looking for information, even about Rome and its Rulers? Now, as our author triumphantly vindicates the name of the present Pope from the vile calumnies which have been heaped upon it, it is not impossible that his predecessors, even when accused of ambition and tyranny, may not have been quite as bad as Protestant and infidel historians have sought to make them appear. We cannot pretend to defend the long line of Pontiffs against all their accusers; but we propose to say something about the general influence and bearing of their rule upon the States of the Church and the neighboring Italian Provinces.

It was a philosophic mind that first traced the resemblance existing between the successive events of the real world and the shifting scenes of a fictitious performance. And we may say with truth, that if the world is a theatre, and life a drama, Italy was long the stage upon which the most distinguished actors appeared in their respective characters, and the most eventful scenes followed each other in rapid succession. Italy was the arena on which were seen the fierce contests and alternate triumph of the haughty Roman and the rebellious Barbarian, of the Northern Adventurer and the feudal Chieftain, of Priest and Prince, Pope and Emperor. Italy was the school in which great problems were proposed, discussed and solved, before they were opened upon the intelligence of the rest of the world. A single glance at the geographical and moral position of this wonderful country will suffice to convince us that, in so far as the Pope could influence it, his interest was to protect it from foreign intrusion and internal discord—the two chief enemies of its welfare. Perhaps the shortest way to test the temporal influence of the See of St. Peter on the regions immediately surrounding it, would be to compare their present condition with that of the countries which once emulated the glory of Rome in riches, learning, and military renown.

In the latter the authority of the Pope as Pontiff was often doggedly resisted; his authority as King unknown. Were it not for that double rule, Italy most probably would have shared the fate of Persia and Assyria, would be like

Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria, the birthplace and home of barbarians, and the remnant of her people, once lords of the earth, might pine in ignominious serfdom, or wander in eternal exile, like the scattered children of Israel and Judah. But we think it can be positively shown from history that the Papacy exerted a beneficial influence over all Italy, and that the Popes have been true, constant, and efficient friends to the welfare of the Italian people. It cost us some trouble to bring fairly in view the evidences which prove our assertion. If Catholicity were only a few hundred years younger, the task would have been comparatively easy. But eighteen centuries of history, and two hundred and fifty-one Papal reigns, are a broad field even for an excursive essayist. We shall classify the facts we purpose bringing forward, under four different periods, morally, and in the main chronologically, distinct and successive. By the use of them, provided we are permitted to introduce an episode here and there, we hope to furnish a pleasant historical entertainment not overburdened with dates or names, and to prove that the Popes, as a general rule, fostered and defended the happy and orderly existence of the Italian people.

The earliest stage in which they could favor or oppose that cause, was in their relations with the Emperors of the Western and Eastern Empires. The next period embraces their relations with the leaders of the Barbarians, who overthrew the divided and spiritless old Empire, and absorbed the remnants of its power. Then follows the intercourse of the Popes with the Emperors of Germany, who sprung from those barbarian leaders and reattempted the style of the Emperors they had overthrown. If to these we add the attitude assumed by the Popes towards the Italian Commonwealths and Feudal Lords, and their position in the country in modern times, we shall connect the earliest epoch mentioned with our own age and day. Our endeavor will be to give an account of the spirit of each of these periods, in so far as the Popes are connected therewith, and a description of the chief elements which contributed to the happiness or misery of what were then the great nations of earth. This manner of tracing the truth we have stated, from age to age adown the stream of time, will enable us to make honorable mention of those among the Supreme

Pontiffs whose names are held in greatest veneration amongst the Italians for their firmness and devotedness to the welfare of their beautiful country.

Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome, was installed in that dignity in the year of our Lord 306. Fifty-eight years afterwards the Empire was divided in two, Valentinian being proclaimed Emperor of the Western, and his brother Valens Emperor of the Eastern Empire. From Valentinian to Romulus Augustulus, the fourteenth and last of his successors, there is a period of a hundred and eleven years. The Oriental Empire, beginning with the accession of Valens in 364, terminated only in 1453, under the last Greek Emperor, Constantine. Thus it counted eighty Emperors, and lasted one thousand and eighty-nine years. It is a remarkable coincidence that as Rome was first built, endowed with a name, and governed by Romulus, so it beheld its last Emperor, and fell into the hands of the barbarian chief Odoacer, under a second Romulus; and so in like manner Constantinople was built by Constantine, received from him her name, honored him as her first Emperor, and under another Constantine saw the last of her Emperors, and was taken by Mahomet II.

To connect these periods in Italy, it may be observed that Odoacer became king of a large part of it immediately after the expulsion of Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman Emperor in 477. He had nine successors, the last being Narses, who usurped the royal dignity somewhere about 535. In 571 Alboin, the first of the Longobard Kings, was enthroned. Desiderius, the last Longobard King, reigned in 760, and in 773 was deposed by Charlemagne. This brings us down to the German Empire. Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III. on Christmas-day, A.D. 800, and had a long line of successors reaching through the house of Austria even to our own day.

We have now fairly opened our subject, given the general evidence in support of it, and explained the manner in which we intend to adduce our historical proofs. Let us now examine the position of the Roman Pontiffs, in the earliest period of their temporal importance, exercising a power of protection which gradually grew into a well-defined sovereignty. That the Emperors of Rome should have made over to the Pope a grant of Rome, already on the eve of becoming a prey to the barbarians, who like

hungry wolves were prowling around her borders, seems to some an event of very little consequence, to others an unwise and improvident measure, which by dividing the forces of the Empire, rendered it an easier conquest to its enemies. In our view of the case, this "donation" was a wise and great act. It was the connecting link of ancient and modern legislation, the keystone in the arch of European society. It was the occasion of a union between the undying energy of Christianity and the national prosperity—nay, the national existence of Italy, which in its old age had suddenly infused into it a new vitality.

Christianity was the gem of great price given for the ransom of the world, and Italy may be considered as the casket in which this heaven-descended treasure was incased. Being thus made the medium through which life and light and strength were to be communicated to others, there was no fear henceforth that it should itself fall away and perish for want of internal vigor. The nations which later beheld themselves irradiated by the glory of religion, gladdened by the bloom of youth, and blessed with a fecundity that arrayed them in the gaudy flowers and bright foliage of literature, and the rich fruits of science, may be considered as branches of the tree of life, while Italy was the trunk, and Rome the root whence they derived their vigor. Had the chair of Peter remained at Jerusalem or Antioch, those cities would be now what Rome is and has been,—and had not that chair been transferred to Rome, Rome would be now like Antioch or Jerusalem. As it is, the Pope civilized Rome—Rome civilized Italy—Italy civilized Europe—and Europe civilized the world!

The Romans very soon understood that their interest was to adhere steadfastly to the Pope and make common cause with him, nor did this view remain long inoperative. Under the immediate successor of Constantine, and Liberius the third from Pope Sylvester, it became necessary for them to take sides either with the Pope or the Emperor, the former having been sent into exile by the latter on account of the sacerdotal firmness wherewith he defended the persecuted Bishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius. The Romans not only assumed the defence of Liberius, but raised a sedition in the city, threatened to throw Felix, whom Constantius had made his Pope, into the Tiber, and

probably would have done so had he not prudently retired, and finally were so clamorous in their appeals that the Emperor, though sorely against his will, was obliged to relent. The last form in which the wish of the people was made known to him was a deputation composed of the noblest Catholic matrons of Rome, who besought him not to listen to his Arian advisers, but to restore Liberius to his flock. He did so, and the returning Pontiff was received with the parade of a triumph by the whole city.

The causes of disturbances like that just alluded to, at this early period, were generally the heresies which sprang up day after day, like tares among the good wheat of the Evangelical field, and which were condemned and repressed by the vigilance of the Chief Pastor of the Church, as soon as they made their appearance. The Emperors were frequently found to take part in these controversies, encouraging and upholding the authors of scandal and schism, who thereby were emboldened, and did not fail to annoy and undermine all zealous defenders of the true faith. Hence, these questions did not remain in the field of barren speculation, nor did they solely regard the doctrinal bearings of faith and morality, but produced outward and palpable results, upon which, not unfrequently, the whole Christian world was divided.

It happened betimes that a Bishop professing unsound and pestiferous doctrines was denounced, anathematized, and deprived of all jurisdiction by the Pope; whereas the Emperor defended him, and insisted upon his being regarded still as the legitimate incumbent of his See, with all honors and emoluments thereunto appertaining. Those who hesitated to obey him were fined, imprisoned, and in numberless instances paid the forfeit of their lives for resisting the Imperial will.

St. Athanasius, one of the most learned and holy Fathers of the Greek Church, was, as we have seen, driven from his See by Imperial orders, compelled to hide in the wilderness, and stray like an outlaw whom it was death to harbor, over the whole world, and three several Popes hazarded their temporal power—nay, their very lives, rather than abandon the defence of his well-known innocence. On the other hand, various Emperors upheld Acacius, Archbishop of Constantinople, whereas Pope

Anastasius II. condemned him as a heretic, and excommunicated the Emperor himself, who defended him. The Romans understood well that the author of these disturbances was not the Pope, and detested the restlessness of the meddling Greek Emperors. Their love for religion also united them closely with the Pope, who defended its true interests; and the Pope in his turn had to rely upon them as his only support against triumphant iniquity, and in favor of justice oppressed. Thus the new nationality of the country appears, in its infancy, composed of two powers, the Pope as Prince, and the people, who, like the tendrils of a plant, entwine for mutual support, and growing up together to compact and robust maturity, they cannot afterwards be wrenched asunder, even by the most resolute violence.

This union was cemented by another more cogent consideration, which was the different conduct of Pope and Emperor when the moment of difficulty or danger was near at hand. Then the Italians ever found the Pope willing to act the part of a true friend and kind father, whereas the Emperor was either unable or unwilling to help them. Even if the event did occur of something being done in their favor by the Emperor, it was mostly owing to the solicitations of the Pope. Thus we find John II. undertaking a voyage to Constantinople to negotiate a peace between the Emperor Justinian and Theodatus, King of the Goths; John IV. expending large sums of money to redeem Italian captives in Istria and Dalmatia; Boniface VI. saving the far-famed Pantheon, one of the proudest ornaments of the city, from ruin, by throwing around it the mantle of religion, and consecrating it as a Christian church; and all the earlier Popes performing acts of heroic charity in favor of the multitudes oppressed by poverty, famine, plague, or the horrors of civil war. Of the Emperor, on the contrary, they only heard when a new tax was to be levied, or soldiers were to be quartered in their cities, or the attempt was made to replace a deserving official by a knave in the highest employments of Church and State, for the support of those doctrinal questions with which the crowned Sophists amused themselves while the tide of barbarian invasion was surging on and eating away the very ground upon which they stood. About the year

538 this daring attempt was made in the highest and holiest of all offices—the Papacy itself.

Through the intrigues of the Greek Empress, Theodora, and the armed forces of Belisarius, Pope Sylverius was exiled, and a Deacon, named Vigilius, who had sworn to support the schismatical Bishop Antimus, and to do all the Empress required against the true interests of religion and Rome, usurped the Pontifical chair. During the life of Sylverius the Romans treated Vigilius with open contempt; he became, however, the rightful Pontiff by election at the death of Sylverius. But Providence, by a remarkable interposition, saved the Church and the country from the danger with which both were threatened. The heart of Vigilius was suddenly changed, and so far from supporting the nest of Greek heretics whose shameful intrigues had raised him to power, from the moment he became the legitimate Pope he began with all his strength to resist them. He deposed Antimus, denounced his sacrilegious adherents, and finally excommunicated the Empress herself. He suffered all the bitter effects of her hatred and revenge, and finally, rather than betray the interests of the Church of God, after a long imprisonment, he died a noble and glorious Confessor of the faith. A new source of annoyance was found in the brutality of the Emperor, Leo Isauricus, and the fanatical sectarians called Iconoclasts, or Image Breakers. The disagreement, as usual, did not terminate in theological discussion, but went so far as to cause the final separation of Rome and its environs from the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Grecian Empire. In spite of the remonstrances of Pope Gregory II., Leo imposed a heavy tax upon the city. This imperial exaction the Romans manfully resisted, and the Greek officers endeavoring to enforce its payment were either killed or driven from the city. The people and the Senate, tired of their foreign masters, resolved to submit no more to the sovereignty of Constantinople, and made over formally the dominion of the city to Pope Gregory II. The Pope, with some difficulty, accepted their allegiance in the year of our Lord 730. So long as the two branches of the Empire lasted, the Italians witnessed the spectacle of the two imperial lines weakening each other by incessant brawls, and when the Western Empire was destroyed they could feel no

sympathy for the absentee Lords of Byzantium, whom they considered as little better than barbarians. Their envoys, their generals, and eunuchs never came westward but to give trouble, and the Exarchs were scarcely able to protect themselves, much less the provinces intrusted to their care. Exarch was the title given to the Governor of Ravenna, who, in the name of the Greek Emperor, held that city and a portion of the country, including Rome and its environs.

In 701, the Exarch gave considerable annoyance to Pope John VI. But the Roman nobles, uniting to defend the Pope, gave the Greek, even at that early day, a lesson that cured him of all further tendency to meddle with the affairs of the Pontificate. In 742, when Luitprand, king of the Longobards, took possession of Ravenna, the Exarch, Euty chius, and the people, unable to defend themselves, wrote to Pope Zachary, imploring him to come to their assistance. The Pope complied with their request, and was met on the way by the people of Ravenna, who, with tears in their eyes, were uttering these touching expressions:—“Blessed be the Common Father who has left his own flock to come and deliver us!” He sent legates to the Longobard King, apprizing him of his mission and its object. Luitprand haughtily dismissed the legates, refusing to hear them; but when the Pope himself came and addressed him in person, he was unable to resist his eloquent appeal, and departed from Ravenna without doing any further injury.

The Greek Emperor, Constantine, bad as he was, admired this generous action of the Pope, and granted to the Roman Church two feuds belonging to the Empire, as a token of gratitude and regard. We may observe in passing, that the independence of Rome from Constantinople, and the power of the Pope, as a legitimate temporal Prince, was thus recognized at the same time by the barbarians, the Greek Emperor, and the people of Italy themselves.

These were the deeds by which the Pope became the Head of the Italian people; thus it was that he naturally found himself their only nucleus and rallying point; and soon after he was seen standing as a bulwark interposed by Divine Providence between them and the torrent of invasion which swept away both Roman Emperor and Grecian

Governor, uprooted and scattered all the landmarks of Pagan culture, and only broke the fury of its waves upon the immovable rock of St. Peter! If there be any one who finds it difficult to account for the way in which the Fisherman of Galilee, once too poor even to pay tribute to Cæsar, seated himself as a powerful Prince upon Cæsar's throne, let him remember the degrees by which he reached that dignity. Before becoming the Sovereign of Italy, he was its Counsellor, its Arbiter, its Protector, its Liberator,—its Father. It was not with a weapon of steel he opposed the progress of the enemies of his people, but with the sword of sacred eloquence tempered and burnished in the furnace of Prayer. No national history presents a spectacle so noble, so touching, so sublime as this, none furnishes a parallel to illustrate or explain it. But if a homeborn comparison be not judged out of place, we will say to those who wonder how the descendants of the proud Romans of old could willingly submit to the paternal sway of the Pope—that they might as well be surprised that when the revolutionary struggle of this country was over, we should have accepted for its Ruler our own Washington.

Let us now turn to another picture, and see if the Popes fulfilled their duty as Fathers of the Italian people during the period of barbaric invasion. When Attila, at the head of five hundred thousand men, passed the borders, and was advancing towards the gates of Rome, St. Leo the Great, unmindful of personal danger, faced the terrible Hun who called himself “the Scourge of God,” pacified his fury, and saved the Holy City from impending destruction. The Barbarian, when asked why he had yielded to the request of the Pope, said, that he beheld in the air over his army the Princes of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who, with indignant looks and drawn swords, threatened him with death if he dared to make any further advance against their favorite city. The same holy pontiff pleaded the cause of his beloved Romans in the presence of Genseric, and if he did not prevent the Barbarian from pillaging the city, he induced him at least to spare the lives of its inhabitants. In like manner another Pontiff had confronted the ferocious Alaric, and pleading in vain for the city—and then for its inhabitants—succeeded in obtaining the order that the churches should be respected, as, in fact; they

were, as well as those who, with a considerable portion of their property, had taken refuge in them.

The prosperous or adverse fortune of the Italians was shared by the common Father. If the barbarians afflicted them by their cruelty and injustice, they also annoyed him with the heretical tenets they professed, and unceasing persecution against the most faithful of the clergy and laity. The election of Pelagius II. was sadly disturbed by the Lombards, who were then besieging Rome. Stephen III. was so much afflicted by the same Lombards, under their King Aistolph, that he undertook a journey to France, seeking relief for himself and his people from Pepin. Paul I. and Hadrian I. were also indefatigable in protecting the people against these troublesome and undisciplined visitors.

Here, again, it must be remarked that the Pope's own interest, situated as he was, would scarcely allow him to deliberate whether or not to throw his influence on the side of Italy and against her invaders. What in common sense would be the first thoughts of the Pope assailed by these rude interlopers? Undoubtedly, to make them go back where they came from—if he could. But, while sending them back he relieved the country as well as himself from their insolence. What would he try to do if he could not make them go back? Either coax them to do so, or give them money to do so, or get somebody else to make them do so, adopting precisely that course which was most beneficial to the people. And, if he could neither coax them out, nor pay them out, nor turn them out, nor finally have them turned out by anybody else, what would he naturally do then? Why, he would naturally try to put a good face on the matter, and as he could not get them to go, make them be as little troublesome as possible while they stayed. This he gradually accomplished by making good Christians of them at first; then teaching them how to govern themselves, and live quietly with their new neighbors and brethren; then promoting among them literature, science, and the arts. This, in a few brief words, is a history of the relations of the Popes with these barbarians, who became united with the nation they had conquered, and whose children became the strongest defenders of the country which their ancestors had come to overrun and lay waste with fire and sword.

We considered the period of barbarian irruption to have terminated at the opening of the ninth century, when Charlemagne was crowned emperor by Pope Leo III., whom he had delivered from these troublesome oppressors of his people. His direct descendants and successors form a glorious array of champions of religion, and Italy was indebted to them for the peace and happiness it enjoyed. The protection thus afforded to the Italian people was owing to the paternal solicitude of the Roman Pontiffs. Let those who blame other popes for their opposition to other emperors, remember the peace and concord which blessed the dawn of the ninth century. Charlemagne, whatever his personal failings, had understood his age, and cherishing the idea theoretically embraced in later times by Napoleon, that governments cannot exist without religion, he carried it out better, for he maintained inviolate the freedom of the Church he loved as his Mother, and scorned as impious and impolitic the idea of rendering her a slave to the State. He inaugurated a grand era in the history of Europe, an era which, had the views of the great men, both lay and clerical, of his time been allowed their full development, would have given birth to a new reign of religion and civilization all over Europe, and anticipated the great epoch of the revival of literature, science, commerce, and the arts, which began to dawn only four centuries later. If all this good was prevented, strife and turmoil renewed, the harmony established between Italy and the new line of Emperors destroyed, and the Pope compelled to assume a defensive attitude towards the most powerful of his fellow-princes, it was clearly the fault of the Emperors themselves. Rome would have been willing to leave them the protectorate of the Peninsula, and the title of its Lords, had they not chosen to change that protectorate into an intolerable system of interference and oppression. Louis, surnamed the Pious, imitated the noble example of his father, Charlemagne, in defending the Church, and protecting the interests of the people of Italy, and was crowned by Pope Stephen V. at Rheims in the year 816. The same is to be said more or less in praise of Lothaire, Louis II., Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, Arnulph, who delivered Pope Formosus from his difficulties, and was crowned emperor by him in Rome, and of Louis III., the last descendant of Charlemagne who occupied the imperial throne.

In 906, Conrad, the first Germanic Emperor, as distinguished from the Frankish, ascended the throne, and was followed by Otho, surnamed the Great. Each succeeding lord of this new race seemed to be more and more a stranger to the Pope and the Italians, until finally an open division took place, the effects of which are felt even at the present day. Some of them, indeed, were quiet and friendly neighbors, and even Protectors of Italy; some were honest and open enemies, and it is pleasing to be able to mention that one of this race was a model of every Christian and kingly virtue, we mean the great St. Henry II.

But taking them as a body, from Conrad, Otho, and Henry the Bird-catcher, down to the predecessors of the present Emperor of Austria, there is little reason to regret that the Pope should have occasionally taken the liberty of calling them to account. It has been customary, even with some Catholic writers, to excuse and apologise for the conduct of the Popes in regard to them. For our part, we exult at the multiplied instances of disinterested firmness exhibited by the Supreme Pontiff, without which we should not be able fully to establish our thesis, proving that he preserved his independence as an Italian prince, the liberty of his own proper subjects, and, as far as lay in his power, the freedom of his fellow-countrymen in the rest of the Peninsula. And who will find fault with the Italians, or the Pope, their chief sovereign, for refusing to be menial serfs to the heads of the Germanic Confederation and self-styled Emperors of Rome?

They had given by acclamation their allegiance to the noble Charlemagne, but they owed no gratitude to his barbarous successors, who cared for no one but themselves, and settled every difficulty with the sword. Strangers in language, and strangers in interests, often schismatics in religion, and always meddling with other Governments, they were no more like Charlemagne, whose descendants they pretended to be, than like Cæsar, whose name they bore. In one respect they were deservedly called Cæsars, inasmuch as they were always *seizing* upon what did not belong to them. But in greatness and in goodness, these illegitimate descendants, these Andolphs and Rodolphs, and Othos and Hugos, these Heinrichs and Frederichs, and Ludwicks, were as much like Cæsar and Charlemagne as a farthing wick candle is like the noonday sun.

Their title was often disputed by portions of the great jumble of unsettled and rebellious tribes over which they presided; and this confused alien mass not only claimed allegiance from the Pope and the Italians, but styled itself the Holy Roman Empire! It was scarcely worthy of being called an empire, was never Roman, and was decidedly anything but holy.

The scandals and family quarrels of these holy Roman emperors were frequently the cause of civil war and bloodshed in Italy. Their interference in the affairs of the country was not only arbitrary and tyrannical, but too often accompanied by monstrous acts of barbarity. The sack of Milan, destroyed by the Emperor Frederic, and sowed with salt that no green thing might grow where it had stood, is one of the most horrible events recorded in history. Voltaire rightly says that its destruction alone would be enough to justify the Popes in all they ever did against the Emperors.

But why speak only of Milan, when there is not a city in Italy which these strangers did not at some time burn, sack, or at least distraint, and tax to exhaustion, for no other crime but that of asserting its rights? It was a common occurrence to see hundreds of Christian men exiled, beggared, and maimed by these imperial protectors and their satellites. Nor was it merely the dregs of the people, or soldiery, that were inhumanly treated. Frederic, on one occasion, having captured several relatives of the Pope, ordered them to be instantaneously hung. Otho II., in 981, invited a large number of signors and nobles to a banquet, during which an imperial officer made his appearance with a list of the guests proscribed by his master, and conducted them to an adjoining apartment, where they were atrociously murdered on the spot. These were the kind of tyrants the Popes had to oppose, and we glory in saying it, let who will be scandalized, did oppose with might and main with arms spiritual, and, when in self-defence it became necessary, with temporal arms as well. We have had long to listen to the cant of a school whose favorite maxim seems to be that none can love their country but the reckless and profane, that he who would sing the praises of liberty must intermingle them with blasphemy against God and His Christ, the Church and her holy ministers.

Long before these modern Evangelists appeared in the world true liberty was. She had heroes and martyrs taught to conquer, and to die in her cause, by the voice of religion, for love of country had not yet been made to seem incompatible with the love of God. A tongue was needed gifted with angelic eloquence to plead the cause of down-trodden multitudes, an arm clothed with godlike power to defend their rights—both were found, and were the tongue and arm of a Roman—a Catholic—a Priest.

The interest manifested by the Popes in the happiness of the people gathered more immediately around their throne, is one of those *data* of mediæval history which serve to classify facts and array them in support of some evident truth. Thus it lends a key to get at much of what has been stowed away confusedly in the archives of antiquity under the general head of warfare between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, or mutual jealousies of Church and State, &c. If the Pope interposed the shield of Religion between the Italian people and their Imperial oppressors, and thereby blunted the shafts aimed at the national heart, was it wonderful that other nations should be induced by the fact to solicit his powerful protection when they were in like manner opposed and oppressed? Certainly not. And still so simple a matter has been twisted into the most fantastic shapes, and made the theme of endless declamation and the most startling tales of wonder.

Who has not heard of the awful consequences of the right of Investiture, High Dominion and Vassalage, Deposing Power, Dispensation from oath of Fealty, Minor and Major Excommunication *latæ* and *ferendæ sententiæ*, Interdict *a Divinis*, and the Bull in *Cæna Domini*? And what is the meaning of all these supposed engines of atrocity? Is there no way of conveying to the popular mind a plain statement of what they amounted to? Nothing is easier than to compress into a nutshell the substance of all the learned volumes written in regard to them.

All the talk is about three parties concerned, and the business in which they were concerned. The three parties were the Pope, the Kings, and the People. The business of the Pope was to teach the law of God to kings and people—the business of the king was to marshal the people in the orderly observance of the law—the business of the

people to fulfil the law thus taught, and thus administered. Now sometimes the king did want to turn teacher, or did not want to do his duty, and led the people wrong. Then the Pope scolded him; when that would not suffice, cautioned the people against him, denounced him, "read him out of Church," and finally, if he got no better, told the people there was no law to forbid their getting somebody else who would lead them right, and leaving him who led them wrong;—and the people, except when they were great fools, acted accordingly. This is the whole history of the far-famed warfare between the sword and the crozier, the crown and the tiara, the altar and the throne.

The only difference between those days and our own is, that when they wanted to get rid of a troublesome king, they went and got a bit of advice on the matter from the Pope, and now they turn him out without asking the advice of anybody. But perhaps the question may be asked, what did the kings do then? Well, sometimes they were sorry for what they had done, and made friends again with Pope and people. Sometimes they paid supreme homage to a schismatical usurper of the Pontifical title, until the British Blue Beard, Harry the Eighth, hit upon a new plan for the squaring of all difficulties, and modestly informed the world that he was Pope himself.

We have a few remarks only to make in reference to the manner in which the Popes opposed the imperial interference in Italy, and they will close the period embracing the relations of the two powers in regard to that country. The Popes never ceased their endeavors to effect a union of the national interests and forces, but rarely succeeded in settling the internal quarrels which have ever been the greatest curse of the land. Pope Alexander III. had the rare glory of uniting the princes and commonwealths of the north of Italy in a general league against the Emperor Frederic II., but that peace was of short duration. Alexander VI. is believed to have laid a plan of deep ambition, which had for its object to fuse all the Italian States into a consolidated monarchy of which he himself would have been the sovereign, but he failed to accomplish his purpose. Others again directed the people at home, and endeavored to move the monarchs abroad by their legates and envoys, or like the Sixth and Seventh

Pius pleaded themselves the cause of their people, and cheerfully offered up their own sacred persons as a sacrifice for their liberation.

Finally we must mention the Crusades, which, besides their religious and civil causes and effects, were certainly a stroke of masterly policy of the Popes who encouraged them, in favor of Italian independence. What wiser plan; in fact, could have been chosen to get rid of the annoying presence of warlike foreign leaders than to send them off where, in a cause of their full approval, they could reap abundance of riches and glory, and have trouble and fighting to their heart's content? Italy was thus left to repose unmolested under the peaceful sway of its domestic chiefs, and its sacerdotal ruler. The tranquillity of Italy was of course only a secondary object; but that the Popes really saw that such a beneficial result was likely to follow from the Crusades, we are inclined to believe from the perseverance especially with which they endeavored to send off to the Holy Land the most hot-headed chieftains; such, for example, as Frederic Barbarossa and Frederic II. The two mentioned emperors did, in fact, go there,—the first to die before completing his expedition, the second to return again and give all the trouble he could to the unfortunate Italians.

Let us now consider the position of the Pope in regard to the Italian princes, commonwealths, and feudal lords, the next in importance on the stage after the imperial and royal actors. As a general proposition, it can be safely asserted that the Popes exercised their power as arbiters and supreme judges with justice, and in favor of order. Some Popes there may have been who were ambitious or intriguing. The discussion of their merits or demerits we leave to others, as foreign to the present subject. The most that could be made out of their intrigues or their ambition would go to prove that they favored the country by unjustifiable means, thereby making our argument even stronger than we want to make it ourselves. And if those who are called intriguing, ambitious, vain-glorious, prodigal, unclerical, can still be proved to have upheld and added to the importance and prosperity of Italy, how much may not be said in praise of those who, imitating the meekness and humility of their Divine Master, sought to benefit the people from motives of duty and the love of God?

There are some who dislike excessively any show of courage in a Pope, for reasons best known to themselves, and by whom the most glorious of the Pontiffs, and those who did most good for Italy are set down as noisy, imperious, rash, and ambitious men. It is edifying to behold such pious historians as Voltaire, Gibbon, Mosheim, and Sismondi, lift up their hands with amazement, whenever they discovered that a Pope was not delighted beyond measure at being trampled upon. Whenever the person of the Pontiffs alone was concerned, they have allowed themselves to be oppressed without complaining. In fact, a large proportion of their number suffered martyrdom for the faith. But when not their persons only but the honor of God and public morality were trampled under foot, then they remembered that if their Divine Master was a lamb, he knew also at times how to become a lion.

When they had not to deal with the deserving poor, or the repentant sinner, but the Scribes and Pharisees—or the proud ones of the world, then they too prepared a scourge to drive from the temple those whose scandals disgraced and profaned it. That this was their view was more than once expressed in a pleasant manner by the undaunted Pope Julius II. "Some people," he would say, "wish to confine the Pope merely to use the keys left to him by St. Peter, but they should bear in mind that he inherited also the sword of St. Paul." On another occasion, when some good soul advised him to let the princes have their own way for the sake of peace, reminding him that when St. Peter drew his sword against the servants of Caiphas in the garden, our Lord commanded him to put it back in its sheath. "True?" the Pope quietly replied, "but you forget that he was only told to put it back, after he had struck."

As a general rule, the Popes protected the freedom of the different Italian cities and commonwealths, and the munificence of many Popes to the places from which they derived their origin is the cause that there is scarcely a city or a town which the Papacy has not bound to its interests by some tie of gratitude and affection. There is scarcely a city that has not produced a Pontiff, sometimes the son of an humble artisan raised to that holy eminence by his virtues and learning, sometimes a member of one of their

noblest and most favorite houses. Hence the same page of history that beams with the exploits of some popular chieftain, is often hallowed by the milder rays of the fame of his brother, his cousin, or his son, elevated to the first dignity of the Church. The Orsinis and the Colonnas did not only boast of valiant knights, and high-souled and beautiful ladies, but they gave also several Popes to the chair of St. Peter. The same is to be said of the great houses of Segni, Visconti, Savelli, and Frangipani. If the history of the illustrious Medici begins gloriously at Florence with Cosmo and Lorenzo, it continues even more brilliantly at Rome in the reigns of Leo X. and Clement VII. The houses of Farnese, Della Rovere, Borghese, and Piccolomini, are not more celebrated for having bled in Palestine, protected the arts and sciences at home, and proved their valor by land and by sea, than for having given to the Vatican their noble children Paul III., Julius II., Paul V., and Pius II. The Boromeo of Milan participated at the same time in the praises awarded to the mild virtues of his cousin Pius IV. at Rome, and the apostolic zeal of his brother St. Charles, Archbishop of Milan; and if the Fieschi blushed at the remembrance that their house had produced a traitor in Genoa, they were consoled by the fame of their august relatives Innocent IV. and Hadrian V. at Rome. These may seem at this distance to be mere coincidences, but to understand their effect on the chivalric and catholic Italian we may imagine what a sensation would be created amongst us by the election to the chair of St. Peter of a near relation of Franklin or George Washington—or how a grenadier of the Old Guard would feel towards a Pontiff of the house of Buonaparte, or the delight of a true-hearted son of the Emerald Isle, were he to hear they had made Pope an Emmet, a Fitzgerald, an O'Connell, or a lineal descendant of Brian the Great. We may take occasion from these remarks upon the force of names to allude to the famous factions called Guelphs and Ghibellines, the unceasing dissensions of which occupy so prominent a place in the history of Italy and the Popes. These factions, like many of the plagues of that afflicted country, were originally imported from Germany. Many learned disquisitions have been written on their origin, which may all be reduced to the statement that they were first heard

of about the beginning of the eleventh century, on account of a war for the succession to the imperial throne between two pretenders, one of whom descended from the noble family of Welf or Guelph, and the other from the equally illustrious house De Weibelingen, smoothed down by the Italians into the more euphonious designation of Ghibellino. The name of the chief leaders was given to their respective factions, which divided Germany and Italy until about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and caused the longest and bloodiest spectacle of civil war ever exhibited to the world. Gradually these names lost their limited sense, and came to signify almost every faction and its opponents—with the distinction, however, that the word Guelph was always used in Italy to signify the conservative Italian or home party, and the word Ghibelline the party supposed to support the Emperor of Germany, or to be supported by him.

The Popes endeavored by prayers, remonstrances, threats, and even the censures of the Church, to induce the Italians to forswear these fatal brawls, but generally with trifling success. When anything like a union was obtained, it was due to the envoys of the Pope, or to his own good offices; but when the moment of difficulty arrived, and discord had prepared the way for the ruthless invader, then the Pope always sided with the Guelph, the national party, or rather the nation itself, against the Ghibellines, the stranger, and his abettors.

In fact, so clear was it that the hopes of the country were centred in the Pope, that according to the remark of De Maistre, “imagination gradually became accustomed to see only the Pope when mention was made of Italy.” A remark which will always be true, more or less,

“ Dum domus *Aeneæ* Capitoli *immobile saxum*
Accolet, imperiumque *Pater Romanus* habebit,”

as long as there will be a Rome and a Pope—that is to say, until the end of the world.

The history of the Guelphs and Ghibellines would of itself furnish matter for a whole article or a book; but we have already trespassed on the patience of our readers, in sketching the other historical periods not so well known as this, and we must therefore pass it over with a few remarks.

Every cause, no matter how insignificant, was sufficient to raise a quarrel between these parties, the names of which, in time, came to mean any two sets of people who hated each other. The large mass of their hatred was frittered down to the smallest details—and spun out not only to secondly and thirdly, but like an old-fashioned Puritan sermon, to fifteenthly, sixteenthly, and seventeenthly.

There exists a tradition in New York about a war between the early settlers and the Indians, on account of some peach-trees which were robbed, called afterwards the "Peach War." We have read in an old chronicle of a King of France, who seriously contemplated going to war with the Swiss Republic, because that Republic claimed the right of christening the Dauphin, his new-born son, Monsieur Shadrach Mesach Abednego. There are even more curious causes of war on record. In Ireland, for example, in the hard times, when a village became short of a fit instructor for the little ones, the people would sometimes make a sudden inroad upon another village, and carry the schoolmaster by storm.

But nowhere are such curious reasons found for going to war, as in the history of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Shakspeare is true to history in his description of the Capulets and Montagues of Verona, a subdivision of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, where one runs another through the body merely for "biting his thumb" at him, and thus causes a general engagement between the two parties.

Another more curious instance is narrated of a long and fierce war between two important cities, on account of what do our readers suppose? A bucket! Perhaps, after all, this fact is not so ridiculous as it might seem. We are very much mistaken if there is not more than one honest farmer in the northern counties of New York, and in certain parts of New England, who would take down his gun and mount guard, if an attempt were made to destroy that bucket from which he drank the cool wave in his youthful days, if an attack were made upon the precious ancestral relic:

"The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket that hangs in the well."

The celebrated Italian poet Tassoni has rendered the

Bucket War immortal in an epic poem in several cantos, entitled "*La Secchia Rapita*."

Where so much disunion prevailed, any attempt to organize the elements that are necessary to consolidate a nation, and hold it together, proved of course to be utterly fruitless. It was only the sacred ground of religion, respected by all, that could form a rallying point, and the authority of its chief Pastor that could maintain order and harmony even for a short time. The most haughty feudal lord could bear reproof coming from his lips, receive his advice with respect, and consent to submit to his arbitration. The truth that the presence of the Popes acted as a link between the feudal lords of Italy, and kept their animosity within bounds, became strikingly apparent during the seventy-two years of their residence in Avignon. Italy became then a nest of wild bandits, without conscience or reason, and Rome, herself left in the hands of the rabble, was rapidly falling back into Paganism. Cola di Rienzi, who styled himself Tribune of the People, revived the Senate in an Assembly of farcical Conscript Fathers, and would perhaps have ended by reinstating cloud-compelling Jove upon the summit of the Capitol, and rekindling the sacred fire of Vesta, had not the solicitations of the few great souls yet remaining in Italy prevailed upon the Pope to return. He had only left Rome on account of the fiendish spirit of restlessness, hatred, and direst revenge, which rendered it impossible for him to stay there; a state of society which acted as its own corrective by going to extremes which produced a reaction. Everybody came to see clearly the necessity of a new order of things, and even the most inactive were driven to work for its realization. The Romans learned at the time a lesson which, in its practical application, surpassed even the severer schooling they suffered during the exile of Pius VI. and VII. The modern Rienzi installed at Rome, was the French General Miollis, whom, on account of the system of exspoliation of which he was the head mover, the Romans used to call *Il Signor Generale Qui tollis*.

In speaking of the relations of the Popes with the other rulers of Italy, we may not merely confine ourselves to their political and diplomatic intercourse. There were many other ways in which the Pope could contribute to the happiness of

the country at large. From him the other princes learned to look upon the people as their own family, and to temper the martial tone of their governments with the sacerdotal meekness of which the large majority of the Popes gave an admirable example, whatever Voltaire, Gibbon, Mosheim, and Sismondi, may say to the contrary. They learned to patronize true merit, to draw from poverty and obscurity the youthful artist and the bashful scholar—to erect in their capitals literary and scientific institutions—Archives, Libraries, Museums, Galleries, and other Asylums of learning, in the number, extent, and perfection of which, no city ever rivalled Christian Rome, not even Ancient Rome herself. Hence it has been observed that, while nearly all great ameliorations owed their origin, or at least their strongest support to Rome, no great idea was ever embraced or admitted by the other parts of Italy, while she remained an uninterested observer. Of this a striking instance was afforded when the great Galileo reversed, in the scientific world, the miracle of Josue, by discovering the motion of the earth around the sun. While the new system, which was to change the ideas of all mankind, was pending in a state of examination at Rome, it made comparatively little noise even in Tuscany, then second to no country in the order of scientific research.

Galileo was more talked of than the sun, and the progress of his trial canvassed with greater ardor than the motion of the earth. But when, after its proverbial delay, Rome, while admonishing the philosopher, declined to censure the principles of the new planetary system, the whole world embraced them. Thus, as some French infidel sneeringly remarks, but well for our purpose, which is to show the immense influence of the Pope—"The earth dared not to budge until leave was given by Rome, for fear of excommunication." The difficulty in the way was the text where Josue commands the sun *not to move* towards Galgala, and some few others where the earth is averred to have been built immovable by the hand of the Lord. An allusion to Galileo's trial served our purpose—with two or three brief remarks we will dismiss it. We have often heard the fact in question adduced as an illustration of the tyrannical authority of the Catholic Church, but why, we could never understand. The whole difficulty in approving

the new system was, as we have said, founded upon the literal sense of two or three texts of Scripture. The Pope allowed Galileo to be tried because it was alleged that Galileo opposed the Bible; and, because the Pope would not go against the Bible, our chapter and verse men, strange to say, abuse the Pope. They ought not to allude to the trial of Galileo, for in place of proving that the Pope was too strong a Catholic, it would prove, if anything, that he was somewhat of a Protestant. The Church, using her right, allowed those texts to be interpreted in harmony with the system; but, taken without note or comment, they are certainly against it. Had a jury of parsons met to settle the question, they would have decided irrevocably that Galileo and his system were wrong.

The subject of our article may now be considered as fairly brought down to our own century. As we have journeyed along from age to age we have seen how it pleased the Eternal Author and Finisher of the Faith to adapt the character of each Pontiff to the exigencies of the times in which he was called to rule the people of God. If the enemies of the Sanctuary were inspired by the presence of a bold and powerful leader, a Pontiff was found of stern and unyielding demeanor to confront him without fear, and chastise him for his rashness; and if, on the contrary, the behavior of those whose fathers desecrated the holy place was gentle and confiding, words of winning sweetness and heavenly unction were given to the shepherd of the true fold to lead them back again to fresh and healthy pastures. When the faithful were made the prey of lions in the Roman Amphitheatre, during ages of trial and persecution, the Apostolic See was filled by a line of Pontiffs to whom the tiara was a badge of more certain, more speedy, more cruel and therefore more glorious martyrdom. When the schismatical Emperors and Bishops of the east sought to involve the simplicity of the ancient faith in the mazes of their splendid Greek sophistry, the masculine eloquence and profound learning of Victor, Stephen, Zosimus, and Hormisdas laid bare their wily snares, and pointed out the beaten road of salvation. When the Barbarians of the north rushed headlong like Saul on the road to Damascus, breathing cruel vengeance against the people of God, they were arrested suddenly on their path by the divine light which flashed from the brow, and the eloquence which

flowed from the lips of Boniface II., Gregory, and Leo the Great. When the haughty lords of Byzantium, the despotic emperors of Germany, or the voluble kings of France, would have laid the axe to the root of the vine and the olive, under the shade of which reposed the favored tribe whose lot was cast nearest to the sanctuary of Israel, the invaders were driven back by the terror of the sacerdotal sword wielded by the strong arm of Symmachus, Boniface, Alexander, Innocent, and the sainted Hildebrand. And if that favored people needed an instructor, a father, a comforter, not one to defend the house from the midnight robber, but to gladden its peaceful walls with the blessings of plentiful security, they found such an one in Sixtus V., Leo X., Urban VIII., Benedict XIV., Leo XII., and Pius IX.

J. W. C.

ART. III.—*Conversations of Our Club, reported for the Review by a Member.*

CONVERSATION VI.

“IT strikes me,” said De Bonneville, “as singular that Catholics are almost universally inclined in the United Kingdom to the Whig party, and in the United States to the Democratic, with neither of whom should I expect them to fraternize. The British Whigs are the modern representatives of the party that long persecuted the Catholics, and enacted in great Britain and Ireland the oppressive and shameful penal laws against them. The Whig nobility is for the most part of comparatively modern origin, and consists chiefly of families that were enriched by the spoils of the Church, and that owe their rank and influence to their devotion to the Protestant Reformation. American democracy asserts the absolute sovereignty of the people, and asserts it against the Church, as well as against monarchy or aristocracy. If analyzed, it will be found to exclude God from the state, and to be in fact only political atheism.”

“It strikes me,” replied Winslow, “as equally singular, that a Gallican, who defends the maxims of the French

court from Philip the Fair to the Nephew of his Uncle, and accepts and admires the Four Articles adopted by the French clergy in 1682, should object to political atheism, or complain that God is excluded from the state."

"In religion," remarked O'Flanagan, "I am a Papist, and I bow to the authority of the Church; but in politics I am independent of all ecclesiastical control, and do not suffer my clergy, however much I may love and venerate them, to prescribe to me the political party I shall support. My religion has nothing to do with my politics."

"And yet," replied Dieffenbach, "unless I have been misinformed, the clergy in Ireland are your political leaders, virtually chieftains of the clan as well as ministers at the altar; and by the authority of their sacred character as priests, attempt to direct your political action."

"In Ireland the case is peculiar," replied O'Flanagan. "Through a variety of causes but too well known, the Irish people have been deprived of their legitimate temporal chiefs. The nobility are, for the most part, aliens to them in blood and in religion, and for a long time there has been wanting a Catholic laity able and willing to look after their temporal interests. The upper classes of society have lacked sympathy with the Catholic peasantry, and the priests have been the only class who, by their intelligence, their position, and their sympathies, could speak with any effect for the poor people. If they had been silent, all voices would have been mute, and no opposition could have been made to the non-Catholic and foreign oppressor. Yet even in Ireland the clergy take part in politics not for the sake of politics, but for the sake of religion. They do it in defence of religious liberty, or because the political interests of the people are intimately connected with their religious interests."

"Or rather, because they are intimately connected with the aspirations of nominally Catholic demagogues and office-seekers, who wish to use the Catholic religion as the means of giving themselves importance or power," suggested Dieffenbach. "Mr. De Bonneville may find his difficulty solved in the fact that British Whigs have, in late years, been more liberal in their promises to British Catholics than British Tories, and have shown some willingness to give subordinate offices to Catholics."

“But I see in that no real gain to religion,” said De Bonneville. “No Catholic, either in the United Kingdom or in the United States, can be elected or appointed to any office in which he can really serve his religion, or to any office at all, unless he is a man who will sacrifice the interests of his religion to those of his political party. If really attached to his religion, and placing it first in his thoughts and affections, the Catholic is feared, distrusted; and such is the overwhelming non-Catholic force of the government in either country, that he is far less able to serve his religion, than would be a liberal Protestant in his place. I cannot see that religion has gained much in Ireland from having the Wisés, the Shiels, the Keoghs, the O’Flaherties, the O’Farrels, the Fitzgeralds, and others, in Parliament or in office; and to me it is very doubtful whether religion stands as well with the Irish people as it did before O’Connell commenced his political agitation, and induced or forced the clergy to join him. The Irish youth, brought up in the midst of agitation for political objects, inflamed with vain worldly hopes and ambition, lose their simplicity of character, lose their religious sensibility, and suffer their faith to relax its hold on their minds and their hearts. The clergy, engrossed with efforts to effect political changes and ameliorations, necessarily, to some extent at least, neglect their spiritual functions, and leave their people uninstructed, to grow up in spiritual ignorance, exposed to the seductions of error, and an easy prey to the artful and the designing. The clergy themselves trained up in the seclusion of the college and the seminary, in as entire ignorance of the world as possible, unprepared to grapple with politics and politicians, open, candid, unsuspecting, become in the field of politics little else than the tools of the Dublin agitators, and retard instead of advancing the interests to which they devote themselves. Without intending or suspecting it, they play into the hands of the demagogues, and find as the result that they have aided in elevating men who only falsify their pledges, and turn out a scandal to their religion. In this country I am told your clergy generally supported Mr. Buchanan for President, and they apparently adhere to him, notwithstanding he has abandoned the policy to which he was understood to be pledged. They have given to the Church here a political character, involved her

in the party contests of the country, and enlisted the Catholic population on the side of slavery extension, to the great scandal of their European brethren."

"The clergy in Ireland, as elsewhere," remarked Winslow, "take that course which they judge wisest and best for religion, and it is not my province to censure them, even if they sometimes err. I am not their judge; they are my judges, not I theirs; I have never been in Ireland, and know little of her, except that she has held fast for ages the Catholic faith under every temptation to desert it, and that her faithful children are, in the hands of God, the chief agents in spreading and maintaining the Catholic religion in the English-speaking world. She has been for ages cruelly misgoverned and oppressed, and every Catholic, wherever born, or whatever language he speaks, does and must sympathize with her, and love and honor her. Her clergy have not always done all they would, but they have in general, I presume, done the best they could, and the best evidence of it is the love and veneration felt for them, even in spite of political agitation, by the mass of the Irish people.

"The part the clergy take in politics with us," proceeded Winslow, "has been greatly exaggerated. They may have, and they have the right to have, as well as any other class of citizens, their political opinions and preferences, but, if so, they have them as citizens, not as priests. As priests they teach their flocks to be loyal citizens, to vote honestly and conscientiously, according to their own convictions of the true interests of the country; but they do not tell them how or for whom they must vote. Catholics may have very generally voted with the Democratic party, but they have not done so by the dictation of their clergy, and any one who knows anything of Catholic voters knows that the last thing they will submit to is clerical dictation in politics. They carry their independence in this respect even to an unjustifiable extreme. The clergy have not in this country involved the Church in party politics, and given her a political character, and the only ground for assuming that they have, is the false supposition of non-Catholics, *that Catholics never act except by the order and direction of their clergy.* No doubt there are Catholic laymen, journalists, politicians,

demagogues, who labor to commit the Church to a party, and to unite her interests with their own party interests; but these act against the views and wishes of the clergy, not by clerical dictation. In politics, adroit, shrewd, ambitious laymen lead the clergy, far more than the clergy lead them, and often embarrass them in their defence of religious interests, by their party action. The leaders of the Democratic party, no doubt, think they have a sort of prescriptive right to the support of Catholics, and the clergy are trammelled by the action of nominally Catholic partisans. The interest, as the aim, of the clergy is to keep religion independent of politics, and never to suffer the interests of the Church to be involved in the conflicts of parties. They cannot always do this, because there are demagogues who will undertake to speak for them, and claim to have their countenance, when they are really acting against their wishes."

"Unhappily," said Dieffenbach, "there are Catholic as well as non-Catholic demagogues, and the nature of the one is the same as the nature of the other. Catholic demagogues find their interests connected with those of party, and they conclude as theirs are, those of religion must be. These misled by their own selfish ambition, suppose the interests of the Church are secured when their own are advanced."

"There are, no doubt, Catholic laymen," continued Winslow, "who think the Church cannot stand alone on her own foundation, and must fall if not propped up by the secular power. These think she must always gain by an alliance with the political power, whether that power be the king or a party, and, therefore, in this country by being bound up with one or another of our political parties."

"Some indulgences," said Father John, "must be extended even to these, whether Whigs or Democrats, for in our English-speaking world, Catholics have so long been treated as aliens even in the land of their birth—have been so studiously excluded from all places of honor, trust, or emolument, whether civil or military, that it really is some gain to have Catholics even though not of the very best sort, elected or appointed to office; for it tends to prove to the Catholic population that the days of exclusion and persecution are over."

“It certainly need excite no surprise,” said Winslow, “that there should be amongst us men who conclude that the Church is safe because they are inspectors of the customs, deputy postmasters in small country villages, or tide-waiters in ports of entry. They who for generations have been excluded, may well be pardoned for placing an exaggerated value on petty offices in the gift of the government. But whatever the Catholic laity may have done to have it understood that what is called ‘the Catholic vote’ must be given for the Whig party or the Democratic party, the clergy are not in any way responsible for it. Catholic citizens in the last presidential election very generally voted, I presume, for Mr. Buchanan, and without their votes he would not have been elected. But they voted for him not altogether from party or personal motives. They gave him their votes, because they believed him the Union candidate, and because his competitors were supported by parties held to be, the one Anti-Catholic, and the other Anti-Union. I myself, though no Democrat, either in a party or in a doctrinal sense, voted for him, and would do so again under the same circumstances, although he has turned out not a Union but a sectional president.”

“I regard,” said O’Flanagan, “this as a democratic country, and as a loyal citizen, I must support the Democratic party, and therefore its candidates. I voted, in my quality of naturalized citizen, for Mr. Buchanan because he was the candidate of the Democratic party, and I adhere to him because he is the president of that party. I make it a point of honor to be faithful to my party.”

“I acknowledge,” said Winslow, “no allegiance to party; Mr. O’Flanagan may, if he sees proper, support Mr. Buchanan’s administration, but he should do so because he approves its policy, not because he is bound in law or honor to adhere to his party.”

“In a parliamentary state, such as the United Kingdom or the United States, there are and always will be parties,” replied O’Flanagan; and the government is, and will be carried on by a party. The country is and can be served only by a party, and party can serve the country only on condition that it can count on the fidelity of its members.”

"Must a man be faithful to his party alike, whether right or wrong?" asked Dieffenbach.

"No man can ever be bound to do wrong," answered O'Flanagan. "But a man should be always ready to sacrifice his private views and interests to the good of his party."

"But not his conscience or his principles," said Father John, "nor his honest convictions of what is the true policy for his country."

"The doctrine of party, more strictly adhered to by the Democratic than by any other party in the country," added Winslow, "I regard as unsound, immoral, and dangerous. I have regretted to find Mr. Buchanan acting as the president of a party, and bringing the whole force of executive influence and of party machinery to bear on and to crush every member of his party who believes himself in honour and patriotism bound to depart from some of his measures. I have regretted to see him dismiss honorable gentlemen from office for not supporting his favorite candidates in the state or municipal elections. The President has no right to interfere in such elections, and to do it in the interests, not of patriotism, but of party, is most injurious to political purity and independence. It is bringing into our elections a foreign element which has no business there. To attempt to keep men in, or to whip them into the party traces through fear of losing or never gaining office, through fear of losing all political standing and influence, is incompatible with political honesty and independence, and tends to nourish a spirit of baseness and servility. It is incompatible with the maintenance of liberty. You cannot maintain a wise and just policy for any state with a race of selfish, timid, crouching slaves. It is men, high-minded, high-spirited, independent men, who will stand by their honest convictions, pursue what they hold to be just and honorable, in defiance of the smiles or frowns of parties, of the threats or cajoleries of presidents, kings, or kaisers, that are needed to maintain a free state. Men who feel that they are wedded body and soul to party, that in themselves they are cyphers, and can count only as aggregated to a party, are no better than broken reeds to lean upon, and are sure to fail you in the hour of trial. Parties are fallible, and it is only to

an infallible authority a man can unreservedly surrender himself, without surrendering his freedom and manhood. The wise and honest man goes with party as far as party goes with him, but not one step farther."

"If Mr. Winslow follows that maxim," said O'Flanagan, "he will gain the confidence neither of the people nor of party leaders, and may be sure of never being elected or appointed to any office or place in the commonwealth."

"I hope that I shall be able to live, and serve my country and my God, notwithstanding," replied Winslow. "The office is for the man, not the man for the office. No man has any right to count on holding an office, big or little, at least in this country."

"That sounds very fine," said O'Flanagan, "but unhappily the age and country we live in has very little sympathy with sentiments, however fine and chivalric, that cannot be converted into solid cash. Say what you will against fidelity or slavery to party, it remains always true, that in a republican state public affairs are and will be managed by party, and the citizen has little else to do than to choose and serve his party."

"Then," said De Bonneville, "your boasted republicanism merely transfers arbitrary and irresponsible power from the king to the dominant party. It changes the form, but retains the substance of Oriental despotism."

"The tyranny of party," replied Father John, "is no doubt bad, very bad, but not so bad as the tyranny of a government that can support itself by the forms of law and the whole physical force of the state. Party ties are frequently strong, but any man with a firm and resolute will can break them, and without any serious difficulty or grave inconvenience. Bad as a democratic republic may be, it is chiefly bad from the defect, not the excess of power, and under any aspect is less to be dreaded than absolute monarchy, with its *mouchards* and its *gens d'armes*. Parties are not desirable, but they are inevitable. There are in every state real differences of interest and opinion, and men, if not repressed by the strong arm of power, will group together according to the attraction of common opinions, and the affinity of common interests. They thus form parties, and parties which may have an honest and legitimate existence. These parties will enter into politics, and struggle each for

power, to obtain the control and management of public affairs. Against this it is foolish to declaim. What, however, is wrong, and should never be tolerated, is the artificial organization of party, for the sake of party, or in the slang of the day, for 'the spoils.' I have nothing to say for or against the policy in general pursued by the American Democratic party. It may or may not be the wisest and best for the country; but to its doctrine of party, that party is always to be supported for its own sake, or because it is desirable that the affairs of the nation should be managed by a party, I do and must object. It is one of the loans we have made from the English oligarchy, and which we had been better off without. In England, since the Revolution of 1688, affairs have for the most part been managed by party. There have been two parties, the Ins and the Outs. The Ins are the government, and the Outs are the opposition. The one seems to be about as much a British institution as the other. 'Do you belong to her Majesty's government?' a Frenchman asked one day an English gentleman at Paris. 'No, I have the honour to belong to her Majesty's Opposition.' The answer was neither a witicism nor an absurdity, but the simple statement of a fact. Her Majesty's Opposition is not, however, an American institution. Parties, whether in the minority or majority, that oppose or defend an administration on purely party grounds, because it is or because it is not their administration, are simply factions. The president is and will be elected by a party, but he is elected not for a party, and is bound to conduct himself as the president of the nation, not of a party. When elected he belongs to the party opposing as much as to the party supporting his election. Both parties are integral portions of the political people whose affairs he is called to administer, and he has no right to discriminate, for party purposes, between them."

"Hence," added Winslow, "the condemnation of the practice becoming almost general, that of the in-coming administration of turning out of office or dismissing from their employments, all the adherents of the out-going administration, and filling their places with new men taken from the ranks of its partisans solely for party reasons. It introduces a selfish and sordid element into our elections; and substitutes love of office or place for love of country.

It tends to render parties and elections venal. No changes should be made by the new administration except for public reasons, for the more prompt or faithful discharge of the public service. None should be made for the purpose of rewarding noisy partisans or hungry and meagre expectants. A man is no more entitled to an office because he supported, than because he opposed the election of the new administration. Office or governmental place is created for the public service, and is never to be given as a reward for party services, or taken away as a punishment for party delinquencies. The only consideration that should weigh with the electing or the appointing power is the public good, and the aim should always be to put the right man in the right place. For similar reasons should also be condemned that absurdest of all doctrines, called 'Rotation in Office,' a doctrine which one can hardly believe public opinion in any country could fall low enough to tolerate. It assumes that office is a favor, and therefore, in a democratic country all should share it by turns. Office, it assumes, is created for the office holder, and as monopolies are odious, and the rights of all are equal, each one should have his turn; but as all cannot hold office at one and the same time, as there cannot be offices enough for all, there must be rotation in office. After this, there is no absurdity that party leaders may not be regarded as capable of adopting, and even attempting to reduce to practice. No man should be appointed to an office unless competent to discharge its duties faithfully and acceptably, and as long as he does so discharge them, there can never be a good public reason for dismissing him and filling his place with another."

"The human mind," said Father John, "is naturally logical, and when it starts with a false principle it deduces and accepts for the moment any absurd consequence it involves. The Democratic party started with several false principles, which it has been engaged in developing, and reducing to practice. The consequences of its doctrines of party and of office are now becoming manifest in the factious character of all our parties, in the multiplication of noisy, brawling partisans, and the meagre and hungry aspirants, without number; in rendering our elections venal, our public men venal, and the administration of government venal—a series of mere jobs. Whether we look at

the Federal government, or the State government, or the Municipal government we see nothing but successful efforts for plundering the people, for fattening on the public treasury, corrupting public and private morals, and staving off every measure for the public good, or neutralizing its benefit by converting it into a private job. It is hard to conceive anything more venal, corrupt, or corrupting than the Municipal government of the city of New York, and yet the government of the State or of the Union is hardly better. The election or the appointment of any man to office or place, whether under the Federal, the State, or the City government, is a presumption that he lacks either capacity or integrity, ability or public spirit."

"Things are, no doubt, bad enough," said O'Flanagan, "but not much worse than they have always been, and not quite so bad, I would fain hope, as Father John's strong language implies. Father John is not in his usual cheerful mood, and must be suffering from indigestion; no ray of light seems to pierce the darkness that surrounds him: but the darkest period of the night is just before break of day. When things are at worst they sometimes mend. I have very little confidence in Anglo-Saxons or in Anglo-Americans, who are seldom what they imagine themselves, and who have been, and are, the chief Mammon worshippers of the world; but they have, notwithstanding, some good qualities, and some regard for the public good. We do not well to look only on the dark side of things. It is my rule to trust in Providence, and to make the best of the present. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Why augment it by adding to it the evil of to-morrow? *Carpe diem*. It will be time enough to weep when the sorrow cometh."

"The prudent man," cited Winslow, "foreseeth the evil and guardeth against it. Sorrow will come, for this is a world of sorrow, and He who redeemed it was a man of sorrows and burdened with grief; but this is no reason why we should not guard against increasing it by the additional sorrow of feeling that we have brought it upon ourselves by our own folly and wickedness."

"No man speaking under the influence of strong emotion," rejoined Father John, "should have his words taken *au pied de lettre*. Deep feeling always exaggerates, but the good sense of the hearer supplies usually the proper

correction. Even the saints themselves use, in their holy zeal against the evil of their times, language which it will not do to take without some reserves. Things, in his time, did not, after all, go so bad as St. Peter Damian, for instance, represents. Men who have a high ideal are apt to regard as evil whatever falls below it. The noble soul counts nothing done while anything remains to be done. My ideal for this republic is high, and I grieve whenever it fails to realize it. It is my home, it is, after my Church, my mother, and I feel deeply whatever is not to its honor. Doubtless, all are not clean gone from the way; doubtless, there are more than ten just persons to be found in our modern Sodom; doubtless, there are more than seven thousand in our Israel, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, or burnt incense to Mammon; but, we are not what we might and should be. We may compare to advantage with the kingdoms and empires of the Old World, but no Christian, no patriot, can be satisfied with our present conduct and condition. I grieve to find even my Catholic brethren, who take part in political, municipal, and business affairs, hardly rising above, sometimes hardly to, the level of their non-Catholic fellow-citizens. I do not wholly despair of the republic. I hope in God, and, perhaps, have as firm a trust in Providence as my friend, Mr. O'Flanagan; but I see already the seeds of dissolution beginning to germinate in our youthful constitution, and I hope only with trembling. I know the nation that forgets God shall be turned into hell, and the nation that forgets virtue does forget God. Unless we return to God, cease to do evil, and learn to do well, there is room to fear that God will remember us in his judgments, not in his mercy."

CONVERSATION VII.

"In our last meeting many good reasons," began De Bonneville, "were assigned why Catholics should not support the Democratic party, but I recollect no good reason that was assigned, why they should, or why they so uniformly do support that party. Between Catholicity and Democracy I can discover no natural affinity."

"I am," replied Winslow, "no democrat, and I do not think democracy, as I understand it, and as it is understood

by the radical portion at least of the Democratic party, is compatible with Catholicity. But M. de Bonneville is mistaken in supposing that all Catholic citizens in the Union vote with the Democratic party; most of the Catholics of the older American stock in Maryland and Kentucky were Whigs while there was a Whig party. Archbishop Carroll's coachman voted, indeed, the Democratic ticket, but the archbishop himself voted with the Federalists. Catholics of a later migration have been divided, and in no election, state, national, or municipal, have they been found all on one side. There were Catholics who voted for General Scott, as well as Catholics who voted for General Pierce, and I have found several who say they voted for Colonel Fremont; yet it is probably true that the majority of the Catholic voters have, at least in the later elections, voted with the Democratic party; for such has been the state of parties that they must either do so or vote with the Antislavery men against the Union, or with the Know-nothings against religious liberty and the freedom of their Church. The majority of naturalized citizens, whether of Irish or German birth, have, no doubt, always inclined to the Democratic party, and been disposed to identify themselves with it; but to this they have been led by motives unconnected with Catholicity. In Europe we pass for a democratic republic, and indeed the mass of our own native-born citizens regard our institutions as democratic, and to be interpreted and applied in a democratic sense. Europeans migrating hither, whether from Ireland or Germany, suppose they are migrating to a democratic country, and very naturally conclude that, in order to be loyal citizens, they must be democrats. Nothing is more natural, then, than that on settling here and becoming citizens, they should aggregate themselves to the Democratic party,—the party claiming to be democratic, and evidently truer to the democratic instinct than any other party in the country. They feel that they can be true, loyal, acceptable Americans only in doing so. The Irish Catholics, the most efficient and leading portion of the Catholic population in the Union, are, no doubt, attracted to the Democratic party, because they believe it to be the party of liberty; because it is the least stiff and rigid towards foreigners; and because it advocates a liberal policy towards foreign

settlers, it makes fair and large promises, and professes to be anti-English. The strongest passion in an Irishman's heart, after love for his Church and for his native land, is hatred of England."

"The Democratic party," replied De Bonneville, "may be anti-English in its professions, and sometimes in its diplomacy; but in all else it is the most thoroughgoing English party I have been able to find in your country. It was Robert J. Walker, a leading Democrat, secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, Mr. Buchanan's late governor of Kansas, and a candidate in expectancy for the next Presidency, I am told, who proposed, at least advocated, the Anglo-Saxon Alliance, or the alliance offensive and defensive of England and America against the world,—an alliance which, if effected, would be simply auxiliary to the Protestant Alliance, formed for revolutionizing every Catholic state, deposing the Pope, destroying the Church, and placing the effective government of the world in Exeter Hall, the Protestant Vatican. The Democratic party in its general policy usually, designedly or not, plays into the hands of England. The strength of that party lies in the southern or slaveholding states, and these states would dread nothing so much as a war with Great Britain, with whom, it is maliciously said, they would have remained united as colonies even to this day, had it not been for the bolder and more independent spirit of the northern states. A war with Great Britain would deprive them of the chief market for their cotton, rice, and tobacco, the products of their slave labor, and perhaps deprive them of their negro property itself. The railroad corporations and the mercantile classes would also dread such a war, for it would deprive them of their English trade and credit, and ruin their business. The Democratic party is the Free-Trade party, and free trade is precisely the policy which Great Britain, as the first commercial and manufacturing nation of the world, wishes your government to adopt, for it enables her to purchase of you the food and the raw material she needs for her industrial population, and to pay for them with the products of her industry. Her interest is to prevent the growth of American manufactures, and to confine you to the production of the raw material for her mills to work up, and to supplying; at a

cheap rate, the food she needs for her operatives, and this is precisely the effect of the Democratic policy of Free Trade. If the whole labor of the Union be directed to the production of food, and the raw materials for manufactures, it will produce a more abundant supply, and England would not only purchase them at a cheaper rate, but at the same time obtain a wider market for the products of her industry. Were the United States to adopt the protective system advocated by the late Mr. Henry Clay, and effectively protect and encourage their own manufactures, they would deal the commercial and industrial supremacy of England the severest blow it has ever received, and reduce the haughty Ocean Queen to a condition compatible with their own free development, and the peace and prosperity of the continental nations; and till they do so, they will never have really escaped from their old colonial dependence. The interest of the Southern States, taken by themselves, may demand Free Trade, because they own and employ slave and therefore unskilled labor, but the interests of the Union, as a whole, demand independence, which can never be attained by confining yourselves to the productions of unskilled labor to be exchanged for the productions of skilled labor. That is the policy of a semi-barbarous people, and never to be adopted by a people that aspires in the arts, refinement, and cultivation, to the first rank among civilized nations; as long as you continue it, you will be principally confined to the lowest grade of material civilization, and without moral weight among contemporary nations. The Democratic policy is dictated by the slaveholding and foreign commercial interests, and consists briefly in preferring unskilled to skilled labor, brute matter to cultivated intellect. That policy originated in the last century with men who defined man a 'digesting tube, open at both ends,' and ascribed his superiority over animals to the fact that his fore limbs terminate in hands, instead of hoofs or claws.

"No doubt," continued De Bonneville, "you are a great people, and have prospered; but, if you take into consideration the numerous and important advantages you have had, you have prospered less during the period of your national existence than any of the principal States of Europe. You have hardly kept up with the mother country,

and Russia has far outstripped you in the race. You have prospered, as far as prospered you have, in spite of your government. What government in a country like yours can do to hinder the prosperity of a people, yours has done. Even your present prosperity has its limits, which, if you change not your policy, are by no means so distant as you imagine. Already you find the Continent too small for you, and have in some sections of the Union a surplus and dangerous population. You have despoiled the best part of your territory of its primitive forests, fearfully diminished the supply of timber and lumber, and with a reckless disregard to the wants of future generations unmatched in the world's history. You are impoverishing your best lands, exhausting the fertility of your rich soils in producing rice, cotton, tobacco, grain, and provisions, to be exchanged for foreign luxuries, which destroy your simplicity of character, introduce habits of extravagance, corrupt your manners and morals, and are consumed without adding a cent to your capital, or productive capacity. Your trade, sustained by agricultural products, is a rich mine for England, which you work for her at the expense of your own land and labor. Irish Catholics, by emigrating from Ireland to this country, contribute far more to the prosperity of England than they could have done by remaining at home. Indeed, the United States is simply England's Western farm or plantation, from which she derives in part the supplies for her household, and the Democratic party is her steward or intendant for its management. If hatred of England, and a desire to humble her pride and break up her supremacy, be a motive of political action with Catholics of Irish birth or descent, the Democratic party, it strikes me, is the last party in the country they should support."

"M. de Bonneville must be aware," replied O'Flanagan, "that however plausible his theory may appear, it is not universally accepted, and is denied by Adam Smith, and nearly all political economists."

"Adam Smith," rejoined De Bonneville, "defines the wealth of a nation to be the amount of its exchangeable produce, or the amount of its produce remaining over and above its wants for home consumption, without taking into the account the nature of the surplus, or of the articles for which it is exchanged; I make the wealth of a nation con-

sist in its capital, and its capital in the productive capacity of its land, including the laboring population and all that goes to make up that capacity; hence the different conclusions at which we respectively arrive. If you take more from your land than you add to it, you diminish its productive capacity, and therefore the national wealth. Every agriculturist knows this, and it is proved by the pains they take to save, create, or import manures to restore their exhausted soils. Hitherto you have sustained the constant drain on your land by your exportation of agricultural productions exchanged for the productions of foreign skilled labor, chiefly by opening new lands and bringing new virgin soil into cultivation; but this resource has its limit, extensive as your territory is, and must ultimately fail you. As long as this resource lasts, or remains near at hand, you may not be struck with the ruinous nature of your policy, or be led to reflect that you are exhausting, in luxurious and riotous living, the patrimony of future generations. You do not as yet reflect how much of your present prosperity is really a draft on the future. With your vast extent of territory, embracing almost every variety of climate, soil, and production, you might sustain in ease and comfort a far larger population than that of the Chinese Empire, estimated at over four hundred millions of souls; yet with your present system you could not easily maintain a third of that number. You have not yet a population much over thirty millions, and you already in some sections find the means of obtaining a livelihood difficult, as is evinced by the constant stream of emigration from the older-settled States to the new States and Territories. What would be your condition then, if the whole Union were as densely peopled as Massachusetts, Connecticut, or New York?"

"The grand error of the Political Economists," said Winslow, "is in laying down Free Trade as the true policy of all nations and at all times. Free Trade is undoubtedly the true policy of England at present, for her territory is small, and her greatness depends on trade and industry. She does not and cannot produce from her own land the materials which are needed to supply her manufactures and her foreign trade. The chief value of her exports consists in the labor applied to raw materials imported from abroad. Her exports are chiefly products of her industry, not of

her agriculture. She imports the raw material, and exports the manufactured article, and her trade adds more to her land than it takes from it; that is, by it more of the products of the soil, which by returning enriches it, are consumed at home, than she exports. Ireland, however, by the same system, is relatively impoverished, for her manufactures are comparatively few, her trade is limited, and the mass of her population are employed in agriculture, a large portion of the products of which is consumed not at home, but exported and consumed out of the kingdom. Hence the stern necessity which forces so large a proportion of her sons and daughters to emigrate, although she could under a different system, easily support a population twice as large as the highest number to which her population has as yet ever risen. This emigration weakens Ireland, regarded as a separate kingdom, but it enriches the Empire, because the labor of those who emigrate is employed, directly or indirectly, in cultivating the yet unexhausted lands of the Union or of the British colonies, and more advantageously to British trade than it would or could be in Ireland."

"But in a country like yours," resumed De Bonneville, "Free Trade is the worst policy possible, especially since you have reached that state in which you can, with a little effort, make your industry suffice for yourselves. It keeps you dependent on foreign nations for the products of skilled labor, exhausts your capital to pay for foreign luxuries, which do and can yield no return of capital, and deprives you of the profits of industrial labor. You have little occasion to import the raw material, for you produce or may produce it for yourselves, and therefore may save to yourselves the profits of both industry and agriculture. Under Free Trade you apply your labor to agriculture, not to obtain the means of sustaining a larger population, but to obtain the means of carrying on larger trade. The products of your agriculture go not to feed your people, and to increase your capital, but to support your commerce, and to purchase the products of foreign industry, which add nothing to your national wealth or strength, but really lessen both.

"Trade enriches a nation," concluded De Bonneville, "when its exports derive their chief value from labor and skill; it impoverishes a nation, when they derive their chief value from the land, for then it exhausts the land,

enhances the price of living, and the country is able to sustain relatively only a smaller population. The gold taken from the mines of California, and exported to England or France, to pay for luxuries consumed, is simply so much extracted from the capital of the nation, and, under the economical point of view, thrown away. The exchange of the produce of the land for foreign luxuries necessarily diminishes, instead of adding to the national capital. You should, therefore, aim to supply your own markets with the manufactured article, and to restrict your foreign trade to the products of your industry, and the importation of such articles needed for your industry, as you do not or cannot produce at home. That is, you should study to support your foreign exchanges with the products of industry, not, as now, with the products, the chief value of which is derived from the land, for then, in relation to foreign nations, you will live within your income, and not draw on your capital. In this way you will make your own industry profitable, add to your national capital, and have the means of sustaining a population of millions, where now you can sustain only thousands, as may be seen, even under the disadvantages of the present system of trade, by contrasting your free states with your slaveholding states. You do not seem as yet to have really escaped from your colonial dependence on the mother country; you follow her as a flock of sheep follow the bell-wether. When she adopted the protective policy, you adopted the protective policy; when she adopts free trade, you adopt free trade; and in either case without stopping a moment to inquire whether the same policy operates alike in the two countries, or whether the policy beneficial to the one may not be ruinous to the other. The mercantile interest and that of the owners of slave labor are no doubt identical with the interest of England, and demand free trade; but they are at war with the true interest and glory of the American people as an independent nation and a first-class civilized power. The mercantile interest depends more on the slaveholding interest than on any other one interest in the country, and the slaveholding interest is dependent almost entirely on free trade, especially with Great Britain. Here is your grand difficulty. The antagonism between these interests on the one hand, and those of the American nation, regarded as a

whole, on the other, is so deep, so radical, that I see not how you can easily reconcile it. It seems to me the United States must either fail to take their proper rank in the scale of nations, and gradually lapse into a semi-barbaric state, or else the slave interest must be gradually suppressed, and finally extinguished. I see no other alternative, unless the slaveholding states secede or be driven from the Union, and form a slaveholding and planting republic by themselves, and such is the conclusion to which your ablest and most sharp-sighted statesmen, especially of the south, are rapidly coming. This much is evident, the slave interest, as long as it exists, must dictate the policy of the Union or be ruined. It must govern, or be not at all, and the non-slaveholding states will not submit much longer to its government, for they have adverse interests, and feel that they are strong enough to have their own way."

"The fact of antagonism between the two sections of the Union," said O'Flanagan, "cannot be denied, and if it continues, and grows as it has done for the last few years, it must, of course, cause a dissolution of the Union. But it is rather an antagonism of sentiment than of interest, and with reasonable concessions on each side to the prejudices of the other would cease to exist. Even on M. de Bonneville's own principles, there is no reason why the slaveholding interest should be singled out as an especial object of attack. The farming interest seeks a foreign market as well as the planting interest. Wheat, Indian corn, beef, pork, wool, butter, and cheese are produced with a view to foreign trade, no less than cotton, rice, and tobacco. Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin are as dependent on free trade as South Carolina, Alabama, or Mississippi. The agricultural interest of free labor is then identical with the agricultural interest of slave labor."

"The antagonism of sentiment," Mr. O'Flanagan admits," remarked Dieffenbach, "originates in the real and radical antagonism of interest between the North and the South. You have adopted two mutually hostile systems, neither of which can develop itself without displacing the other. The free labor system will not tolerate the slave system, and the slave labor system cannot tolerate the free labor system. They can co-exist in a state only by the subjection of the one to the other. This, I take it, is the simple

naked fact. Either the one system or the other must be in the ascendancy, and dictate the policy of the government, or your Union is no real union, and you are, whatever your pretences, two distinct and hostile people. You are now in the crisis of the struggle between these two antagonistic systems. Hitherto you have proceeded in comparative harmony, for ever since the election of Mr. Jefferson the slave system has for the most part of the time been suffered to govern the country. It has done so, as Mr. Hammond, the Senator from South Carolina, boasted in his place in the Senate, for the last sixty years. But the interest of free labor, so depressed in all the Slave States, where it dares not even complain, seems now resolved on asserting its independence and its supremacy. Mr. Senator Seward has well said that it makes no difference whether you regard the action of Congress on the Kansas imbroglio as the last defeat or as the first victory of the Free State party; no new Slave State can be admitted into the Union. Free labor, it seems to me, is destined to no more defeats. What then will the slave interest do? Submit, it cannot, for it must rule the government, or be ruined. Slavery is so interwoven with the habits and manners, the whole social and private life of the South, that emancipation is out of the question, and, moreover, is not at present desirable for the mass of the slaves themselves; and under a government that consults the interests of Free Labor alone, slavery becomes ruinous to the masters. The contest for ascendancy has come, and the battle cannot any longer be evaded by declamations, either against the abolitionists of the North, or the so-called "Fire Eaters" of the South. These extremists, as you call them, are extremists only because they better represent the real tendencies of their respective parties than the moderate, *via-media*, or so-called Union Men. I see no alternative but a secession of the Slave States from the Union. They are separated already from the Union in feeling, in interest, and in policy, and a union against these cannot much longer be maintained even in appearance."

"The dissolution of the Union is an event," remarked Father John, "that I have never allowed myself to contemplate even as possible. I know no right that a State has in or out of the constitution to secede, for it cannot secede without a breach of faith,—certainly not, unless it.

has the formal consent of the other States, parties to the Union. That consent will never be obtained. Only the weaker and defeated party will ever dream of seceding, and being the weaker, it will not be suffered by the stronger to secede. Threats of secession may be thrown out to stay the encroachments, or assumed encroachments, of the ruling interest; but I do not think there is a State in the Union that would not shrink from the difficulties of carrying them into effect. There are only about three hundred and fifty thousand owners of slave property in the Union, at least such is the statement made; and it is certain that but a small minority of the inhabitants of the Slave States are really owners of slaves. The non-slaveholding population of the slaveholding States have even less interest than the free population of the North in sustaining slavery. The slaveholders constitute an aristocracy, a very respectable aristocracy, if you will,—high-spirited, generous, hospitable, and who are loved the more the better they are known, but still an aristocracy, which crushes the hopes and aspirations of the poor laboring white population of the Slave States. This free white population has really no sympathy with slavery, for it reduces them to a condition below that of the free peasantry in any of the States of Europe. These, when assured of the support and sympathy of the Free States, will hardly vote or fight for secession, when secession has for its object the maintenance of slavery, which crushes them; and it is possible that every seceding State would find a powerful enemy in its own bosom. Secession cannot be effected peaceably, and I do not believe it can be by force, or against the force that would inevitably be brought to bear against it, especially as the army and navy would remain under the command of the Federal Government. I regret that threats of secession should be thrown out, or hopes of it indulged; but as yet I do not regard it as probable, hardly as possible.

“Then,” proceeded Father John, “I do not agree with my friends as to the relative weakness of the slave system. The Slave States furnish not only the best market for a portion of our importations, but also the best market for our domestic manufactures, and thus greatly soften the hostility even of Northern industry. Their productions supply the larger portion of the exchange for imported

luxuries consumed to a far greater extent in the Free than in the Slave States. The Free Trade policy of the government has, as Mr. O'Flanagan has suggested, turned the attention of the great farming States of the Centre and the West to producing for a foreign market, and identified their interests, for the present at least, with the interests of the slaveholding States. All your railroads, canals, or artificial means of communication, are constructed with a view to foreign as well as home trade, and are designed to connect the seaboard with the interior. Slavery is directly or indirectly interwoven with the interests of the whole country, and its abolition would derange the business and social relations of the Free States hardly less than of the Slave States themselves. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are hardly, if any, less interested in sustaining slavery than Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans. The ruling classes in the Free States, however much they may for political reasons favor Free Soilism, as it is called, are really interested in sustaining slavery, and will support no legislative measure seriously hostile to it. I think, therefore, that the slave system is in no immediate danger, that it is quite able to protect itself, and that the free labor system is very far as yet from its first victory, or its last defeat.

"The South," Father John went on, "is less deeply imbued with the spirit of trade than the North; but the slave system which it supports is a most important element in the mercantile system which now governs the world. The mercantile system is the worst system that has ever prevailed in human affairs. It installs Mammon in the place of God, and puts trade in the place of religion; and is more degrading, more brutalizing, more fatal to morality, to the virtue, the integrity, the well-being of the people, than any system of ancient or modern Gentile superstition and idolatry. It lives and thrives, only, by materializing the present, and discounting the future; and the reason why its fatal tendencies are not detected is, that it obscures, like all false systems, the intellect, blunts the moral sense, and degrades the soul to its own level. But that system governs the governments, and they cannot subject it to their power. It is too strong to be broken up by any possible governmental policy or measure. Governments can do nothing against it, and even the Pontifical

government itself has been forced to yield in some measure to its influence ; and nine-tenths of the things which modern Liberals, even of the moderate school, denounce as evils or abuses in the governments of old Europe, are regarded as evils only because they are not in harmony with the interests of the mercantile system, which has supplanted the Catholic system introduced under Charlemagne. The system can be weakened, and ultimately broken up, only as was the old system of Græco-Roman idolatry and superstition against which Peter erected his chair ; that is, by recalling men to the fact that this world is not their home, that their destiny is not in this life, and that their supreme good is not found in the goods of the natural order. Religion, operating on the hearts of individuals, detaching them from the world, elevating their affections to the invisible and the eternal, and fixing them on the heavenly and the spiritual, not government, is the agent that must work out the changes, and introduce the ameliorations, my friends so ardently and so justly desire. A protective tariff would, to some extent, affect unfavorably the trade of England with this country, but it would neither annihilate nor shake her mercantile supremacy. With a large part of Europe bound in the meshes of her system, with South America, the East, all Central and Southern Asia, all Canada, and Oceania, to say nothing of Africa, open to her trade, she can bear without any great damage a serious falling off in her trade with us. If the American system of 1824 had been persevered in, it would have done something to prevent the wonderful developments and expansion of British commerce ; but it is now too late for its revival to produce a perceptible effect.

“The revival of the protective system,” continued Father John, “would give a new spring to our manufactures, and promote the interests of our industrial, as distinguished from our agricultural labor. It would do something to render us less dependent on foreign industry ; but it would, at the same time, lessen the power of foreign nations to consume our agricultural products, and thus render them less dependent on us. It would for a time sacrifice what is with us the stronger interest to the weaker, and that, too, without building up for us a system of real home or domestic industry. Under an economical point of view, the

factories of Lowell, Providence, or Pittsburg, are no more domestic in relation to the Carolinian, Georgian, or Alabamian, than those of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, or Glasgow. The so-called American system might aid and encourage what the French call *la grande industrie*, but what we want is the small industry, which may be taken home, and carried on in the bosom of the family. But that is hopeless till there comes a crash, a catastrophe more terrible than that of the fall of Western Rome before the advancing hordes of Northern Barbarians. The protective tariff might help to emancipate us from the remains of our colonial bondage, but it would only serve to rivet still firmer the chains of the mercantile and credit system. But our speculations are idle. The American people will not revive it, or if they should by a spasmodic effort re-enact it, they would not steadily sustain it. The agricultural, mercantile, and railroad interests are too strong for that of industry, even when backed by the strong anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States.

“The great evils,” added Father John in conclusion, “of modern society are too deep, and too wide-spread, to be reached by political and economical devices and arrangements. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint. The endeavor to restore society to health and soundness by governmental action, will only make matters worse, as is proved by the example of the United Kingdom and the United States. In fact, the evils complained of originated in the triumph of the political system over the religious. It became inevitable, when the *Politiques*, the politicians who opposed alike the victory of the *Ligue* and of the Huguenots, succeeded in placing Henry of Navarre on the throne of France as Henry IV. Then was inaugurated the system of independent politics—a system which tolerates all religions and submits to none, and governs the world with sole regard to human and temporal interests—a system which excludes religion from the state, subordinates the moral and spiritual interests of mankind to the political, or treats them with haughty disdain or a profound indifference. In this system of independent politics, which has become nearly universal, and is the boast of the modern world, is the source of those evils which prey upon the heart of every contem-

porary civilized nation. They originate in the very attempt to exclude God from the state, and to secure the progress and well-being of man and society, by political and legislative action. They lie in the very heart of the age, in the prevalent political atheism, in the universal carnal Judaism, which renews every day the crucifixion of our Lord. Till you lay the axe at the root of that evil, revive faith in the heart of man, and cure his neglect or contempt of religious duty and the retributions of another life, you have no remedy, no hope."

"Father John has, I see," said O'Flanagan, "no confidence in politics, and takes very nearly the same ground which a few months ago he rebuked Mr. Winslow and myself for taking."

"I have not," replied Father John, "and never have had any confidence in politics divorced from true religion, and operating alone. When warmed and fecundated by their union with religion, and acting in obedience and subordination to the natural and the revealed law of God, I confide much in them. I advocate the liberal side in politics, because it is only by so doing that I can guard against the subjection of religion to Cæsar: but I advocate the submission of politics to religion, to save politics from running into atheism, anarchy, and rendering society impracticable."

"After all," rejoined O'Flanagan, "speculations on the topics that have come up, on political economy, free trade, and protective tariffs, have very little to do with explaining why the majority of my Catholic countrymen, naturalized in the United States, usually support the Democratic party."

"It is not necessary to seek an explanation of that fact," replied Father John. "The Democratic party, as to its doctrines, is of European rather than of American, of Continental rather than of English origin, and is the counterpart of the absolute monarchy which prevailed in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nearly all the political people of the United States are of European origin or descent; but some emigrated from Europe at an earlier and others at a later day. As a general rule, the more recent arrivals brought with them the Democratic or Jacobinical doctrines which were in fashion in

Europe throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, and these, whom we may call neo-Americans, constituted the main body of the Democratic party. Nothing was more natural than that the immigrants in our own day should associate themselves with this party, with whom they, in their capacity of citizens of foreign birth, the more readily sympathize. Add to this that the political and social doctrines, put in vogue by the French revolution, are still held and deeply cherished in the bosom of those classes of the European population that emigrate. Catholic Ireland sympathizes with the Continent far more than with England, and in its political and social doctrines is chiefly influenced by France. Being in a state of chronic rebellion against the government, and suffering innumerable wrongs, it has, like the continental Liberals, looked to democracy as the source of deliverance and regeneration. The lay-leaders of the national party are Liberals, and being obliged to draw their force from the people, are at least virtually democrats. The Irish popular mind has been turned to democratic ideas and hopes before leaving home; the Irish have felt, they as well as others, the workings of the spirit of the age; and on coming here, they find their natural association with the Democratic party. They are not led to the support of that party, either by their clergy or their religion, but by their political sentiments and tendencies. That they entertain notions and do many things incompatible with a true understanding of their religion, it were foolish to deny; but they do not see the incompatibility, and with few exceptions, intend to subordinate their politics to their religion, not their religion to their politics. Make them see that a certain doctrine or policy is opposed to their Catholicity, and the great body of them will abandon it, for they have, even in these times, a political conscience. After all, I see not that they owe any apology for supporting the Democratic party, which is probably as little objectionable as any party in the country. What I wish is that Catholics, as Catholics, should stand aloof from all parties, and hold themselves free as citizens to vote for such candidates as they prefer. What I ask of them is to study not to commit their religion or their Church to any party, Whig or Democrat. Catholic citizens, as others, may be partisans, but the Church is not

and cannot be a partisan, and they must beware of attempting to make her so, and of doing or saying anything that will embarrass the freedom and independence of her clergy in relation to the interests of religion. I do not want the Democratic or any other party to feel that it has a special right to count on the votes of Catholics."

CONVERSATION VIII.

"Mr. O'Flanagan," remarked Dieffenbach, "observed the other evening, that his religion has nothing to do with his politics. I understood him to mean that his politics are independent of his religion, and that in the political order he may hold or do anything he pleases, whether it does or does not accord with the doctrine and precepts of his Church. I have heard many Catholics, even some earnest, practical Catholics, say the same; but I always presume that they speak without really meaning what they say."

"In this instance, at least," replied O'Flanagan, "I mean what I say. My political opinions and conduct are my own, dictated by my own sense of justice and expediency, not by my Church or my clergy, whose functions are purely spiritual, and who have no authority in the temporal order."

"There were," rejoined Dieffenbach, "in the time of Leo X., certain pretended philosophers who took it into their heads to assert, that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, though theologically true, is philosophically false. The Pope condemned them, and asserted that nothing can be true in philosophy that is false in theology, or true in theology that is false in philosophy. One truth cannot contradict another; philosophy does not include Catholic theology, but Catholic theology includes philosophy; nature does not include grace, but grace includes nature; the natural virtues do not include the supernatural, but the supernatural include the natural. So politics do not include religion, but religion includes politics. To fail in political morality is to fail in religion itself, for the basis of all specific political morality is the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and if a man love not his brother, that is, his neighbor, whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen? If there

be a moral right in politics, then, though a man's politics may have nothing to do with his religion, yet his religion, as his supreme law of conscience, has something, and indeed much, to do with his politics. Mr. O'Flanagan will allow me to say with all respect, that he would have spoken more like a good Catholic, as he no doubt is, if he had said his religion is independent of his politics, and gives the law to them, instead of receiving it from them."

"There are," answered O'Flanagan, "two orders, the spiritual and the temporal, each independent and supreme in its own order. In the spiritual order the authority of the Church is supreme; in the temporal order the supreme authority is vested in the state; and in that order, I am free to do whatever the state permits, or does not prohibit. As a citizen of a democratic state, I share the political sovereignty, and have in my political opinions and actions all the freedom and independence which belongs to that sovereignty."

"In so far as the civil order is concerned, I concede it," said Winslow, "but the question is not there. The civil order cannot call a man to an account for what it permits, but a man may nevertheless be accountable in the spiritual order for things done in the temporal. Mr. O'Flanagan says well, that there are two orders, each independent and supreme in its own order, but it does not follow from this that one order may not be dependent in relation to another and a superior order. The temporal order is inferior to the spiritual order, and is on all sides bounded by it. This is so not by positive ordination, but in the very nature of things, and even God himself cannot make it otherwise. This is the point which, it seems to me, some Catholics overlook. *Brownson's Review*, in controverting the opinion that free negroes, citizens of a particular State, are not citizens of the United States, delivered by the Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case, says: 'We regret that in giving the opinion of the Court the learned Judge did not recollect what he is taught by his religion, namely, the unity of the race, that all men by the natural law are equal, that negroes are men, and therefore, as to their rights, must be regarded as standing on the same footing with white men, where there is no positive or municipal law that degrades them.' To this a Catholic journalist replies, with apparently general

approbation, 'that the Reviewer would do well to remember that the Chief Justice occupies his seat to administer the law according to the Constitution of the United States, not to execute the ordinances and decrees of the Council of Trent.' That reply, if it means anything, means that a Catholic judge is not bound in his official character by his religion. Nobody is silly enough to pretend that a Chief Justice of the United States has it for his official duty to execute the ordinances and decrees of the Council of Trent ; but the question raised is, whether a Catholic judge can administer judicially the civil law or sit under a civil constitution that brings him into conflict with the ordinances and decrees, the doctrine and discipline of his Church ?”

“ It is not certain that the objection of the Reviewer is well founded,” rejoined O’Flanagan, “ and it may be, that the opinion of the court is compatible with our religion. The Catholic journals argued well against the Reviewer, that Chief Justice Taney, brought up a Catholic from his infancy, should be presumed to know and to respect his religion as well and as much as a recent convert, notorious for the eccentricity of his opinions, and the grievous errors of all sorts into which he has fallen in the course of his life.”

“ That was well argued on Protestant principles,” replied Dieffenbach, “ but very badly argued on Catholic principles. Protestantism is based on the opinion of men, but Catholicity reposes on the word of God, and Catholics have an infallible method of determining what that word is, without drawing invidious comparisons between individuals, whether eminent or not. Neither Chief Justice Taney nor the Editor of *Brownson’s Review* is an authority in Catholic doctrine, and if the question arises, which of them represents that doctrine truly, the appeal must be to a standard independent of them both. Judge Taney is, no doubt, an eminent jurist, but it does not follow from that fact that he is an eminent theologian. There have been many able jurists who could not be accepted as authority in Catholic doctrine, such as Ulpian and Papinian, Domat, Mansfield, Blackstone, Marshall, Kent, and Story. A man may be eminent in one line without being eminent in every line. Count Boniface was no doubt superior as a military man to St. Augustine, but probably several degrees below him as a theologian. A man may have been a Catholic from his

infancy up, without being a Father or a Doctor of the Church, and I have never heard that Chief Justice Taney has distinguished himself by his theological attainments or proficiency. The principle assumed by the journals is invidious, and opposed to that freedom of thought and criticism which our religion allows. It would invest eminent jurists or civilians, who may have devoted no special study to theology, with Papal prerogatives and immunities with regard to all humbler or less eminent individuals. It is an ungenerous and an unmanly attempt to silence every modest man by an appeal to the *argumentum ad verecundiam*—an argument seldom resorted to when other arguments can be had.”

“I raise no question,” said Winslow, “between the Chief Justice and the Reviewer. I do not censure or defend either. The question I raise is, as to the justice of the reply the Catholic journalist gave to the Reviewer, which was, as I understand it, that a Catholic judge is not bound in his official character to consult the teachings of his religion, and may administer the civil law although it conflicts with the doctrine and precepts of his Church. If we accept the principle of that reply, a Christian might have officiated as judge under Nero, Decius, or Diocletian, and doomed his fellow-Christians for being Christians to the amphitheatre, or to any of the various forms of torture and death authorized by the laws of the empire; or a Catholic might have sat on the bench under Elizabeth, and sentenced the priests of his Church to be tortured, hung, drawn, and quartered, for daring to perform the proper offices of their priesthood. That may be so, and it may be that it is because I am only a convert, and too green as a Catholic to see its lawfulness; but as at present informed I cannot admit it. It strikes me that no Catholic can hold an office that requires him to act against his religion; and if the constitution and laws of the Union really do require the judge to go against his religion, the least he can do is to resign his seat; for under a constitution and laws that really do that, no Catholic can hold office.”

“The case made by the Reviewer can be disposed of without raising the question as to the mutual relation of the two powers,” said De Bonneville.

“But not the case made by the Catholic Journalist in his flippant reply to the Reviewer,” replied Dieffenbach.

“The Chief Justice is an officer of the civil, not of the ecclesiastical court; and his duty is to declare and apply the civil law, the law of his own court, as he finds it,” replied O’Flanagan.

“The law by which priests were hung in England under Elizabeth was a civil, and not an ecclesiastical law,” replied Dieffenbach. “Technically they were not sentenced and executed for performing their priestly functions, but for treason, because the civil law made the performance of those functions treason against the crown. Treason is a civil offence, and punishable in all states by the civil authority. The judge, therefore, in sentencing the priest, sentences him directly for a civil offence, and only indirectly for performing the offices of his Church. Could a Catholic judge plead that at the bar of conscience, in justification of his having, in fact, sentenced the priests of his Church to be hung, drawn, and quartered, for doing that which by the law of God is no offence, but for them a right and a duty?”

“The judge holds under the civil law, and his duty is to interpret it and apply it faithfully to the case before the court,” rejoined O’Flanagan. “If the law is unjust, the legislative, not the judicial authority, is responsible.”

“I am not prepared to say as much as that,” answered De Bonneville. “The judge is bound to take into consideration the justice of the law, and to interpret it in accordance with natural right, so far as he can without violence to the text. The Reviewer did not complain of the Chief Justice that he did not follow the Council of Trent *against* the Constitution, but that he did not remember, in interpreting the language, or more properly the silence, of the Constitution touching negro citizenship, what his religion teaches him, and what as a Catholic he holds and must hold; namely, that negroes are men, that all men are equal before the law of nature; and therefore as men, negroes and whites stand on the same footing of equality. The legal presumption, then, must be in favor of equality, and therefore in favor of negro citizenship. If negroes are men, and all men are equal as men, then free negroes and whites are equal as citizens, unless the contrary is expressly ordained by the Constitution. Free negroes, citizens of a particular State, are citizens of the United States, unless expressly excluded by the text of the Constitution itself. Had the Chief Jus-

tice remembered the great doctrine of the unity of the race and the equality of all men before the law of nature, which the Constitution left him free to do, and which his religion required him to do, he would have seen that the presumptions in the case were in favor of equality, and therefore, that he must decide in favor of negro citizenship, because, as every one knows, there is, as a matter of fact, nothing in the letter of the Constitution against it."

"The court," replied O'Flanagan, "does not make, and has no power to make the Constitution; it only declares what it is, according to the true intent and meaning of the sovereign will that ordains it. It has nothing to do with speculations on the unity or diversity of the race, with the abstract law of nature, or the abstruse and subtle distinctions of scholastic theology. It looks solely to the intent and meaning of the sovereign people in forming the Constitution. The legal method of ascertaining this meaning is to consult what was the sentiment of the civilized world at the time when the Constitution was made, of the convention that drew it up, and of the people who ratified it. This sentiment touching the negro race at the time did not treat negroes as the equals of the whites; it branded them as an inferior race, and regarded them not as men, but as merchandise, that might be bought and sold in the market as any other species of merchandise. It is preposterous to suppose that the white race entertaining this sentiment could for a moment think of placing persons of the negro race on a footing of equality with themselves, or of conferring on them the rights of citizens under the new government they were forming. The presumption then is against negro citizenship, and the rule is to interpret the Constitution against it as far as it can be without violence to the text. So at least reasons the Chief Justice; and what lawyer will say that his reasoning is not true legal reasoning?"

"The facts," said Winslow, "are not precisely as the court assumes. The sounder sentiment of the civilized world at the time did not deny, and in fact it had never denied negroes to be men, sprung alike with the white race from Adam and Eve. With a Catholic judge the sentiment of the Catholic Church must count for something in determining the sentiment of the civilized world, and that sentiment had always treated negroes as men, having under

the law of nature and the law of grace equal rights. The Popes as early as 1482 had positively forbidden, under pain of excommunication, the reduction of negroes born free to slavery, and also the purchasing of those who were thus reduced. Practically negro slaves were bought and sold in the market, but public opinion, if it tolerated, never sanctioned it, and certainly never allowed *free* negroes to be so bought and sold. It condemned, in this country, as early as 1787, and in fact as early as 1776, the African slave trade, though that trade still continues, for there are always found in every age and in every country individuals who will brave public opinion, and even religion itself, in pursuit of gain. The colonies themselves, as is well known, had at an early day protested against the introduction of negro slaves, and the Constitution bears on its face ample evidence that public opinion condemned both the slave trade and negro slavery, and that the convention that drew it up would have abolished both, if they could have done so without defeating the union of the several states under a single government, which was the principal end they had in view. The Constitution studiously avoids all recognition of slavery in terms, and nowhere marks the slightest distinction between free negroes and free white men. If it refers to negro slaves at all, it refers to them as 'persons held to service,' or to 'other persons,' or simply 'persons imported,' never as negroes; and in denominating them *persons*, it declares them to be human beings, men; and therefore that, under the law of nature, they stand on a footing of perfect equality with men of the white race."

"The court," added Dieffenbach, "was out in its law as well as in its facts. It assumes that in order to determine the true intent and meaning of the Constitution, it suffices to ascertain the true intent and meaning of the people in ordaining it. But the Constitution is not all conventional, and only a part, and that the least essential part, originates in the will of the people. The state, civil government, is instituted and exists for the purpose of maintaining justice, and repressing or redressing injustice; for, Cousin, the eminent French philosopher, well asserts, the state is founded on the idea of the just, and has for its mission the realization of justice in society. All acts against justice are acts against the very purpose and end of the

state, and therefore unconstitutional, and null and void from the beginning. St. Augustine, and all ethical authorities, ancient or modern, maintain that laws against natural justice are violences rather than laws, and without force; and even Blackstone concedes that acts contrary to the law of nature are null and void. The law of nature, natural justice, is anterior to the convention, anterior to civil society, and is the fundamental law of the civil constitution, against which the convention or the political power has no right, no authority. It is integral in the constitution of the state, always presupposed, and is what may properly be called the non-conventional part of the Constitution. The prince, that is, in a popular state, the convention, is restricted in his powers by it, and whatever he attempts against it is unconstitutional and void, without the slightest legal force, since it is against the fundamental and inviolable law of the state, which binds alike the sovereign and the subject. In determining the law, in deciding the question of its constitutionality, the Supreme Court must consult this non-conventional part of the Constitution, even more than the conventional part. The law of nature limits the power of the sovereign. Neither the legislature nor the convention can perform any valid act against natural justice, and therefore the court which has cognizance of constitutional questions will and must treat not only every legislative enactment, but every provision, article or clause of the conventional constitution itself, that contradicts that justice, as *non avenu*."

"The Supreme Court, therefore," added Winslow, "can never, whatever the text of the written constitution, declare anything to be constitutional, and therefore law, that contravenes natural justice. It is not true, then, that the court has no power to go behind even the written or conventional constitution, and to inquire whether the law does or does not violate the law of nature, for the law of nature being the fundamental law of the state, that from which the state derives its being and the Convention all its powers, is as much before the court, or within its cognizance, as the conventional constitution itself. The Supreme Court of every State for the State, the Supreme Court of the United States for the Union, is the supreme civil tribunal for settling the constitutionality or uncon-

stitutionality of the legislative acts which come before it. It entertains the plea to the constitutionality, and will declare every legislative act or so much thereof unconstitutional and void as it judges to be forbidden or not authorized by the Constitution. But no act is or can be constitutional that contradicts the natural law, because that law is an essential element of the Constitution, is itself the fundamental constitution of every state, by the very fact that the state is a state, not a mob or a despotism."

"The court," explained Father John, "judges of the justice of the law, that is, whether it is or is not forbidden by the natural law, but it does not judge of the policy or impolicy, expediency or in expediency of the law, for that belongs primarily to the political, and secondarily, to the legislative power."

"The judges," rejoined O'Flanagan, "are civil officers, created by civil society, and hold their office from the prince, or, as we say in this country, from the people. They are subordinate to the sovereign, and are bound to ascertain, declare, and apply to the case before them the will of the sovereign people, as expressed by them in the Constitution and the laws made in accordance therewith. They may judge whether the legislative enactment under which the case before them is brought, does or does not conform to that will so expressed, but they cannot go behind that will itself, or judge the acts of the convention, under pretext of judging whether the law is constitutional or not. The highest conceivable civil tribunal is the convention or the people themselves, and their judgment in convention, of what is or is not in accordance with the law of nature, is supreme and final for the civil court. It would be absurd to pretend that the judges have authority to sit in judgment on the will that creates them, and to set aside as void the very act from which they derive all their power."

"If the maxim of the old Roman jurist, *Quod placuit principi, legis habet vigorem*, be accepted, Mr. O'Flanagan is certainly right," replied Dieffenbach. "His principle is unquestionably that adopted by Mr. Chief Justice Taney, and by the leaders of the Democratic party, since the time of General Jackson, who introduced and sanctioned the doctrine that each department of the government interprets the Constitution for itself. The courts are created by the

convention or the people, and the judges are directly or indirectly appointed by them, and officiate in their name; but the courts are created courts of justice, and the judges are elected or appointed to administer justice, and, therefore, derive their power from the people only so far as the justice they are to administer is created by the people and dependent on their will. They are judges of the law; they decide sovereignly in the civil order what is the law, as well as apply the law to the particular case before them. The will of the people or the convention is law within the limits of the natural or the moral law, but is null and void as unjust, as a violence, the moment it passes beyond those limits. Whether their will does or does not pass beyond those limits, is not a political or a legislative, but a judicial question, and its decision belongs not to the convention, the supreme political power, nor to the legislature, but to the supreme judiciary. This is implied in that division of the powers of government into separate departments, so essential in the judgment of the fathers of the American republic to the existence and maintenance of freedom. The supreme judiciary is not merely a branch of the executive department, nor are the judges elected or appointed simply to carry out the will of the sovereign, whether the sovereign be the king or emperor, the nobility, or the people in convention, but to restrain even that will itself within the limits of the moral or natural law. Mr. O'Flanagan's reasoning is at war with rational liberty; it involves the principle of civil despotism, makes the people absolute sovereign, and assumes that justice and injustice, right and wrong, are simply conventional."

"But I have simply stated the democratic principle, which I understand to be adopted as law by the American people," replied O'Flanagan; "I am not responsible for that principle."

"The democratic principle, as understood by European Democrats, Jacobins, Red Republicans, and Revolutionists, who only transfer the absolute power of the state from the monarch to the convention or the people," replied Father John, "Mr. O'Flanagan indeed adopts or states, but not the democratic principle as it has been hitherto understood by the great body of the American people. In the sense of that principle, the American government, whether State

or Federal, is not, and was never intended to be democratic; for it was intended by its framers to be, in principle and in practice, a free government, a government compatible with the maintenance of justice, and the natural rights of man."

"When the political, legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government," remarked Dieffenbach, "are united in the same hands, there may be despotism, but there is no state, no recognition, at least no guaranty, of freedom, no protection of natural rights. The glory of the American government is not in its democratic features, but in its wise and just division of the powers of government into distinct departments, a division which has its reason in the very nature of government. With you the powers of government are distributed into four departments, the political, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The political power is the convention; the legislative power is vested in the legislative assemblies, subject in some instances to a conditional veto by the chief executive officer; the executive power for the Union is vested in the President; in the several States in the governor alone, or in the governor and council; the judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court. The executive executes the law as declared and applied by the judiciary, and can execute it only as so declared and applied. The legislative power may enact any law it pleases, authorized by the Constitution, or in the State governments, not forbidden by it. The political power or convention may authorize or forbid, through the Constitution, what it pleases, not in contravention of natural justice, or what in this country is called the natural rights of man. The judiciary decides whether the political as well as the legislative power transcends the limits of natural justice, and declares void the acts of either, when it judges that it does."

"Therefore," added Father John, "the judicial is the more important department of government, as being that which restrains arbitrary and unjust power, and protects the freedom, the rights of the subject or citizen. The judiciary protects the rights of the citizen in face of the political sovereign as well as in face of the legislature, the executive, or his fellow-citizens or subjects. The office of judge is, therefore, the most essential, the most vital

and the most dignified in the state. So long as the judiciary remains incorrupt and independent, so long as it firmly insists on its rights and fearlessly performs its duties, though there may be political blunders, though there may be many impolitic laws, and many foolish legislative enactments, there can be no gross oppression, for substantial justice will be affirmed and injustice repressed. It is deeply to be deplored, that the high dignity and vital importance of the judiciary have, in a measure, been lost sight of in late years by the public, in consequence of the tendency, insensibly encouraged, to exalt unduly the political power. The gravest dangers threaten us in consequence of the unwearied efforts on the part of political leaders and demagogues to render the political power absolute. The judge has come to be looked upon as a mere executive officer, whose official duty is simply to declare and apply to the case before the court the will of the political power, or the sovereign people; and he is regarded, even by honest and intelligent men, as transcending his powers, as abusing his office, if he attempts by his decisions to confine the will or pleasure of the political power within the limits of justice. There have been for several years strong and even successful movements throughout nearly all the states of the Union to subject the judges immediately to the political power, to bring them immediately under the influence of public opinion; and the judges themselves, as they lose their independent position, are beginning to lose sight of their high and solemn functions, and to regard it as their duty simply to give effect to public sentiment, which is, practically, the popular opinion, prejudice, or caprice of the time and place. It was avowedly to render the judges immediately responsible to popular opinion, that the Radicals, who have inflicted so many irreparable evils upon our American community, demanded and have introduced into most of the states the constitutional clauses, which render the judge elective by popular suffrage, elective for a brief term of years, and re-eligible. These changes destroy the independence of the judiciary, and reintroduce the terrible evil from which our English ancestors struggled so hard to free themselves, and which was one of the causes of the American revolution itself—that of making the judges dependent on the good will of the sovereign, and the mere instruments of his plea-

sure. They have worked an almost entire revolution in the judiciary, and prepared our republic to become a popular or a democratic absolutism, in which the people, that is, party, that is, again, the demagogues, govern, without any legal or practical restraint on their irresponsible will."

"The Chief Justice of the United States," remarked Winslow, "though bred in a good school, seems to have been led to adopt the maxims of the Roman, rather than of the English law; and has sought rather to give effect to the will of the political power, than to strengthen the defences of individual rights. In deserting the old Federal party, he seems to have gone over to political absolutism, the real character of which is concealed from his vision, because it presents itself to him under the popular name of democracy. If we adopt the principle of the radical democracy, and pronounce the political power absolute, no fault can be found with the opinion of the Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case, save so far as it is founded on the misapprehension of the facts in the case. But that principle, which I believe to be the real, pure democratic principle, and therefore the reason why I cannot be a democrat, is the principle of absolutism, of Cæsarism, just as much as it would be if the political power was vested in one man, instead of being as with us vested in the people, or the convention. It makes the arbitrary will of the people supreme, and therefore, right and wrong, conventional. With us the people are the state, and this doctrine makes the state absolute, free to do whatever it pleases. It makes the popular will, which in practice is simply popular opinion, the supreme law of the land, with no higher law to which that will is itself bound to conform."

"So it comes out at last, that we must accept Mr. Seward's doctrine of the higher law," exclaimed O'Flanagan,—“a doctrine which has excited a burst of indignation from one end of the Union to the other, and which is incompatible with the very existence of government.”

"No man who denies the higher law," replied Father John, "has or can have the right to open his mouth in favor of liberty, whether civil or religious. There is, if there be any truth in reason or revelation, a higher law than the will of the people, or the convention. Mr. Seward did not err, but uttered a great truth, when he boldly pro-

claimed it in his place in the Senate. It is the only basis of liberty, whether civil or religious. The error of Mr. Seward was not in proclaiming the higher law, but in making each individual his own judge of what it enjoins, and in tacitly implying that the Constitution of the United States requires one to do things against it. The Constitution requires nothing of any one incompatible with the higher law, whether the natural law or the revealed law, and not the individual, but, in the civil order, the Supreme Court is the tribunal for interpreting, declaring, and applying it. The great danger to liberty in our country, it cannot be too often repeated, is from the tendency to assert the absolute supremacy of the state and in not recognizing the fact, that no will or ordinance even of the people in convention assembled, and ratified by a popular vote, is or can be law, or be rightly treated as law by the Courts, if it contravenes the law of justice. The existence and well-being of society depend on the wise and prompt administration of justice, which is anterior to the convention, and is its law. This justice is that higher law, which is created by no human convention or legislation, but is enacted by God himself as the transcript of his own eternal law. The tribunal for determining this law is not, as Mr. Seward would leave us to infer, the individual for himself, but the Supreme Judiciary. So understood, it involves nothing anarchical, or restrictive of the just freedom and authority of the political power."

"But the Supreme Court is not infallible, and may err in its decision, as it is contended Chief Justice Taney actually has done, in deciding in the Dred Scott case, against negro citizenship," rejoined O'Flanagan. "What security have we, then, that the Courts will maintain justice, or that they will not make unjust decisions? If they do make unjust decisions, what is the remedy? If the decisions of the Court bind both the individual and the political power, what right will any one have to reclaim against them, or to demand their reversal?"

"The difficulty is theoretical rather than practical," answered Father John. "In practice, the Courts, if pure and independent, will seldom err as to natural justice. Their decisions, furthermore, bind only in the temporal order, and one is obliged to obey them only in his civil

capacity, and is, consequently, free to criticize the decision, if he see cause to do so. Even the error of the Court in the Dred Scott case, if err it did, was not in relation to the points actually before it for adjudication; and the criticisms which I should allow myself, are not on its decisions, but its *obiter dicta*. I think the opinion wrong that denies negro citizenship, because I hold that the presumption under our system is in favor of equal rights, and negroes are citizens, the same as others, if not expressly excluded. But I do not think the presumption is in favor of negro suffrage, for suffrage is not a natural, but a conventional right, and can never be presumed. The right to vote in elections is a trust positively conferred, and must be strictly construed."

"The Supreme Court is the supreme tribunal in the civil order, but the civil order is not itself supreme," added Dieffenbach; "and the Supreme Court is itself bound to take the law of justice, as expounded by the Supreme Tribunal of the supreme or spiritual order, which enlightens conscience in regard to absolute justice, and interprets supremely for it the law of God. The Supreme Court, after all, is a civil court, and within the civil order. It is a branch of the civil government, and its decisions, though civilly are not absolutely infallible, unless on the moral and spiritual relations of the case it borrows its light from the spiritual order, or the court which is instituted, not by man, but by God himself, to interpret, declare, and apply the higher law for conscience. This is wherefore political atheism is necessarily hostile to true liberty, as not recognizing, and not being able to declare infallible the law of natural justice, which is the basis and sanction of all human law. This shows, also, wherefore Catholics cannot mean what they say, when they assert that their religion has nothing to do with their politics, as Mr. O'Flanagan is so fond of saying."

"Undoubtedly," replied Father John, "the spiritual order is superior to the temporal, and thus the Church interprets the natural law for the State, and not the State for the Church. But this she does by her ordinary teaching, not ordinarily by formal judicial decisions,—by informing the mind and conscience of the judges and rulers, as men and citizens. However, in a state that holds under the

natural law, as with us, and is not by its constitution a Catholic state under special Catholic obligations, natural justice suffices for the Courts, and as that is in the natural order, the civil judges are competent to decide any questions arising under it, at least, with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes. For myself, I should be satisfied with the civil courts, when properly constituted, and suffered to be independent, as sufficient to maintain justice in all civil causes. The faults of their decisions do not arise from their ignorance of natural justice, or their inability to make just decisions, so much as from their dependence on the political power, and failure to assert their rights and prerogatives. The world has not subsisted six thousand years, and two thousand years under the Christian Dispensation, without the natural law being known, the law which is incorporated into the very reason and nature of man. Practically, at any rate, the higher law may be safely asserted, if it is asserted and followed only as declared and applied by the Supreme Court,—safely followed, whether in relation to liberty or in relation to power.”

ART. IV.—*Philosophie et Religion, Dignité de la Raison humaine, et Nécessité de la Révélation Divine.* Pa
H. L. C. MARET. Paris: 1856. 8vo.

IN our review for January, 1857, we discussed the first part of this work, that which treats of the “Dignity of Human Reason,” and promised to return to it and consider the views of the author in relation to the second part, which undertakes to prove the “Necessity of Divine Revelation.” We proceed now to redeem our promise, though somewhat late.

In many of the works which attempt to prove the necessity of divine revelation, there is, at least, an apparent contradiction, which does much to lessen their value as works intended to convince unbelievers of the truth of the Christian religion. The authors usually begin by establishing the dignity and trustworthiness of reason, in order to refute scepticism, and to obtain a solid ground for

science and natural faith; they then proceed to demonstrate from the history of human errors, in all ages and countries, the insufficiency of reason, its utter inability to serve us as our sole guide, even in the natural order; and they end by concluding from this insufficiency and this inability, the necessity of divine revelation and supernatural guidance. Theologians in the tract *de Verâ Religione*, usually undertake to prove first that a divine revelation is possible; second, that it is necessary; and third, that it has been given. But all conclude its necessity from the insufficiency of reason, an insufficiency attempted to be proved by reason itself. They assume, then, as it would seem, the sufficiency of reason as the condition of proving the insufficiency of reason. Moreover, if supernatural revelation be necessary to nature, or as the complement of natural reason, it falls itself into the order of nature, and then is natural, and is not, properly speaking, supernatural. Indeed, every attempt to prove from natural reason the necessity of divine or supernatural revelation, seems to involve in some form this real or apparent contradiction. Pascal and Huet demolish reason to clear the site for faith; but it is with reason they demolish reason, and a faith that is built on the denial of reason not only has no solid foundation, but is, really, no faith at all, for faith always implies an act of reason. Only a rational subject can elicit an act of faith, or have infused the habit of faith. Hence the Jansenists and Traditionalists, who build science on supernatural revelation, and make faith precede knowledge, only build castles in the air.

Acute and logical unbelievers, seeing this apparent contradiction between the first part and the last part of our argument, read our Evangelical Demonstrations without being convinced, and remain persuaded in their own minds that, whether a divine revelation has been made or not, it can never be proved either from or by reason. Our treatises, while they confirm and satisfy those who already believe and have no doubts, leave unbelievers unbelievers still, and, not seldom, tend only to render them more hardened in their unbelief.

Whence comes this? Is the apparent contradiction real? Have all the able men who have used the ordinary method been deceived, or only barefaced sophists? We

shall reply to that by-and-by ; but we say now, that the argument as usually presented is not in all respects logically or theologically valid. Natural reason must suffice for natural reason, and be sufficient in the natural order, if we suppose the natural order to remain in its normal state. Whatever is in the order of nature, or due to it, is natural. Reason is our natural light, the revelation of God to us in the natural order. It is that light which we receive from God, in and by the simple fact that he has created us rational and intelligent existences, in and by the fact that he has made us men ; and to suppose it really insufficient for us in the order of natural existences, or deprived of its complement as reason, would be to deny that God has created us men, or that we are anything more than inchoate existences. Assuming this, it is evident that the necessity of a divine revelation in addition to our natural light cannot be concluded *à priori* by natural reason, nor even conceived of naturally, and that a supernatural revelation must be made as the condition of our being able, not only to prove, but even to conceive its necessity.

By Catholic faith we are taught that God could, if he had chosen, have created man in the beginning as he is now born, *seclusâ ratione culpæ*. Then we must suppose that man is now born with all that can be asserted as essential to his existence in a state of pure nature. If so, we cannot maintain, for it is not true, that divine or supernatural revelation is necessary to nature, or as the complement of our natural light. Nature, as pure nature, can have no wants, no aspirations beyond nature, or which can be satisfied only in the supernatural. Père Gratry, indeed, argues to the contrary, and contends that philosophy conducts to faith, and faith to the beatific vision, because man naturally desires to see God as he is in himself, which is not naturally possible. Even St. Thomas and other eminent theologians seem to maintain that man has naturally wants and aspirations, which can be satisfied only in the beatific vision. That man has, as a matter of fact, such wants and aspirations, cannot be denied, but that they are purely natural we are not prepared to concede. No nature can rise above itself, or have a prolepsis of a higher order than that which is present in its own reason. The unbeliever, who ascribes these wants and

aspirations, of which he as well as others is conscious, to tradition or education, is not wholly wrong. Though common to all men, they must be something superinduced upon human nature, not something originating in it as pure nature. Natural reason being in itself all that is essential to natural reason, cannot rise by itself alone to the perception or even the conception of the supernatural, nor of the necessity of a higher light than its own. Nothing can be more than itself. Reason cannot see beyond itself, what it has no power to see; and therefore by its own light alone it cannot perceive the unknown, or even be aware that there is an unknown. What is not intelligible to it, does not exist for it. It cannot, then, by its own light discover its own limitations, its own insufficiency, and therefore cannot conceive of the necessity of any higher or clearer light. All existence for it is limited to its light, and beyond what that light illumines, it naturally and spontaneously conceives nothing, for Gioberti's attempt to establish for man a natural faculty of superintelligence is not successful. We then are disposed to question the soundness of the argument that attempts from the insufficiency of natural reason to deduce the necessity of divine or supernatural revelation, because that insufficiency itself is not naturally evident to natural reason, and because, restricted to the ends of pure nature, reason is not and cannot be insufficient.

God could have made man, if he had chosen, as he is now born, provided for him a natural beatitude, and left him to the simple light of reason. There is, then, in pure nature no innate necessity of supernatural revelation. The natural presence of God in reason, so ably asserted by the Abbé Maret, would suffice; and reason would not, on such a supposition, be insufficient. Indeed, absolutely considered, reason is insufficient only on the supposition that man is designed for a supernatural, not a simply natural beatitude. If we suppose a supernatural order exists, and that man has his destiny in that order, the insufficiency of reason is evident of itself, and there is no necessity of attempting to prove it; and we apprehend that the usual arguments to prove the insufficiency of reason, and from that insufficiency to conclude the necessity of divine revelation, do in reality assume that there is a supernatural

order, and that man has his destiny in that order. They therefore assume in the outset the precise things unbelievers in our day desire to have proved, namely, the fact of a supernatural providence.

The Abbé Maret does not seem to us to perceive this defect in the form of the ordinary reasoning on this subject, or to escape entirely the contradiction we have pointed out. He begins by proving, or attempting to prove, that man by his natural light and forces is not able to attain even to his natural ends. Man has intelligence and will. "The natural end of intelligence is truth, and all natural truth; that is to say, a clear, precise, exact, and certain knowledge of the principle, the law, and the end of man; a clear, precise, exact, and certain knowledge of God and his relations with man and the world; a clear, precise, exact, and certain knowledge of the law which God gives to his free and intelligent creatures to conduct them to the end appointed. The natural end of liberty and the human will, of free and voluntary activity, is found in the full and complete observance of the relations which flow from the nature of things, relations which constitute the eternal and necessary order, and which are manifested to us by the law of God." But man, he argues, by his natural light and strength is not able to attain to those ends, therefore a Divine revelation is necessary. To this it may be replied: these ends are above and beyond our natural powers, or they are not. If they are, they are not natural, but supernatural. If they are not, no Divine revelation is necessary to enable man to attain to them. Nothing can be called the natural end of man, to which man's nature is not, in its normal state, fully adequate. The natural end of any created being, is the end to which it is fitted and enabled by its nature to attain. An end that exceeds the natural powers of the creature to attain is not its natural end, and cannot be. It is supernatural, for the simple reason that it is not naturally attainable. The natural end of intellect is truth, but not necessarily all truth even in the natural order, but only so much of truth as it is naturally able to grasp. The natural end of the free voluntary activity of man is moral good, but not necessarily all moral good. Nature can bind no further than she gives the ability, and the man who attains to all the moral good within the reach of his natural ability attains to his natural moral perfection.

It seems to us that in the usual reasoning on this subject, authors are not careful to bear in mind that the natural order they speak of in their argument is the natural order as distinguished from that supernatural order in which we as Christians believe, not the natural order considered solely in relation to the natural powers of creatures in a state of pure nature. That man by his natural powers alone cannot attain to the moral or intellectual perfection conceivable in the natural order as distinguished from the supernatural order asserted by Christians, we readily concede, and therefore we ourselves assert the necessity in our actual state of Divine assistance, not given in nature, to enable us to attain to the perfect good, to which we conceive God might have destined us without creating for us the supernatural order. Still we are arguing as a Christian, as a believer, as one who has the supernatural revelation, and uses that revelation, not merely his natural light alone. But the argument to reach the pure rationalist is not simple and ultimate enough, because natural reason without revelation can show man no higher end as obligatory on him than is naturally attainable. Leave me to nature alone, and my natural ends are simply those to which I am naturally sufficient. The natural ends the learned and philosophic Abbé insists upon, are natural in the sense that they do not lie in the supernatural order, or are not the supernatural end of regenerated Humanity, or the new creation, but, if unattainable by our natural powers, they are not natural in relation to the natural or unassisted man.

We dare maintain that natural reason left to itself is not able to assert the necessity of a Divine revelation. It could do so only on condition that the necessity of such revelation is inherent in the nature of man, and that, as a Catholic, we are not permitted to assert; for that would imply that it is due to man, a *debitum*, which God contracts in the very act of creating man. But Divine Revelation pertains to the order of grace, not to the order of justice. God could, had he so chosen, have created man and left him to his simple natural light and forces, without doing him any injustice. Divine revelation is a free gift, not a *debitum*, or debt due to man as the complement of his nature. Yet unless it is a debt, unless it is something due to nature, you cannot from nature deduce its necessity.

But if this be so, we ask again whence the popularity

of this argument? How happens it that in some form nearly all the great defenders of the Christian Revelation, from St. Augustine down to the author of the *Aspirations of Nature*, adopt it, and attempt to prove by reason the insufficiency of reason, and then to conclude from that insufficiency the necessity of Divine and supernatural revelation? Is their reasoning absolutely and essentially vicious, mere sophistry? He certainly would be a rash man, if nothing worse, who should assert it, and in commenting on it as we have done, we have been very far from intending to impugn the substance of the argument. Our real purpose is to call attention to a fact that seems to us, if not generally overlooked, not to have been generally stated with proper distinctness and formality.

If we take *man* as we now find him, he certainly is insufficient for the perfection we can suppose in the natural order. There are certainly ends supposable in that order, in case man were appointed to a natural beatitude, to which he is not adequate, and nothing is more certain than that in his actual condition he is not able to fulfil the whole natural law without the gracious assistance of God. From man's actual and undeniable insufficiency to keep the whole law of nature, the necessity of Divine revelation and assistance may undoubtedly be concluded; but this is because man has lost the integrity of his nature, the *indebita*, as theologians say, and because he is not and never has been in a state of pure nature. He has never existed in a state of pure nature, or been abandoned to his simple, natural light and forces, but has been both before and since the Fall placed under a supernatural providence. From the first God has dealt with him as a creature appointed to a supernatural end, and poured on him a flood of light above and beyond his simple natural light, whence he has wants and aspirations which he is not naturally able to gratify. As a matter of fact, there is that inadequacy of man's powers to his wants and aspirations alleged; but it is due not to the insufficiency of pure nature for pure nature, but to the insufficiency of pure nature for the end above pure nature, which is clearly or dimly revealed to every human intellect and every human heart.

The natural ends of intellect and will, stated by the learned and philosophic Abbé, are not the ends of pure

nature, but of integral nature, to which we know from our faith, man was equal before the prevarication of Adam; but man does not exist now in a state of integral nature, and it is not and never was necessary that he should, for God, as the Church has defined against Baius, might have created man in the beginning such as he is now born. Man not being now in a state of integral nature, whence does he know the fact of such a state, or become able to conceive of what in such a state would be his natural end, supposing him destined to a natural end? You place man in a state of pure nature, give as his natural end what is really the natural end only of integral nature, show that he is inadequate to that end, and thence conclude the necessity of Divine light and assistance beyond man's natural light and forces. But your conclusion is not valid; first, because it cannot be necessary that pure nature should fulfil the ends of integral nature, and secondly, because integral nature and its ends are not discernible by pure reason, without the tradition of faith.

Furthermore, the Divine revelation proved to be necessary from the insufficiency of man to fulfil the law of nature, would not necessarily be the revelation of a supernatural order of life, such as is brought to light through the Gospel. According to the Christian revelation the end of man is supernatural, not natural, an end which is not even approached by the perfect fulfilment of the whole natural law. Suppose man in the full integrity of his nature, knowing and obeying perfectly the whole natural law, he is still in the order of nature, and has not necessarily any knowledge or conception of any other than a natural end, than a natural beatitude. He does not even begin to live the supernatural life which is in Christ, the Incarnate God. The proof, then, of the necessity in our present state of Divine revelation to enable us to know and fulfil the whole law of nature, would not, *per se*, advance us a single step in the proof either of the fact or of the necessity of the Christian revelation. The Abbé Maret, then, even supposing him to have proved the necessity of Divine revelation and existence to enable us to attain the ends of intellect and will in the natural order, has done nothing towards proving the truth, reality, or necessity of that supernatural order which we as Christians believe, simply

because the end to be attained is not in the natural order, but in the supernatural.

Natural reason, we maintain, in the state of integral nature is sufficient to the end of that nature; in a state of pure nature, it is sufficient to the end of pure nature. It can then be assumed or proved to be insufficient only in relation either to integral nature, in which a man is not, or in relation to a supernatural end of which we can know nothing, without a supernatural revelation. Not being in the state of *natura integra*, we cannot by simple natural reason alone attain to the knowledge or conception of such a state, and therefore we cannot by our own natural light in the state of pure nature know the insufficiency of reason in relation to its end; and not being able by natural reason in any state to conceive of a supernatural order and a supernatural end, we cannot by natural reason alone prove the insufficiency of reason in relation even to the supernatural. Therefore in no sense in which reason is assumed to be insufficient can its insufficiency be proved by our simple natural light. The insufficiency of reason can be known only by divine revelation, and therefore cannot be established as one of the facts known independently of revelation, from which the necessity of revelation may be logically concluded.

But this insufficiency is a fact of which all men are more or less conscious, and is proved by the whole voluminous history of human error and failure. The immense distance between our ideal and our power of realization, is borne witness to by men in all ages and nations, and constitutes the secret of life's innumerable tragedies. Those wants and aspirations, which are insisted on by theologians, preachers, and apologists, which cannot find their satisfaction in the natural order, and which point to the possession and vision of God as he is in himself, are facts, facts to be found in some measure in the experience of every man, and which no one can seriously attempt for one moment to deny. What do they prove? They do not prove the insufficiency of reason or nature in relation to its own order, as is pretended; they do not prove the necessity of Divine revelation; but they are unimpeachable witnesses in human experience to the fact that a Divine revelation has been made, and that man is under a supernatural

providence, destined not to a natural but to a supernatural beatitude. They prove, when rightly considered, more than the *necessity*, they prove the *fact* of Divine revelation, for if no such revelation had been made, they would not and could not have existed. They would have been no more possible in the case of man than in the case of animals.

But those who deny revelation and the supernatural order, usually hold that these wants and aspirations which nothing earthly satisfies are natural, originate in nature alone. Against these the ordinary argument is good. Either these wants and aspirations proceed from reminiscences of a Divine revelation and the fact that man is under a supernatural providence and destined to a supernatural beatitude, or they proceed from nature herself. If the former, the controversy is at an end, and you concede Divine revelation and the fact of the supernatural order; if the latter, you must concede the insufficiency of nature or reason for itself, and then the necessity of Divine revelation and supernatural assistance. The usual argument is valid as an *argumentum ad hominem*, or when nature is taken not in the *sensus divisus*, but in the *sensus compositus*, as including all that we can affirm of an un-supernaturalized or unregenerated man,—in which sense we presume it is usually taken by those who use the argument. Nature means in their minds whatever is true of man considered prior to his regeneration or supernaturalization, without their distinguishing in him between what is purely natural in its origin, and what he owes to the tradition of his integral and supernatural state, a tradition which has never been wholly lost in any age or country, with any people, tribe, or individual. So taken we accept the argument, and have ourselves urged it more than once with all the force we have.

But we may, we think, obtain a still stronger and more conclusive argument by taking nature in the *sensus divisus*, in which sense it has not and cannot have the conception of its own insufficiency; for in that sense it is not insufficient for itself, as we think we have already shown. It will then follow that the natural has, and can have no natural conception of the supernatural. The order of grace lies above the order of nature, and though grace supposes nature, nature

does not suppose grace. Grace is neither included in nature, nor necessary to it as nature. Evidently, then, nature does not, and by itself alone cannot even conceive of the supernatural. The need of grace is not a natural need; for if it were, grace would not be grace, but debt, and God, having created nature, would have no right to withhold it. Grace in that case would not be, in relation to nature, free grace, which God notwithstanding his decree to create to man, is free to grant or withhold. By nature, or natural reasons, we may and do know with certainty that God exists; but that he exists as the author of nature, not that he also exists as the author of grace, or as the author of the supernatural. From the fact that God has created nature, we cannot conclude that he has created the order of grace, because his decree to create the order of grace is not involved in his decree to create the order of nature. The supernatural, then, is neither revealed nor implied in the order of nature, and is for it, till otherwise revealed, as if it were not. It would destroy the very fundamental conception of grace to suppose the decree to create nature did not leave God free either to grant or withhold it. Now we say, that what rests, so to speak, notwithstanding the creation of the order of nature, in the free will of God to give or withhold, cannot be asserted or indicated in any way whatever by the existence of the natural order or anything pertaining to it. Evidently then, man could not by nature or natural reason, know or conceive of the existence of God as author of grace, or of a supernatural order, or infer from anything in or wanting to nature the existence of such order. Nothing could lead him to conceive of any order above or distinct from the natural order. He could no more conceive of it than a man born blind could conceive of colors, or a man born deaf could conceive of sounds.

Yet we find that all the world has in some form the conception of the supernatural, and is either asserting or denying it; all the world is conscious of wants and aspirations that nature cannot satisfy, and which can find their satisfaction only in the possession of God by the supernatural light of glory. All religions, the gross forms of feticism, the poetic mythology and gorgeous ceremonial of polished Gentile nations, and the sublime worship of the Jews and

Christians alike bear witness to the fact of these wants and aspirations, and to the fact that man does conceive of the supernatural, and the reality of a supernatural providence. Now whence these conceptions and these wants and aspirations, since they do not and cannot proceed from nature abandoned to itself? These wants and aspirations are inconceivable in pure nature, and could not be experienced, if it were not a fact that a man is placed under a supernatural providence, and has not provided for him simply natural beatitude as his end. Their existence from the first with all men is, then, a proof, not of the necessity but of the fact of the supernatural, for unless God had in some way affirmed himself to man as the author of the supernatural, as he affirms himself to natural reason as the author of nature, they could not have existed.

We beg our readers to recall here what we have so often asserted and demonstrated, namely, that man knows that God is, only because he affirms himself in and to natural reason, as at once its creator, light, and immediate object. Suppose, *per impossibile*, that the human mind could exist and operate without the intuition of God, it could never by its natural light and forces attain to the conception of his existence, because the assertion of his existence would not be necessary to the explication of the existence and operations of the human mind. So in the supernatural order. If you suppose the human mind without the affirmation by God himself to it of his existence as author of the supernatural, you cannot conceive of him as such, because it is not necessary to conceive of him as author of the supernatural in order to conceive of him as author of the natural. The supernatural is not and cannot be necessary to the existence or explication of the natural. Suppose, then, the human mind without the conception of the supernatural, and abandoned to its natural light and forces, it is evident that it can attain to that conception only by the affirmation to it by some other than itself, of the supernatural. That is, the human mind must be taught, or have revealed to it, the supernatural, or it cannot conceive of the supernatural, cannot either affirm or deny, believe or disbelieve it.

Unbelievers all maintain that men believe in the supernatural only because they have been taught it, and they

attribute these wants and aspirations which demand the supernatural to tradition or education. So far we agree with them, we maintain the same. But who has been the teacher? "Priests, and crafty and ambitious statesmen," say the sages of the Voltairian school. Crafty and ambitious statesmen may use or abuse existing popular beliefs or prejudices, but they do not invent them for the sake of using them in the government of men. Priests, if wicked, may pervert the religious beliefs of mankind, as Protestant ministers pervert and abuse the reverence of the Christian heart for the Holy Scriptures; but they do not invent the belief in the supernatural, because their very existence as priests supposes it already entertained. The creature does not create its creator. They may perpetuate, but could not have originated it. "The passions," say one class of unbelievers, "originated it." *Timor fecit deos*, sang old Lucretius. Fear or the passions of their worshippers may have given to the gods believed in their special form or character, but could not have originated the primitive conception of the Divinity. Men may anthropomorphize their conceptions of God, but they cannot do so unless they already believe that God or the Divinity exists. "Imagination," say still another class of unbelievers, "formed heaven and hell, the Elysian fields and the Tartarean Gulf." Be it so. But imagination can only clothe with its own beautiful, fantastic, grotesque, or hideous forms, conceptions derived from intuition or revelation. Imagination can operate only on real *data*, and its wildest fancies are simply combinations in its own way of known realities.

However we may attempt to explain the *accidents*, to speak scholastically, of the conception of the supernatural, we are obliged to admit at least that none of the explanations we offer account for the origin of the *idea* itself, for they all presuppose it. My father may have taught me, and his father may have taught him, and so on till you come to the first man. But who taught the first man? Who could, but God himself? The moment, then, that it is conceded or proved that the natural by itself alone does not and cannot rise to the conception of the supernatural, the moment that it is conceded or proved that man can entertain the idea only as he is taught it,—that moment it must be conceded that the supernatural has been revealed

by God himself, and therefore that the supernatural is true, is a real existing order, as truly so as the natural order; for God is no less true in revealing than in creating.

We must remember that only truth is intelligible, and that the human mind can never embrace pure, unmixed falsehood. Pure, unmixed falsehood is absolute nothing, is mere negation, and is and can be no object of the intellect. Error is intelligible only by virtue of the truth it misapprehends, misrepresents, or misapplies. Men may err as to the supernatural, may have false notions of a future life, may paye heaven with false gods, and establish and observe false and mischievous forms of worship, but not without having a conception of a future life, of heaven, of the Divinity, of religious worship, which has a substratum of truth, of reality. It is thus that all false religions are witnesses to the fact that there is a true religion. The human mind, whether considered under the point of view of intellect, imagination, or affection, can operate only in conjunction with its object, which it is not itself, and which it does not and cannot create, and which it does not and cannot seek and find for itself, but which presents itself, or is divinely presented, to it. The miserable psychologism, which sends the mind without its object forth into space to seek and find its object, which supposes the mind can operate without an object, *le moi* without *le non-moi*, that it can create its object, or that it can take itself as its own object, that is, stand face to face with itself, and look into its own eyes, has been sufficiently refuted in these pages, and by the great contemporary masters of human thought, and no man pretending to the least philosophical science can any longer insist on it. God is and can be his own object, because he is intelligible *in se*, since he is pure, absolute, infinite being *in se*; but no creature can be his own object, because no creature is intelligible *in se*, since no creature is pure being *in se*, but lives, moves, and exists in another, to wit, the Creator. "In him we live, and move, and are."

Men cannot then attain to the conception of the supernatural unless the supernatural really exists, and is presented, immediately or mediately, to their mind as an intelligible or as a credible object. The notion that it is purely false, as unbelievers pretend, must be given up, because the human

mind cannot conceive of pure falsehood, and the notion that it can be obtained by induction from natural phenomena is a sin against the fundamental principle of logic, that there can be no more in the conclusion than is contained in the premises. Even in the natural order, we do not, notwithstanding all your physico-theological treatises, prove the existence of God even as author of nature, by induction from natural phenomena. If there were no intuition of that which is God, no induction could prove or demonstrate his existence. All we do by our induction is to prove not that God is, but that the being presented to us in intuition is God. So in the supernatural order, we cannot from our wants and aspirations, assumed to be simply wants and aspirations of nature, conclude the fact or the necessity of the supernatural. But from an analysis of these wants and aspirations we may prove that they are not purely natural in their origin, and therefore conclude that the supernatural has been in some form revealed to man, and that he has been placed under a supernatural providence and destined to a supernatural end. We do not conclude by induction that man needs a Divine revelation and a supernatural providence, but that what is affirmed in these very wants and aspirations is that man has received such a revelation and is under such a providence.

What we say here accepts what is true in the teachings of the so-called Traditionalists. They push their doctrines too far, and do not distinguish with sufficient care in the natural order between intuition and reflection, and in religion and morality between the natural and the supernatural. Their grand principle is that man cannot *invent*, that is, find truth. Rightly explained, this principle is sound. If this means that the truth must present and affirm itself to the mind, and that the mind cannot operate without truth, it is correct and what we assert. If it means that there is in the natural order no immediate intuition of truth pertaining to that order, as the Traditionalists seem to hold, it is incorrect, unphilosophical, and erroneous, denies all real science or knowledge, and therefore the possibility of faith, as may be concluded from the act of faith itself. If it means that man in the reflective order needs to have the truth not only presented intuitively, but re-presented through the medium of language or sensible signs, we

accept it. Man taught through the medium of language that God exists, can, when the idea is re-presented to him, find or prove by reason, that God really is. But without being so taught, or having the idea so re-presented, he would never have conceived of God even as author of nature. So of the immateriality and immortality of the soul, free will, and moral obligation, all the great truths of the natural order, or of what is sometimes called natural religion. All of these may, when taught through language, or represented by tradition, be demonstrated, proved, or known with certainty by natural reason; yet without the teaching or the tradition they would never have been known or conceived of in the reflective order, although all are intuitively presented.

In the supernatural order the principle is the same, only its truths are truths of faith, not of knowledge, although the effects they produce in the natural order may be known as well as believed. But their effects in the natural could not be produced, if they were not truths, and in relation with the natural. Man could not be intellectually or morally affected by them, if they were not in some manner revealed to him, and if he were not placed within the sphere of their influence. Man does not by his natural intellect find or invent them, and he can know or believe them only as they are presented to him immediately, or mediately through tradition, by God himself in his relation as author of the supernatural. In point of fact, they are presented to us by tradition, and as that tradition must have its origin in Divine revelation, the very fact that they are presented to our minds, and we can think and speak of them or about them, is a proof that they are truths, and that in believing them we are believing God, who cannot deceive or be deceived. Thus far the Traditionalists are certainly right, for tradition in the natural order is the medium of re-presentation, and in the supernatural the medium, except in the case of the immediately inspired, of the presentation of truth to the human reason.

The reasoning we adduce accords with the historical facts in the case. We know by faith that God, when he had created man, placed him under a supernatural providence, and appointed him to a supernatural end,—the enjoyment of God in the beatific vision. He might have provided, but

he did not provide for man a perfect natural beatitude, because it pleased him in his overflowing goodness to provide something infinitely higher and better for him than any natural beatitude could be. Having assigned him in his decree a supernatural end or beatitude, he clothed him with the full integrity of his nature, the *indebita* of the theologians, and infused into him a supernatural or elevating grace, which supernaturalized him and placed him on the plane of his supernatural destiny, and fitted him to merit a supernatural reward. He made him a revelation, not simply a revelation of the truths of the natural order, but truths also of the supernatural order in which his destiny was placed. Thus man started, not in the natural order alone, not in a state of pure nature, but in integral nature, supernaturally elevated to the plane of a supernatural end, under a supernatural providence, and favored with supernatural instruction and assistance.

Tempted by Satan, and preferring natural, or what he supposed to be natural, to supernatural beatitude, as the race to a fearful extent has ever since done, man disobeyed the command of his Lord and God, and fell from his high estate, and in falling lost his original justice and sanctity which would have merited the supernatural reward; and with the supernatural grace by which he was constituted in justice, he lost also the integrity of his nature, or the gifts superadded to its endowments as pure nature. He also fell under the power of Satan, lost the dominion over his lower nature, and became subject to pain and misery, to error, and to death, temporal and eternal. But though man lost the integrity of his nature, and the supernatural grace of his state of innocence, and though in consequence his understanding became darkened and his will attenuated, he did not lose all recollection of the revelation he had received, nor all reminiscences of his original endowments, and has, unless in here and there an individual case, never wholly lost them. His nature, though it has lost no faculty essential to it as pure nature, bears still traces of the shock it received when violently despoiled of its original integrity and supernatural endowments. Man bears in his secret heart the memory of a great and terrible loss. His nature as it exists to-day is not simply *natura privata*, but *natura spoliata*. What it weeps and longs for is not a good that it

has never had yet aspires to, but a good that it has had, and through prevarication has lost. It is not its inability to gain the Eden before it that causes its sadness, and produces the low, melodious wail of sorrow we meet in the poetry of all ages and nations, but the Eden behind it, from which it has been expelled, and whose gates are guarded by angels with flaming swords against all return. Examine all the religions of the Gentiles in ancient or modern times, and you will find them pervaded by a deep and unutterable regret. They recall at every turn the memory of a terrible catastrophe. Their gaiety is the gaiety of despair, not of hope. What are the wild and frantic dances of the Corybantes, the fearful orgies of Bacchus and Isis, but miserable attempts to drown memory, to obtain a momentary forgetfulness of an irreparable loss? All history, all Gentile superstition, nay, human life itself bears unmistakable testimony to the loss of a good once possessed, and to the incessant efforts of man to forget it, to repair it, or to supply it by another.

St. Thomas and all our theologians teach that there never has been but one revelation, and that that was made, at least in substance, to our first parents, before their expulsion from the Garden, and hence St. Augustine says, "Times change, but faith does not change; as believed the fathers, so believe we, only they believed in Christ who was to come, we in Christ who has come." The tradition of this revelation, a revelation of the supernatural order, the supernatural life and destiny of man, has never been wholly effaced in any age, nor with any people or tribe. It is incorporated, with more or less purity and integrity, into every speech and language of men. It comes down to us in its purity and integrity through the Patriarchs, the Synagogue, and the Church, and in a corrupt, fragmentary, and sometimes in a travestied form through the Gentile nations and heretical sects. It is the one grand fountain from which all religions have drawn. The Patriarchal religion is the type of all the Gentile religions, the Catholic religion is the type of all heretical religions — the type from which they depart indeed, not the type they approach and tend to realize. The Gentile religions corrupted the Patriarchal, and tended from the supernatural to the natural, from God as the author of the supernatural, to God as

author of nature; and from God as author of nature, to God in nature; from God in nature, to nature without God; and from nature without God, to demonism. "All the gods of the heathen are demons," says the Holy Scripture. The same is true of heresy. Protestantism having broken from unity, has run, in its advanced guard, through deism, pantheism, nature or soul worship, and is now developing itself in spiritism or demonism, and nowhere more fearfully than in our country, so remarkable for its precocity. Still in all you find not anticipations, but reminiscences of the Divine revelation of the supernatural order, and none of them are explicable without the revelation held by the Patriarchs, the Synagogue, and the Church, or could have existed if such a revelation had not been made, and been their point of departure, or if man had not been placed under the supernatural providence that revelation asserts.

Here is the grand fact. The supernatural is not created by man, nor is it left to be discovered or demonstrated by philosophy. It is a fact in human history, and always has been, and is as evidently and as undeniably there as the natural itself. Not a single fact in that history is really explicable without its assumption. The whole history of the race is an overwhelming proof of the fact that man is under a supernatural providence, and that God governs and always has governed him in relation to a supernatural destiny. If a man is under a supernatural providence, certainly a supernatural revelation is necessary, but not otherwise. Philosophy, therefore, which is only natural reason, can prove neither the need nor the fact of such revelation. The very first step in the process of proof must be, then, the proof of the assumption that man is under a supernatural providence, a fact not provable from reason alone. Before we proceed to prove that man needs a Divine revelation, we must prove the fact to reason, that man is under a supernatural providence; and this can be done, because it is a fact provable, not from reason, indeed, from *data* furnished by natural reason, but to reason, by the undeniable fact that the supernatural is in human history, and presents itself in every page of that history; by the fact that the whole life of man is inexplicable, nay inconceivable, without its assumption; by the fact that it everywhere asserts

and affirms itself to human reason. In theory, if man were under a natural providence, nothing could hinder us from explaining human life and human history on natural principles. No *a priori* objection could be brought against doing it. The rationalist, following even a severe logic, affirms that it can be done, and makes the effort to do it, with what success it is needless to say. The facts in the case reject his theory. No man can explain human history on natural principles alone, without mutilating it, leaving out whole classes of well-attested facts, and they the most important and essential facts, which have had the most influence on its general and even particular currents. Explain the history of the Jewish people from Abraham to our Lord, a people whose whole political, civil, and religious existence and life was shaped and moulded by the promise of a Messias, and whose whole national history, as well as religious observances, was a continuous prophecy for two thousand years of his coming,—explain this miraculous history on natural principles. You know you cannot do it, except by cutting down arbitrarily, and shaping, without the slightest historical authority, the facts to suit your convenience. You can do it only by assuming in the outset that all history must be inexplicable on natural principles, and then denying, or passing over in silence, all the facts narrated that cannot be explained on those principles. This is not to explain, but to make history, and to make it to suit yourself,—to adapt it to the exigencies of your theory. Explain to me the history the Church on natural principles, her origin in Judea, her growth under persecution, her persistence, in spite of every species of opposition, for two thousand years, as fresh, as vigorous, and as able to make new conquests, as she was when she went forth from that “upper room” in Jerusalem, to conquer the kingdoms of this world, and to make them the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ. The thing is impossible. The rationalists have tried their hand at it, but have succeeded only in demonstrating their own impotence and absurd pretensions. Macaulay tried it, and pronounced the Church a masterpiece of human wisdom, but in defiance of the whole series of facts in her history, which prove that if she had rested in human wisdom and sagacity, and had not been upheld supernaturally by the hand of

Almighty God, she would ages since have ceased to exist. There is more good sense and sound reasoning in the old-fashioned Protestants, who denounce the Church as the masterpiece of Satan; for no man can explain the fact of her existence without recognizing in her history a superhuman agency. Gibbon in his famous chapters attempts to explain the rise, the progress, and the triumph of the Church in the Roman Empire, on human principles, without recognizing the supernatural, but succeeds, as all the world knows, only by suppressing facts, falsifying history, and rejecting even the principles of sound logic.

We, therefore, cannot speak as highly of the second part of the Abbé Maret's work, which attempts to prove the necessity of Divine revelation, as we did of the first part, which treats of the dignity of human reason. We do not think his method is in harmony with the philosophy he teaches, and it seems to us to harmonize rather with the conceptual or psychological systems he has so ably refuted. The method we have indicated makes the proofs of the supernatural, or the existence of God as author of the supernatural, parallel with the proofs of the existence of God as author of nature. As reason cannot operate without principles, or furnish its own principles, God himself supplies them in the natural order by his immediate presence in reason as its creator, its light, and its object; and in the supernatural order by revelation, and by his immediate presence as author of the supernatural in faith, its creator, its light, and its immediate object. If God did not intervene supernaturally, and affirm himself in and to our creditive faculty as author of the supernatural, we could have not only no belief in, but no notion or conception of the supernatural.

We differ also with the learned and philosophic Abbé on his two main points; first, that the necessity of Divine revelation is or can be established by philosophy, and second, that in proving the Christian religion, the first step is to prove that necessity. The first point to be proved, we think, is the simple fact that man is placed under a supernatural providence, and the proofs of this are to be sought in history, not in philosophy. Till we have proved that man is placed under a supernatural providence, and destined, not to a simply natural, but to a supernatural end,

we cannot in reality assert the insufficiency of reason, or the necessity of Divine revelation. The unbeliever may argue,—and we have no logic that will refute him,—that natural reason being our natural light, and evidently given us to be our natural guide, must be sufficient if we are under a natural providence, and in our normal state. But the fact once established that man is under a supernatural providence, no one will pretend to assert the sufficiency of reason, or to deny the necessity of supernatural revelation and assistance. The only ground we have for asserting the necessity of such revelation and assistance is, the fact that we are not under a natural, but a supernatural providence. Till we have established this fact, our arguments, however learned or elaborate, or however true in point of fact, will fail to convince even the honest and well-disposed unbeliever. He will regard them as irrelevant and inconclusive. We may and do speak here from our own painful experience, for it was not till we had detected the supernatural in history, and learned that man is under a supernatural providence, that we found ourselves in a condition to become a real Christian believer.

The proofs of this supernatural providence, as we have all along been laboring to show, may be adduced to natural reason, but cannot be deduced from it. Suppose man to be just what we know him to be *in hac providentia*; suppose also, *per impossibile*, that he has as yet received no Divine revelation, and that no evidences that he is under a supernatural providence are supplied him in history or from abroad, he could never form the first faint notion of the necessity of Divine revelation to instruct him or of Divine grace to assist him. It is the fact that creates the necessity and supplies the proof. Without the fact,—and if we do not in some form or degree know it, we are practically without it,—we should be in relation to the supernatural, as we should be in relation to the natural if we were uncreated and had no natural existence. As we could not before creation have conceived of the natural, so before revelation we cannot conceive of the supernatural. The natural has and can have no anticipation or prolepsis of the supernatural, can discover no antecedent probability of its creation, and have no *a priori* arguments by which to establish it. We are not ignorant that Plato and the

more eminent of the Gentile philosophers have asserted the necessity of supernatural instruction and assistance ; but they have done so not by force of pure reason operating upon natural *data* alone, but by reason operating on the supernatural *data* supplied by history and the experience of life. If they had found no such *data*, they never could from their own reason have made their assertion.

We must take care how we assume that the Gentiles were in a state of pure nature, and abandoned to its light alone. The Gentiles were not assuredly supernaturalized, translated into the kingdom of Christ, regenerated in Christ, and united to him, the head of regenerated or supernaturalized Humanity, as Adam was the head of natural Humanity ; yet we must not suppose that they had nothing but the simple light of natural reason, or that they were precisely what men would have been if they had been created in a state of pure nature and abandoned to it. They were indeed in a state of fallen nature ; but even in fallen nature they retained reminiscences of what they had and were before the fall. They had, too, some traces of the primitive revelation made in the Garden to the human race, and through their dim and fading, mutilated, and even travestied traditions, some flashes of light from that primitive revelation furrowed the darkness which enveloped them, and gave them momentary glimpses at least of an order not revealed to them through natural reason. The gentiles were the schismatics and heretics of the old world, as Arians, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other sects are the schismatics and heretics of the modern world, and they no more than these lost all traces of the truth they ceased to hold in unity and in its purity and integrity. Under some points of view, the Gentiles held more elements of the primitive revelation than are held by the majority of our modern sects, and far more than are held by unbelievers in our day, brought up and educated in Christian countries. These lose what the Gentiles rarely lost, all belief in a supernatural providence. If we may believe Clemens Alexandrinus, and others of the early Christian writers, Christ to some extent enlightened even the great Gentile philosophers. He did it by the primitive revelation, which entered into the mind of the race, and the tradition of which is in some measure embodied and perpetuated in every human tongue.

It strikes us as no less unreasonable to reject than it is to accept all the so-called Traditionalists teach. No doubt, as we have said, they push their doctrines too far, and in restricting too much the powers of natural reason lose what St. Thomas calls the preamble to faith, and consequently faith itself. No doubt they fail to draw the proper line of distinction between the natural and the supernatural, and run one into the other, and involve themselves in inextricable confusion. But after all they assert a great truth which other schools too often either deny or overlook. We are by no means of M. Bonnetty's school, indeed he does not seem to be always of his own school, or to hold his own opinions; but as between him and Père Chastel, we hardly know which to choose. The latter goes, in our judgment, to an extreme in one direction hardly less dangerous than that to which M. Bonnetty is accused of running in another. The Abbé Maret certainly does not run into the extreme rationalism of the learned, but not very philosophic Jesuit Father; yet he seems too afraid of tradition, and hardly dares give it its proper place and office. Traditionalism is absurd, if you suppose man placed under a natural providence and destined to a natural beatitude, as pure philosophy does and must assume; but that, we think, notwithstanding the castigations administered to us by the London *Rambler*, is an error against fact, and against Catholic theology. The supernatural assumes the natural, and absorbs it, so to speak, in the supernatural, in some sense as in the Incarnation the Divinity assumes humanity, and the Divine personality absorbs the human personality, or supplies its place by a higher personality. The whole supernatural order has its root in the Incarnation, grows out of it, and in all its parts and its appurtenances in some sense or measure repeats it. All human history is related to the Incarnation, and finds in it and not elsewhere its reason and explication. The humanity of our Lord was true, proper, perfect humanity, and yet by the hypostatic Union it is humanity finding its last complement in the Divine Person of the Word. In the supernatural order the Incarnate God, the Word made flesh, *Verbum caro factum est*, is the first principle and the creator, and it copies or imitates him as nature copies or imitates God as its creator. As in the Incarnation the human and the Divine

remain for ever distinct, neither nature nor will being confused with the other, so in life the natural and supernatural remain distinct, and without any mixture or interconfusion; but as in the Incarnation, the human and Divine are no longer separable, and the human terminates, so to speak, in the Divine, and are one in the higher and Divine personality of the Son, so the natural loses its own end in the higher end of the supernatural, and in that end both the natural and the supernatural become one. Whoso meditates on the Incarnation, it seems to us, must see that man has not in fact any purely natural end or natural beatitude, to which he is appointed. The natural as to its end loses itself in the supernatural. As the Incarnation is from the beginning, since Christ is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and God has governed the world solely in reference to the Incarnation of the Word and supernatural life in Christ, we must regard man always in relation to the Incarnation, and therefore always and everywhere under a supernatural providence, though not always and everywhere elevated to and placed in the supernatural order. Assuming this, the supernatural must have always and everywhere entered into human life, and therefore into human history. The proper medium for detecting and establishing the fact of the supernatural providence is history and tradition. Here is the proper place and office of tradition, and the attempt to make natural reason supply its place and perform its functions, will always fail, and end only in obscuring the supernatural, and finally in effacing it from human belief. The supernatural is the tradition of the race, and as it could have originated only in the direct revelation of God, it is true, and reason commands us to believe it.

ART. V.—*Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections during thirty-five years' residence in New Orleans*. By THEODORE CLAPP. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 419.

MR. THEODORE CLAPP was born in Easthampton, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, March 29, 1792, of parents strongly wedded to the Calvinistic Puritanism of

New England, and was educated in Yale College, and in the Theological Seminary at Andover, to be a Congregational or Presbyterian minister. Licensed to preach, he travelled westward, and made an engagement for a year as chaplain and teacher to a private family in the neighborhood of Lexington, Kentucky. During his residence there he formed acquaintance with the eloquent and celebrated Mr. Larned, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, which led, on Mr. Larned's death, to his being called and settled as pastor of that church, and to his becoming a resident of the Crescent city, during thirty-five years, from 1822 to 1857, when, we believe, he discontinued his ministry, on account of ill-health. He is now retired from active duty, and resides, if we are not misinformed, at Louisville, Kentucky. He is a man of large native powers, kindly and agreeable manners, a pleasing address, a cultivated mind, and much natural benevolence of heart.

What has more especially struck us in Mr. Clapp is, that, like many of his New England contemporaries in the Calvinistic ministry, he early became dissatisfied with Calvinism, and finally rejected it for what used to be called Liberal Christianity, following very nearly in the track of the Worcesters, the Buckminsters, the Coopers, the Wares, the Channings, and the Lowells, in this country, the Lindsays, Priestleys, and Belshams in England. The beginning of the present century was remarkable for the deep and intense agitation of the Calvinistic body, especially in New England, and the very wide-spread dissatisfaction with the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation so called, ending with large numbers of ministers and congregations in open revolt against them. Calvinism had culminated in the New World as well as in the Old, and as the Protestant mind, not uninfluenced by the writings and speculations of the infidel philosophers of the last century, could no longer accept supernaturalism as taught by Calvinists, it seems to have resolved to renounce the supernatural altogether, and to fall back on nature, and natural reason alone. The anti-Calvinistic movement did not, however, avowedly reject the Christian religion and openly profess pure Deism; it retained some of the forms of Christianity, and some of the consecrated terms of faith; but it eliminated every supernatural element by its mode of explaining them. It pro-

fessed Christianity indeed, but the Christianity it professed was by explanation and interpretation reduced to the natural order, and differed not essentially from the views held in the early part of the eighteenth century by the English Deists, such as Woolston, Tindal, Chubb, Toland, Shaftesbury, and Morgan. It asserted the unity of God, but denied the Trinity, as is done by Deists and Mahometans. Christ, for it, was not God, but a creature, a man—at the best, a great and good man, who taught and exemplified the highest moral truth in the natural order by his life, by his preaching, by his deeds of benevolence, his sympathy with the poor, his contempt of riches and earthly greatness; and above all by his heroic death on the cross. At most, the Christian revelation was supernatural only as to the mode or manner of its communication, but not supernatural as to the matter revealed. It was not the revelation of a supernatural order of life; it at best only republished, with greater distinctness, clearness, and beauty of typography, the law of nature, and therefore, when made, contained nothing not within the sphere and under the jurisdiction of natural reason.

In our country, as well as in Germany and elsewhere, the movement against Protestant supernaturalism took a double form, or rather flowed in two distinct currents, one called with us Unitarianism, the other, Universalism. Mr. Clapp by his education and natural associations belonged to the Unitarian form of the movement, but by natural temperament, and the internal workings of his mind, he belonged more especially to the Universalist form. The problem which seems to have most troubled him, was how to reconcile on Calvinistic, or predestinarian principles, the endless punishment of the reprobate with the justice of God, or indeed the endless suffering of any creature with the infinite and overflowing love of the Creator. He seems to have brooded from early childhood over this problem, and to have never been able to accept, on this subject, the common Protestant doctrine. He struggled for many years to be an orthodox Presbyterian, but in vain; he was obliged to proclaim his rejection of the doctrine of the endless punishment of the wicked and his belief in the final salvation of all men. This done, other heresies followed, till he became fully what we call a Unitarian-Universalist, and prepared

to believe what he pleased and to live as he listed, which in his view was a bursting into "the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

In these "Autobiographical Sketches" Mr. Clapp details with great minuteness his interior struggles, his mental sufferings, and the reasonings which finally forced him to desert the traditions of his Puritan ancestors, and to throw himself on the side of Liberal Christianity, which retains little of Christ except the name; and these details are replete with interest to those who are curious in such matters, or to those who would obtain some glimpses of the interior life of honest, bold, serious, and inquiring young men born and educated under the droppings of the Calvinistic sanctuary. We, unhappily, are able to explain them by our own experience, for we were ourselves forced to go through the process, and to undergo the trials and struggles Mr. Clapp so fully and at times so eloquently details, only we did not stop where he appears to have stopped. By the grace of God, we were enabled to take an upward step, which he apparently is not yet prepared to take. We must say, however, that our taste does not lead us to parade before the public what may have been our mental anguish or moral struggles. What is purely individual or subjective is not fit matter for publication, and hence, in the book we have published, although giving in it Leaves from our Experience, we have confined ourselves as exclusively as possible to the purely intellectual aspects of that experience, to the *intellectual* process we went through, and suppressed as far as we could all that was purely personal, and devoid of objective interest and instruction. When a trial is over, a pain is past, we think it always best to leave it to the past. No matter what it may cost to break from old associations, to abandon old and fondly cherished prejudices, if we gain truth, our pain is converted into joy, and our loss becomes our gain.

Mr. Clapp's difficulties on the subject of endless punishment grew out of his not well understanding the doctrine of free will, and his not regarding man as a really free moral agent. We can see that even now, though he asserts free will in words, the predestinarian or necessitarian doctrine in which he was trained is that which most influences his belief, and gives form and character to his

speculations. He is still unable to reconcile the existence of moral evil with the attributes of God, and, therefore, seems disposed to deny it. Under all Protestantism there is a concealed Manichæan thought, for all Protestantism looks upon evil, whether it admits or denies it, as something positive, as a positive principle opposed to good; and as it is evident that God cannot be the author of evil, then either evil must be denied, or two eternal principles, the one good, the other evil, must be asserted. Not fully understanding free will, and that evil is moral, not physical, not something created, but a voluntary abuse by the creature of a created faculty, those Protestants who are not willing to be Manichæans, are obliged to maintain that there is evil only in appearance, and that what seems to us evil is in reality good, and destined to lead to the more abundant happiness of him who endures it. All present evil is future good. Hence the author of *Festus* endeavors, in that remarkable poem, to exhibit Satan as the greatest and most useful saint among the creatures of God. According to this class of Protestants, evil is only a scenic display, intended for the trial of man, for the development of his faculties, and the creation and perfection of his virtues. It is a salutary illusion, and when it has served its purpose, at the winding up of affairs, and the clearing up of all mysteries, it will disappear, or be seen to have been only good in disguise.

Evil is privative, not positive, moral, not physical, and is in the deliberate abuse of free will. What we call physical evil, bodily pain, and suffering, &c., is not itself evil, but the effect of evil, and it depends on the individual whether it shall for him be evil or good. If he make the right use of it, it will prove the occasion of good, not of evil. Moral evil, that is, sin, is an evil, for it is the sickness and death of the soul, and involves the loss of justice or sanctity, which is the moral life of the soul. But no man is or can be obliged or compelled to sin. What a man does necessarily and cannot avoid doing is not sin, and can never be punished in him as such. Sin is always a free voluntary act of the creature, and it rests entirely with man to sin or not to sin. If a man sins, he deliberately prefers the creature to the Creator, for all sin is a deliberate renunciation of God for the creature. It is perfectly just to leave him to his preference. In the punishment of the

wicked, God simply abandons them to their own choice, and to its necessary consequences. All good is and cannot but be in God. God cannot make any creature happy out of himself. There is no good without being, and all creatures have their being in God. "In him we live, and move, and have our being." It is only by moral conformity to God, by finding our moral as our physical being in him, that we can find our true beatitude or moral good. God is our First cause and our Final cause. Even he cannot make it otherwise, because he cannot make himself other than he is, or make a creature that can exist independently of him,—a creature that shall be either its own first or its own final cause. The creature, then, that does not seek God as its last end, therefore as its supreme good, cannot attain to beatitude, because instead of tending towards good it tends from it, and towards no-being, the negation of all being, in which alone good is or can be found. A being endowed with sensibility, capable of thought, feeling, sentiment, affection, is and must be miserable if simply deprived of good. Where, then, is the injustice, on the part of God, in leaving a man, who freely, knowingly, deliberately, refuses to seek good where alone in the nature of things it can be found, and persists obstinately in seeking it where it is not and cannot be found, in the state into which he by his free choice brings himself?

Much of the difficulty felt on this subject arises from not duly considering what sin is. God with all his omnipotence can make a creature happy only in bestowing on that creature himself; and no creature is or can be happy or find beatitude except in so far as it participates of God. The sinner, however, knowingly, voluntarily, freely rejects God, and by his own act declares that he will not seek his good in God, but will seek it in the creature. We say nothing now of the affront this offers to the majesty of God, or the motive it implies; we refer merely to what sin is in the nature of things. In the very nature of things the act of the sinner is the formal renunciation of God as his final cause, and therefore the free, voluntary, deliberate renunciation of good, and acceptance of misery; for the creature from whom he declares he will seek his good has no good to give him, since it has no good for itself except what it derives from God. If this be so, there is, in the

nature of things, no good for the sinner. He rejects the only real good there is or can be. How then can God confer on him good of any sort, and make him happy? Intervene by force and compel him to stop sinning, and compel him to choose good instead of evil? But to do so would be a contradiction in terms. It would suppose man is both free and not free at one and the same time. If man is a free moral agent, if he is created with free will, God must respect his freedom, and can govern him only in accordance with his free will. A choice compelled by force or necessitated is not a free choice, and were God to intervene in the way and manner supposed, he would destroy the free will he has himself created, and change the essential nature of man. If man has free will he may abuse it, and if he chooses to abuse it, the fault is his own. You cannot ask God to govern man as a machine, and deny him in his providence that freedom of choice which he concedes him in his creation, and thus contradict himself. Just consider that it is not merely an arbitrary law, a law imposed by mere will or power, the sinner violates; but a law imposed by the eternal reason and justice of God,—a law which has its reason in the very nature of things, and that it is the eternal and necessary conditions of all beatitude that he rejects, and you will see at once that, if God chooses to make such a creature as man, he cannot interpose to save him from the consequences of sin, which in its nature is endless deprivation of good, that is to say, endless misery, except as he can interpose in accordance with human liberty. If it was right and just on the part of God to create such a being as man, to make him a free moral agent, it is and must be right and just on his part to leave man to the necessary consequences of his own acts. In fact, Universalists do not deny this, and what they quarrel with is a punishment which they suppose is inflicted by mere will. Their mistake arises from not considering that as all beatitude is in good and all good is in God, a being who deliberately rejects God has and can have no good, and therefore is necessarily exposed to endless misery.

The whole question turns, therefore, on the fact, whether it was right and just on the part of God to create man a free moral agent, or with the high endowment of

free will, knowing, as he must have known, that man would abuse his liberty to his own destruction. Was it right and just for God to create such a being as man? In reality the question is an improper one. The creature has no right to ask the creator, "Why hast thou made me thus?" God is the eternal and perfect standard, for the human intellect, of right, of justice, as he is the fountain of all good. The only standard or criterion the human reason has of right, justice, and goodness, is God, and all we do or can do in proving anything true, right, just, or good, is to prove that it is God-like, or that it participates of the Divine Being. God is the fountain from which flows all our moral ideas, and is at the same time the criterion of their truth, rectitude, or worth. Hence it is that our language, with remarkable propriety, calls the Supreme Good and the Supreme Being, by one and the same name, for *God* and *Good* are one and the same word, differently spelt. We have not an original conception of good, distinct from God, and independent of him, and we do not call him good or the Good because he conforms to such conception, for he is first in the order of ideas, the absolute good, because he is absolute Being, and all particular good, all particular things are good because they resemble him, or partake of him. We do not prove God is good, because he answers to our conception of good, but that things are good because they answer to our conception of God. God is himself the idea, and things are good in proportion as they conform to him,—in proportion as they copy or imitate him. What we say of good, we must say of right, justice, or any other moral conception. God is the idea, type, model, or standard, and the moment that we have proved anything God-like, we have in the highest actual or possible sense proved it right, just. God is not made in the image and likeness of man, but man in the image and likeness of God. The standard is God, not man. We know, then, that whatever God does, is, in the highest and most ultimate sense in which we ever do or can use the term, good, right, just. The highest conceivable evidence we have or can have that it was right and just on the part of God to make man a free moral agent, endowed with the freedom of choice, and to be governed as such, is the simple fact that he has so made him. Were we to talk till doomsday, we could

never, either in theology or in philosophy, assign a higher or better proof, for none better can be in the nature of things, and we really assign no other evidence in those cases where we have the most clear and complete demonstration. The question is then not simply irreverent, but it is unphilosophical and absurd.

We may not see the justice of this or that particular act, because we may not be able to comprehend the whole plan or scheme of the Creator, and may be ignorant of the higher reasons from which he acts; but as he is himself our ideal of justice, and we know he cannot be unjust or ever do wrong, our reason needs only to be assured that he has done a thing in order to be assured that it is right and just, even though we do not happen to see its justice in itself. We know it must be right and just, because God does it, and if it were not, he would not, and could not do it. We know that God has made man a moral agent, has endowed him with free will, and that it was right and just to do so, because God is the Right, the Just, as he is the Good, the Beautiful, the True in itself. It is only a false psychologism, which puts man in the place of God, and assumes that God is made in the image and likeness of man, not man in the image and likeness of God, that could obscure this plain truth, and make us, after knowing that God has done a thing, ask if it is right or just. We do not concede, however, that no other reason can be assigned why God has made man as he has. We can easily believe that a being created free, endowed with freedom of will and election, is a higher, because a more God-like being, than a being without such freedom, as a free man is higher and nobler than a slave. This age, which clamors so loudly for freedom, whose watchword is liberty, ought to understand and accept this. If our age believes in anything, it believes in liberty, and holds that liberty is in itself a good worth living for and dying for, although it may be abused, and fearful crimes committed in its name. Yet liberty, mental, individual, political, social, would be an unmeaning term, if free will were denied, as was so well argued and so triumphantly proved by Archbishop Hughes in his controversy with the Presbyterian Breckenridge. The basis and significance of all human freedom are in the freedom of the will. Slavery has always been looked upon with horror,

as an evil, and they who defend it, or eulogize it, never defend or eulogize it for themselves. No man prizes liberty higher or would sooner die for it, than the slave-owner. From the man who becomes a slave, say the ancients, the gods take away the half of his being. The most difficult thing in the world is for the master to regard his slave as a man, a brother, an equal, and this fact alone proves that freedom is regarded as one of the essential characteristics of true manhood, and desirable in itself.

If man is created with the faculty of free will, he may abuse it, for free will in an imperfect being—and imperfect by nature man is and must be—is the power to do evil as well as the power to do good. Liberty implies the power of election, and there is in man no free election without the power to choose the wrong as well as the right. Deny him the power to choose the wrong, the power to sin, and you deny him at the same time the power to be virtuous—deny him at the same time all virtue, all merit, all reward, the whole moral order, natural as well as supernatural. Man can practice obedience only on the condition that he has the power of disobedience. In heaven, where free will is lost in the beatific vision of God, as he is in himself, the saints enjoy the rewards of virtue, not perform new acts of virtue. If man were not created with free will, he could manifest the wisdom, the power, the goodness, the glory of God in no sense in which it is not manifested by the sun, the moon, and the stars, the wind and the rain, the lightning and the storm, the earthquake and the volcano. He manifests his glory in the wonders of nature, but *they* do not manifest it, for in them he alone acts—he, not they, is the actor. It is only a free intelligent being, the subject of his own actions, that can manifest the glory of the Creator, or offer him homage and praise. Suppose man not free, and you must not only deny him virtue, but you must deny him all the pleasures of virtue, all the enjoyment of the rewards of virtue, the purest and most exquisite pleasure man ever tastes. He would have, if deprived of freedom, no moral character, no moral beatitude, and could have only an animal beatitude, and perhaps not superior to that of the ox, the horse, the pig, or the donkey. Who would not rather be a man, bear the image and likeness of God, be capable of high, heroic virtue, of being the friend, the

companion of God, of communing with him face to face, and participating in his own eternal and infinite blessedness, although able to abuse his free will, and destroy himself through his own fault, than be merely one of the elemental forces of nature, or even an animal of the highest class? Even as a sinner condemned in hell he is in physical good still above the highest animal, because his superior in being. God makes man for a high and glorious destiny, infinitely above what could have been his destiny if he had not been endowed with free will, and he has given and continues to give him through all this life every assistance he needs to gain that glorious destiny; and whether we gain it or not, who dares say that he has not done well—dealt bountifully with us? We may abuse our freedom, reject the assistance proffered, and throw away all our advantages, but can that impeach his wisdom, his love, or his bounty? He deserves equally praise and thanksgiving for what he has done. No human tongue can sufficiently praise, no human heart can sufficiently thank him for having made us capable of the high destiny of freely loving and serving him here, and enjoying him for ever hereafter.

But our space will not allow us to pursue this subject any farther at present. Universalism is less unreasonable than Calvinism, and is an evident improvement on Calvinistic predestinarianism. But it is nevertheless a very absurd doctrine, and one which is most mischievous in its tendencies. It is enough for our present purpose, however, that it is not Christian, and stands opposed to every distinctive feature of the Christian religion. Yet we can easily excuse Mr. Clapp for having preferred it to the horrible Calvinistic doctrine which avoids Manichæanism only by making God himself the author of sin.

Mr. Clapp gives us many interesting traits of New Orleans society, and we are not surprised to find him very much attached to it. From the little personal acquaintance we have had with the Crescent City, we are disposed to agree with him. We have visited no city in the Union where we have felt ourselves more at home, or where the genuine urbanity and hospitality of the people have left upon our mind and heart more grateful impressions. The morals, the manners, the tastes, the real virtues of the people of New Orleans will not suffer by comparison with

any Northern city, and, notwithstanding all that is said about its rowdyism, its murders, its frequent resort to the pistol or the knife, life is as secure in that city as in Boston, and far more so than in New York. There is an open, frank, and elevated manly tone there that you will seek in vain in any northern city. It is less puritanical than our northern cities, less hypocritical, but more sincerely virtuous, more truly religious. No northern man, who is a man, ever takes up his residence there without preferring it to his northern home. The French and Spanish elements have a salutary influence on our cold and rugged, and too often boorish Anglo-Saxonism.

Mr. Clapp also bears honorable testimony to the virtue, the piety, the charity, the liberality of the Catholic population of New Orleans. He says no more than the simple truth, does them no more than simple justice; but it is so rare to find a Protestant who will do even that, that when we find one who does it, or who even abstains from calumniating us, we are disposed to be grateful to him. The Catholic population of the Union has its faults; but with all its faults it proves the immense superiority of Catholicity, morally and socially, over any and every form of Protestantism. Indeed, Protestantism has nearly run itself out, and very few thinking men among us retain any respect for it as a religion. As a religion, we say, for we mean not to deny that Protestantism plays still an important part in the political and social world. Many, no doubt, cling to it and make great sacrifices to sustain it, not because they are satisfied with it, but because they hate Catholicity, and see no alternative between their Protestantism and no religion. Yet as a religion it has culminated, and is decidedly on the decline. It fails to satisfy the heart or to command the higher intellect of the age, as Mr. Clapp in these *Sketches* amply proves. He is a living and unimpeachable witness to the insufficiency, nay, worthlessness of Protestantism.

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ART. I.—*Conversations of Our Club, reported for the Review, by a Member.*

CONVERSATION IX.

“I AM at a loss,” remarked De Bonneville, “to understand why the Catholics of this country so generally oppose the Common Schools, established and supported by the public. These schools seem to me to be founded on sound principles, and for the most part to be very well conducted.”

“They are either godless schools, or sectarian schools,” replied O’Flanagan; “corrupt and corrupting; and under their influence the American people, as several Catholic publicists have well asserted, are becoming a nation of unbelievers and swindlers.”

“That irreligion, vice, and crime, are on the increase among the American people,” said Dieffenbach, “is an undeniable fact; but perhaps it would be more reasonable to attribute it to your growing wealth and luxury, to the sweepings of European prisons and poor-houses annually cast upon your shores, and to the swarms of anarchists, revolutionists, rebels, traitors, infidels, rogues, cheats, swindlers, forgers, thieves, robbers, burglars, murderers, assassins, who flock hither to carry on their trade or to escape

the justice of the Old World, than to your Common Schools. If you will make your country a refuge for the depraved, ignorant, and criminal population of old Europe, you must expect a decrease of religion, and an increase of vice and crime."

"We undoubtedly suffer from the immigration of the class to which Mr. Dieffenbach alludes," remarked Winslow. "The immigration of the honest and industrious Catholic peasantry, labourers, and mechanics, of Germany and Ireland, is of great service to us; but with the immigration of the other class, we could very well dispense, for the home manufacture is quite sufficient for all reasonable demands. Without attributing the increase of vice and crime to the public schools, I yet think it is chiefly owing to the want of schools in which our children can receive a proper moral and religious education. The Common Schools do not answer the principal purpose of education, the moral and religious training of the young. All education, divorced from religion and morality, is hurtful. These schools when conducted according to the law creating them, are godless, and in practice they are, for the most part, sectarian."

"Therefore," added O'Flanagan, "when not godless, they are devilish; for all sectarianism, I take it, is from the devil. No education at all is better than either. The example of my own countrymen proves it. The rascally usurping Saxons, in their hatred of the Catholic religion and the Celtic race, took from us our churches, broke up our institutions of learning, prohibited, under the severest penalties, the re-establishment of Catholic schools, and forbid the Catholic parent to teach his own children even letters. They compelled us, to a fearful extent, to choose between education and religion. We chose religion with ignorance and poverty, rather than heresy with wealth and knowledge. We could only teach our children their prayers and their catechism. Taught thus much, however illiterate or poor, they clung to their faith, maintained their integrity and the honour of their religion and their country, and there is not in the whole world a people to compare with them in wit, faith, piety, morality, and solid worth."

"The *Catholic* Irish people," added Winslow. "Too much in our age, and especially in our country, is made of the

mere secular education of what are very improperly called 'the masses.' You cannot, do the best you can, give a thorough education to all the children of the land, and the smattering of learning acquired in Common Schools, is often worse than nothing. Better not know how to read at all, than to read only a lying newspaper, or a yellow-covered romance.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring ;
There shallow drafts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking largely sobers us again.

Thus sang one of England's Catholic poets. The life, intelligence, and rank of a nation depend on the thorough education, the high culture and mental discipline of its natural aristocracy, not on the simple ability of the many to read, write, and cipher. The National Schools in Ireland are producing a great change in the Irish people, but I have not learned that it is a change in favour of religion and morality. Educate the few as much as you please, but for the many it suffices that they be taught their prayers and their catechism."

"There can be no question," remarked Dieffenbach, "among Catholics, with regard to the absolute necessity of moral and religious education. It is so important, so necessary, that Almighty God has appointed, set apart, and consecrated by a special Sacrament a class of teachers to look after it. But I should like to be informed how much more moral and religious education those of your children receive, who run at large in the streets, who are kept at work, or begging, by their parents, than those receive who attend the public schools?"

"In your country," said De Bonneville, "where you have no state religion, where you have a multitude of conflicting sects, and where the state recognizes the equal rights of them all, and its obligation to respect equally the conscience of all its citizens, it is impossible to establish a system of public schools in which moral and religious instruction shall be a part of the education given. The state must confine itself to secular education, and such very general moral and religious principles as everybody accepts."

"Therefore," said Winslow, "I would have no system

of public schools, and would leave education to parents, to the Church, and to each sect for itself."

"Where authority, either civil or ecclesiastical, does not intervene," replied Dieffenbach, "comparatively few parents will take the trouble to provide for the education of their children. In England and the United States, laws have been needed to force parents to let their children be educated, by prohibiting them from employing them under a certain age in the factories, and without a certain amount of schooling. In most Continental nations it has been found necessary to make it compulsory on parents to send their children to school. The Church looks after the moral and religious education of children, and establishes, according to her means, schools to meet the wants of the *spiritual* society; but she does not hold it to be her business, and she has never undertaken to provide for and to give secular education to all the children of the land, in any age or nation. It is her right and her duty to look after the moral and religious character of the education given in public and in private schools, and she has supreme authority in respect to the moral and religious elements of all education given to her children, whether given by the state or by individuals; but to purely secular education, I suppose, she holds only the relation she holds to any and every other secular matter. As for the sects, I own I do not wish to see them each educating for itself, even their own children. Sectarianism is one of the greatest curses that can light upon a nation, and I am not willing to support a rule that would tend to perpetuate it. It was a great victory won for Catholicity in this country, when the Common Schools were wrested from sectarian control, and placed under that of the state, and when common school education was secularized, and forbidden by law to be sectarian. If the American people had insisted that religion should continue to be taught in the Common Schools, Calvinism, in some form, would have remained virtually, if not formally, the state religion in nearly every State in the Union, and Catholicity could never have gained a foothold or Catholics a legal *status* in this republic. More than any other class of the community, have Catholics gained by that very feature in the Common School system, against which, with their Old World prejudices on the subject, they are waging a

relentless war. In an old Catholic country the secularization of education opens the door to infidelity; in a non-Catholic country like this, it favours religion by breaking down sectarianism and the bigotry and intolerance of the community."

"That may all be very true," replied O'Flanagan, "and Catholics do not generally object to purely secular schools for non-Catholics; but such schools will not suffice for us. We want for our children no education separated from religion and morality. Even if the Common Schools were, as they are not, free from sectarianism, they would not be acceptable to us, because we insist on uniting moral and religious training with secular instruction."

"That cannot be done in any system of public schools practicable in a country like yours," interposed De Bonneville; "Catholics are a feeble minority in the Union, and there is no State in the Union which will consent to make the Catholic religion the religion of its schools. If any religion is carried into your public schools, it will be Protestantism in some or all of its forms. It is, in my judgment, more for the interest of Catholicity that sectarianism should be excluded from the public schools, though the Catholic religion is not introduced, than it is that they should be made nurseries of Protestant bigotry and sectarian intolerance. It seems to me, that Catholics may very well be content with the public schools, though these schools do not favour their religion, if, at the same time, they exert no influence against it."

"I am well aware," replied O'Flanagan, "that it is impossible, in a country like this, for the state to establish a system of education satisfactory to Catholics, and, therefore, I am opposed to state schools. I would carry the voluntary principle into education as we have carried it into religion."

"And leave the bulk of your children to grow up without attending any school," threw in Dieffenbach.

"I would much prefer no education to a sectarian education, or a secular education without religion," replied O'Flanagan.

"If you could have a no-education," answered Dieffenbach. "But your children do not and will not grow up

without education of some sort. If they have not that of the schools, they will have that of the streets."

"But," remarked Winslow, "though we send not our children to the public schools, we may send them to schools of our own. We have already numerous Catholic schools, and we may establish more."

"But not enough, nor half enough for all your children," remarked De Bonneville. "You have not the teachers nor the means for that. In Boston, about one half of the children of school age are children of Catholic parents; and the city of Boston expends annually on her public schools, for ordinary expenses, three hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars. Where are the Catholics of that city to obtain the half of that sum annually, together with a million of dollars outlay for the erection of school houses and fixtures? In the city of New York, there are Catholic schools for about one Catholic child in six or seven, who is of proper school age. Now, what are you to do with five-sixths or six-sevenths of your children unprovided for? In neither Boston nor New York have you the means to provide a proper education for all your children. In neither city, as yet, have you half church room or half priests enough for your Catholic population. The Church must precede the school-house, the priest the schoolmaster, and you must provide for the sacraments before providing for education. With a Church without revenues, and a Catholic population for the most part made up of the poorer classes of old Europe, with the best intentions in the world, you cannot provide for the common school education of more than a sixth of your children, unless you avail yourselves of the public schools. What do you propose for these five-sixths whom you leave out of your own schools?"

"It is not necessary," replied Winslow, "that all the children of the land should be educated in secular learning. I do not find that they have been so in the most Catholic ages and nations of the world."

"But are these children who attend neither Catholic schools nor the public schools, who receive no secular education, any better trained in their religion," asked Dieffenbach, "than those who do attend the public schools? If you take your children from the public schools, where you

have not and cannot have Catholic schools for them, you must leave them to learn, not religion and morality, but all manner of mischief. How much better off under a moral and religious point of view are your children who run at large in the streets, associate with the vilest and most criminal portion of the depraved population of modern cities, are initiated, before a dozen years of age, into every vice and crime known to that population, and who grow up to be food for your brothels, your houses of correction, city penitentiaries, state prisons and the gallows,—how much better off, even under a Catholic point of view, are these than they who attend the public schools, and in them acquire, at least, habits of order and study, and the rudiments of a solid secular education? It is singular that people cannot understand that there is a very influential, but a very undesirable education acquired by children who attend no school, in the streets, and from association with the vile and worthless, the vicious and the criminal. I am almost scandalized at the indifference, the improvidence, and utter neglect of their children by large numbers even of Catholic parents—at the multitudes of children lost every year to the Church and to society, when a little foresight, a little care, a little zeal, a little earnestness, a little well-directed effort, might easily save them to both.”

“Mr. Dieffenbach is unable to forego any opportunity of giving vent to his anti-Celtic spite,” said O’Flanagan. “The Irish are not the only disorderly people in our cities, and Catholics do not furnish the whole of our vicious and criminal population. There is more sin, more hardened depravity, more deliberate malice, in a score of your well-dressed, wealthy, prim, long-faced, canting Anglo-Saxon Yankees than in the whole Celtic population in the country.”

“Mr. O’Flanagan,” returned Dieffenbach, “notwithstanding his clamorous protestations, must have a very mean opinion of his countrymen, or of his brother Celts, or he would be far less ready to apply my remarks specially to them. I said nothing of Celts, or of Irishmen. I spoke of Catholics; and there are, I believe, even in this country, persons not Irish, who are Catholics, and very sorry Catholics too. Mr. O’Flanagan is, if he will permit me to say so, very unjust to his countrymen. He takes up the cud-

gel in their defence where there is no occasion, and does them a serious injury by his over-suspiciousness and sensitiveness. In the Catholic world, I take it for granted, there is no disposition to overlook or deny their claims or their just merits. The Catholic world is not ignorant of their Catholic worth and services,—is not ignorant of the firmness with which the Irish have held fast to the faith, and the sacrifices, as a people, they have made for conscience. It loves and honours them, and holds them inferior to no Catholic people on the earth. It sympathizes with them, and defends them, and no Catholic but feels an insult or injury to them is an insult or injury to himself. Mr. O'Flanagan must permit me to say that he would serve his countrymen better if he would learn to respect them more, and not cherish so ungenerous a distrust of them. I am very far from asserting or conceding that Catholics, whether of Irish or of any other national origin, furnish the whole vicious and criminal population of the cities and towns of the Union, but I fear I must admit that they furnish, at least, their full quota,—I say not of the most really criminal and sinful, but of those the administration of justice practically treats as such. Certainly, the 'Dead Rabbits' are not greater sinners than the 'Plug Uglies;' our poor boys who are sent to Blackwell's Island, or to Sing Sing, are not worse than hundreds of the sons of respectable non-Catholic families, who are regarded as very good boys; and the Catholic who is arraigned for beating his wife in a drunken row, for knocking down a policeman, or stabbing one of the opposing faction in an affray, is less really depraved than many a pious evangelical banker, railway president, cashier, or director, member of the legislature, or representative, or senator in Congress. Our vicious and criminal population are rarely as depraved as they seem, and when studied closely will be found to retain many noble qualities and generous sentiments wanting in the corresponding class of non-Catholics. Their offences are the result of thoughtlessness, animal spirits, love of fun, love of adventure, or of sudden passion, excited perhaps by strong drink, far oftener than of deliberate malice. Yet with all the drawbacks and allowances we can make, the broad fact stares us in the face, that we contribute our full proportion, if not more than our full proportion, in the cities and large towns, to

the corrupt and vicious population of the country, and a proportion, I fear, annually increasing instead of diminishing. This is a fact well known to non-Catholics, who do not fail to make the most of it against our religion. No doubt non-Catholics regard our faults and defects in a too unfavourable light, and draw from them inferences wholly unwarranted, simply because these faults and defects are not precisely their own; but it is possible, on the other hand, that we ourselves pass them over too lightly, because we have long been accustomed to them. There can be scarcely a graver injury to Catholicity in this country than to let our children run at large, and receive their only education in dens of drunkenness, and haunts of vice and crime. I am sure, the injury thus done would more than overbalance any that could be done by the sectarianism of the public schools."

"Therefore," interposed Father John, "where we have not and cannot have *good* schools of our own, I think the best thing we can do is to send our children to the public schools. To mere secular education itself I do not attach the importance attached to it by our age and country; but still I do attach to it some value. Catholics, in our times, if deprived of it, labour under a serious disadvantage, and are crushed down by a sense of their inferiority. We do not live in the Middle Ages, when the people were simple believers and docile to authority, when scholars wrote and published only for scholars, and the people left the thinking to their chiefs. The author now addresses the public at large, and has the multitude for his judges. The people are no longer unquestioning believers; they have ceased to be docile, are puffed up with a vain sense of their own wisdom and importance, and can no longer be taught or governed as children. The change may be regretted, may be for the worse, but it has taken place, and whether we like it or dislike it, we must adapt ourselves to the new state of things it has introduced. We cannot now rely on the simple faith and docility of the people. We can govern or direct them even in the way of salvation only through their convictions, and therefore it becomes all-important to cultivate their intelligence, and to enable them to have enlightened convictions. Our appeal must now be made to intelligence, and to the intelligence not of the few, but

of the many. Our greatest obstacle is in the ignorance of the people. We find even Catholics who are so ignorant, so utterly destitute of mental culture and discipline, that the priest is almost unable to make them understand the simplest duties of their state; who are too little cultivated, we may almost say, to be taught the simplest rudiments of natural morality, to say nothing of the principles and dogmas of revealed religion. These too are not unfrequently parents, whose duty it is to bring up their children in the faith and piety of the Church. Others there are, less ignorant than these indeed, and having all the education and culture they would need in an old Catholic community, who yet are too ignorant, too little cultivated to perceive the dangers to which they and their children are exposed, or to understand even the refutation of the errors and heresies which surround them. This ignorance may not be fatal to the salvation of the soul, but it is incompatible with the public interests of Catholicity in a country like ours, and the greatest hinderance and discouragement to the pastor. Any means, not morally wrong, of overcoming it, it seems to me, may be lawfully adopted. Where we have and are able to have no other means than the public schools, I see not why the public schools should not be used."

"But these schools," repeated O'Flanagan, "are corrupt and corrupting."

"So say some Catholics who have no acquaintance with them, and judge them from a preconceived theory, or from the testimony of incompetent and untrustworthy witnesses, not from actual observation. The public schools are not all I could wish them; they are not always all they might and should be. The teachers are not but too often incompetent, immoral, indolent, bigoted, and disposed to make the school an engine for the perversion of the faith of the Catholic child. But all *Catholic* schoolmasters are not immaculate, and instances have been known of the scholars chasing their drunken master through the streets of a populous city. No system is to be judged by its occasional abuses, and no system of schools is to be condemned because there happens to be now and then an incompetent or immoral schoolmaster. Where the law organizing our public schools is fairly complied

with, it is wrong to denounce them as corrupt and corrupting. They surely are not all that Catholics want, but no child, Catholic or non-Catholic, is likely to be corrupted by attending them," replied Father John.

"But," insisted O'Flanagan, "they are wrong in principle. They are state schools, and the state has no more right to be an educator than it has to be a director of conscience. The child belongs to the parent, not to the state, and education is a spiritual, not a secular function."

"That," answered Father John, "opens a question which Mr. Dieffenbach has already settled. The early Christians availed themselves of the imperial schools, supported from the imperial treasury, and they counted the closing of those schools to them by Julian the Apostate, as the cruellest persecution they had undergone. St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and others, the sons of saints, went to study their philosophy in the pagan school of Athens. The state has no competency in spirituals, and must leave what concerns religion and morality to the parent or the spiritual authority; but it is its right and its duty to provide the means of a solid secular education for all its children, because the public safety, the public good, which it is bound to consult, demands it, and there is no other power in society that can do it. If the means are not, in some form, provided by the state, they will not and cannot be provided at all. The rich may provide for the education of their children at their own expense, but the poor cannot. As a fact, where education is left to the voluntary principle, the majority of children remain uneducated, and are left to fester, generation after generation, in deplorable ignorance."

"All education," said Winslow, "should be moral and religious, and as the Church is the only competent authority in religion and morality, the Church is the only rightful educator."

"All tailoring, shoemaking, hatting, blacksmithing," replied Father John, "should be moral and religious, and therefore the Church must make our coats, our shoes, our hats, our hoes and axes, nay, must take the management of every department of secular life; and we must have priests and religious orders and confraternities to do our sowing and reaping, our washing and cooking,

—to be our housekeepers and chambermaids, and our wet and dry nurses. Education, in the respect that it is purely secular, is no more the business of the Church than any other secular matter. The Church teaches religion, and has plenary authority from God in education as in every thing else over all that touches the spiritual order, the rights, duties, or interests of religion. The simple teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, book keeping by double or single entry, is purely a secular affair, and as much within the province of the secular authority as the construction of roads and bridges, or providing for the national defence. The Church has no more to do with the one than with the other. She has never acknowledged herself bound to establish a system of secular education for seculars, and in no age or country has she founded a system of secular education for all the children of the land. She establishes, according to her means, schools and seminaries to meet the wants of the spiritual society, for training up and properly preparing candidates for her own offices, in which she teaches all the branches of secular learning and science which she judges under the circumstances to be necessary or useful; but there her obligation stops. If she finds the children taught to read, she puts into their hands the catechism and a manual of prayers; if she finds them unable to read, she does not begin by first teaching them reading, but she instructs them orally, and requires them from oral repetition to get by heart their prayers and catechism. To assume that the secular education of seculars is her business, which she and she alone is authorized to impart, is only assuming in other words that in every age and nation she has failed in her duty, and therefore cannot be the Church of God."

"The child, I repeat," said O'Flanagan, "belongs to the parent, not to the state, and therefore, the parent, not the state, is the legitimate educator."

"The parent has the right," answered Father John, "before the state, to choose the school and the religion in which he will have his child educated; but he has not the right to say his child shall not be educated at all, for the public good requires all to be educated, to some extent at least. The assertion that the child belongs to the parent and not to the state, is not true, without some important

réserves. The child belongs in part to society, in which he is born and is to live; in part to the Church into which he is born by Baptism. Both society and the Church have claims on the child, which the parent has no right to resist. The parent has no right to bring up his child a thief, a robber, a murderer, or a vagabond, or to hinder him from being taught the true religion, and approaching the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, as often as the Church judges proper. The dominion of the parent over the child is far from being absolute, and is shared with him by society and the Church. On this point some of our Catholic publicists have forgotten the Christian and lapsed into the old Græco-Roman order of thought, and have laid down principles as unsound as they are ill-timed. Even a good cause is injured by being defended on unsound principles."

"The state," said De Bonneville, "is bound to defend society, and may summon to its aid all the forces society possesses. If it may defend, it may foresee the danger and guard against it. If, in its wisdom, it judges the secular education of all its children necessary, it has the right—reserving to the spiritual authority, represented before the law by the parent, all its rights—to provide for that education at the public expense, and to make it compulsory. So far the child belongs to society, represented by the state. The country, we will say, is in danger, the enemy is on its frontiers, an invasion is imminent, the child and every adult, if able to bear arms, and needed in the emergency, may be called out by the civil power, and sent to meet the invader, to fight, to slay, or be slain. I abominate the doctrine of Lycurgus, Plato, and modern socialists and red republicans, that the child belongs exclusively to society, and the state may take him as soon as born and train him up as it pleases. The state has no right to train up my child, or to require me to train him up, or to expose him to be trained up, in a religion which is not mine and which I abhor. So far as the state is concerned, the religion of the parent is the religion of the child, till the child is old enough to choose a religion for himself."

"And therefore," added Father John, "the state is bound to keep its public schools free from sectarianism, or in other words, such as shall not interfere with the religion

in which the parent chooses to bring up his child. I do not object to the principle on which our Common School system is founded, nor do I reject the Common Schools because they do not teach my religion, though I regret the divisions of the community which make it necessary to exclude Catholic instruction, in order to avoid a greater evil. The fault I find with them, is not that they are not Catholic, but that, in violation of the law creating them, they too often are sectarian, and teach things repugnant to my religion. Perhaps it would be better to have religious instruction given in the public schools, than to reserve it for catechetical schools; but in our country, a system in which that can be done in a manner satisfactory to Catholics I regard as impracticable, and I go no farther than to insist on having excluded all that is repugnant to the Catholic conscience. In those countries where the voluntary principle in regard to religion is not adopted, where the state does not leave religion to itself, and where the population is collected in towns and villages, a division of the public schools according to religion is practicable, and is very extensively adopted. An illustrious American bishop, in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* for last January, urges the adoption of the same system in this country. But it could be adopted here only in the towns and villages, and even there only partially, owing to the fact that our Catholic families are not all congregated in the same quarter, and are too dispersed. The fundamental constitution of the American state, moreover, leaves religion to the voluntary principle, and with us the state can lawfully impose no tax for the direct or indirect support of any religion, whether Catholic or Protestant. The religious education of children can no more be provided for at the public expense, than the maintenance and support of religious worship. We could not, therefore, introduce the system legally without a fundamental change in the constitution, and giving it in principle the right to establish a state religion,—a change which Catholics would be the last to advocate, for it would be a change from which in the actual state of things they would be the principal sufferers. Then, again, however desirable the system might be, the American people cannot, while non-Catholic, be persuaded to introduce it. The Catholic himself will not willingly

consent to be taxed to support sectarian schools, and the non-Catholic majority will by no means consent to be taxed to support Catholic schools, even for the children of Catholics. With all deference to the opinion of others who are far better qualified to judge than myself, I confess I see nothing practicable for us but to insist on the rigid exclusion from the public schools, of every thing simply repugnant to the Catholic conscience."

"And suffer our Catholic children to be trained up without any moral or religious instruction," said O'Flanagan.

"That by no means follows," replied Father John. "There runs through nearly all the reasoning I have heard on the subject the assumption, that, if our children are not taught their religion in the Common School, they will not be taught it at all. This assumption is unfounded. After the Common School, there still remain the family, the Church, and the Sunday-school. In these children may be taught their religion, and let the Common School be what it may, it is in these that are found the chief influences that form the moral and religious character of the child. No doubt at present, to a fearful extent, home education counts for less than it should, since a large portion of Catholic parents in this country lack the ability, if not the disposition, to give their children a proper religious education. Having never themselves received anything like a home education, they do not think of giving, nor are they able to give a home education to their children. They devolve the whole care on the overworked priest, and sometimes bring him their child and tell him, if he does not take care of it, they will hand it over to the Protestants to be brought up in the Protestant religion. It is little that can be done with these parents, for their habits are fixed, and they cannot be expected to do much for the moral and religious education of their children; but the Church and Sunday-school remain, and with these much may be done."

"It seems to me," said Dieffenbach, "that the gathering of our children into the public schools, where they acquire habits of order and study, would rather aid the Church and Sunday-school than hinder them."

"It would do so," said Father John, "if these public schools were really free from sectarianism; but, unhappily,

this is far from being the case. I willingly believe the sectarianism is not universal, and is less than sometimes represented. I have, too, more confidence than some of my friends in the ability of our children to resist its ill effects, even where it is worst. But in too many places the public schools violate the letter and the spirit of the law establishing them. The reading and text books used, even when no complaint is to be made of the teachers, are saturated with a sectarian spirit, and filled with allusions and remarks insulting to the Catholic religion. All Catholic books are in most instances carefully excluded from the School Libraries, purchased at the public expense, on the ground that they are sectarian; and yet, in many instances these Libraries are half filled with the most false, rabid, and calumnious anti-Catholic books that can be found. The Protestant public seem to make it a point of honour that the Protestant version of the Bible shall be read in them. Though I do not think much harm accrues to the Catholic child from this, yet the book Protestants call the Bible is as much a sectarian book as Dowling's History of the Popes, and a just construction of the law excludes it. It is not a true and correct version of the Holy Scriptures, as all learned Protestants themselves know and admit. Save in the large cities and towns, where Catholics are numerous, and have votes, little fairness or justice is done to the Catholic child, especially if the child of foreign-born parents. The children of the labouring Irish suffer a great deal. They are treated with great harshness and ridicule in the same school where children of wealthy or educated American Catholics are treated with all the tenderness and consideration shown to the children of non-Catholic parents. The children of what are called the low Irish, in consequence of their peculiar habits and manners, and the strong national prejudices against the class to which they belong, rather than in consequence of being Catholics, find themselves in an inferior position in the public schools, and are exposed to numerous vexations and annoyances. These things, when we consider this class of our children, are numerous, and those for whom we should feel the most solicitude, and when we further consider the inability of a large portion of their parents—poor in a strange land, exiles, and ignorant themselves—to give them a proper home edu-

cation, we cannot but feel obliged to adopt the policy wherever practicable, wherever we are able, of establishing schools of our own. These things compel us, even where we cannot establish superior schools of our own, to tolerate rather than fully approve the public schools. In this I think I find myself fully sustained by the American hierarchy, who have recommended the formation, wherever practicable, of Catholic schools."

"But unhappily!" said Dieffenbach, "those of your Catholic schools which have come under my observation are for the most part far inferior to your public schools, and rather fitted to keep your Catholic population a foreign colony in the country, oppressed by a sense of inferiority, than to make them an integral portion of the American people, animated by an independent spirit, and feeling themselves standing in all respects on a footing of equality with their non-Catholic fellow-citizens."

"The bishops and clergy," answered Father John, "look to the spiritual wants of the Catholic people, and it is only in the interests of religion that they concern themselves with the education of children. They look, as they should look first of all, to Catholic schools as a protection to the faith and piety of their children. The secular elevation and acclimatization, so to speak, of the Catholic body is, and ought to be, with them only a subordinate consideration. The social position of the Catholic body is in itself of comparatively small importance, for he gains nothing who gains the whole world, but loses his soul; and he loses nothing, though he loses all secular goods, who saves his soul. If men have faith and piety, and are friends of God, whether they are princes and nobles or mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, freemen or slaves, is of little moment. The bishops and clergy must also work with such materials and use such means as are at their disposal, and with such materials and means as they have at their disposal, it is impossible for them to place our Catholic schools, regarded as secular schools, generally on a par with the public schools supported by the resources of the state. Certainly, our Catholic schools are not of a high order, and I am aware of none, save under the religious point of view, that can begin to compete with the public schools of New York or Boston."

“It seems to me,” said Dieffenbach, “that the public schools are to be preferred, even in a religious point of view, to Catholic schools, which are altogether inferior, under the charge, as many of your schools are, of incompetent teachers, from whom the children can learn little, and that little only imperfectly—teachers whose manners and influence can do little to elevate and refine them. These schools, under the charge of half-educated and half-paid teachers, who, in some instances, can hardly speak the language of the school, and have hardly a sentiment in common with the order of civilization under which their pupils are to live, are not precisely what you want in a country like this. The mass of your Catholic population, however honest, industrious, and faithful, are from the lower classes of the Catholic population of various European countries, illiterate peasants, labourers, servants, mechanics, and small tradespeople. They very soon after their arrival become naturalized, and invested with political and social rights and duties to which they were total strangers in the land of their birth. Their children enter into the body of American citizens, and require an education, a mental cultivation and discipline their parents rarely received. Now, it seems to me that the interests of religion itself, as well as the interests of society, are opposed to their growing up with a sense of inferiority, which they are sure to do, if sent to inferior Catholic schools, and deprived by the religion of their parents of the advantages of the superior public schools attended by non-Catholic children. Teachers from the Old World, where the distinction of ranks still obtains, who never have thought of giving to all ranks and classes a common education, or that for the poorer class of Catholics here any other education than is given to the peasantry and lower classes of Europe is necessary, will do as little for you religiously as socially. You will have perhaps even more difficulty in preserving to the faith the children educated in such schools as they will keep, than those educated in the public schools of the country. You must accept, not by shouting democracy and running into the radical and filibustering extravagances of too many Americans, the political and social order established in this country, and educate your children to be Catholics in harmony with it, and not to be Catholics only in opposition to it or in spite of it. If you train your children to be the

lower class in monarchical and aristocratic Europe, you do not train them for this country, unless you intend to revolutionize it; you create an antagonism between them and the society in which they are to live, and place the whole force of that society, in their minds, against their religion, and thus do more on the one hand to tempt them from their religion than you do on the other to attach them to it."

"It is not possible," said De Bonneville, "for you to establish Catholic schools supported by yourselves out of your limited means, that shall successfully compete with the Common Schools supported by a public tax or by public funds, and at the same time build your churches and provide for the services of religion. The funds are not in your hands. You cannot build first-class schoolhouses for all your children, or afford to pay the salaries which will command the services of first-class teachers. In most places the pastor is poor and struggling with debt, and if he attempts to establish a first-class school, he involves himself still deeper in debt, is still more embarrassed to find the ways and means of meeting his expenses. He becomes so harassed, distracted, and worn out with his temporal affairs that he has hardly time, strength, or courage to devote himself to the spiritual welfare and progress of his charge. Except in a very few places, the establishment and maintenance of a free school impose upon the clergyman a burden too great to be borne, and under which, after a few years of struggle, he does and must break down, unless sustained by supernatural agency."

"It is only fair," said Father John, "to presume that those of our bishops who insist so earnestly on the establishment of parochial schools have taken all the objections and difficulties suggested by Mr. Dieffenbach and Mr. de Bonneville into consideration, and that stronger reasons in their minds overrule them, and induce them to decide in favour of parochial schools wherever they are able to establish them. But I do not understand them to require the clergy to establish schools where they are impracticable, or where the pastor and people are unable to do it without great inconvenience, or where they cannot establish a school every way equal to the public schools. In my own view of the matter, I think the public schools, sectarian as they frequently are, preferable to very poor parochial schools,

under the charge of wholly incompetent teachers, and dragging out a painful, lingering, half-dying existence. I consider the Church has made it obligatory on us to establish schools, as far as we are able, in which our children will not be exposed to the loss of their faith, or the corruption of their morals; but I do not regard as such schools, though called Catholic, those in which the children in study and behaviour are not brought up to the common average of the public schools of the country."

CONVERSATION X.

"If," said O'Flanagan, "we are to accept Father John's view of the public schools, expressed a few evenings since, and send our children to them where we have not and cannot have schools of our own every way equal to them, this advantage will result, that our venerable bishops and priests will have more leisure and means to devote to the elevation of our colleges, academies, and seminaries. The education of the whole mass of the children in common schools may be a necessity of modern times, especially in a democratic country, but it can never, however thorough, suffice for the wants of the Church or of society. The first want of the Church is a numerous and well-educated clergy. The fields are always white for the harvest, but the labourers are always too few. The establishment and support of a *petit-séminaire* in every diocese is a desideratum, and would do far more for the interests of religion than the multiplication to any extent possible of simple parochial schools."

"The evil of modern society," added Winslow, "is an exaggerated democracy, which looks at the mass and neglects the individuals, collects a body of privates, and neglects to provide them with proper officers. Education may be much more diffused in modern society, than it was in antiquity, or in the Middle Ages, but the higher and more thorough education of the few is relatively more neglected, and inferior in the cultivation and discipline of the mind, and in the formation of character. Especially is this the case in our own country, where what is called liberal education, that is, the education of freemen, *liberi* or *generosi*, in contradistinction from the education of the servile, or menial classes, is below what it is in any other civilized

country. We cut but a sorry figure in this respect beside Italy, France, Germany, England, Spain, or even distracted Mexico. The speeches of the members of our Congress cannot compare, under the point of view of scholarship, mental discipline, and intellectual culture, with the speeches of the members of the British Parliament, and even the Mexican diplomatic and state papers show a more thorough training than for the most part do our own. In the whole range of our presidential messages, from Washington to Buchanan inclusive, we can find no one to compare favourably with the first message of Louis Napoleon to the French National Assembly. We have plenty of privates, but we lack officers, leaders who can organize them into an army, and lead them to victory. Officers are more important than men, the architect than the mechanic who works after his plan, the artist than the artisan, the leader than the followers. 'Give me the man,' said Napoleon Bonaparte, 'I can find men enough anywhere.' Say what we will of democracy, and shout equality till our throats are sore, the people have and must have leaders, and it is of far more moment what the leaders than what the followers are. This principle, which is true of the population of the country in general, is equally true of the Catholic population in particular. Gather all your children into common schools, and give them what is called a good common school education; if you stop there, you have private soldiers, but no marshals, generals, colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants,—an unorganized mass, not an army, a mob, not a state. You want officers, you want leaders, men qualified to organize and direct what without them is inorganic and lifeless. You want first the clergy, for the religious wants are primary. Ample provision, first of all, needs to be made for a numerous and thoroughly educated clergy, who should stand at the head of society in learning and intelligence as well as in wisdom and virtue. But the people need leaders in secular as well as in spiritual affairs. They want their lawyers, their surgeons, and physicians, their statesmen, men who can lead them, defend their rights, and vindicate their interests in every department of public and social life. After the seminary, or school for training and preparing the spiritual chiefs of the people, the

next most important thing is the college and university for training and preparing their lay or temporal chiefs."

"The college and university are the more necessary to the Catholic population of this country," remarked De Bonneville, "because, if worst comes to worst, you can use the public schools; and it seems to me that the college and university do not receive the attention their importance demands, and the attention given to your colleges is given to them rather as *petits-séminaires*, or as feeders to your ecclesiastical seminaries and religious orders, than as schools for the education of the lay chiefs of the Catholic society. They seem to me, to a great extent, to fail in both objects. With all submission to authority, I think your bishops would better accomplish their object, the obtaining of candidates for the seminary, if they confined their exertions mainly to establishing, instead of colleges chiefly for the education of seculars, little seminaries, as feeders of the theological seminary. They would find more vocations, and more speedily supply the want of priests, which is now almost everywhere so deeply felt. I think their best plan would be to confine their direct efforts to supplying the wants of the spiritual society, and leave the college and university, save in what regards religion and morality, to the secular society. We have all agreed that the Church is not bound to provide or to give a secular education to seculars, and therefore she is not bound to train up the lay chiefs of society. She provides for the spiritual society, and secular society ought to provide for its own wants. No doubt there have been times and places in which, if the Church had not volunteered to provide for those wants, no provision would have been made for them."

"The point," said Father John, "is a delicate one, and we must never forget that the spiritual order is supreme over the temporal; or that in all things the temporal is subordinate and should be subservient to the spiritual. The Church is not bound to give secular education to seculars, and therefore is not bound to found colleges and universities any more than she is bound to furnish common schools for them; but it is her right and her duty to see that when founded, by whomsoever founded, they work in subordination and subserviency to the spiritual

interests of which she is the divinely appointed guardian. With this reserve, I agree with Mr. de Bonneville, and would separate the two classes of schools, placing the seminary, little and great, exclusively under the control of the Church, while I placed the control of colleges and the university, in all save spirituals, under the control of the secular society; or, if under the control of priests and religious, under their control as the agents of the secular society, not of the ecclesiastical. The primary object of the college and the university, save the faculty of theology, should be to meet the secular wants of secular society, whether the professors are priests, religious, or seculars. This seems to have been the view of F. G., in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, in his able essays on Public Instruction, though he may not have brought out his meaning with as much clearness and distinctness as the case demanded. What he really objects to on this score, is the attempt to combine the seminary for the training of young Levites with the college for seculars. He considers the two classes of institutions should be kept distinct and separate; that while those having an ecclesiastical and spiritual end should be placed under the exclusive control and management of the spiritual society, those intended to provide for secular wants only should be placed under the control and management of secular society, in subordination and subserviency, of course, to the paramount interests of religion, as should be all temporal or secular action. He complains of our colleges, that they are neither seminaries nor colleges proper. The bishops and clergy in the beginning founded and sustained them with a view of obtaining candidates for the priesthood, hoping at the same time to meet in them the desire of Catholic parents to give their sons a good secular education. But aiming to fulfil the double purpose, they really fulfil neither. This objection is not true, to the extent supposed, of all our colleges. In very few cases,—I recollect now but two,—is the seminary proper combined with the secular college; and a beginning is made in the work of separating the little seminary from the college, and will probably before long be completed in most of our dioceses."

"I do not quite agree with Father John," remarked De Bonneville, "when he says the spiritual is *supreme*

over the temporal, for that seems to me to imply a jurisdiction I do not concede it; but that the spiritual is *superior* to the temporal, therefore spiritual interests must take precedence of temporal interests, I myself hold. With this reserve, I accept Father John's statement. It distinguishes things which are distinct in their nature and in their immediate end. The college is properly a secular institution."

"I see," interrupted O'Flanagan, "that the whole aim of my friends is to withdraw all but religious education from the Church, and to give it to the secular order. I protest as a Catholic, a citizen, and a man, against this. Society even is never safe when this separation is allowed. The Church has the supreme control of education, and the entire training of the rising generation."

"In so far as the interests of religion and morality are concerned, I grant it," said De Bonneville; "but not in so far as it is secular, any more than she has of other secular matters, as we have already agreed."

"But," rejoined O'Flanagan, "she can never secure the interests of religion and morality, unless she has charge of the whole of education, the entire instruction, training, and moulding of the young. To give to seculars the control of secular education, will end only in secularizing religion and morality, and excluding the spiritual order itself from society."

"There is something in Mr. O'Flanagan's remarks," said Father John, "and if they err at all, it is on the safe side. But we have discussed that question in a previous conversation, and it is for us no longer an open question. The Church is a spiritual kingdom, set up on the earth for spiritual purposes. She does not absorb the temporal kingdom, or secular society. Her authority over the temporal order is spiritual, not temporal; and therefore is authority to govern it only in its relation to spirituals. Such being the fact, secular society not being absorbed or superseded, but left in its autonomy, it must have, in subordination to the spiritual authority in regard to spiritual interests and ends, full authority in all secular matters, and, therefore, the control and management of education in so far as education is purely secular. F. G. is therefore right, and would withdraw nothing from the Church which she claims

as her right ; he would only relieve her of a burden secular society has no right to ask her to bear, and would simply compel secular society to bear its own burdens, and to perform its own duties."

"But did not the Holy See condemn the Queen's Colleges in Ireland because they were purely secular colleges, under the control of the state, not of the Church?" asked O'Flanagan.

"Not at all," replied Father John. "Those colleges were not censured because they were founded, supported, and managed by the civil power, but because they did not permit proper safeguards for religion to be introduced. They were judged to be improper for Catholic youth, because they would expose their faith and morals to perversion. If the Church could have had in them full control of whatever relates to spirituals, to the faith and morals of her children, we have no reason to suppose the Holy See would have censured them. In the secular colleges I am disposed to recommend, I suppose the Church to have plenary authority in all that touches spirituals, and to see that neither in text, book, nor lecture, anything be advanced repugnant to, or not in accordance with, the purity, integrity, and interests of the Catholic religion. They cannot then be liable to the censure inflicted on the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. Moreover, when I speak of secular society in connection with them, I mean our Catholic secular society, not the general secular society of the country."

"I suppose you would have the colleges lay institutions, with a lay government, faculty, and professors," remarked Winslow, "for this, as I gather it, is the view of F. G."

"F. G. would have the college a secular, not an ecclesiastical institution," replied Father John ; "but I do not understand him to object to the government being in the hands of priests, or to clergymen constituting the faculty or professional staff. It might be worthy of consideration, looking to the great want of priests for the missions, and the difficulty educated Catholics, not priests or religious, find in obtaining in the Catholic community of this country a congenial employment, whether more laymen, not candidates for the priesthood, might not be advantageously employed. This would be almost a boon to them, and would, at the

same time, release a large number of priests to be employed on the mission. Something in this direction, I see with pleasure, is commenced in Mount St. Mary's College, near Cincinnati—a young institution, indeed, but promising, if I am not much mistaken, to take a high rank, and to be a noble monument to the zeal and practical wisdom of the illustrious Prelate to whom it is indebted for its existence. It is for the interest of Catholicity in this country, to open as many avenues as possible for our educated young men, who have no vocation to the priesthood or to the religious orders, and for educated gentlemen who come to us from the non-Catholic world, who lose their means of temporal support by their conversion, and yet in consequence of being married, as well as for other reasons, cannot take orders in the Church. Too little provision has hitherto been made or thought of for either of these classes. Our Catholic population has been singularly forgetful of the wisdom, not to say duty, of providing employment, according to their ability, for their own educated young men, and especially of aiding their professional young men in the commencement of their career. I can conceive nothing more disheartening than the position of a young Catholic lawyer, or physician, for instance. He has been educated, we will suppose, in a Catholic college, and has formed few Protestant acquaintances, and acquired no status out of the Catholic community; he studies his profession, and opens his office; but Protestants will not employ him, because they do not know him and have formed no relations with him, because he has not yet acquired a reputation, and because he is a Catholic, and they have no interest in pushing him forward; and Catholics do not come to his aid, often simply because he is a Catholic, and therefore, in their judgment, cannot serve them as well as a non-Catholic. Let him succeed, and prove that he is able to live without them, then they will be proud of him, and give him their business. But till then, he can't be much, for he is a Catholic, and Catholics for this world are, of course, inferior to non-Catholics. I know very few instances in which a young Catholic professional man has succeeded without compromising his religion, and living, whatever his faith, very much like a non-Catholic. Hence it is we lose so many of our young men, who with a little

consideration in the outset, a little patronage of Catholics, which would cost them nothing, might have grown up pillars and ornaments of our Catholic society. The Catholic community shows, in this respect, great lack of prudent foresight and just regard for Catholic interests. Nevertheless, I ask for no change as to the *personnel* of our colleges, and I do not object, nor does F. G. object, to the professors being priests or monks, and as a Jesuit, I certainly am not likely to propose the exclusion of my own order from the business of education, in which they have won so much glory, and which is one of the principal ends of their Institute."

"But even to render your colleges secular, in the sense Father John contends, would not meet the wants of Catholic secular society," remarked Dieffenbach. "Their separation from the *petit-seminaire* would not elevate their character or render them more effective to their end, if the government and faculty remained unchanged. The great fault to be found with them, is that the education they give is too superficial, and too confined. They do not turn out their young men brave soldiers, well disciplined, and fully armed and equipped for the battle of life, qualified to be the lay chiefs and leaders of your Catholic lay society. The non-Catholic colleges cannot compare with similar institutions in Europe, and they hardly prepare their graduates to enter an English or German university. Your Catholic colleges do not rise in secular education to the common average of the non-Catholic colleges of the country. You have no college that can compare with Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Columbia, and several others I might mention. Yet the wants and interests of the Catholic body in the Union require you to give to your young men not only a religious, but also a secular education, superior to any given in non-Catholic colleges. You have your own body to elevate, and the country to conquer, and you can effect either only by proving yourselves at every point, in learning, literature, science, and intelligence, the real chiefs of the country, who have the real moral and intellectual superiority that entitles them to the leadership."

"Your Catholic population," continued Dieffenbach, "are chiefly from countries where Catholics have been in

an inferior position, and crushed down to the dust by the superincumbent might of successful heresy. They have been bound with chains of iron which have eaten into their flesh, even into their souls, and the scars remain, and in some cases the wounds are as yet unhealed. They have a sense of inferiority, and hardly persuade themselves that they are relieved of the chains worn for so many years, and that they are in very deed freemen, and stand on a footing of equality in society with their whilom oppressors. They are afraid it is all an illusion, and that they with the next breath will see it dissolve. The consequence is that you take too low views of your position and means, and fail even to aim at the influence within your reach. 'Only let us live in peace and quiet,' you say, 'without having our goods confiscated or our throats cut, and we shall be grateful.' You forget that you belong to a living religion, which has the right to be aggressive, that its Divine Founder said he came to send not peace, but the sword rather, that you must be propagandists, or not be true to the spirit of your Church, which aims to bring the whole world within her pale, and to induce them in spirit and in truth to worship her Lord. It seems to me that both your people and even your collegiate faculties pitch your standard too low, and do not venture even to aim at the superiority which you should use all lawful means to acquire. You should feel that your freedom is a reality, and use it, and as men who must account to God for their stewardship."

"Nothing can satisfy Mein Herr Dieffenbach," remarked O'Flanagan. "He declaims against all that Catholics think, do, or say, and now he gets off a diatribe against the whole Catholic population of this country. Wonder, if he ever heard of the charity which thinketh no ill, or of that wisdom which is meek, gentle, and not puffed up? Not one word of sympathy has he for those who have maintained their faith amid every trial and at the sacrifice of everything else, nor one word of encouragement for those who are doing all in their power for the Catholic cause."

"Mr. O'Flanagan is quite mistaken," replied Dieffenbach, "and suspects fault-finding where none is intended or can be justly inferred. I state a fact, and its cause—a fact from which Catholics suffer; yet I blame not them, I blame only those who have oppressed and persecuted them. Owing to the habits generated by the position in

which they have for generations been held by triumphant and intolerant heresy, they have lost their free spirit and manly courage, and can even here hardly feel that their freedom is not an illusion. They are afraid to act with the high hopes and courage of men who have never been in bondage, or oppressed by an heretical government."

"Mr. Dieffenbach may explain as he will, but the Catholic instinct detects in him the old Teutonic pride, his contempt for the meek, resigned, passive virtues of the true Christian," added O'Flanagan. "He prefers the pride and stoicism of the old Græco-Roman heroes and statesmen to the humility and patience of the Christian saint, the greatness and nobility of nature to the greatness and nobility of grace."

"In that, I think, Mr. O'Flanagan is right," said Winslow. "In all the remarks I hear from those Catholics who talk of elevating socially the Catholic body, and call upon them to be bold, energetic, manly, I feel there is more of the Gentile than of the Christian spirit. In that courage which comes from nature, in that merely human pride, ambition, wisdom, energy, expressed by the word *manly*, the world outside is and always must be superior, for it was precisely to break down the spirit that generates and sustains it, that our Lord gave us his religion. Read the Blessings pronounced in his Sermon on the Mount, and you cannot fail to perceive that the Christian spirit is in bold contrast to the spirit Mr. Dieffenbach and others would have us possess. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' 'Blessed are the meek.' 'Blessed are the pure in heart.' 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' &c. The root of every Christian virtue is humility, not merely a natural, but a supernatural humility, the offspring of grace not nature, and the whole aim of Christian morals is to substitute for the nobility of nature the nobility of grace. Always to the men of the world the Christian will appear tame, spiritless, passive, insensible to insults and injuries, inviting indignities, and glorying in being trampled on, and treated as of no account. Hence in the history of Catholic states you find the best Catholics are seldom at the head of affairs, and the men who control the policy of the government, whether churchmen or laics, are men who abound more in the Gentile than in the Christian virtues."

"Mr. Winslow," replied Father John, "retains, I fear,

a little of the old Calvinistic leaven of his ancestors. I find nothing in Mr. Dieffenbach's remarks that savor of Græco-Roman Gentilism, and I know no reason why Catholics should not be as bold, as firm, as independent, as manly, nay, as aspiring in labouring for the interests of the Church as statesmen are in labouring to advance the state or their own personal ambition. Humility is never incompatible with greatness of mind, and a servile, timid, crouching spirit is never an evidence of grace. Without me, said our Lord, ye can do nothing. In the Christian order all begins and ends in grace. But it is a mistake, if nothing worse, to say that our Lord seeks in his religion to substitute the nobility of grace for the nobility of nature. We should say rather, he seeks to elevate the nobility of nature to the nobility of grace, for in no respect whatever does grace supersede nature, or become a substitute for nature. It is certain that Catholics in the English speaking world have been so long held in an inferior position, have so long been deprived of their freedom, been so long cowed down by their haughty non-Catholic masters, who have ruled them with a rod of iron, so long been forced to practise their religion by stealth, in opposition to the civil law, that they can hardly believe that their present apparent freedom is real, and it seems almost unnatural to them. It is not strange, then, that oppressed by their memories they should not rise either in their hopes or in their conceptions to the level of their position. They are timid, where the interests of their religion are concerned, and are too ready to purchase the freedom to worship according to the dictates of their Catholic conscience, at the expense of their dignity as men and their rights as citizens."

"Your great defect," said Dieffenbach, "is your humble deference to non-Catholic public opinion. That opinion brands Catholics as inferior to non-Catholics, and, unhappily, the bulk of your Catholic population, however they may protest in words against it, really believe it, and, for the most part, act accordingly. This is one great secret, whether they are conscious of it or not, of their neglect of their own educated young men, and their preference of Protestants, wherever talent, learning, energy, influence, is needed. The Swiss Sonderbund had the weakness to place a non-Catholic at the head of their army in 1847, and

gained—a defeat by it. In almost every country, and in none more than in this, they are crushed down by this sense of inferiority, which is generated by this false non-Catholic public opinion. There is no justice in it. Morally, intellectually, and physically, Catholics are far superior, wherever they dare be, to non-Catholics. It is only the Catholic religion that gives to nature fair-play, and enables her to display herself in all her strength. What I want is to see them shake off this deference to non-Catholic public opinion, to rise above this sense of inferiority, and to assume in their feelings as well as in their words, their rightful position as freemen, as God's noblemen on earth. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Dare be yourselves, and take your rule of conduct from your own divine religion, and face in the strength of your faith and the grace of God, boldly the enemies of your Church, and show them, by proving your intrinsic superiority, that all their charges against you are false and calumnious. To do this you must rely in great measure on your colleges and academies."

"But this submission to non-Catholic public opinion, this partial adoption of the Protestant estimate of the Catholic body," added Father John, "is a great obstacle to making our colleges and academies what they should be. No matter how able and zealous are our professors, how just their views of what education should be, or how admirable are the methods they adopt for giving it, they cannot give it unless they are educating in and for a community that feels the necessity of such education, and will sustain them in giving it. I will not undertake to defend in all respects our colleges for young men and academies for young women as they are now organized and conducted. They do not meet our needs, though they fully come up to the ideas of the great majority of parents, who send their children to them. Their results do not satisfy me. Our conventual schools for girls are too superficial, run over a great number of studies, but teach nothing thoroughly, unless a few light and showy accomplishments. They seem to forget that girls have intellect, and that intellect in wives and mothers is not a superfluity. I reverence the moral and religious worth of the good Sisters, who with so much patience, gentleness, and assiduity, de-

vote themselves to the ungrateful task of education, but I wish they would take higher views of female education, do more to develop the understanding of their pupils, and place less stress on mere external accomplishments. I have no patience with your "strong-minded" women, but I have great respect for the female mind, and I measure the civilization of a country by the cultivation and intelligence of its women. There are branches in which I do not expect them to equal men, but there is no reason in the world why the young ladies who graduate from our conventual schools, should not, with the modesty, reserve, and the lighter accomplishments always indispensable, come forth thinking, reasoning beings, and prepared to give to the society into which they enter a high moral and intellectual tone, at least be able to do something besides simper, sing, gossip, and dance. Women as well as men, have rational souls, and should receive a rational education, and be qualified to take their part in any rational conversation that may be started. 'I never read *Brownson's Review*,' is a very common remark with our so-called educated Catholic young ladies; 'it is too deep for me.' That is all nonsense; any young lady as well as young gentleman who has been properly taught, been accustomed to think, will easily understand it, if she chooses, at least with the exception of now and then an article. The difficulty is not in the Review, it is in the fact our young ladies have not been educated to take an interest in grave intellectual subjects, and in this respect are by no means as well educated as the better class of non-Catholic ladies. Young ladies should be taught to think and to reason as well as to love. The same fault runs through all our colleges for young men, or, I should say, our colleges for boys. We have none for young men. They may go over ground enough, but they do not quicken the intellect of their pupils—do not accustom them to think, and to assimilate and make part of themselves what they read or are taught by their professor."

"This fault," said Dieffenbach, "I think, pertains to your professors and teachers as well as to your Catholic population. They are too much under the influence of the public opinion of Catholic conservatism in the Old World. Under all European society smoulders a revolutionary spirit,

and more especially in the Catholic states, liable every day to break out in a flame, and consume both the throne and the altar. Catholics live in a constant fear of a social or political outbreak, more especially in Italy and France. They very generally adopt the policy of repression, and repression in regard to thought, as well as to outward acts. Of the wisdom or unwisdom of that policy I will not now speak, for it has been fully discussed in this Club. But that fear propagates itself in this country, and that policy is carried into your colleges, and all the more readily from the fact that a large portion of your body recently arrived in the country, are infected to a greater or less extent by the same revolutionary spirit against which that policy is adopted. Hence your professors and teachers have more or less fear of stimulating thought in their pupils, and in forming them to habits of self-reliance, and free and spontaneous action. They think they must repress as well as encourage, and therefore confine themselves chiefly to loading the memory, without stimulating real intellectual activity."

"Undoubtedly there is something in that," said Father John; "and I for myself think it would be better in our schools, colleges, and academies, to look more to our own country, and less to the Old World, so different from ours, and from which we want nothing but the Catholic religion. Still I do not admit the chief difficulty is in that. I do not believe, as a general thing, our professors and teachers are absolutely afraid of stimulating and cultivating the intellect, or of making their pupils thinking and reasoning men and women. They are Catholics, and must hold their religion to be Catholic, embracing all truth, and therefore having nothing to fear from thought or intelligence. Some improvements, however, in the internal organization of our colleges, as demanded by F. G., I think might be advantageously adopted. The pupils are received too young, and the preparatory school is not usually separated from the college. The government and discipline adapted to boys eight or nine years of age cannot be adapted to youths of eighteen or nineteen. Our colleges now for the most part combine, or attempt to combine the grammar school and the college proper, and the members of both are under the same prefects, and subjected to the same government and

discipline. Boys need to be governed as boys, but the students in a college ought to be governed as young gentlemen, and the appeal should be to their sense of honour, propriety, and justice. Those who are deaf to such appeals should not be flogged, but expelled."

"I think," said Dieffenbach, "there is another objection. You combine not only the grammar school and college, but also the college and university. In fact, hitherto, you have had only one grade of schools; you should have four: the common schools, divided into primary and secondary, your high school or academy, your college and the university. To a great extent you may and must for the present use the public schools established by the state, and the education given in these will suffice, with the religious instruction which they may receive elsewhere, for the great majority of your children. The other three grades you must establish and support yourselves. The high school is to be the feeder of the college, and this might be a private school, opened by a private person, a competent layman, in the case of boys, and by an educated and competent Catholic lady, who must do something to support herself, when it is for girls, and intended to feed the conventual school for young ladies. Leaving, by the way, the female branch, the college receives from the high school those whom their parents wish to advance further, in case they have the requisite qualification, and carries them on to the Baccalaureate. From the college to the university pass such as wish or are able to obtain a complete liberal education. The college and university courses should be each at least four years. Such is substantially the English and German systems, which I prefer to the French and American."

"That is no doubt what we want, and what in due time we shall have," answered Father John; "but as yet we cannot introduce so complete a system. We are not able to sustain two universities, and the Catholic body, if we are to have but one, will divide on the question of its locality. The people in the eastern states will never send their sons to a university situated west of the Alleghanies. They will send them to Ireland, or to continental Europe sooner. For the present, I fear, we must stop with the college, which, if all its capabilities are developed, will answer our purpose very well. There will be very little difficulty in adapting

the college to the wants of the country on the part of the college itself, or on the part of the Bishops, who are their patrons, or the religious or others who conduct them. The only serious difficulty is on the part of parents, who will not or cannot keep their children at the institution long enough to receive the education it is prepared to give. The separation of the high school from the college, although it might and probably would reduce our colleges in number, or deprive several of them of their name of colleges, would to a great extent remedy this evil, for only those parents who were able to carry them through would send their sons to the college. The others would stop at the common school, or at the high school. The changes and modifications I suggest may be easily adopted without any violent revolution in our educational system, and without essentially altering the college as at present understood and conducted; and if so, I think all reasonable objections to our colleges would be removed, and the college fulfil, as perfectly as any human institution can, its purpose."

"I am glad to find," remarked O'Flanagan, "that, after all, Father John is not disposed to carry his innovations to the extreme I feared."

"Never take counsel of your fears," replied Father John, "and always hear a man's whole thought before you fly in a rage at him. I wish the Catholic public in our country to take higher views of what a collegiate education should be; I wish them to insist on a higher standard being reached, and to sustain the college in reaching it. We have, I believe, the men every way qualified to educate to the full extent demanded, and we already have colleges that have all the requisite machinery and force to do it. Give them the youths, and let them have them long enough to carry them through the prescribed course, and I think there will be little cause for complaint."

"Though I cannot agree to tolerate the Common Schools as far as Father John seems disposed to do," said Winslow, "I can agree with him in his views of collegiate education. But he ought in justice to say that things are already taking the turn he wishes, and the plan he suggests has already been begun to be acted upon. We can safely

leave the whole question to the proper authorities, and to the force of circumstances."

"I am aware," said Father John, "that the changes and modifications I contend for have been commenced, and are approved very generally by the intelligent Catholics, whether clergymen or laymen, who have much studied the subject. In several of the colleges under the control of the Society of Jesus, the preparatory school is partially separated from the college proper, and in them all the college is separated from the seminary. The heads of colleges and professors in general, even when they see not clearly what improvements can be made, feel that our colleges, as they have hitherto been, do not produce the desired results. For my part, I think we have too many colleges, and not enough of schools of an intermediate grade between the primary school and the college. The college is the worst possible school for those who are not intended to go through the entire course. The boys are sent to college quite too young—in some instances, before they have been sent to school—and they are little more than boys when they graduate. The effects of this are bad. Our colleges, as now managed, take the boy at a tender age, watch over him with a maternal solicitude, provide him all the helps religion can give, use all the means and appliances that can be devised to make him love and preserve his faith, cram him with religious instruction, refresh his religious sensibilities by retreats and reiterated exhortations, place the confessional always before him, and a director at his elbow, till he reaches the age when the passions begin to unfold, and he commences the dangerous period of transition from the boy to the man. And then, when he needs more than ever the spiritual aids and counsels he has been accustomed to, they send him out into society, weak, ignorant, without any habits of self-reliance, self-government, or self-help, exposed to all its seductions and temptations, so much the more to be dreaded, as they all have for him the charm of novelty, and leave him, wholly unprepared, to battle with the world, the flesh, and the devil, as best he may. The majority, I believe, succumb, as we might expect, in the struggle. Something would be done to remedy this evil, by separating more decidedly the prepar-

atory school from the college, and receiving students in the college at a more advanced age."

"That would do something," said Dieffenbach, "but the system of government and discipline of your colleges, I think, is not, and can never be adapted to a free state. The nursing system is carried too far, and the student is kept constantly in leading-strings, never suffered, hardly even in his sports, to think and act for himself. The maxim of the college is, Everything for the boys, nothing by the boys. All this is very good, if your boys are to be trained up to be monks, or to live in a society organized on the maxim, Everything for the people, nothing by the people. But it will not do in the training of seculars who are to live in a republican, not to say a democratic state. Your American society is founded on the maxim, Help thyself. What is wanted, first of all, in the government and discipline of the college, is a system that shall form as early as possible the child to self-help, self-reliance, and self-government. You fail precisely because you educate for the monastery, or for a society organized on principles which American society repudiates. You overdo; you do all for the boy, and suffer him to do nothing for himself, and keep him ignorant where his only safety is in knowledge, and weak and dependent on others, precisely where he needs to be strong and able to help himself. The college should image on a small scale the society in which the boys are to live and play their part as men, and therefore, in this country it should be, not a despotism or a monarchy, where the governor is everything, and the governed are nothing; but a miniature republic, in which, save in religious instructions, and in the hours of study and recitation, the boys govern themselves, where from the first they begin to act the part they are to act in real life. Your system may be admirable in other countries constituted differently from this, but it will not answer here, where the boy sucks in republicanism with his mother's milk. The failure of the non-Catholic colleges of the country, for fail they do, is owing to the adoption of a similar system, a system which makes the maintenance of the college authority the great thing to which, if need be, all else must be sacrificed. Your system does not, and cannot fit young men to take their proper rank and exert their pro-

per influence in American society ; for it breaks down the sense of independence, too often destroys the frankness and ingenuousness of the boy, and renders him shy, artful, false, deceitful, and hypocritical—in one word, what Protestants express by the word Jesuitical.”

“ The first lesson to be taught the child is submission, and his first virtue is obedience,” said Winslow ; “ and it is only in proportion as you can enforce this lesson and obtain this virtue that you can organize society on a Catholic basis. In my view there is an innate antagonism between American society and the Catholic religion, and if you educate for the one you cannot educate for the other.”

“ So say, in principle, the Know-Nothings,” said Dieffenbach. “ Why, then, does Mr. Winslow find fault with non-Catholic Americans for opposing Catholicity, on the ground that it is anti-American ? No matter what lessons you teach in your colleges, a people whose chiefs are trained under your present system of government and discipline, can never be a free, self-governing people, as we may learn from the example of the French people, who have, notwithstanding their intelligence, failed in every attempt at republicanism. They cannot govern themselves, and must have a master, and the more absolute the more they love him. There is no need of words or speculation about the matter. But I deny the fact of the alleged antagonism. That there is antagonism between the system of government and discipline of your colleges or the habits formed under it, and the political and social order of this country, I not only concede but assert. Yet I dare maintain that that system, which has grown up in other times and in other countries, and may have been wise and just when and where it originated, is no part of the Catholic religion, and is not only distinguishable, but separable from it. There is, Catholics have asserted it over and over again, nothing in the constitution of the American political and social order repugnant to Catholicity, and an American priest of high standing has maintained at Rome in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, that it is even favourable to Catholicity. I have never heard from bishop or priest, whether native born or foreign born, whether Irish or French, German or Italian, that Catholicity can prevail here only by revolu-

tionizing the existing political and social order, and introducing the Cæsarism which obtains in France, Naples, Austria, and Russia. You need, in order to have this a purely Catholic country, to change nothing but the religion of the American people."

"Mr. Dieffenbach is right," said Father John, and I agree with him in his view of the organization of our colleges in regard to government and discipline. The system adopted was good in its time and place, and well adapted to the state of society for which it was intended. That it needs essential modifications to adapt it to the principles and wants of our American society, I think can reasonably be doubted by no one. But we must give our colleges time, and not complain of them for not having introduced at once an entirely new system, of which the president and professors could know nothing. They naturally introduced the system with which they were acquainted, and under which they had themselves been trained. All men are more or less the creatures of routine, and evils we have long been familiar with, we are apt to regard either as not evils at all, or as inevitable, and to which we must reconcile ourselves. The Catholic trained under the existing system, and ignorant of any other, cannot be aware of its deficiencies. Our colleges had need to learn many things from experience, and I have seen in them, except, perhaps, in here and there an individual, no unwillingness to profit by experience. Many changes have already been introduced, others are contemplated, and in due time all that can reasonably be asked, no doubt, will be adopted, if the public opinion of the Catholic body can be brought to sustain them. What I insist on is, that the defects of our colleges as they are, be they greater or be they less, shall not be ascribed exclusively to the college faculty or authorities. Parents must co-operate with the college, and sustain it in its efforts at improvement. Unhappily too many of our Catholic parents never think of anything of the sort. To many of them a college is a college, partaking of the infallibility of the Church; and the best thing they can do for their sons is to send them to college, though it be only for a year."

"Father John must not be too hard upon Catholic parents," said Dieffenbach; "the majority of these parents

are from countries where Catholic colleges could hardly breathe, and are no judges of what they should be."

"All that is very true," replied Father John, "but colleges can never run far in advance, in secular knowledge and training, of the intelligence and habits of the community for which they educate. It is little a college, however organized, can do with a mass of boys, sons of ignorant, sometimes vicious, parents, who are acquainted with all the vice and crime of our large cities, and have never received any proper training at home. With such boys it would not be easy to form the students of a college into a miniature republic, and leave them to govern themselves. The error of F. G.'s articles, if error they have, is in laying the faults they point out too exclusively to the manner in which the college is organized and conducted. With such a Catholic public as we have had in this country, I see not clearly how we could have had colleges much different from or superior to those we have."

"F. G.," said Winslow, "deserves censure, even supposing his views correct, for having published his articles. Our schools and colleges are a family affair, and we should settle our disputes respecting them without calling in the public to listen."

"I think not so," replied Father John. "In what relates to ecclesiastical schools, or ecclesiastical administration, whether in great or little matters, public discussion is out of place, and the publicist can take no part in it. But I distinguish between colleges for seculars and the Church, and between the authority of college faculties in seculars, and the authority of bishops and pastors in spirituals. I have profound reverence for the General of my Order, but I distinguish between him and the Pope, and I can well believe that, residing as he does at Rome, with no personal knowledge of this country, he may know very little of what sort of education is needed here, or of the system of college government and discipline best fitted to train our boys to live and take their part in our society. The secular education of seculars is a secular function, whether performed by laymen or by ecclesiastics. In all secular matters, in a country like ours, public opinion has the right to interpose, and it is all-important that it be enlightened and sound. F. G. has provoked discussion on the subject, and

in so doing has done the Catholic public good service. Discussion will tend to form a sound public opinion in the body of the laity, and will enlighten the colleges themselves as to what is demanded of them, and both hasten and facilitate the changes they must see are necessary to meet the just expectations of the Catholic public. The hush-up policy Mr. Winslow recommends, comports neither with our age nor our country, and would tend to retard rather than to advance the interests of religion among us. There is with non-Catholics a very general persuasion that we are not frank, open, candid, honest—that we trim, and practise concealment. We must, at almost any risk, labour to remove this false persuasion, and gain public confidence in our honesty and truthfulness. We have to look out for the interests of religion in our own country, not in France and Italy, and to deal with sharp-witted, yet bold and manly Yankees, not with French and Italian Infidels, diplomatists, statesmen, and politicians. Astuteness, craft, and diplomacy will not serve our turn, even if we were disposed to use them. Publicity is the order of the day in this country, and I confess I can see no harm in publicly discussing what, after all, is a public question, and must be solved by the public. We live in a free country, not under a despotism, where free speech is a right, not where the press is gagged and a *mouchard* is at our elbow to listen to every word we say, and report it to the *préfet de police*, or the Minister of the Interior. We speak openly and above board what we think and what we mean, and despise Italian astuteness and French diplomacy, the fruits of despotism and tyranny. I wish Catholics to have a sound public opinion on secular education for seculars, and to understand that they are under no obligation to yield unquestioning submission to college authorities, because the college is governed and conducted by spiritual persons. Spiritual persons filling secular offices have the authority of seculars filling the same office, neither more nor less. The Pope as temporal prince has no more authority over me than has the Emperor of Austria. I owe him obedience only as Pope, only when he commands me as the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth. My pastor, my bishop, or the rector of a college, has no authority by virtue of his spiritual character to exact of me what I am not bound to yield even to the Vice-

gerent of God, and visible head of my Church. The college for seculars, I maintain, is a secular, not an ecclesiastical institution; and as a secular institution I have a perfect right to discuss its merits and demerits. Yet I hold myself bound to be just to it, and to treat our colleges fairly, and with respect. It is true, their results, thus far, do not satisfy me; but I believe their faculties are disposed to improve them, and will improve them as fast as they are able, and as fast as a just prudence permits. I trust, too, that I may say as much of our conventual schools for young ladies."

ART. II.—*Catholicity in the Nineteenth Century.*

THE vindication of the Catholic religion on dogmatic and historical grounds has been undertaken, in modern times, by many able writers in the English language. The whole field of Scripture, the Fathers, and the records of antiquity, has been thoroughly traversed, and it is not too much to say that this task has been performed in such a way as to make on an immense class of minds a profound impression of the strength and coherence of the Catholic argument. The actual services rendered by the Catholic Church to mankind in past ages have also been set forth in such a clear light that it is very difficult for any mind possessing a moderate degree of candor to disown them.

There is, however, a vast number of thinking persons with whom either of these lines of defence has but little weight. They are ready to concede the conclusiveness of our arguments, supposing that the premises are granted, to discard the fables invented by our enemies, and to revere the Church of past ages. But they say, or would say, if they understood themselves perfectly: "We care not for Scripture, Tradition, or the Past: 'Let the dead past bury its dead; act, *act in the* LIVING PRESENT.' The Catholic religion was good for past ages, and for rude, ignorant, barbarous nations, still in the cradle of civilization. But it is not the Religion of the Nineteenth Century, of an age of light and progress, in which the human race is fast attaining its manhood. It is not the Religion of an intelligent,

cultivated, and free people." It is precisely this objection that we wish to consider, and the task that we propose to ourselves is, to meet and refute it fairly, by showing that the Catholic religion is fitted to be the dominant principle of the Nineteenth Century, and of the most civilized and enlightened portion of the human race.

We shall not begin by denying, but by conceding what is claimed for the Nineteenth Century, namely, that it is an age of progress, of science, and of achievement. We shall not take our stand-point as a man of the first age, or of the middle ages of the Christian era, but as a man of the present age, of the Nineteenth Century. And when we assert that Catholicity is fitted to *dominate* this as well as every former age, we do not mean, to *dominate* it in the sense of condemning or suppressing the energy, the science, the progress, and the peculiar genius of the age; but in the sense of watching, guiding, and bringing to perfection the legitimate development of all these vital forces, and the special task-work assigned to the present epoch by the Supreme Ruler of Ages.

In treating of this question, we shall first take it up from an historical point of view. One obvious reason for doing so, is, that the age, having already passed its middle-point, and going on rapidly towards its close, is in great part, now matter of history. Facts are better and more trustworthy than even just and well-sustained arguments, according to the well-known principle of logic, *ab actu ad posse valet consequentia*. We cannot better prove that Catholicity is *fitted* to rule the Nineteenth Century than by showing that she *has* already done it. We shall therefore, in the present article, pass in review some of the principal historical events of the present age, in order to show that the Catholic Church has actually proved herself to be the dominant power of the age hitherto, leaving for another article the philosophical discussion of the principles involved in this historical view, and of the relation of Catholicity to modern civilization, and to the most cultivated portion of the human race.

Probably the reader may remember the first time when in childhood he looked at a panorama; when standing on a small platform that seemed like a little boat floating in the midst of an ocean, he gazed with wonder at the illusions of

the painted canvas, its phantasmagorical cities, temples, castles, and expanse of water. He seemed to have floated suddenly away from the world of reality into the magic sphere of fancy and romance. Similar sentiments overpower us when we gaze on the panoramic scenes of the historic canvas. We see an entire age spread out before us, at one view, with the multitude of its interesting events and its great personages. It is such a picture which we wish to present to our readers, that they may attentively observe the beginning and progress of the age, the different crises and struggles through which the Catholic Church has passed, the social, civil, and religious revolutions that have taken place, the upheavings of all the strata of former periods, the new formations springing out of the convulsions that have agitated all the elements of the intellectual, moral, and political world, so that they may be able to estimate the mighty strength of the Catholic Church, which has remained, through all these changes, the dominant power and ruling principle of the age.

The external power, splendour, and prosperity of the Catholic Church, may be said to have reached the culminating point during the pontificate of Leo X. Suddenly, however, a most extraordinary change took place, and an era of severe trials, great losses, and violent conflicts succeeded; as when a bright, tropical sky is suddenly overclouded. This era has continued until our own times; but its darkest and most disastrous portion is the space of time included within the pontificates of Pius VI. and Pius VII. The first of these pontiffs ascended the papal throne in 1775, and the second died in 1824, so that this period embraces nearly fifty years, and includes the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The first part of the reign of Pius VI. and the latter part of the reign of Pius VII. were, however, comparatively tranquil and auspicious; so that the densest period of what we may call the great Eclipse of the Church fell in the middle of this epoch, while its outer edges were marked by the lighter shades which betokened the coming on and passing off of the phenomena of obscuration. It was precisely at this very middle point of the dark epoch alluded to, that the nineteenth century commenced, the bright solar disk of the Church being shrouded in a shadow

by which it was well-nigh totally concealed, and by which those who hated its light, ignorantly thought it was to be totally extinguished. Even the faithful were alarmed, as men used to be in former days at an eclipse of the sun, before science had taught them that it is only a temporary shadow cast on its surface by the moon. So it was with this temporary obscuration of the Church's light and glory; it was only a passing shadow, causing a momentary darkness. But in order to show how this shadow came on and how it passed off, we must explain the causes of the dark and inauspicious commencement of the nineteenth century, and therefore begin farther back, and pass in review some of the events of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Society of Jesus, with its numerous colleges, and its missionary establishments in every quarter of the globe, was suppressed during the pontificate of Clement XIV., the immediate predecessor of Pius VI., through the efforts of that triumvirate of iniquity, Choiseul, Aranda, and Pombal, the prime ministers of France, Spain, and Portugal. The Church was thus deprived of one of her most powerful arms of offence and defence. The successful blow aimed at the Jesuits by these men was the sign of the existence of an infidel party extensively diffused throughout Europe, and it was also one of the first and most signal triumphs gained by that party. In France, where it finally gained a more complete and disastrous sway than elsewhere, the path had been broken for it by Louis XIV. His policy was, as it had been that of the English king prior to the Reformation, to break down the independence of the Church and the authority of the Holy See, and to bring the bishops of his kingdom into a state of complete subserviency to the throne. His object was simply to exalt the throne at the expense of the spiritual supremacy of the Church. But, without intending it, he opened the way for the subversion of the throne itself, and of the whole political and social order of France, by injuring that great balance-wheel of the political world, the power of the Holy See, and destroying that great bulwark of government, a powerful and independent church. As Balmes has well remarked:—“The corpse of this man, who said he was the *state*, was insulted at his funeral; and before the lapse of a century;

his grandson suffered death on the scaffold." During the long reign of that prodigy of licentiousness, Louis XV., the torrent of infidelity and moral corruption, directed by Voltaire and his associates, broke loose, and in the succeeding reign of the well-meaning, but weak and unfortunate Louis XVI., came that great catastrophe of modern times, the French Revolution. Christianity was abolished, bishops and priests were either slaughtered or exiled, the Church of France was apparently destroyed for ever, and God Himself was formally dethroned by the French nation.

Such were the events which took place in that great Catholic nation, France, at the close of the eighteenth century, and during the reign of Pius VI.

The state of the Church in the other countries of Europe was but little more favourable. In Spain and Portugal a movement similar to that of France took place, though on a smaller and less destructive scale, and the great wave of the French Revolution swept over both these countries. In Ireland, the Church suffered in a different way, indeed, but was struggling for very life against a violent persecution from without; while in England, she had fallen to the lowest point ever reached in that kingdom, and maintained only a feeble and languishing existence. Turning next to Germany, we behold, within the historical epoch at which we are looking, the extinction of the German empire, and the termination of the last phase of the existence of the great Roman empire, which had been, as it were, the secular basis of the Roman Church. The political movements of this period also finally resulted in the suppression of the ecclesiastical principalities, which had been component parts of the empire. The German bishops lost their rank of secular princes, and the Church in Germany, the principal part of her temporal possessions. Moreover, the principal Catholic reigning family of Germany, the House of Austria, was disloyal to the Holy See in the highest degree. The Emperor Joseph II., who reigned contemporaneously with Pius VI., originated a movement, called after him, "Josephinism," which found its expression in the schismatical Synod of Pistoia, and in the works of Febronius, which threatened to bring the whole Austrian Church and empire into schism. This conceited and misguided emperor, who combined in himself the pedantry of Justinian with

the thirst for power of Louis XIV., without any of the great qualities of either of those monarchs, suppressed the religious orders, confiscated the property of the Church, subjected the clergy to the surveillance of the police, disregarded the authority of the Pope, who even made a journey to Vienna to attempt to bring him back to his reason and his duty, and in a word attempted to play over again the rôle of a new Henry VIII., his private vices excepted, and to bring the Church of Austria into complete subjection to the crown, or to the civil power.

Turning our eyes finally towards Italy, we find that even there the poison of infidelity was insidiously working, and that secret societies were covertly undermining the foundations both of Church and state. In Naples, particularly, a party akin to that of the French Revolution, though more closely disguised, headed by the Marquis Tanucci, the prime minister, was gaining ground, and preparing the way for the downfall of that kingdom, which soon followed. The great apostle of Naples and Italy in the dark eighteenth century, St. Alphonsus, saw the gathering storm, and thanked God that he was taken away before it burst on his beloved country. It came at last. The armies of the French Directory invaded and overrun Italy. In 1797, Pope Pius VI. was seized in his palace, rudely stripped of his pontifical ring and vestments, and carried away a prisoner into France, where he died, after two years, at the age of eighty-two. Meanwhile the French tricolor and tree of liberty were planted in the Vatican, and a French revolutionary government, subordinate to that of Paris, was established in Rome. The cardinals were scattered everywhere, without any apparent possibility of their being able to assemble to elect a successor to Pius VI. Then, indeed, the bark of Peter, careening to the water's edge, seemed about to be swallowed up by the wild waves of this furious tempest let loose against her, while the Lord lay asleep in the stern of the boat, and her apostolic mariners raised the cry, "Lord, save us, we perish!" All the enemies of the Roman Church shouted in triumph, "The Papacy is destroyed; another Pope can never be elected."

Even Catholics would have had reason to despond and to fear the worst, if they had relied on any human power, and not on Almighty God; if they had not believed firmly

in that infallible promise: "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall *never* prevail against it."

Such was the dark and foreboding sky which hung over the Catholic Church, as the eighteenth century sunk beneath the horizon of time, and the nineteenth century dawned amid clouds and tempests. This glance at the closing events of the last century, and the portentous elements of evil which had congregated around the Church and the civilized and Christian world, just before the nineteenth century commenced, will enable us to comprehend the full strength and violence of those hostile influences with which Catholicity has had to contend during the present epoch. It is necessary to comprehend this in order to comprehend the power which the Church has put forth against them, and to appreciate the victory which she has gained over them. That she has gained the victory over them, we now undertake to show, and, therefore, to prove the thesis, with which we started, namely, that the Catholic Church has proved herself to be the dominant power of the nineteenth century.

We request the reader to fix his eyes once more on a particular spot, which is the nucleus of the densest obscuration of that period of darkness which we have already spoken of. It is the month of September, 1799, four months before the end, or, as some reckon, the beginning of the last year of the eighteenth century. At this moment, the French revolution was dominant, Austria, the only first-class Catholic power, was faithless and terror-stricken, the Pope was dead in exile, Rome was in the hands of the infidel, and the cardinals were scattered. It was just precisely at this juncture, when the very Rock itself of Peter seemed about to be lifted from its base, and overwhelmed by waves, that the immovable strength of the Catholic Church, and the singular protection of Divine Providence over her, were made manifest.

The great hero and conqueror, Napoleon, had gone down into Egypt, and, in his absence, the French troops in Italy suffered great reverses. And, mark it well! it was not the Catholic soldiers of Austria and Naples alone who defeated them, but the anti-Catholic soldiers of *England* and *Russia* also, who were thus employed by Divine Providence to scatter the enemies of his Church, and remove those obsta-

cles which seemed to render the assembling of the cardinals and the election of a new Pope impossible. It was this unhoped-for change in the state of affairs which enabled thirty-five cardinals to seize on the momentary lull in the tempest, and to assemble, after the greatest difficulties, at Venice, on the first day of December, 1799, only three months after the death of Pope Pius VI., in France. After a conclave of three months and a half, on the fourteenth of March, 1800, Cardinal Chiaramonti, a prelate of most meek and gentle character, who had been for many years a devoted and faithful bishop, was elected Pope, under the title of Pius VII. Thus the Nineteenth Century was ushered in by a most splendid triumph of the Catholic Church, for such a triumph was the simple fact of the election of a Pope under the circumstances we have described. But not only was this meek Vicar of Christ elevated to the throne of St. Peter in spite of Napoleon, in spite of France, and against the wishes of Austria, by the intervention of those two most powerful enemies of the Holy See, Russia and England; he even proceeded almost immediately to Rome, seated himself on his throne in the Vatican, and assumed the reins both of his spiritual and temporal government. This, too, was by the aid of Russian and English troops, who, conjointly with the Austrians and Neapolitans, drove the French army out of Rome and the adjacent country, with the exception of a small force, which still kept possession of the Castle of St. Angelo. When Pope Pius VII. made his solemn *entrée* into Rome, the Russian troops, by the express command of the emperor, greeted him with the imperial salvo,—a significant acknowledgment from the head of sixty millions of schismatical Christians, of the power of the Roman Church, even in the moment of her greatest apparent weakness.

Here is our first proof that Catholicity is the dominant principle of the Nineteenth Century; Russia and England are our witnesses.

The second great triumph of the Catholic Church was the subjugation of Napoleon, and through him the suppression of infidelity, and the establishment of Christianity in France. Napoleon was the dominant man of the early part of the Nineteenth Century; but he found a principle and a power which he was forced to acknowledge as dominant

over himself. That principle was Catholicity, that power the power of the successor of St. Peter. No sooner did he become emperor, than he acknowledged the authority of Pius VII., and requested most urgently that he would come to Paris and crown him, which was accordingly done. He sent a minister to his court, with orders to treat the Pope as if he were the master of a hundred thousand troops. Even before he became emperor, while First Consul, in concert with him, he re-established religion in France, recalled the priesthood, filled the episcopal sees, and enabled France once more to acknowledge God, and to do homage to Jesus Christ. Here is the second proof that Catholicity is the dominant principle of the Nineteenth Century. It crushed the French revolution and French infidelity, and made use of the most powerful monarch and conqueror of the age, himself the creature of that very revolution, as the instrument wherewith to do it.

The next great triumph was achieved, when this same Napoleon, in his mad dream of making himself universal monarch, rebelled against the Church and was crushed by her power. When the Emperor thought that the favorable moment had arrived, he seized on the temporal sovereignty of the Pontifical States. The Pope, in his turn, posted up a public excommunication of the Emperor. Thus war was declared between the two; between the spiritual power of the one, and the material force of the other. Let us watch the issue of the conflict. Pope Pius VII. was seized by night, and carried off by an armed force under General Radet, and transported as a prisoner into France, where he was separated from his faithful ministers and cardinals, kept in rigorous confinement, and subjected to that species of treatment which was best calculated to break his heart, to crush his fortitude, and to wring from him a renunciation of his temporal sovereignty, and even of the most essential prerogatives of his spiritual supremacy. Rome and Italy had already been completely drained of money and every other resource, and robbed of all the statuary, paintings, and works of art, which were transported to Paris. Every throne in Italy was filled by a French sovereign of the Bonaparte family, and even Rome was annexed to the French Empire, as a minor and dependent kingdom, which was given to the ill-fated son of the Emperor, known by

the title of King of Rome. The intention of Napoleon was, to reduce the Pope to the position of a nominal Primate of Christendom, residing at Paris, and completely subservient to the French Emperor, like the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Patriarch of Constantinople. This fine scheme, however, was overturned much sooner than was expected by either party. When Pius VII. excommunicated the Emperor, the latter exclaimed scornfully: "Does he think his excommunication will make the muskets drop from the hands of my soldiers?" Yes, it did. On the disastrous Russian campaign, his frozen soldiers let fall their muskets from their benumbed hands. The star of the man of destiny waned. One ill-success followed another. At Fontainebleau, in the very room where Napoleon, in a private interview with Pius VII., sought to wring from him the renunciation of his supremacy, he was himself, a few months afterwards, compelled by the other sovereigns to sign his own abdication. As a few years before, Pius VII. had been borne a prisoner in his carriage, suffering but resigned, and full of heroic patience and hope, followed by the blessings and prayers of the people; so, Napoleon was now carried through his late dominions under a guard of soldiers, but broken-hearted, pale, trembling, and followed by hootings and execrations. England, Russia, and Prussia united with Austria to liberate Pius VII., who returned amid the acclamations of a rejoicing people to Rome, and re-entered his capital in triumph. When Napoleon broke out from his exile at Elba to re-appear in France, and make one more desperate effort to regain his power, it was told to the Pope, who quietly remarked: "This is an affair of three months." And in fact, after the hundred days, Napoleon was once more a prisoner in a safe place of confinement, where, like a caged eagle, he chafed out the brief remainder of his life. Meanwhile, Pius VII. was quietly reigning in the Vatican, and his late oppressor humbly wrote to him, requesting as a special favour that he would send a Catholic priest to anoint him in his last moments. Pius VII. said mass for the repose of the soul of the dead Napoleon. Russia, England, and Prussia had found it necessary for the peace and stability of Europe, the good order of society, and the safety of civilization and religion, to guarantee to the Pope his tem-

poral sovereignty of the Pontifical States. The fifty years came to a close, and towards the end of the year 1824, Pius VII. died at an advanced age, after a reign of nearly twenty-five years, in peace and tranquillity, bequeathing to his successor the undisputed possession of the throne of St. Peter, and the Catholic Church was standing as firm and immovable as ever on her old foundations.

Thus, in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church had already mastered the chief of those portentous elements of evil which were congregated about her at its commencement, and at the close of the preceding century. And here a new epoch in the history of the Catholic Church commences, an epoch of advancement, of extension, and of ultimate triumph. This does not, however, imply that the Church, by one decisive victory, has completely subjugated and crushed all the elements of hostility, and gained for herself a calm and undisputed sway over the age and over civilization. Far from it. For this auspicious epoch has only commenced, and every success or acquisition which the Church has made, has been only gained at the cost of arduous efforts and incessant warfare with potent adversaries. We must, therefore, continue to illustrate our thesis, by showing how the Catholic Church, since the first great victories with which she inaugurated this century, has maintained her dominant power by successfully struggling with all the antagonistic influences arrayed against her in the political and intellectual world.

We have already thrown a glance over Europe and the other portions of the globe where European civilization prevails, as they were at a former period, and have seen what great losses the Church had sustained in these countries, and in general how dark and inauspicious her prospects were. Let us throw a glance over the same ground once more, in order to see the advancement made by Catholicity, and the successes it has gained within the nineteenth century, and to estimate its prospects of more extensive and brilliant triumphs in future.

To begin with France. The French Church, which has passed through the most terrible ordeal of all, has come out purified and invigorated. Her persecutions gave her the opportunity of offering the most splendid testimony

of modern times to the Christian faith, in the dungeon and prison-ship, at the noyade and the guillotine, and under the edge of the sabre. Scattered by persecution, her clergy have brought the bright example of their sanctity, together with the Catholic faith, into England and America. Rid of her perfidious enemy, Jansenism, purified from Gallicanism, and separated from the temptations of the court and of political greatness, the Church of France is more productive than ever in good works at home and in missionary labours abroad. And, to make amends for those infidel writers who have scandalized the world, she has produced, and is producing, a constant succession of the most learned and eloquent champions of the Christian and Catholic faith, many of whom were educated in the colleges of the infidel university.

Crossing the Pyrenees now into Spain, the ancient realm of chivalry and religion, it is perhaps not yet time to express an opinion on the future which is before this once so noble and illustrious Spanish race, both at home and in its American colonies. In regard to the political well-being and importance of the Spanish nation, there is of late a great change in the tone of the secular press, and a manifest disposition to predict for her a considerable rise in the scale of nations. The Spanish Church has also given birth to some of the noblest, most gifted, and patriotic spirits of modern times,—men burning with love of the Catholic faith and of Spain, and animated with zeal for the religion and political regeneration of their country. It is the opinion of men well qualified to judge, that the aspect of things in Spain at present is decidedly favourable and encouraging. The work of spoliation is suspended, and friendly relations have been renewed with the Holy See.

In America, if we except Brazil, and perhaps some other states of minor extent, the Spanish and Portuguese race and its Creole progeny appear to have nearly exhausted their energies, and to be incapable, with the materials at their disposal, of founding any really great and permanent political or social institutions. But we may hope that at some future period, order and strength will be made to arise out of the present chaos and imbecility, perhaps through the agency of some more vigorous and

dominant race than the descendants of the native Indians and African negroes.

Turning our eyes towards the United British kingdom, we see, in the first place, faithful and oppressed Ireland relieved of most of the disabilities she laboured under on account of her faith, and the Catholic Church and people of that country enjoying a comparative freedom. The improvement in the political and social condition of the people, in education, ecclesiastical discipline, and in the prospects of a general national prosperity, are obvious to all. To mention but one single event, the establishment of the great Catholic University of Dublin,—to which, by the way, vast sums have been contributed by the generous Irish Catholics of the United States,—it is impossible to estimate the influence which this institution may exert, if it is carried out on the same liberal and enlarged plan on which it was first projected. We must also include, as a portion of the triumph of Irish Catholicity over English Protestantism, the propagation of the faith on a vast scale in England, Scotland, America, and Australia, by means of the great tide of emigration, and of the bishops and priests who have accompanied it, or been raised up by it.

In England, there is now a well-organized Catholic hierarchy, under a Cardinal Archbishop, which has been established in the very teeth of the futile opposition of the British Parliament. In the very heart of the English Church, a spontaneous movement towards Catholicity has sprung up within the last twenty-five years, principally among the nobility, gentry, clergy, and lawyers, who are the most intelligent and best educated classes of the community. The body of Catholic priests, scholars, literary men, and champions of the Catholic faith, has been strongly reinforced from the very heart of the enemy's country; and no one can deny that a new era has dawned on Catholic literature and controversy in the English language, and the terrible losses of the first half of the last century have, in a great measure, already been repaired.

In Germany, a complete Catholic renovation has taken place, and here, as well as in England, the Catholic Church has gained a great number of illustrious converts. In Austria, Josephinism has been crushed, and the last blow given to it by the recent Concordat with the Emperor Francis

Joseph, which secures to the Church comparative freedom of action.

In Italy, with the solitary exception of Sardinia, but especially in Naples and the Pontifical States, notwithstanding the assertions of prejudiced and lying tourists and English newspaper writers, everything which can contribute to religious, political, and social prosperity is on the upward move, as any one may see who will consult a pamphlet attributed to Cardinal Wiseman, lately published, entitled "*Vindication of Italy and the Pontifical States.*"

Turning our eyes now, finally, on our own country, the Catholic Church of the United States is emphatically the Church of the Nineteenth Century. As a missionary ground, our country was cultivated long before, but the first bishopric (if we except the ancient Spanish bishopric of New Orleans) was erected by Pope Pius VI., in 1789; and then, as a French writer remarks, just as the revolution was about to swallow up the Church of France, a new Church started into being on this hemisphere. Just at the time when General Miollis was preparing to seize Pope Pius VII., and carry him away into France, he was occupied in organizing the hierarchy of the United States, and one of his last acts before his captivity was to erect the diocese of Baltimore into an archi-episcopal see, and to send the pallium to Archbishop Carroll, erecting at the same time the new suffragan sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardtown, now Louisville. It was then, when the first appointment was made for Boston, that New England received her first Catholic bishop, the saintly Cheverus, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, the fame of whose virtues reached our ears before ever we crossed the threshold of a Catholic Church. In regard to the growth and prosperity of Catholicity in the United States, in the Nineteenth Century, and its prospects of future success, we need only look at what is everywhere around us. Taking Europe and the New World, it is evident, even to a casual observer, that Catholicity is far more powerful and formidable, and has far more apparent prospects of success in the middle, than seemed to be the case at the commencement of the Nineteenth Century.

During the present century, the Catholic Church has had also to contend with the socialist and red-republican

movement. This is nothing else than the spirit of the secret societies and the French revolution reduced to a regular system of doctrines and an organized plan of action. Its object is the overthrow of religion and government of the Church, the state, and the family, and the upheaving of society from its very foundations, by means of revolutions, assassinations, and every other means fair or foul. We ourselves well remember the crisis of this movement in 1848, and the outbreak of the pent-up volcanic fires of revolution in France, Italy, and Germany, threatening to overwhelm with a lava torrent Europe and the world in the Nineteenth Century, as it swept over France in the Eighteenth. We remember the momentary triumph of Mazzini and his faction in Rome, the assassination of Rossi and Palma, the butchery of priests, the desecration of churches, the flight and exile of Pope Pius IX., and the establishment of the Red Republic in the city of the Cæsars and the Popes. We have seen also the remarkable and auspicious overthrow of this movement, which has been accomplished so speedily and efficaciously as to astonish the world. And if some incidental evils have followed upon this triumph in the increase of despotism, and the checking of the advance of true liberty, the Catholic Church is not responsible for them, and we are, on the other hand, consoled and encouraged by a most important movement in the opposite direction, the emancipation of the serfs and the abolition of serfdom in the great Russian empire.

Besides all this warfare in the political arena, the Church has been engaged in intellectual combat with hosts of potent enemies, who have arisen to contend against the Catholic Faith, and to make war on the Christian Revelation. In the department of theology, the Catholic Church has been attacked by a vast number of writers belonging to different Protestant sects, who have ransacked the Scriptures, the Fathers, and all history, to find weapons against her. Rationalists and neologists have pushed the study of philology and criticism to an extent before unheard of, with the view of undermining the foundations of revelation. Philosophers of extraordinary intellectual power and subtlety, especially in Germany, have bent all their efforts to invent a philosophical theory that would entirely supplant Christianity. Physical science, particularly in the branches of

physiology, astronomy, and geology, has made immense strides during the same period, and, like the geological catastrophes which have overthrown and submerged the natural world in former epochs, these new discoveries have destroyed all old theories and ancient prejudices on these subjects. The most violent efforts have been made to prove a discrepancy between these discoveries of science and the received facts and doctrines of revelation. Besides the genuine scientific truths which have been established, a multitude of plausible but unproved theories have been invented, and under the specious and taking name of science, have been brought into collision with the truths of Christianity. History and chronology, also, the catacombs, and pyramids, and hieroglyphs of Egypt, have been searched to find something more ancient, more authentic, and more authoritative than the inspired document of religion, and to gain a vantage-ground from which to command and cannonade the citadel of Religion.

When we take a calm survey of this intellectual battlefield, we are forced to exclaim with the great Cardinal Wiseman, at the conclusion of his work on the connection between Science and Revelation, "*Religio, vicisti.*" All the attacks of sectarian, rationalist, and pseudo-scientific writers have only called forth in theology, philosophy, and the sciences, a brilliant host of champions of revelation, of Catholic doctrine, and of genuine philosophy and scientific truth. There is no theological system, no philosophical theory, no scientific hypothesis, that presents any formidable front, or can combine any large suffrage of intelligent minds against the definitions of the Catholic Church and the fundamental principles of Christianity. If there are some questions in regard to which the real scientific solution appears to be not yet satisfactorily given, and the method of bringing revelation and science to a perfect accord is not perfectly settled, yet the experience of the past shows, that the more science advances to perfection, and the more deeply the true meaning of Scripture is investigated, the more completely do the first apparent difficulties and contradictions disappear, manifesting the perfect harmony between the truth of God in the natural order, which is science, and the truth of God in the supernatural order, which is revelation.

There is now an entirely new field of achievement and conquest to be considered—the field of foreign missions in those vast regions where the darkness of Mahometanism and heathenism prevails. Let us see if that Church which in past ages converted nations, and among them, our own pagan and barbarous ancestors, has lost her vitality, her power, her zeal, or the secret of success in the Nineteenth Century.

Take the map of the world, enumerate the Catholic missionary stations, and they will be found to encircle the globe, and to dot the entire surface of the anti-Christian portion of the earth. In the Western Hemisphere, there are flourishing missions among the North American Indians, especially those of Oregon, in the Society, Sandwich, and other Polynesian groups, and among the cannibals of New Zealand and New Caledonia. Among the North American Indians, at least three bishops are stationed; Oceanica has nine, and New Caledonia a Prefect Apostolic. To show that these missions are not merely nominal stations, like so many of the Protestant missions, it will suffice to mention that in the Sandwich Islands alone, where the Protestant missionaries have held absolute sway so long, there are ten thousand Catholic natives.

In the Eastern Hemisphere, the chief seat of all kinds of false religion—commencing in the Arctic Regions, there is an Apostolic Prefecture under the charge of Mgr. Stephen Djunkoroski, embracing the Faroe Islands, Lapland, Iceland, and a part of Greenland, and the whole Artic Circle. This was established in 1855. The mission of Lapland has been successfully started, and has now seven priests in it. The zealous prefect apostolic is now laying the foundations of the mission in Greenland, and it is intended to extend the missions even among the Esquimaux who inhabit the vicinity of the North Pole. Crossing now the Christian Empire of Russia, and coming down from its southern boundary towards Central Asia—the great political and religious battle-ground of modern times—we find a mission commenced in Thibet and Mongolia, under two bishops, the very head-quarters of Buddhism—which has become so universally known through the charming descriptions of the celebrated writer and missionary, M. Huc, who was sent to explore it, and to prepare the way for the mis-

sionary establishment which has since been made. In the vast empire of China, there is a widely-extended, well-sustained, and flourishing mission, directed by twenty bishops. In Cochin China and Tonquin, there is a still more flourishing mission, under the direction of sixteen bishops; another in Burmah and Siam, under four bishops. Corea has also a bishop, and there are missions in the Manilla and other small groups of islands, and in New Guinea; while Australia is just now receiving a large Catholic emigration from Ireland, and with this tide of emigration a great number of priests. Returning to Southern Asia, the scene of the miraculous labours of St. Francis Xavier and St. John de Britto, we find the great Indian Peninsula the seat of a powerful and active missionary organization, directed by twenty-three bishops. On the vast and gloomy continent of Africa, less indeed has been done than in Asia. Yet a commencement has been made among the degenerate Christians, and also among the Mahometan and heathen negroes. Missionaries are labouring in Egypt and Abyssinia, in Algeria, on the very spot where St. Augustine ruled and taught, and whither his relics have been recently conveyed; in the Island of Madagascar, at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Senegambia. Our limits do not allow us to give those full and complete details by which the force and fulness and success of Catholic missions, in contrast with the sterility and almost complete failure of Protestant missions, would be exhibited. It may suffice to take one or two examples, and give some of the principal statistics in regard to them.

In the first place, let us take the mission of Annam, a kingdom which includes Cochin China and Tonquin, and has a population of about twenty-five millions. Although a fierce persecution has raged there since 1826, there are now sixteen bishops, fifty-seven European, and two hundred and thirty native priests, two hundred students for the priesthood, fifteen hundred female religious, and five hundred thousand Christians. The number of adult converts from heathenism yearly baptized is above five thousand, and forty thousand heathen infants are baptized yearly at the point of death.

Once more: in the possessions of the East-India Company, according to the report of Dr. Fennelly, V. G., of

Madras, there are sixteen bishops, seven hundred and thirty-six priests, eight hundred and one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight Catholics, of whom only sixteen thousand are Europeans. The number of Protestants within the same limits is only eight thousand, the greater portion Europeans. In the Madras Presidency alone, the conversions from heathenism to the Catholic Church amounted in the year 1856 to two thousand and nine hundred.

Besides these missions among anti-Christian nations, there are also missions among the schismatical Christians of the East, in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Greece, Syria, and the Russian Empire, where many bishops, priests, and religious are labouring to bring these separated communions back to the fold of St. Peter. And in the East there are three hundred thousand Catholics, and twelve millions in Russia.

The topic of missions leads us naturally to speak of the martyrs of the Nineteenth Century. The blood of martyrdom, which is the seed of the Church, has watered the soil of the earth, in every age, ever since the special era of martyrdom passed away. Our own age has been honored and blessed with numerous martyrs worthy to rank with those of the first ages of the Church, the greater part of whom have suffered in China and the adjacent countries. Perboyer, Gagelin, Jaccard, Dumoulin, Borie, Schoeffler, Bonnard, Chapdelaine, the Chinese martyrs. Agnes and Laurence, Diarz, and many others, men and women of our own age, some of whom would be still very young if they were living, while the ordinary current of our lives has been going on, have renewed the stirring and sublime deeds of the heroic age of the Church, and have entered heaven with the martyr's palm and the conqueror's wreath. Bonnard was martyred in 1852, Chapdelaine in 1856, and Mgr. Diarz, Bishop of Platea and Vicar Apostolic of Central Tonquin, the last who has been heard from, was beheaded for the faith in 1857. Protestantism also boasts of a number of its missionaries who have met with a violent death in their missions, and for whom it claims the glory of martyrdom. Waiving the principle "*Causa facit martyrem*," according to which a Catholic could not recognize them as true martyrs, it is obvious that even according to the standard of a merely worldly and indifferent student of

history, they cannot begin to compete with the Catholic martyrs. In the first place their number is extremely small. Then, as to the manner of their death, they have simply encountered the fate of a great many other Europeans, sea-captains, traders, travellers, &c., both men and women, who have been assassinated by robbers, or roaming bands of savages, or slaughtered on the occasion of some general rising in which an indiscriminate murder of Europeans has taken place. In this manner, some European and American missionaries, with their families, have recently been murdered in India. With them, a number of Catholic priests have also been murdered, and a great deal of mission property destroyed. It was not, however, in their quality as Christians or as missionaries that they were destroyed. They simply shared with other Europeans the vengeance of the Hindus, excited by the long-continued cupidity, oppression, and cruelty of the agents of the British Government and of the East-India Company. A correspondent of the *London Times* states that very few native Christians have been murdered, except at Delhi, and there evidently they were regarded with hostility, because supposed to be partisans of foreigners, and refusing to share in the insurrection. In regard to mere numbers, there is no comparison between the handful of Protestants who have been put to death in these barbarous countries, and the multitude of Catholics whose lives have been sacrificed within the past three hundred years.

But there is another great difference between these unfortunate victims of barbarian cruelty and the martyrs of the Catholic Church. These last have been judicially tried and condemned and executed, often with the most atrocious torments, by heathen sovereigns and judges, precisely for professing and teaching the religion of Jesus Christ, and they have had the chance of saving their lives and obtaining rich rewards, simply on condition of renouncing their faith. This has been the case, not only with Europeans, but with thousands of natives from the timid races of Tonquin and Cochin China, as well as those of China, India, and other countries. These heroic native Christians have embraced and persevered in the faith in the face of long and fierce persecutions, at the cost of every species of loss and privation; amid torments and in the agonies of a cruel death.

They have been men, women, and children of all ranks, not only from the poor, but from the higher castes, military officers, magistrates, noblemen, and even princes of royal and imperial rank. Whatever praise we may award to Protestant missionaries for firmness and courage, it is impossible for them to compete with the missionaries of the Catholic Church, either for the honour of success in converting the heathen, or for the palm of martyrdom.

Another sign of the power of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century, is the great men it has produced. It is a sign that a nation or a system is in a state of life and vigour, when it produces great men. When the great national idea is still capable of maintaining a dominant influence; when a system of religion or philosophy is still capable of convincing, controlling, and satisfying masses of men, especially of intelligent men, there is a principle productive of greatness, on which genius can thrive, and by which great achievements can be stimulated. There is no lack of this sign of power in the Catholic Church of the Nineteenth Century.

First, we place that great man, sent by God to rule the Church during a most eventful portion of the nineteenth century—POPE PIUS IX.

From the venerable Roman senate of cardinals, we have the two illustrious statesmen and prime ministers of Pius VII. Gonsalvi and Pacca, the eminent scholars Mezzofanti and Mai, and the ornament of the modern English church, Cardinal Wiseman. In theology and sacred literature, we have Moehler, the celebrated author of "Symbolism," Klee, Perrone, Passaglia, Schraeder, Bishop Milner, Archbishop Kenrick, Count de Maistre, and Dr. Newman. In sacred eloquence, Ventura, Lacordaire, Dupanloup, Bishop England, Petcherini (a convert of high rank and education from the Russian church), and Veith. In philosophy, Galvani, Vico (the astronomer), Galuppi, Rosmini, Görres (called by Napoleon the fifth great power of Europe), Schlegel, the noble Spaniards, Balmes and Donoso Cortes, to mention none nearer home. In history, Lingard, Cantu, Palma, Visconti (the archæologist), Stolberg, Phillips, Hurter, Rohrbacher, Döllinger, Theiner, Hefele, Ozanam, and Artaud de Montor. In literature, the Italian Walter Scott, Manzoni, Chateaubriand, Canon Schmid,

Henri Conscience, the celebrated traveller M. Huc, the Danish poet and convert Neilson, the German poet and convert Werner, Rio, Kenelm Digby, Gerald Griffin, F. Bresciani, and F. Faber. In the fine arts, Cornelius, Overbeck, Pugin, Schnoor, Hess, Steilen, and Müller, all of whom are converts to the Catholic Church, through the influence of Catholic art. In politics and war, O'Connell, Montalembert, the Spanish Duke of Baylen, the Abbé Bernier, afterwards Bishop of Orleans, Georges, Cadoudal, Radetzky, and the noble Prussian Radovitz.

Besides these names which first occur to us, and which are selected only as specimens, there is a host of eminent men in all the ecclesiastical and laical walks, and in the different departments of science and literature, who reflect lustre on the nations to which they belong, and honour the faith they profess. The press teems annually with valuable well-written and interesting works from Catholic writers of all nations. Indeed, the intellectual elements are in motion throughout the Catholic world; those causes which produce great men and develop genius are in more powerful operation than they have been before during a long period. Hence we see a new and vigorous school of men, both of thought and action, springing up in England, in America, and elsewhere; and we fear not to predict that the latter half of the Nineteenth Century will prove more fertile of great men than even the first half has been.

There remains but one great event illustrating our thesis to be noticed, and that is the Declaration of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith, the Grand Catholic fact of the Nineteenth Century. This great act of the Pontificate of Pius IX. we regard as the most magnificent manifestation which Catholicity has made of itself in the present age, and as the most splendid of all its triumphs, although, at first view, it might not seem anything more than an ordinary exercise of the power of the Church to define and declare her faith. This is true under two aspects. The first of these is the exhibition of unity of faith under the infallible authority which is centred in the See of St. Peter, and which binds together the entire body of the episcopate, the priesthood, and the laity throughout the whole world. In this age of doubt, dissension, and chaotic confusion,

outside the Catholic Church, the united acclaim of two hundred millions of human voices in assent to a definition of a doctrine of faith, is a grand as well as a unique spectacle. All the principal races of humanity, divisions of the earth, nations, languages, schools of theology and philosophy, and forms of political and social organization, have shared in this act. It was a Catholic, universal act of humanity; for it was an act of the only organized body in which entire humanity and the whole globe is represented. Outside of this organization humanity has no unity, and never consents in anything beyond the elementary principles of human reason and of the law of nature. It exists in fragments, all of which have been broken off from the original and organized body, which is the Catholic Church. This act, then, was an act of the human race in its unity, paying the homage of universal reason to the Truth, as declared by Truth's unerring tribunal. This is the first aspect of the case. The second is, that this act was the highest possible glorification of human nature, and the highest possible exaltation of man, and as such in complete harmony with the dominant sentiment of the Nineteenth Century, which ought to recognize in this act the most sublime expression of itself which is possible. The characteristic sentiment pervading the Nineteenth Century is a high appreciation of the excellence of the rational and immortal nature of man, combined with an anticipation of unlimited progress towards a sublime destiny. According to Catholic doctrine, the Blessed Virgin Mary is the first and chief of merely human beings, the model of human nature according to the original and perfect ideal, and a specimen of what human nature is capable of becoming, when favoured to the highest possible degree by the Creator, and exalted to the highest dignity which a pure creature can attain by a perfect correspondence with divine grace. Thus, in declaring the entire exemption of Mary, "our tainted nature's solitary boast," as Wordsworth beautifully calls her, from the degradation of the Fall, the Catholic Church has glorified the human race. She has done so, not merely by declaring the glory of one individual, placed at the summit of humanity, but by showing what every individual may attain to by a right use of reason and free will, assisted by divine grace. For the only difference between Mary and the rest

of mankind is, that she was placed at the outset of her existence on that pyramid of sanctity which we can only reach by a lifetime of toil, and that she has reached its summit, whereas we can only attain a lower elevation on its sides. But the human race may see in Mary a pledge of its own complete redemption from all the degradation of the Fall; understanding by the human race that portion of human beings who, by the right use of free-will and divine grace, really fulfil the destiny for which God has appointed them, and excluding those who lose their place in the redeemed, the regenerated humanity of which Jesus Christ is the Head.

We have now brought the first part of our subject to a close. We have shown a part of what Catholicity has done in the Nineteenth Century, and how it has thus far remained its dominant principle. And what in fine is the Nineteenth Century? Why is it called the *nineteenth*? It is because this number designates the age of the Catholic Church, the time that has passed since her foundation; and the civilized world reckons time only by the duration of this immutable Church. Yes, the Catholic Church has secured the Nineteenth Century. It has already passed its meridian, and its close is drawing near. Those who are now infants will already be some years advanced into the succeeding age, before they have reached their fiftieth year, and will be occupied with the events and changes which the Twentieth Century is destined to bring forth. Meanwhile, we may apply the argument of Paley in regard to Christianity, and predict, that as the Catholic Church has already triumphed over the most adverse influences which can possibly be imagined, so she will continue to triumph over every new combination of those same influences which can possibly be brought to bear against her in future ages. In the words of an eloquent writer, deeply hostile to the Catholic Church, Lord Macaulay, which, though often quoted, we will venture to quote once more, however familiar they may be to the reader:

“The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine; and still confronting hostile kings with

the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated her for what she has lost in the Old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of Missouri and Cape Horn—countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her community are certainly not fewer than one hundred and fifty millions, and it will be difficult to show that all the other Christian sects united amount to one hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign that indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments, and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in this world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon set foot in Britain—before the Frank had passed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca, and she may still exist in undiminished vigour, when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

We have nothing to add to this testimony, forced, we may well believe, by the irresistible power of truth, from the lips of a man whose whole mind is imbued with the spirit of the Nineteenth Century. When an enemy pays such a reluctant but splendid tribute to our Church, we are certainly justified in expressing the profound conviction that, though changing eras may supplant each other, nations and empires pass away, society and the world assume continually new forms and phases of existence, she, the Catholic Church, the Catholic Religion, will remain, like God, unchangeable, and like him, eternal. A.

ART. III.—*Alice Sherwin: A Tale of the Days of Sir Thomas More.* By C. J. M. New York: D. & J. SADLER & Co. 1858. 12mo. Pp. 309.

THIS able and interesting historical novel is reprinted from the English, and has been ascribed, we know not whether justly or not, to the distinguished author of *Sunday in London*—a convert from Anglicanism, who deserves the thanks of every English-speaking Catholic for the valuable contributions he has made since his conversion, and is still making to English Catholic literature. But by whomsoever written, *Alice Sherwin* is, so far as we know, the most successful attempt at the genuine historical novel by a Catholic author yet made in our language, and gives goodly promise that in due time we shall take our proper rank in this department of literature, rendered so popular by the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott. The author has a cultivated mind, a generous and loving spirit, and more than usual knowledge of the play of the passions and the workings of the human heart. He has studied with care and discernment the epoch of Sir Thomas More, or, as we prefer to say, of Henry VIII., and has successfully seized its principal features, its costume and manners, and its general spirit, and paints them in vivid colours, and with a bold and free pencil, though after all with more talent and skill than genius in its highest sense. We miss in him that half unexpressed poetry, that magic of romance, which gives to the Waverley Novels their fascination for readers of all ages, renders each character introduced, not life-like, but living, and fixes in the heart, as well as in the memory, each river, lake, burn, hill, or glen described, and makes it an object of romantic interest and literary pilgrimage. Scott has won the affection of all his readers for his native land, and made every spot touched by his genius hallowed ground. No writer that we are aware of has done as much for England, and none for Ireland, more abundant than England, one would think, in poetic materials and poetic associations. Gerald Griffin, a true poet, and worthy of Ireland's love and veneration, has indeed spread a halo around the Irish peasant, but he does not, to the stranger, consecrate and render dear and sacred for the

affections the soil and scenery of Ireland. We have never been in Scotland; it is the land neither of our ancestors nor of our religion; yet Scott has made us feel towards it almost as we do towards our own native land, and turn fondly to her hills and glens as we do to those with which we were so familiar in our own childhood's home, and which we carry with us however far from that home we may travel. No English writer makes us feel the same towards England, though it was the land of our ancestors, and through them we share in her old chivalry, brave deeds, and glorious achievements. Her language and literature are ours, and we are not without admiration for her bold and adventurous spirit, her brave and energetic character, and the many noble and generous qualities of her heart; and yet to us she is, after all, prosaic, matter-of-fact, and her poets with their nearly idolatrous worship of nature and natural scenery fail to render her soil poetic, classic ground. The only spots that are so to us, are those consecrated by her naïve old ballads, or those touched by the wand of "the wizard of the North."

Alice Sherwin, true, beautiful, and rich as it is, is to us more of a prose composition than a poem, and is to be judged in the main as a work of talent, learning, and industry; not that the author lacks either fancy or imagination; not that his work has no true poetic interest; but the thought and the imagination, the history and the fiction, are rather placed in juxtaposition or mixed up together, than chemically amalgamated. The work in the mind of the reader is not a uniform whole, and lacks, at least for us, unity of interest. It contains a beautiful and well-developed love story, but they who read, as we did, for that, are likely to skip the history and the graver matters introduced, and they who read for the history and the graver matters are likely to skip the love story. We very soon became interested in the destined lovers, Aubrey and Alice, and we felt that whatever was not immediately related to them and their fortunes was impertinent, an intrusion, however true, just, or important in itself. Instead of our interest in them preparing us to take an interest in the graver matters described or discussed, it made us regard these matters as the entrance of a stranger to disturb the delicious tête-à-tête of two young lovers in the first flush

of their love. What to them, all absorbed in their fresh young love, all in all to each other, and what to us who are not ashamed to sympathize with them, are the cardinal, the king, Sir Thomas More, priests and friars, the affairs of state, or of the Church, the upheavings of the world itself! The monk who is welcome is Father Houghton, who wrests the upraised dagger from the false knight, and saves Aubrey from an inopportune death. That was a good monk, a brave heart, and a stalwart arm had he. We love Aubrey and Alice from the first. They are two noble and beautiful creations, and make us half qualify the remark, that the author writes with talent rather than with genius, and prove that he is, at least, not without genius. But he concentrates the interest which readers like us feel too strongly in them, or rather does not sufficiently blend it with the interest we know we ought to take in the grave historical characters and events introduced, and which raise the work above a mere tale of domestic affection, and give it its high character and importance. The two interests are distinct, do not grow one out of the other, or run one into the other, but sometimes interfere with each other—an objection, by the way, we make also to *The Last of the Barons*, and which proves that its distinguished author, with all his versatile talent and genius, is not perfectly at home in the historical novel. It is one thing to mix up a love story with grave historical, political, or religious events, and another to make the interest of the one blend in with and enhance the interest of the other. They who cannot make the two interests one in effect should subordinate one of them to the other. Yet though *Alice Sherwin*, judging from the effect its perusal produced on us, is faulty in this respect, it is not peculiarly so, or so much so as most historical novels.

But leaving *Alice Sherwin* as a romance, and turning to it as a grave work, for such it is, on the scenes, events, personages, and passions most noteworthy in England at the epoch of the schism, or rather just preceding its full consummation, we cannot easily speak of it in too high terms. It is deeply interesting, and possesses rare historical value. There is no work in our language, that we have seen, which within so brief a compass gives the general reader so clear an insight into the characters, passions,

and events of the religious revolution which then took place in England, or which, upon the whole, offers so just an appreciation of the principal actors who favoured it, and of the noble-minded and leal-hearted men and women who willingly sacrificed themselves on the altar of truth and virtue to avert it. The real history of the so-called Protestant Reformation has never yet been written, and we have no expectation that it ever will be. Its causes were many and often widely divergent, and its chief promoters acted from mixed motives, and from very different motives at different stages in their career. The author has to a certain extent introduced us behind the scenes, and given us partial glimpses of the state of society in which it took place, and of the secret passions and motives which produced it. He has read much on the subject, and knows better than most writers its real history, but we think there are deeper views than he takes, that need to be taken, if we would really comprehend the movement. Our Catholic writers generally, as well as our author, ascribe, in our judgment, too much influence to Henry's divorce case. We look upon that, as we have often stated, as the occasion rather than the cause of the schism with the Holy See. We certainly have no sympathy with Henry, but we cannot deny that he was the most intellectual, cultivated, and theologically learned temporal sovereign of his time; he had a clear mind, strong convictions, and an indomitable will, combined with qualities that made him loved as a man by such men as Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More; and however absorbing his love of pleasure, or violent and stormy his passions, we do not believe he was a man to take so important a step as separating his kingdom from Rome, unless it had the approval of his cooler judgment and maturer deliberation. They might hasten or retard the execution of his resolution, but could not have been the governing motives of its formation.

That Henry had become weary of Katherine, grown old and infirm, and wished to be released from her, so that he might marry another, especially after having felt the fascination of the wit and beauty of Anne Boleyn, we do not deny; but we have no sufficient reason to assert that the conscientious scruples he alleged as to his marriage with his brother's widow were all a hypocritical pretext.

There was for him, a king, who allowed himself great latitude, no cogent reason for having his marriage with Katherine annulled in order to solace his unlawful passion for his mistress, anything but remarkable for her cold and rigid virtue, and whom he himself sent after a brief period to the block for her infidelity. Henry's marriage with Katherine, Arthur's widow, was unlawful and invalid without the papal dispensation, by the laws of the Church and of the state. Both before and after the schism, Henry professed to believe in the Catholic Church, and was in faith, sincerely, we doubt not, as much of a Catholic as one can be who rejects the Papacy and refuses to obey the Pope. Undoubtedly not to hold the Pope to be the vicar of Jesus Christ, and visible head, by divine institution, of the Church on earth, is to have no Catholic faith at all ; but so it would seem held not and never had held Henry, and so held not his courtiers, the parliament, and the chief men of his kingdom. Undoubtedly in his book against Luther, in defence of the Seven Sacraments, for which the Pope conceded him the title of Defender of the Faith, he uses strong expressions, too strong for Sir Thomas More, in favour of the Papacy ; but he takes very good care not to commit himself to the essentially papal constitution of the Church, or to the doctrine that the Pope holds his authority by divine right. He recognizes the Pope as head of the Church, but most probably held that he was so only by human right, and therefore might be displaced by a sovereign in his own realm, without breaking the integrity of the Church or impairing her faculties. In such case a papal dispensation could have no force, save when a dispensation from a mere papal regulation, in *foro conscientia*. It would not, then, be sufficient to authorize his marriage with Katherine, supposing her previous marriage with his brother Arthur had been consummated.

Henry comprehended better than most of his contemporaries, the reach of the great movements then in progress on the Continent, and not unfelt in his own kingdom. To him, without firm faith in its divine institution, the Papacy must have appeared as on the eve of being abolished throughout Christendom. The age was profoundly anti-papal. The sovereigns, princes, and nobility of the time hardly believed in God, far less in the Papacy. As far

as directed solely against the Pope, they even favoured Luther's movement. The Emperor Maximilian had written to the Elector of Saxony, to take heed that no harm came to Luther, for they might have occasion to use him against Rome. Charles V. respected the Papacy only so far as he could make it subserve his political interests, and Francis I., who brought the Turks against the emperor in Hungary, Italy, and Spain, was ready to support the Pope against Charles, or to league himself with Henry against the Papacy. All the states of Europe seem to have lost sight of the spiritual character of the Pope, and to have looked upon him only as a temporal prince in possession of vast ecclesiastical power which he could bring to bear in their favour or against them, as he pleased. Henry might well believe the anti-papal policy would prevail in the conflict of nations and of parties, and papal dispensations come to be counted for nothing. In such case, the legitimacy of his daughter Mary, which the French ambassador had already affected to doubt, might be questioned, and grave disputes arise as to the succession, accompanied by a civil war perhaps as disastrous as that which was hardly closed between York and Lancaster. It is not necessary, then, if we take Henry's point of view, to maintain absolutely that his alleged scruples and reasons were simply hypocritical, suggested solely by his unlawful passion for Anne Boleyn. There is no need of painting the devil blacker than he is, and Henry should have the benefit of every reasonable doubt. Even bad men may on some subjects have honest scruples, and we should remember that the Catholic cause gains nothing by representing its enemies as worse than they really were. Henry was surrounded by men far his inferiors, and whether friends or enemies, though they might state facts, they were quite inadequate to interpret his motives or his character, and we confess we have little respect for their opinions.

The common theory on the subject is, that Henry, till drawn away from his faith and his God, by that "strange woman," Anne Boleyn, was a firm Papist and a loyal servant of the Pope. This theory makes the English schism a very pretty romance, and one which may be read without the trouble of thinking. We do not deny the fiery and passionate nature of Henry, we do not deny the influence

of an unlawful passion—all the more powerful because unlawful in a man of his temperament, but we cannot accept the romance for history. Politics, when France was seeking to possess herself of Italy, as they have his successors even in our own day, had made Henry the ally of the Pope, and continued to make him so, till the moves on the political chess-board had changed the position of parties, and placed him on the side of France, in opposition to the emperor, whose aunt he had espoused. When France was at war with the Pope, for Italy, Henry joined the league against the French king, and invaded his kingdom, evidently hoping to make himself its real as well as its titular king. This was his ambition, and as long as he had any prospect of gratifying it, he remained the ally of the Pope. But this ambition was viewed with no favour by Charles V., into whose hands by the fortune of war the French king had fallen. Charles defeated Henry's ambition, by liberating, on comparatively moderate terms, his prisoner, and permitting him to return and defend his kingdom. This made Henry, stirred on no doubt by Wolsey, who had his own private grievances against Charles, the enemy of the emperor, and the ally of Francis against him. When the emperor and the Pope became reconciled, and agreed in the same line of policy, it made him the enemy of the Pope. But this alliance with the Pope was one of political, not religious interests; and we have no reason to suppose that Henry in forming it was governed by other motives than his successors have been in their alliances with the Grand Turk. In the wars growing out of the French revolution, we saw England and Russia on the side of the Pope, and it was by the aid of England and Russia, against the nominally Catholic powers of France and Austria, that Consalvi, in the Congress of Vienna, succeeded in obtaining the restoration and guaranty of the temporal estates of the Pope. Yet these are the two great anti-papal states of the modern world. Nothing can therefore be concluded from the fact that Henry supported at one time the papal politics, while they coincided with his own, in favour of his attachment to the Papacy, or in favour of his belief in the essentially papal constitution of the Church. The alterations made by his own hand in his coronation oath immediately after having

taken it, explanatory of the sense in which he had taken it, afford conclusive evidence that on his ascending the throne he was no Papist, and that his convictions were in substance the same that he avowed after the schism. Even then he placed the royal dignity above the papal, and subordinated the exercise of the papal prerogatives to the civil laws and customs of his kingdom. Our view of the matter is, that Henry's convictions, although they may have been more fully developed in process of time, and by the course of events, underwent no substantial change from his coronation to the day of his death; that neither before nor after the schism was he a true, loyal Papist. We place no reliance on what is told us of the new views opened up to him by Cranmer and Cromwell. Henry had scarcely his superior in theological knowledge in his kingdom, and he was vain of that knowledge, and fond of showing it. He may have flattered as well as used Cranmer and Cromwell as his instruments, but he would never have suffered them to be his masters or his teachers. With this view of his case, the pretty romance disappears, and the divorce question is important only in its bearings on his relation with the emperor and his alliance with Francis I. There is no reason to suppose that, had Clement VII. without any hesitation declared the dispensation obtained from Julius II. insufficient in consequence of some informality or a false assumption of facts, annulled his marriage with Katherine, and granted him full permission to marry again, whether Anne Boleyn or any other lady he preferred, that it would have retained Henry in his obedience, that it would have materially changed the result, or even delayed the march of events.

While Henry was the ally of the Pope, and had favours to ask of him, he no doubt did not contemplate breaking with the papal authority. He then could and did address the Holy Father in respectful and suitable terms, and we presume, if there had been no change in his politics, and if it had not been for the strong anti-papal movements going on especially in Germany, he might have lived and died as good a Catholic as his unamiable and miserly father, Henry Tudor. These things directed his attention to the subject, and afforded him the opportunity of declaring formally his kingdom independent of the See of Rome, and

of withdrawing his clergy from the papal jurisdiction. In fact, Henry in doing this did far less than is commonly supposed. He in reality only followed out what long had been the policy of the English government, of the lords and commons, as well as the monarch. The civil authority had long before Henry, virtually, if not indeed formally, rejected the Papacy, and separated the Church in England from the chair of Peter. When Henry ascended the English throne, as a writer of a series of masterly articles in the *Dublin Review* seems to us to have fully proved, the Pope could not, as far as the civil law went, exercise one particle even of ecclesiastical power in the realm without the royal license. No papal legate could be received or exercise his functions; no appeals could be made to the papal courts; no communication by bishop or priest could be held with Rome without the license of the king. The Constitutions of Clarendon, held always to be in force by the government and crown lawyers, and the terrible statute of *Præmunire*, made the Church in England virtually as independent of the papal authority and as dependent on the temporal power as is the present Anglican Establishment. Henry really did nothing, so far as we have been able to discover, that transcended the constitution and laws of his kingdom, as he found them on his accession to the throne. In substance, all he did was to withhold the royal license where he had a legal right to withhold it, and to embody in a declaratory act what was already and long had been the civil law of England, as understood by England herself; he claimed or exercised no power, at least in principle, that had not been claimed and exercised by his predecessors, with comparatively few exceptions, from the Norman Conquest, and from Edward III. with the consent or acquiescence of all orders in the state. It would be well for those who pretend that the Church in the Middle Ages held all civil governments in tutelage, and had everything her own way, to study with a little more care the civil legislation of the period. They will find that as modern nations were formed and developed themselves, their constant struggle was to destroy the legal rights and independence of the Church in their respective dominions, and to make the exercise of the papal power dependent on the royal or imperial license. Legislation,

wherever there was a legislature, was profoundly anti-papal, and the most so in the states which were freest, or in which the power of the monarch was the most restricted,—a fact which no doubt is the reason why so many European Catholics are still so favourable to monarchy, and so opposed to parliamentary government. We have no right, therefore, to throw the whole blame of the English schism on Henry, who only carried out the policy of his predecessors and the English parliament, at least from Edward III. Though of Welsh, and therefore of Celtic descent, Henry was the best type of the modern English character we have found, and say what we will, “bluff King Harry” is still a special favourite with the genuine Englishman. His insisting on observing the forms of law in divorcing, condemning, and executing one wife before marrying another, is in strict accordance with the English respect for legal order. Not improperly has he been called “Henry the Wife-Slayer,” but he took good care always to slay his wives by the hand of the public executioner. It is the English custom to do, through courts of justice and under form of law, what in other countries, if done at all, is usually done by open violence, secret poisonings, or private assassins. England seldom fails to find, or to make, a law to her purpose, or to obtain a court and jury prepared to rid her of an individual whose removal she desires. It is the advantage of self-government.

The dispute occasioned by the demand of his divorce from Katherine, the political complications of the time, and the anti-papal movements in progress on the Continent brought matters to a crisis, and afforded Henry the opportunity to give the *coup de grâce* to the anti-papal policy long adopted and steadily pursued by the English government; but they did not, in our judgment, change his convictions, or convert him from a sound Papist to a devout Anglican. Our theory is, that he simply seized upon the occasion to carry out his convictions, and to place himself and his kingdom openly and avowedly in the attitude demanded by the civil constitution and laws of England as they already existed. The success with which he did it, with which he openly excluded the Pope from England, and appropriated the functions of the Papacy to the crown, proves his great personal popularity and influence; but it proves

still more strikingly the low state to which the Papacy had fallen in the convictions and affections of the English people. The usual theory among English and even continental Catholic writers is, that the English schism—we say schism, because, during Henry's lifetime, the movement went hardly beyond—was effected by the king and court against the convictions and wishes of the great body of the nation. We have found no evidence of this. The parliament, lords and commons, the more active, energetic, and influential portion of the people, supported the king with alacrity, and would, apparently, have gone much further than he was willing to go, had he not restrained them. Left to themselves, the great mass of the people, no doubt, would have vegetated, as their fathers had done, in nominal communion with Rome, for the mass of the people usually, when left to their own course, pursue the old beaten track, rumble on in the old ruts, from generation to generation. We have ourselves seen among the *Habitans* in Canada, oxen at work, with the yoke placed in front of the head, and fastened to the horns. It is only recently that the mass of the population of any country has begun to live an intellectual life, or to have any thoughts or aspirations of their own. The great body of the thinking, active, representative people of England went with Henry; and the English nation, as a nation, not he alone, must be held responsible for the schism and consequent heresy. The movement, as far as Henry carried it, was a national movement, if ever a national movement there was; no order or representative body in the state or kingdom offered it any serious opposition. The primate, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and even Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as far as we can discover, assented in convocation to the declaration of the royal supremacy, which Henry obtained from the clergy, with the cowardly and practically unmeaning salvo, "as far as the laws of Christ allow." The only voice we hear in convocation protesting against declaring with that salvo the king the supreme visible head of the Church within the realm, was that of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. We hope Fisher was not present in convocation. If he was, and made no protest, his death a short time afterwards, by order of the king, must be regarded as an expiation, as well as a martyrdom. The conduct of the great body of the

bishops and clergy during the whole struggle, is fearfully instructive as to the profoundly anti-papal character of England at the time, and bears unimpeachable testimony to the false or defective theological teaching which must have for a long time been current in the kingdom. Neither king nor parliament, neither lords nor commons, neither the clergy nor the people, regarded themselves in separating from the Pope as separating from the Catholic Church, or as abandoning any substantive portion of the Catholic faith. Give all the play you will to the base passions of individuals, to pride, ambition, covetousness, bribery, corruption, there remains still the fact of a whole nation separating from the Pope, and yet believing itself not separating from unity, or ceasing to be Catholic, to be accounted for; and which you can account for only by assuming that the faithful did not generally believe in the essentially papal constitution of the Church. A thousand Cranmers and Cromwells, armed with all the force of law and power of the state, could never have separated a nation from the papal authority without the people believing they had separated from the Catholic Church,—if they had been taught to hold that the Church and the Papacy are inseparable and indistinguishable. All the clergy who adhered to Henry were not cowards, cringing slaves, base time-servers, ready to disavow their honest convictions at the summons of the king and parliament. There were in England, as well as elsewhere, brave men, men of learning, strong convictions, and honourable character, who adhered to the so-called Reformation, and gave it a prestige in the eyes of the world. We gain nothing by painting them all as moral monsters, for we must remember that they had all been baptized and brought up, nominally at least, in the Catholic communion.

The Protestant movement in Germany, and with which Henry's schismatical movement coalesced in the succeeding reign, owes its origin, as we have more than once endeavoured to prove, not solely to the personal depravity of the actors, not to the abuses prevalent in the Church, not to the general relaxation of manners and morals, or even the scandalous lives of ecclesiastics, whether dignified or undignified—for these were nowhere worse than in Italy, and Italy remained papal—but to the growing influence of

monarchical centralism, to the development of distinct nationalities, and their reaction against the cosmopolitan tendency of the papal unity, and to the fact that public opinion at the opening of the sixteenth century was profoundly anti-papal. It is evident to the student of history, that for whatever reason, the guardians of the faith had failed, for more than one generation, to instruct the faithful, as they should be instructed, with regard to the true place, office, and position of the Papacy in the kingdom of Christ, and had suffered them to grow up with the error—not reduced to a formula, and only vaguely floating in the mind, we grant,—that the Church in her essential Constitution is Episcopal, or Presbyterian, rather than Papal. No doubt they taught coldly and formally, that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, and to be obeyed as such; but they failed to make them see and understand that the Church is *essentially* Papal, and that without the Papacy the Church as Christ founded it is inconceivable. The people saw and understood little of the Papacy, save in its political relations with their princes, who generally held it to be constituted only by human right. They saw their princes almost always in quarrel with the Pope, when not waging open war against him, and heard them constantly complaining of his bad faith, his ambition, his arrogance, and his usurpations. How were the people, though coldly and formally taught that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, to have a proper appreciation of the Papacy, or to preserve for the Holy Father the love and reverence due to his character, when they continually heard him denounced by their princes, and were much more carefully taught to be loyal to the prince than they were to be obedient to the sovereign Pontiff; or when they saw, as they usually did, their own bishops and clergy sustaining their temporal prince, blessing the arms of his soldiers, and offering up prayers for his success in open war against the Pope? When they saw their own bishops and clergy bearing all the arms their state admitted against the sovereign Pontiff, how could they regard him as, under God, the source of all ecclesiastical authority, and essential not only to the order, but to the very being of the Church?

Incalculable as have been the evils of the Protestant movement, this good has resulted from it, that the Pope

has, in a measure, been liberated from those political relations and complications which, for so long a time, made the faithful almost lose sight of his sacred character as the head of the spiritual society founded by our Lord, and that the faithful have been brought nearer the Holy Father, and more explicitly taught that to be Catholics they must be Papists, that our Lord founded his Church on Peter, and that Peter lives, teaches, and governs in his successors in the See of Rome. The early Popes nearly all suffered martyrdom, and in every age, the Papacy is the first and last object of attack by the enemies of the Church. Unhappily, too, the Papacy is precisely the point on which weak, timid, and worldly-minded Catholics, wise, prudent, and safe men as they esteem themselves, are the most yielding, and the most ready to make concessions which only embarrass the Holy See and weaken our lines of defence. Without the Pope there is no Catholic Church; without the Catholic Church there is no Christian religion; and without the Christian religion there is no redemption, no remission of sins, no salvation, no eternal beatitude. All rests on Peter, and Peter rests on Christ, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, perfect God and perfect man. What greater folly or madness then, than to suffer the very foundation to be undermined, and to busy ourselves, while the sappers and miners are at work, with simply protecting the ornaments and decorations of the temple? Defend successfully the Pope, and you successfully defend all; lose the Pope, and you lose all. The whole history of the Church proves that the only effectual way to defend truth and unity against heresy and schism is, to guard and defend the Chair of Peter. The life-seat of the Church is there. There is the heart which receives and circulates the life-current through even the extremities. That once broken, that once hindered from performing its functions, death follows, the Church is a lifeless mass, a putrid corpse, and the sooner it is buried from the sight, the better. *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*, is not a mere rhetorical flourish, but simple, sober truth. How, then, is it possible to have patience, if we may so speak, with those Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Erastian Catholics, who shriek out with alarm whenever the prerogatives of Peter are strongly and boldly asserted, who shrink aghast at the appellation of Ul-

tramontane, as if to agree with Rome were to upset Christ's kingdom, and who seek in every conceivable way, and by all manner of subtile distinctions, without absolutely denying the faith, to explain away the rights of the Holy See, and to thwart the Pope in the just exercise of his legitimate powers? On the Papacy, if anywhere, there should be true firmness, heroic courage, no compromise, no concession, no hesitation, no quailing, even though opposed by all the craft of politicians, all the wrath of kings, and all the rage of hell.

Yet it is on this point that the instruction of the faithful seems to us the most defective; and the most striking want we detect among them is a hearty, unswerving love and devotion to the Holy Father. We find many who can throw up their caps and shout *Evviva Pio Nono!* who can never be induced to shout *Evviva il Santo Padre!* We know not Pio Nono, but we do know, love, honour, venerate, and, we hope, are prepared to die for *il Santo Padre*. In his voice we hear the voice of God speaking to us through his Vicar on earth. We may highly esteem the man for his personal virtues, but it is the Pope, not the man, we venerate and obey. To us it seems the only effectual way to guard against heresy and schism is to have the great body of the faithful believe and understand that the Church is essentially Papal, that to teach and govern in Christ's kingdom are Apostolic functions, that the Apostolate remains in the Successor of Peter alone, and that all who have authority to do either derive it from God through him. Louis XIV. said, *L'Etat, c'est moi*; in a far higher and truer sense, when he speaks as the Vicar of Christ, may the Pope, without pride or arrogance, say, *L'Eglise, c'est moi*, for the Church is the body of Christ, even, in some sense, Christ himself. Once thoroughly instructed on this point, no Catholic can be seduced into schism through ignorance, and whoever becomes a schismatic, must become one with his eyes open, deliberately, from malice aforethought, and, till prepared for schism, no one can ever become a formal heretic. This is wherefore, in season and out of season, we so earnestly insist on the Papal Constitution of the Church.

The author of *Alice Sherwin* takes, upon the whole, a favourable view of Henry's minister, Cardinal Wolsey, and,

for the most part, defends him. There may have been worse men than Wolsey, who have worn the purple, but we think the Church could hardly have had a worse representative in England at the time. We reject the infamous charges preferred against him after his disgrace, though subscribed by Sir Thomas More, and we think not unfavourably of his deportment and sentiments after his fall, though we should respect him more, if he had felt the loss of the king's favour less keenly, and had more distinctly remembered that he was still Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. Wolsey was a vain, ambitious, worldly-minded, unscrupulous man, precisely one of those men who bring discredit on Churchmen, and tend to alienate the affections of serious and simple minds from the Church. He was magnificent, a lover of the arts, and a liberal patron of learning and the learned. He was a skilful and in general a successful diplomatist, an able minister, and a passable Lord High Chancellor; but he was a crafty politician rather than a great statesman, and carried out in all its perfection the policy set forth and commended by Machiavelli in his *Principe*, and which the moral sense of the world repudiates. As a Churchman, and as the Papal legate, he forgot the interests of religion, subordinated the interests of the Church to those of the kingdom, and used her revenues to aggrandize himself and his prince. He did more to shake the stability of the Church in England than the worst of his contemporaries. Katherine believed to the last, that it was he who first suggested to Henry the project of a divorce, and it is certain that he favoured Henry's divorce from Katherine, though not his marriage with the giddy daughter of a Norfolk squire. It coincided with his policy of detaching Henry from his alliance with the emperor, and forming an alliance with the French king. It is precisely at this period, when the French ambassador raises a doubt as to the legitimacy of the princess Mary, moved thereto not improbably by Wolsey, that we first hear of Henry's scruples. The political complications, as they are now called in diplomatic language, which led to the open rupture of Henry with the Pope, were of Wolsey's formation, though whether of his own motion, or under the instructions of Henry, we are not able to decide.

However skilful as a diplomatist, able as a politician, or great as an administrator, Wolsey was not a great man, and is but a dwarf by the side of the great Spaniard, Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo and Regent of Spain, the only prelate and statesman of the time who seems to have appreciated the significance of the Protestant movement, and taken effective measures to counteract it. Wolsey comprehended nothing of that movement, and intrigued, by means that proved him wholly unfit for the elevation he aspired to, to be raised to the Papal throne, when, if he had been a great man, he would have seen that the Papacy was already engaged in the most terrible struggle that it had ever encountered, and that the most fearful revolution of the modern world was already in progress. Till he lost the king's favour, he was devoted to the king, and though a Prince of the Church, studied only to advance the interests of his temporal sovereign, and through him his own. He was for the king against the Pope, unless he could be made Pope himself. Henry he regarded as his master, and was ready to serve him in any thing, if, at the same time, he could serve himself. That he never really lost his faith, his conduct after his fall sufficiently proves, but though aspiring to the tiara, he evidently was but a sorry Papist, and regarded the Pope, though wielding immense ecclesiastical power and patronage, very much in the light of a temporal sovereign. Even after his fall and repentance, even in his dying confession, we have no expression of filial love and reverence for the Holy Father, and so far as the Papacy is concerned, we recollect no word that might not have entered into the dying confession of any Protestant Archbishop of York, or of Canterbury.

The author calls his book a *Tale of the Days of Sir Thomas More*, and of course regards that eminent man as his hero. Sir Thomas More enjoyed during his lifetime a great reputation, both in England and on the Continent, as a scholar, a poet, a wit, and a humorist, and he is generally held in high esteem by Catholics and Protestants. The author appears to regard him as a model statesman, a model man, and a model Christian. We are sorry not to be able in all respects to agree with him, for Sir Thomas More's death was that of a true Christian hero, since he suffered by order of the king his master because

he would not violate his faith and conscience by taking an oath in which was asserted the royal supremacy. He was not ignorant of Catholic doctrine, but though he lacked not the light of faith, his conduct was not always in accordance with Christian morals. He was, as Cesare Cantu has well said, "a mixed man; full of light in his writings, but not so moral in his practice, sacrificing his probity to his greed of honours and emolument, and approving arbitrary acts, till his conscience was alarmed by attacks on his faith." He appears to have held by the Constitutions of Clarendon and to have offered no opposition to the statute of *præmunire*, as he was willing to accept and retain office when the king was enforcing it. He had been brought forward and protected by the Cardinal, yet he intrigued against him, accepted his place, and subscribed the charges against him, knowing them to be false and malicious. He accepted the office of Lord High Chancellor, knowing the relation of the king with Anne Boleyn, and having a full knowledge of the designs as well as of the temper and character of Henry. He held his place not long indeed, but till he saw he would be permitted to hold it no longer, and then resigned it on a false pretence. He was the intimate friend of Erasmus, and without intending harm to religion, was associated with that band of wits, Humanists, as they were called, who by their raillery of the monks and the schools and preceding ages, did not a little to prepare the way for the religious revolution which followed. His *Utopia* is as little Christian as the *Republic* of Plato, and runs religious liberty into religious indifference, and indicates that when it was written the author thought little of his faith and less of his Church. Up to the last, whatever may have been his conversations with "Son Roper," or his sad forebodings, he was far from comprehending the revolution in progress, and understood little of its real causes, and less of the means of arresting it. However, it is hardly fair, save when he is held up as the ideal of a Catholic and a statesman, to make it a fault in him that he was not wiser than his contemporaries, or to condemn him severely for having shared the faults of his age.

Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher were both beheaded, really, whatever the pretences may have been, for

refusing to recognize unqualifiedly the king under God as supreme within his realm in all matters spiritual as well as temporal, and for that we must hold their memories in lasting honour. Whether Fisher was present in convocation and assented to the qualified declaration of the royal supremacy obtained from the bishops and clergy under the terrors of *præmunire*, the historians we have consulted do not tell us. We would believe he was not, for we would like to regard him as a martyr. But we cannot, after all, regard Sir Thomas More as having been a true Papist. It is said that when Henry read him his book against Luther, he objected to its strong language in favour of the Papacy, and pointed out to Henry the inconvenience that might arise from it in case they should ever be at war with the Pope as temporal Prince. We have no reason to believe that he disapproved of the anti-papal constitution and laws of England, and his conscience seems to have taken alarm less at the restriction on the Papal authority than at the assertion of the supremacy of the king, for he was a parliament man rather than a king's man. Yet his death was for the truth; if in part expiatory of past laxness, it nevertheless was glorious, and sufficient to redeem a far worse life than any one can pretend his was.

We are struck in reading the lives of those who under Henry's daughter Elizabeth, and later sovereigns, suffered for their religion in England, to see how few, unloving and cold were their expressions of devotion to the Holy Father. They were executed, murdered, we would like to say martyred, for their adhesion to the Pope against the king, and yet their expressions of loyalty are warmer and more frequent than their expressions of affection for the Papacy. Even to this day English Catholics seem to regard the Church as episcopal rather than papal, and to concede with a sort of reluctance the papal supremacy. To admit the papal prerogatives seems to cost them a severe struggle with their pride and personal independence as Englishmen, and it would seem that they rarely yield the Holy Father a loving and ungrudging submission. High-toned papal doctrines are rarely palatable to English Catholics. Nevertheless, we are not aware that they need in this respect to be singled out from the Catholics of other countries, while in many other respects they deserve at the present day to

yet he has been canonized

be regarded as a model Catholic people. We only wish that we on this side the water were equal to them. Let them, however, never forget that they owe their conversion from heathenism and their civilization to the intervention of the Pope in their behalf, and that it is only by their open and manly avowal of papal doctrines, and their affectionate devotion to the Holy Father, that their non-Catholic countrymen can be recalled to unity, and England once more rejoice in that faith which before the Norman conquest made her glory, and gave her the title of "Island of Saints."

In studying the history of the Protestant movement, we are well-nigh startled by the profound indifference to it or gross misconception of its magnitude and importance shown even by the highest chiefs of the spiritual society, and by the most eminent statesmen, diplomatists, scholars, and philosophers, who remained, after all, faithful to the Catholic Church. It seems to have been comprehended by nobody, neither by its projectors, nor by its Catholic opponents. Leo X. regarded it in its origin as a local and temporary quarrel between some German monks, and rather admired the genius, the wit, and the spirit displayed by Luther in his writings. This fact proves how completely the creatures of routine the best of us are, how few in any age think or reason out of the grooves prepared for thought, how little in any sudden emergency what we learn in schools and from books can serve us, and how little we can profit by any experience but our own. All education presupposes and prepares us only for a fixed state of things, a regular and uniform order. The best professors can educate only for what is, never for what, though it may be, has not yet come. The new must prepare its own chiefs. The winds rise, the waves roll, the tempest rages. Our Lord is asleep in Peter's bark, and no one can rebuke the tempest, and say to the winds and the waves, "Peace, be still," and be obeyed. Nothing better proves the Divine origin and support of the Church than her living through the storms of the Protestant Reformation. Human foresight, human wisdom, human sagacity, human strength, human energy, human courage, failed; the bark is tempest-tossed, and the sea opens to engulf it. The pilot for the moment forgets himself; the crew are mutinous, or para-

lyzed with fear. The Lord awakes, calls to him that wounded Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, and prepares him and his associates for the new work to be done. Then, but not till then, do we see real living men, such men as it gladdens and encourages us to see, step forth and take their stand on the side of truth, and offer its enemies the challenge of battle. Till then truth had for her champions only cunning diplomatists, wily politicians, subtle schoolmen, imbecile scholars in worn-out and cumbrous armour, who were practically, before the energetic captains of the new movement, as chaff before the wind. But then the hosts of error were confronted with bold and determined men; their advance was stayed, and they were compelled to recoil in confusion upon themselves. The tempest was rebuked, the winds and the waves were stilled, and with the Council of Trent "there came a great calm." It is not in human wisdom to prepare fully beforehand men who can effectually serve us in the beginning of such a movement.

It is far from our thought that in these remarks we are offering anything in opposition to the author, or suggesting anything that he will not accept. We do not suppose that we differ from him, unless it be in extending our views a little further than those he expresses. Our purpose is not to show that we have a better understanding of the Protestant movement than he has, but to draw from it a great practical lesson, the importance of which it is impossible to overrate. We have our theory of the movement, — inadequate, not unlikely, — and we ascribe the real cause of that movement to the failure of the Pastors of the Church, very extensively, to insist in their primary instructions to their flocks, on the *essentially* papal constitution of the Church. They may have taught with sufficient distinctness that the Pope is at the summit of the hierarchy, but they did not with sufficient distinctness that he is also at its basis, is its foundation, the rock on which the whole Church rests. The theories in regard to the Papacy of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandum, as well as others, very generally held by the princes, courtiers, and juriconsults, were suffered to prevail, not in the schools, not in the formal teaching of the Church, but in the popular mind, and to become to a fearful extent the public opinion of the Christian world. These theories

still float in the minds of many Catholics, in a vague and unfixed form, indeed, but still float there, the germs of schism, ready to be developed when the occasion comes. Our aim has been to assert against them, and enforce by the terrible example of the Reformation, the real papal doctrine of the Church.

The faithful priests, monks, and nuns who suffered for their faith, the author introduces, are historical, and their characters and acts are described with a graphic pen and a loving spirit. The portions of the volume devoted to these, though perhaps a little episodic, are its brightest gems, and those which do the author the most credit, and will endear his work to the heart of every Catholic. The author has shown in this as well as in other parts of his work, not only great power, but much discrimination and taste. He has introduced us to a most painful period of history; but we regard it as a great merit in him that he has known how to relieve its horrors, and to give us now and then a bright spot on which we can rest, and recover our breath. The only part we have found too painful is the picture of the wrongs and sufferings, the piety and resignation of the saintly Queen Katherine, the true heroine of the story. In her case, we find no relief, no consolation, save in looking beyond the grave, to the eternal recompense that awaited her where the wicked cease to trouble and the weary are at rest.

Although we have opinions on the characters and movements the author sketches which he may not in all cases accept, we assure him we highly esteem his book, and believe it will do great good in the direction he wishes. It may not be precisely perfect as a work of art, but it has a manly tone, and breathes a true Catholic spirit; and is the most valuable contribution yet made in our language to a class of works we have repeatedly urged our Catholic authors to attempt, and of which Mr. McCabe, in his *Bertha*, *Florine*, and *Adelaide*, and Mr. McSherry, a countryman of our own, in his *Willitoft*, and *Père Jean*, have given us favourable specimens. The whole field of history is open to the Catholic novelist, and there is no good reason why we should not have authors who will cultivate it, and do for the Church what Scott has done for Scottish history, and spread the charm of romance over Catholics in their various

struggles for faith and freedom, which he has spread over Scottish Jacobites and English Cavaliers. Let the historical novelist seize upon the introduction of Lutheranism by Gustavus Wasa into Sweden, and immortalize the massacre of the noble peasants who resisted the innovation, and died *en masse* in defence of the faith that had abolished the inhuman worship of Woden, and closed his temple at Upsala, the last stronghold of paganism in Europe. Let him pass to Helvetia, and paint the persecution of Catholics in Berne, Zurich, Geneva, and other Swiss Cantons; let him signalize the labors of the zealous missionaries in the sixteenth century, after the Protestant rebellion broke out, to save the faith in Ireland, to recover it in Poland, Hungary, Austria, and Central Germany, and to convert the infidels in the East and the West, the North and the South. Here is a wide and rich field, here are topics that abound in touching and romantic interest, wanting only the wand of genius to bring it out. Let genius do it, and it will afford amusement, and serve at once the cause of literature and religion. We ought to make the historical novel our own, for through it we may reach and favorably affect the non-Catholic world, too prejudiced, too indifferent, too frivolous, or too engrossed with material interests, in this age of Mormonism and lightning telegraphs, to read our graver productions. We have talent and genius enough in our ranks, if excited to activity, to revolutionize the whole literary world. There are thousands of richly-endowed minds and noble hearts among us, that are preying upon themselves, and consuming their own energy in doing nothing, because they find no outlet, no work. We live in a fast age, and we must keep up with it, nay, we must run ahead of it, not stand aghast at it, or remaining fixed, cry out at the top of our lungs to it, "Stop, stop, good Age, run not so swiftly by us." It is for Catholic genius to throw itself into the current, and direct its course.

ART. IV.—*An Exposition of the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle.* By a Secular Priest. Boston: Donahoe. 1858. 8vo. pp. 343.

THE work we have just named is not likely to receive the attention its solid merits deserve, for there is in our day a prejudice against all works intended to give an exposition of the Apocalypse. When we hear any work of the kind announced, we immediately conclude that it is the work of some enthusiast whom much learning, or much study, has made mad, or of some pious, fanciful, or mystic dreamer, quite out of place in this Nineteenth Century, which believes only in matter and demonism. But, although we pass no judgment on the work before us as a simple exposition of the Apocalypse, that wondrous book which seems given chiefly to confound the wisdom of the wise, and to baffle the conjectures of the most learned and ingenious commentators, we can assure our readers that, if they will read and study it, they will find it full both of instruction and edification. It is, in fact, a work of rare merit, marked by profound thought, and wide and just observation, expressed in a chaste diction, and a style of singular simplicity, sweetness, beauty, and force. Indeed, we hardly dare use the strong terms in its favor that our own judgment prompts.

The author may sometimes have made a fanciful application of a text, and misinterpreted, or misapplied, the symbolical language of prophecy, but we have read no author who seems to have meditated so profoundly at the foot of the Cross, and penetrated so deeply into the real character of the age in which we live, or, to speak more truly, the age which commenced with the "Revolt," called the Protestant movement, and which still continues. Others may have understood it as well from the historical, or the philosophical point of view, but no one has, to our knowledge, seized so successfully its real character from the point of view of faith and morals. Every sentence bears unmistakable evidence that the author practises meditation rather than speculation, and that his knowledge comes to him through his profound and continual study of the super-

natural. There is no book within our reach which to the serious, earnest, believing mind so fully, so truthfully, in our judgment, seizes and presents the great features, the striking events, and secret spirit of modern times. No doubt the author has read others, has studied the commentators, and used the thoughts of other men, but he certainly has thought for himself, and made his own, whatever he has taken from others. His thoughts are often as original as they are strikingly and felicitously expressed.

We have not room to justify our judgment by numerous or extended extracts. We can only give a few, and those taken at random. We open at the following:—

“ 11. And they had over them a king, the angel of the bottomless pit ; whose name, in Hebrew, is Abaddon ; and, in Greek, Apollyon ; in Latin, Exterminans.

“ As the title of our Blessed Lord was written ‘ in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew,’ in like manner is recorded that of his adversary, the evil spirit of the abyss, whose advent in the man of sin is foretold in the revolt, and its generation of infidels, his pioneers. Their office is manifestly one of simple destruction. It has been exercised in the destruction of churches, monasteries, hospitals, and the shrines of the dead ; in the destruction of sacraments, of rites and ceremonies, civil and religious ; in the destruction of authority, moral and ecclesiastical, secular and domestic ; in the destruction of logic, of tradition, and of the memory of great and good men. This is that pure mischief of radicalism, which exterminates festivals, recreations, and the repose of holidays, and of rustic life ; which blackens and corrodes the supererogation of every heroic act of charity, of every loyal and chivalrous deed of mercy ; which extirpates true patriotism or self-sacrifice for the public good, and rends all attachments of place, of family, of spouse, and of the paternal hearth. These are the bitter fruits of infidelity ; it is true that any other error will beget disorder, and is more or less destructive ; but with this difference, that the latter may be so by accident, but the former is so by essence. After the renaissance, men, having turned away from the ancient and Catholic wisdom, were necessarily without a foundation to build upon, without a purpose or any definite aim of a high order ; therefore, if anything was to be done, they must pull down, instead of building up. And, from the first may be found in literature, authors, otherwise amiable, who thus employed their talent ; who seemed to think they had a work to do, but the work was always destructive, and not creative ; and their moral was not a utility, but an apology ; not a generous gift, but a hungry petition. On the other hand, if they seem to have a purpose, it is a futile one. Thus the vanity of the new learning is exemplified in the metaphysician, who, discarding the defini-

tions of an Augustine, or an Anselm, and throwing down the ladder, as it were, of his science, thought to obtain some enunciation of the truth, more lofty and complete than if he had availed himself of the abundant aids already on record.

“ But these evils are light, as compared with those in the moral order. There were authors as early as the fourteenth century, whose obscenity is revolting; but compared with those of the last century, they are but as silly youth to the full-grown ruffian. The former were seduced by the beauty of the flesh, but the latter embraced the dung: *amplexati sunt stercora.** Treating of some of the prophecies which relate to the last days, St. Augustine declares frankly, that he cannot understand them. Now, the saint was once a man of the world, and was, moreover, endowed with a lofty intellect; but could it ever have entered his mind that, in after years, a Christian man should conceive and indite a work like the infamous poem of Voltaire? and that, the same being multiplied by the press, thousands on thousands of copies should be scattered throughout Christian Europe, and be hailed with delight? God forbid! that holy sage, or blushing penitent, ever thought it. A like calamity never happened before, nor could, by any possibility, have been a topic of induction for human experience.

“ Again: in the latter days, men have exploded the terrors of the Inquisition, have destroyed their racks and dungeons, have uprooted the stake, and stripped the executioner of his mask and squalid fear: they boast of their mildness, in wars without sacking, burning, and hanging; and, if men will endure these things no longer, it would be wrong to enforce them; but it is not, therefore, a matter for self-congratulation, but rather for humiliation and wholesome reprehension. *For all this is the result, not of any robustness, but of infirmity of character, since they have come to consider corporal chastisement, or physical pain, as the greatest of evils;* when it is in truth, the least evil, of which we have any knowledge. Tell the one whose soul is in anguish by reason of injustice or dishonour, that his sorrows are less than those of his neighbour, who is in corporal pains, and he is insulted. A little child receives a casual hurt, and laughs at it; it is the testimony of a rational nature. But that grown men should hold physical pain or chastisement in horror, this is the sophistry of the revolt. Compare with this the household of St. Louis† in the thirteenth century, who resolutely branded a man on the mouth for blasphemy; or the castle of De Joinville, where, because the name of the devil began, in those days, to be used frequently in discourse, it was appointed that, for every such offence, a man should receive a blow or the ferule. ‘The rod and reproof give wisdom:’ saith Holy Scripture. The language of those times is in accordance with that wisdom, breathing of simplicity and innocence as if in-

* Lam., iv. 5.

† De J.—Life of St. Louis.

spired by God. The Church's calendar records their merits ; their own words confirm it ; their monuments prove that their words were good, and from the heart.

“ It is charged to the former times, that they were stained with many dark crimes ; but those who believe the record of their crimes should also believe that of their virtues, and of the manifest interposition of Almighty God in their human affairs ; for the one belongs as necessarily to the history of a people of God, as the other. It is plain, that the bad man must be made worse by the non-resistance of his victim ; accordingly, when Christians act up to their faith, when they are unwilling to take vengeance into their own hands, when they appeal to the ecclesiastical authority, and avoid a resort to the secular tribunal, the malice of the reprobate man abounds indefinitely ; hence he runs a desperate course unchecked, till by a sudden judgment of God, he falls into some terrible calamity, or into manifest perdition. But in the times when every man can find a speedy vengeance, and immediately calls upon the secular arm in every possible emergency, it follows not by any means that there is less iniquity, but only this : that the monster does not make head, and does not reveal himself for the salutary instruction of the prudent, while divine Providence does not interpose, because they do not leave any room for the interposition. Now such is not the normal condition of a people of God ; on the contrary, it belongs neither to the natural, nor to the supernatural order. It is the horrid rule of material force, which reaches not the soul ; which is not, nor ever can be, a curb for the secret corruption. And now men begin to be convinced, that it cannot preserve for them even common propriety, nor secure them against the full measure of public depravity.

“ But since the propositions now laid down may be disputed ; since all the virtues of other times may be assumed for the latter days, and all the modern vices may be ascribed to the former ages ; since it is absurd to trust the professions of men when the good and the bad may equally pretend the same thing ; how is the difficulty to be cleared up, and what is the test which is to distinguish truth from the error with which it is so grievously confounded in human affairs ? The remedy is simple, if men will condescend to use it. It is the testimony of the Cross, the plain, evangelical truth, which searches not the profession, but the motive ; and which convicts the false glory, because it proceeds from a totally contrary principle to that which constitutes the true happiness of a people. In the former ages, for example, slavery was extinguished, and a reasonable equality obtained, because the maxim, Blessed are the meek, was the belief and practice of both lord and subject. In the last days, the same Christian prerogative of liberty is demanded, because every one disdains to own a master. Then Holy Scripture was studied for the love of one true religion ; now the Bible is praised, because it is a cloak for a thousand errors.

Then much alms was given, because of the belief, Blessed are the poor; now much wealth is bestowed, to train the youth in the hope of becoming rich. Then the trades were honored, because no one was ashamed of his honest work; now the mechanic arts are cultivated, because of the ambition to rise above one's rank in life. The age of faith was the age of humility; the age of infidelity is the age of pride; in the one, the Cross was loved; in the other, the Cross is hated. Therefore the modern times, when compared with the former periods of Christianity, may justly be distinguished as days of woe.

"Morally, the fifth period is marked by luxury. Chastity was never more despised by men. Formerly it had been recognized and revered even by pagan nations; but the histories, the literature, and the arts of that age betray their unbridled lust; to punish which, divine Providence sent them a loathsome disease, which is so transmitted by fornication as to make manifest inexcusably the rottenness of sin. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical orders were reformed to a more rigid purity of manners: and according as the scrutiny of the infidel was bold and malicious, so were their humble virtues proved and refined." Pp. 79-83.

We do not recollect of hearing before the greater mildness and apparent humanity of the modern world ascribed to the physical weakness of men in our times, and to the materialism which loses sight of spiritual agonies, and regards corporeal sufferings as the greatest evils with which we can be afflicted. Yet it is true, the mitigation of criminal codes commenced in the age of materialism, when men ceased to believe in the immortality of the soul, when La Mettrie wrote his *Man-Plant*, and his *Man-Machine*, when men had been enervated by refinement and luxury, and denied all happiness but bodily enjoyment, but pleasures of sense. The meliorations we boast, the social changes we have effected, or are seeking to effect, and which we ascribe to the spirit of Christianity becoming humanitarian, have proceeded, and proceed, not from nobler and more generous sentiments, from higher and worthier views of the dignity, the nobility of man, but from our lower appreciation of the spiritual order, and our greater sensitiveness to corporeal or physical pain. If we want any proof of it, we may find it in the fact that when excited, wrought up to fury in the midst of revolutions, the men of our age can match in cruelty and bloodthirstiness the men of any age revealed to us by history, as we saw in the French Revolution of 1792, and of the Roman of 1848. Your philan

thropic Sybarites turned revolutionists are devils incarnate in comparison with the sturdy old Independents of England in the seventeenth century, who under Cromwell deposed the king, and founded the commonwealth. They were fierce, resolute, hard-hearted, hard-handed, but when they had won the victory, gained their cause, they ceased to be cruel, and knew how to spare the conquered, for they were physically robust and vigorous, and made light of mere physical sufferings. The old pagan, but polished Romans were never crueller than they were in the last days of the empire, and they were far more cruel than were the Northern Barbarians. The modern tenderness for physical sufferings is really one of the most alarming symptoms of our times. Women are more sensitive to corporeal sufferings than men, and are more prompt to relieve them. They, too, when occasion comes for cruelty, will urge men to the commission of deeds from which their manly sentiments recoil. We may expect before many years a reaction against the sentimental and philanthropic follies of our materialistic age, which places the good of the body above every good, and glorifies the commercial speculator who succeeded in laying the Atlantic Telegraph as a rival Messiah, and when that reaction comes, we may expect scenes of cruelty, of downright atrocity, unknown hitherto in the world. Weakness is cruel as well as perfidious, strength is calm, confiding, generous.

We make one extract more, which we would commend to our politicians, if they were not so blinded by the smoke from the bottomless pit that they can perceive nothing in it.

“14. Saying to the sixth angel, who had the trumpet: Loose the four angels, who are bound in the great river Euphrates.

“Because the four angels were bound, and because they bring damage to men, it might be supposed they were bad angels. But it is to be remembered, that an angel is a minister of God, appointed to execute his ordinances of justice, as well as of mercy. It is sufficient, however, for the present purpose, to consider them as representative of the principal passions of the soul, which are four in number, because all the other passions may be reduced to these, viz., joy, sorrow, fear, and hope.* Of themselves, the passions are good, or indifferent, and, so far as they are mere natural causes, they may well be administered by good angels as

* St. Thomas, Sum. Theo. 1. 2. 25. 4.

their higher causes. Again, the Euphrates being an emblem of tranquillity, or of a condition which in itself is good, it need be no reproach to the good agent that he is controlled by, or subjected to, a good influence. In chapter vii., v. 1, the four angels, or the four winds which blow from the four corners of the earth, and which agitate the human order with diverse passions, as if of heat and cold, of wet and dry, these, in the first instance, and in respect of the predestination of the elect, were prohibited absolutely from doing hurt. Moreover, it may be gathered from the present text, that, in the course of times succeeding, or at least for a certain indefinite time, they are still constrained by incidental causes, and as if with difficulty. But now at last they are cast loose, and the passions are abandoned to their natural issues, uncontrolled by divine grace; so that the mind of man is tossed grievously by the impetuous motions of joy and sorrow in the present, of inordinate fear or hope about his future estate; and society is seen drifting before the impulses of blind instinct or morbid sentiment, urged this way or that, by the agitation of sophists, fanatics, or demagogues. As for example: when it yields sympathy to the culprit, whereas, it should render indignation; or commiseration for the stranger in distant lands, while it is cold to the claims of those at home. As when it overacts one virtue to the detriment of another; exalting temperance at the expense of justice, and so doing evil that good may come; or exaggerating its tenderness for the weak and helpless, at the expense of piety, the father of the family being committed to shipwreck and death, that his wife or child may be rescued before him; as if the members should take precedence of the head itself, in point of actual existence. But most especially does society veer and quake, when it touches upon a point of order, when there is question of authority on the one hand, or of obedience on the other; as when it bows before the rights of the people, or when it dictates the duties of its rulers. Now as far as they may be human operations, there can be in all these instances some element of good, and so far they may pertain, at least remotely, to the administration of angels. But, because they are deprived of the evangelical character, because they lack the motive of right reason, and the principle of order, they are, notwithstanding, ghastly deformities, and hideous symptoms that the reason itself is crazed, the vital principle impaired and disorganized; and so dissolution cannot be far off.

“To resume: The four angels may signify the universality of passions which hold the four quarters of the earth. The river Euphrates, the joy and the strength of the city of Babylon, implies plenty and security. At first, the human passions are constrained, and their fervor assuaged by the bounty of divine Providencé. Afterwards, that bounty is weakened of its benign influence, or is perverted by ungrateful men, to be the occasion of lust, of insolence, and of mutiny. Thus toward the close of the last century, while

men were abandoned to every license of impiety and debauchery, while princes and philosophers were left to the undisturbed enjoyment of power and of pleasure; suddenly the multitude of evil passions engendered in that state of godless ease and plenty was let loose. And all the traits of a vicious sovereign have passed into the manners of the people. The arrogance, the power, once his, is now theirs; his vanity, his avarices, his caprices, his thirst for pleasure, and his means of indulgence are theirs. As he was once courted and worshipped, so now are the people glorified. The age of rationalism is inaugurated, and the rights of man are set up against those of God. Revolution follows upon revolution, and Christendom is convulsed with the heavy woe of Democracy.

“There is no question here of the political merits of Democracy, nor whether it may not be as good a form of civil government as another; but by the word Democracy is intended that error which attributes to the common humanity a sovereignty inherent and supreme, and, therefore, divine. After the thought comes the deed; after the free-thinker, comes the free-doer. The license and anarchy of the understanding, which prevailed in the last centuries, have passed into the political and domestic relations of life; and the natural and sacred duty of obedience has become, in the last days, surrounded with difficulty, disturbed by a storm of disputation, and involved in the smoke of the bottomless pit. And why is it that the minds of men are thus troubled, but because they have rebelled against the church, and are meditating treason against the Most High God?

“To consider briefly the argument, they pretend: That, granting the original source of authority to be divine, yet, because the powers that be, or the secular power, is not conferred directly from heaven, therefore it must be derived through the people. But when was the power bestowed upon the people, either mediately or immediately? Do we find it in the nature of things, that the child governs the parent, the scholars their master, the soldiers their captain, or the herds their leader? But the sophists would have it for a law, that the power is not delivered down from above, but proceeds upward from beneath. Otherwise, why is there any question of the rights of the multitude? *Unus Dominus*: There is one Lord, as there is one truth, and his power is one, and indivisible; and, if it be communicated to another, not therefore is it divided or abstracted from his dominion; but he who resists it resists God. Therefore, there can be no question about the divine right of the powers that be; for there is no other right; and, in this sense, as able writers have shown, rights belong not to man, but to God. Consequently, the rest is a simple question of fact, and not of right. Sometimes, the power is derived from the king to one whom God, not men, made to be the king's son. Sometimes one, gifted with a prudent un-

derstanding and a stout heart, gifts which he received from God, and not from men, takes in his own hand the sceptre : and, if God prosper, and men obey him, who shall dare resist? Sometimes the spontaneous accord of a people, whose convictions reflect the truth and justice of Heaven, establishes a government, which they themselves and their children must obey. Why? Because it is right, and the right is divine. These are simple matters of history ; and, if one asserts that the power of the individual ruler must be at least mediately through the people, it is to be answered : that there need be no law nor necessity of the kind, because, in point of fact, there are instances to the contrary.

“ But it may be urged : the power is either immediately from God or not : if not immediately, then mediately, and the people are the medium. Power is received immediately from God by a miracle, as Moses or St. Peter received their commission ; and in other ways, divine power may interpose in an extraordinary manner. But in the natural order, the due method of power will be in the established nature of things. For example : the vegetable world is governed by the heavenly bodies ; the brute creation, in general, by man ; in particular, the herd by the bull. Again, the rational creation is administered by the angelic creation ; and, among rational beings in particular, the inferior reason or intelligence is governed by the superior : and we must look to facts to know which is the superior and which the inferior, and, this being ascertained, the better reason prevails of right, because it is so appointed by the author of the constituted universe ; which universe, framed by his immediate, miraculous power, contains, as in a mirror, the reflections of his eternal rectitude.

“ Again, it will be said, there is often a difficulty about the question of fact ; and it is not always plain which is the superior or better reason, and which the inferior ; in which case the people solve the dispute, and declare sentence, as the medium, in the last resort, of divine authority. It is to be answered that, in point of fact, the people often decide contrary to right reason ; but their decision cannot make the false to be true, nor convert iniquity into justice. What signifies then, the will of the people more than any other will, if it be not a right will? God himself does not create truth. Therefore, the popular sovereignty is a phantom, like the divine right of kings, as taught in the early times of the Revolt. Whatever is, is ; and what is not, does not exist. If they do right, they are right ; and when they do wrong, they are wrong. Let us borrow a ray of light from Holy Cross. It is the glory of angels and of men to serve God ; of the inferior to be subject to the higher powers. In this stage of human existence, it has been proved, by the example of our divine Lord, that there is no dignity to be compared with that of humble obedience ; no majesty greater than that of the

good servant of all ; no merit, nor profit, nor honour, like that of administering to another's good. This it is which makes the Ruler glorious before his subjects, the master before his servant ; and this, too, is able to exalt the servant to be his master's dear friend ; the people, to be the children of God." Pp. 86-90.

We have room for no more, but we commend the work to the serious and earnest-minded, if any such there be, in this age of folly and frivolity, of false science and false humanity. The author's political views we share, for we are among those who believe constitutions, if real, are generated, not made. Providence gives to each people that is a people, the constitution the best adapted to its genius and wants, and true political wisdom consists in adhering to it, and governing in accordance with it. Republicanism is the best form of government for us, and we ought therefore to accept it, and shape our institutions, as far as subjected to human prudence and freedom, so as to preserve and develop it ; but the very reasons which induce us to maintain it for ourselves, should forbid us to attempt to force it upon others, or to persuade other nations to adopt it. In conclusion, we trust our author will find "fit audience, though few."

ART. V.—*Domestic Education.*

THE systems of literary and scientific education which are daily put forth, and recommended with more or less ability, are all experimental in their character. They are to be taken on trial, and the best that can be said for them is that they may be an improvement on the past, and will perhaps lead to something less imperfect in the future. Whilst so much is written and said on the subject of education, we are continually reminded that it is a purely human work, in reference to which men's minds are still confused and unsettled in spite of whole centuries of investigation and experience. When we treat of domestic education, we stand on firmer ground, and we ought to be able to reach conclusions satisfactory to the common sense of everybody. Home is an educational institution prepared for the young by the providence of God himself, for it is He who established the relations of the family. The

school, the teachers, and the scholars are in this case assigned their respective places by the very law of nature, and not by the wisdom or the caprice of society. The importance of home education, and the vast influence for good or evil which it exercises upon individuals, cannot for a moment be questioned. Adopting the division of our subject which has naturally presented itself, we will begin by making some remarks, in the first place, upon home as the school of domestic education.

It is the oldest of all institutions. It precedes all aggregations of individuals, whether in a social or political point of view, both in the history of mankind and in the life of each man. From it society receives its recruits, and in its walls dwell the boy who is the father of later days, and the girl who is the mother of the woman of later days. The physical man is formed and trained gradually and insensibly in the family, the moral man receives from it the germs, at least, of his principles, prejudices, and habits, and although we commonly give the credit of imparting knowledge exclusively to other schools, the greater part of the human race receive all the knowledge they possess in no school but this. Narrow as the foundation may seem, it is upon the family that church and state, city and nation are built, and without it they would all cease to exist.

God prepared and fitted the two individuals by whom the first household was formed, and from whom the first family sprang. It is the business of the Church and of society to prepare now those who will in time be heads of families. The Church has always paid special attention to this preparation, and has never allowed any one rashly to assume the sacred obligations of the married state. She has pointed out clearly the impediments which exist to marriage being happy, and has determined the circumstances when they shall act as a bar to the marriage contract, or when they shall at least delay its consummation. She has laid upon her ministers the obligation of seeing that the parties proposing to marry are sufficiently instructed to teach their offspring the chief principles and practices of religion. She commands it to be approached with all the gravity befitting one of her holiest institutions, and with the deliberation proper to a bond which death alone can sever.

Is not much of the want of organization which we daily witness in families a consequence of haste, levity, irreflection, irreverence, wherewith young people rush into the married state? Are not the feelings of every pastor pained from time to time, by the thoughtlessness and improvidence of those among his people who in place of submitting with docility to the wise requirements of the Church, seek to push their way disrespectfully to the foot of the altar where irrevocable vows are to be pronounced? Parties are allied together who have had neither time nor fitting opportunity to become acquainted with each other's dispositions; and sometimes avaricious fathers, oftener foolish mothers, insist upon their tastes and prejudices being the rule by which the selection of their children shall be guided in this most important step of their whole lifetime.

Among the antecedent causes which give rise to ill-organized households, we must not fail to mention difference of religious belief. We are speaking of home as the school of domestic education. Now, supposing the best dispositions to exist on the part of the teachers, how can religious instruction be imparted by those whose views are radically different on the most important and fundamental principles of thought and action? The best result that can be hoped for is that the party, careless about the true religion, or indifferent about all religion, will leave the matter of religious training by word and example entirely in the hands of the other party. But even if this compromise be effected, it leaves the school only half organized; it institutes a family which is to do its work in an abnormal manner, using only half the resources which it commands when all things are arranged as they should be in the household.

Next to a home which is badly organized, especially in the earlier period of its existence, that home must fail to produce good social results which is slighted and neglected by its members. Absenteeism on the part of landlords has been known to destroy the agricultural vitality of many a fair country, and absenteeism on the part of parents must bring about similar sad results in the home. The father of a family in our midst is in the habit of going out early in the morning to business, which is transacted in a distant part of the city. Frequently at an hour somewhat

later, the mother, having completed her toilet, sallies forth for the better part of the day, which she spends in visiting, shopping and promenading, while the children at home are left to be taken care of by the servants, or to take care of themselves. The family do not assemble again until late in the evening, and then in no fit condition for social and familiar intercourse. That great domestic institution, the family meal, does not exist; the occupations, amusements, and pursuits of each member being different from those of the others, there is no reciprocal interest, no interchange of advice, no comparing of notes, no mutual confidence, no assistance given or taken. If a move is made on the part of an individual, it is to get off from the dulness of home, and to seek some more congenial sphere of enjoyment; and if all stir, it is to hasten away to some scene of public entertainment.

The want of the home-feeling in this country has been frequently remarked, but it does not exist only in the breast of those pioneers and rovers who take their way like the Star of Empire, westward, and who will keep on that way until stopped by the waters of the Pacific ocean. Among the people of our cities and towns as well, want of affection for home is a noticeable feature, and one which bodes no good for the future of society. As home loses its hold upon the hearts especially of the young, it loses its influence upon the formation of character, and ceases to be the school it was originally designed to be. Large numbers of our citizens are gradually getting to have no such thing as a home. They live in hotels and boarding houses, eat in restaurants and at *tables d'hôte*, send their children to be housed, fed, reared, and done for at so much per head in boarding-schools, and never hear of home unless it be in some work of kindly fiction, or some ludicrously inappropriate ditty sung at the piano of the hotel parlour. One object of the foregoing remarks is to call attention to what seems to be forgotten by some amongst us, viz., the importance, the necessity we may say, of home education, and the great evil of its omission. We see ways and means and institutions multiplied on every side for the development of man's reasoning powers. But man is not composed of reason alone. He has other faculties which must be trained and developed, as well as reason, in view of his future usefulness. He has emotions, tastes,

feelings, impulses and biases, likes and dislikes, sympathies and antipathies, which require to be trained and governed, for they are the delicate materials out of which character is formed. He has what old philosophers called the *concupiscibile* and the *irascibile*—he has a moral as well as an intellectual nature, he has a heart as well as a head. It is the home school properly regulated that must educate his heart, else it will remain neglected and untrained, or be trained in the wrong direction, for the future misery of the individual himself and of society. The maxims and the practices by which the moral world of man is regulated cannot be learned from books, or the professor of philosophy. The traditions, the examples, the gentle influences of home, must precede the period when philosophy begins its sterner task, and if the ground be not prepared beforehand, knowledge, reflection, and even experience, come generally too late to produce any useful result.

There are many homes which are but poorly organized, and where the blame cannot be fairly laid upon either head of the family. The man of business, the mechanic, and the daily labourer are compelled to be absent nearly all day by the system which has grown up amongst us, and frequently, by the force of similar circumstances, the household is broken up, and its members scattered, from early morn until a late hour of the night. While such an arrangement may be regretted, it must be accepted, and we, therefore, must be satisfied with doing the best that can be done under the circumstances. But we call upon all to appreciate the importance of domestic education, and the greatness of the evils that must follow from its abuse or neglect. We call upon public instructors of the people to cultivate and cherish what remains in audiences of affection and esteem for home, and not to aid and abet the exaggerated socialistic spirit of the age in destroying the last vestiges of so important an institution. Let parents do what they can towards correcting the evils which must be evident to them in their household, since they themselves are the first to complain of them. However poor and narrow a home may be, and however humble the objects which fill it, young children love it as their home until they are led by outside influences to neglect it, or to be ashamed of it. Let parents then begin early to cultivate home attachments

in the breasts of their children. Let them make their dwelling-place agreeable, as far as they have the power to do so, and try all they can to render it interesting to the younger members of the family. We believe that the Puritanical rigour which frowns down any species of amusement and innocent relaxation in many American homes, drives the young men especially to public places of entertainment, where bad associations and vicious habits are formed. It is, therefore, a question for parents to consider whether they are not in part to blame for the eagerness which their children manifest to go away from home and spend their time in some circle less uninteresting, if less improving, than the domestic one is, or might be. Do not, we say to all, give up in despair all effort at reform in a point of such vital importance, but begin to effect what good, and remove what evil you can—and to show that you are in earnest, begin at once!

We now come to the second division of our subject—the teachers. One of the complaints commonly made by parents of their children who begin to grow up, is, that they will not submit to be controlled by their betters, that they will not mind what is said to them. We hear it frequently said by the goodman of the house, or his wife, that it is harder to bring up children in this country than in any other; and they seem to think that there is something in the American atmosphere that disposes the young prematurely to independence, and even insubordination. While sympathizing with those who are thus afflicted, we must quote the fact as an additional reason why they should be diligent and faithful in the discharge of their duties, and why they should study every appliance that is likely to aid them in discharging them. There is a time when they have entire control over their children, and when they must attend sedulously to the work of their domestic education, lest it soon become too late to attempt it with success. Do they ever reflect upon the power they exercise over their offspring in early youth? Other legitimate authorities must use constant watchfulness and frequent force to check and hold in subjection the persons whom they are appointed to govern. Society has its police and its prisons for detecting and securing the unreasoning and unruly; royalty has its thousands of bayonets and its hundreds of cannon

charged with lead and "villanous saltpetre;" and the Church herself must occasionally resort to spiritual pains and penalties, and invoke even the aid of the secular arm to curb the evil-intentioned who are sowing discord, scandal, and immorality in the midst of her people. But where is there an authority in the world so absolute on the part of the government, so unquestioned on the part of the subject, as that of parents over their young children? The father may be a poor labourer, illiterate and uncouth, but his little boys look up to him as the greatest and wisest man on the face of the earth. There is nobody else's father that in their estimation knows so much, or can do so many things so well, or is in any respect so great and brave and powerful as their own. He has more authority over his little children than king or president, the latter personages being as yet unknown to the budding citizen. His decisions are of more weight than those of the Supreme Court, for they are received as though absolutely infallible. In the face of danger even the boy who is led by his father's hand, and assured by his voice that there is nothing to fear, will walk unhesitatingly on though it be to death itself. For all men under the law of nature, and for individuals even now, the parent is the first priest, and from this source we receive our first distinct ideas of the Godhead, and we learn the first words and rites by which he is honoured and worshipped. The young child can see no woman in the world more beautiful, more lovely, more wise in all things than its mother. Put it in the presence of a queen arrayed in gold and gems, and it will only shrink back in terror, and cling for protection to its mother's gown. It never wavers for a moment in its allegiance, it relies implicitly upon her in all things, it trusts in her goodness as unalloyed, and in her power as unbounded. If it is hungry she can feed it, if it is fretful she can soothe it, if it is in danger she can save it, and if it is afflicted by sickness it would turn away from Benjamin Brodie, Astley Cooper, Galen, or Æsculapius himself, feeling perfectly assured that she can relieve its sufferings, and being only puzzled to make out why she does not do so at once. As for implicit reliance upon her word, it will not only accept what she says as true, but even subscribe to the statements made on delegated authority by nurse or housemaid, even when she

asserts the rather doubtful fact that the moon is made of green cheese, or that the bug-a-boo eats up little children in the dark. It is at this early period of life that parents must win the respect and confidence of their offspring, and rear them up in the obedience which they wish to be preserved later in life. They have all power in their own hands, and they can mould with ease the character and disposition of their pupils in the Home School. If through ignorance they be unfit for this task, or if careless in its execution, they will have no right to complain later, when they fail to gather where they have not planted, and to reap where they have not sown. The reciprocal duties of parents and their children are so closely connected that it is next to impossible for the latter to fulfil their share of the obligation if the former have neglected what is incumbent upon them. Furthermore, the obligations of a parent are so interwoven with all the relations of his life that he can hardly violate any moral duty habitually without injuring in some manner his children. All men, for instance, are bound by the law of God to avoid wastefulness and prodigality; but if a parent be guilty of these faults, he sins also against the justice by which he is bound to obtain what is necessary for his children's support, and preserve it for their present and future benefit.

Ignorance on the part of parents is the source of much misery in families. Sometimes it is ignorance of what a parent is really bound to do, and sometimes it is ignorance of the manner in which to do it. We are very far from requiring the knowledge of letters or science as indispensable. But we insist upon it that a mother must know how to manage the home at the head of which she is placed, and how to form, develop, and strengthen the character of the children she is bringing up. We insist upon it that a father must know the principles of his religion, and be able practically to teach his children how to follow what they command, and avoid what they forbid. Children will manage somehow or other to grow up, physically speaking, for it is but rarely that any one dies of starvation in civilized communities. But we maintain that children will learn neither morals nor manners untaught. Some children are, we know, gifted with angelic dispositions, and take to what is good, and avoid what is evil from hereditary bias or

special favor of Providence. Even these rare specimens of a better kind of humanity require to be watched over carefully lest they deteriorate and become wicked, as very sweet wine becomes very sour vinegar. But as a general thing, little children are little animals, and their natural tendency is to become worse still as they grow up. Medea saw the right and approved of it, yet pursued the wrong notwithstanding; these specimens of young humanity are prone to the wrong, and incapable of seeing by themselves why the right should be pursued in preference to the wrong. There are, to be sure, moral instincts, and principles of right implanted in the reason of the child, and there is even, we may add, the gift of faith received in the child's soul at the baptismal font. But we must remember all these good things from above are mixed up like the four elements in chaos; there are as yet no rocks, no bones on which to construct a world; the man exists, but he is earthly and sensuous, and all his superior qualities are smothered up in a mass of pulp and gristle. If he could speak and act with his present tendencies, he would scorn the idea of preferring what is useful to what is pleasant, or sacrificing present indulgence for future advantage; he would sell without a sigh a kingly birthright for a mess of pottage, and remorselessly barter a noble and famous name for a pewter rattle, or a gingerbread horse. There is good in the child, to be sure, but it requires careful and skilful management on the part of parents to bring it out, and if they are ignorant of what parents ought to know, they will fail to do it even with the best intentions.

Ignorance is very far from being the only fault which grieves the Christian philosopher who would make it his study to improve domestic education. There are many parents who neglect their children with an indifference that seems almost incredible. It is easy to notice among a number of boys at school those who have careful mothers, and those who are neglected. There is a difference even in their countenances, for while the child of the former class is gentle and attentive, he of the latter has about him a hard or wild look, and a listlessness, or recklessness, that shows conclusively to an attentive observer, how little he expects to be kindly noticed, and how little he cares whether he is noticed or not. Poverty is the excuse brought up in defence of the neglectful mother. But let

us once for all understand that poverty is not an excuse for uncleanness of person, and in so far as clothing is concerned, poverty is a good excuse for patches, but not for rags. Fathers too often do not care for their children, do not want to have them near, or to be annoyed by them. They take no interest in the things in which their children are concerned, they will not talk to them, they will not encourage them to ask for information, and in reply to their questionings, they give simply an ungracious and curt answer, oftener attempting to shut the mouth of the youthful inquirer than to satisfy or enlighten his understanding. The result of this coarse treatment is, that the boy seeing that his father will not talk to him, finds out somebody else that will. His amiable parent does not object to his running about the streets, and thus falling in with associations which must cause his ruin, and each, perhaps, is rather pleased to be rid of the presence of the other. In every neighbourhood there are nooks and corners where boys assemble together and exchange ideas on the subjects which they have at heart. Not only do the children of the poor thus meet together, but often the better class, too, gather around some boy who is older perhaps than themselves, or who is at least their superior in the games and exercises which boys are fond of. Outside the city, the place where boys meet, as men do in clubs and bar-rooms, may be a barn, or a shady nook, or a bank by the river side; in the city, it is a stable, or the corner of a street, a lumber-yard, a vacant lot, or some sequestered part of the docks and piers. At these gatherings, the boys speak their mind freely, and question and answer each other without reserve, and here frequently those habits are formed, which, when discovered too late by parents, cause so much grief and alarm, namely, swearing, petty gambling, stealing, and all manner of obscenity and corruption.

As a means of preventing the sad results, parents, and fathers especially, ought to be as well the friends and companions of their children. They ought to win their confidence, or rather keep the confidence which, without any effort on their part, is in the beginning all their own. They should study the disposition and character of their children as it goes on unfolding day by day under their eye. They should know where their children spend their

time, what company they keep, and how they are occupied and employed throughout the day. It is very easy to get from a boy the history of the day which he has just passed, with his own observations and reflections, and casual remarks upon the nature of things and the character of the companions he has been with. He is always willing to talk of what occupies his own mind and to receive the views of others thereupon, provided he is only allowed to speak and consider his conversation as not uninteresting to his hearers. Will any parent object that such a system of domestic education as what is here implied would take up too much of his time and attention? If he does, he little understands the importance of educating his children and preserving them from the early inroads of vice, and realizes but poorly indeed the strict account he will have one day to render of the manner in which he has discharged this duty, the most serious of all duties, aside from the salvation of his own soul.

It has been truly said that we see the faults of others as if they were before our eyes, and our own as if they were behind our backs. This blindness in many parents would seem to extend beyond their own persons, and to envelop in darkness the faults and the merits, the whole character of their children. Parents are frequently the victims of real or pretended blindness in regard to the faults of their children, and they remain ignorant at times of bad conduct which is known to the whole neighbourhood. They will take for granted the statement of daughter or son as to their whereabouts, during long evenings spent away from home, when any one of their acquaintances could tell them the whole truth much to their grief and consternation. "My Johnny," says simple mother, "never smokes cigars or chews tobacco. I am sure of that." Meanwhile Johnny perhaps winks an eye at some comrade who happens to be in the room, or, it may be, draws from his pocket, and allows to be seen a provision of the contraband weed close behind simple mother's back.

This blindness frequently amounts to a misjudgment of the whole character and disposition of children. One child is treated rudely, commanded to hold his tongue when he speaks, punished for the slightest fault or forgetfulness, put out of sight when visitors come to the house, left

behind when the family goes out visiting, and, in short, always found to be in the wrong, and never by any lucky chance in the right. This is not unfrequently the very one of the family who possesses more spirit, or talent, or energy, and who only needs a different training to grow up a good and useful member of society. Meanwhile another child is petted, and brought forward on all occasions, and while the other one gets all the cuffs, this one comes in for all the coppers. This one is always protected by one parent against the severity—the well-merited severity, perhaps, of the other—everything he does is considered beautiful, and everything he says admirable, and by this means, in the words of Goldsmith, he who is praised as a wit at fourteen, grows up to be an ass at twenty-one.

Nearly all the faults of parents in the management of their children may be summed up in the two extremes of excessive severity and excessive indulgence. The first is fatal to mutual kindness and confidence. There are very few children who may not be made to see the justice of correcting them when they have been wilfully or maliciously in the wrong. But on the other hand there is nothing so wounding or so injurious to the young as punishment which they know they have not deserved. If the well-known saying be quoted here by any parent about “sparing the rod and spoiling the child,” we will simply remark that no one has the right to quote that saying who uses the rod at the impulse of anger. We have nothing to say against correction properly and judiciously administered—administered, not in a spirit of revenge, but really for the improvement of the offender. We rather aim our remarks at certain people who are habitually harsh and severe with their children; who freeze their young hearts and crush their young souls within them by the constant exercise of domestic despotism. There are such hard men in every community, and there are mothers, too, who, by stepdame rigidity, and ceaseless unfairness of treatment, drive their daughters at length to wish they were dead in their graves in the hope of finding peace there, or perhaps to seek for peace in the home of a stranger. No less injurious is the fault of excessive indulgence. We have said before that children have appetites and passions which they must be taught to curb and control. They

must begin to learn at an early age that self-denial is one of the very first and most indispensable principles of Christianity, and of all true greatness. It is only weakness, or false and foolish affection that will induce a parent to give the young child its own way in all things. It is the duty of the parent to examine carefully what is for the child's true interest, to form a judgment and abide by it, in spite even of remonstrances, whining, and tears. Let every parent remember that a spoiled child is sure to grow up selfish, and therefore heartless, and that no one is more certain of suffering in consequence than the parent by whom the child was spoiled. Flattery is one of the means of spoiling a child, familiarity and want of dignity is another, and a third is that bane of domestic peace, partiality towards one particular child at the expense of the others.

We have spoken thus far of households where the teachers of the domestic school-house are more or less uninformed, inefficient, or faulty, but where they are persons, nevertheless, who deserve in some measure the honourable appellation of teachers. What shall we say of parents who are of decidedly bad principles and conduct, who give to their children no example except such as is calculated to lead them to destruction? Here, indeed, an opportunity is afforded for the denunciations, the *carmina et vœ*, of a prophet, or the stirring eloquence of a holy father and doctor. Here let the voice of the zealous pastor be heard speaking as with authority and grace from on high, in the pulpit, in the confessional, and in his daily walks among his people, for he alone has power to reach the dreadful evil, and to cure it wholly or in part. It is our province merely to call attention to the fact, that while the Church and the school may fortunately prevent many sad consequences in cases where this great evil exists, they do not, and cannot relieve parents of the obligation which rests upon them to bring up their children in the knowledge and service of God, and to give them all possible aid, physical, moral, and religious, which is proper to their state and condition in life.

We now enter upon the last part of our subject, and have to speak of the scholars, in what we term the school of domestic education. The crowd composed of these

scholars is as an army advancing upon us, who now compose society, possess all its advantages, and fill all the places, high or low, which are in its bestowal. We are the people for whom governments and laws exist, cities stand organized, courts are opened, the rites of religion are celebrated, the custom house and the merchant's exchange are organized and in full operation. We are the people for whom scientific enterprises are undertaken, for whom steamboats and railway trains are ever ready to take up and carry their living freight to its destination, unless they happen to blow it up, or sink it down on the road. For us kings reign, soldiers shoulder their arms, lawyers unroll their briefs, merchants post their ledgers, authors starve in garrets, and newspaper editors regulate the universe. Do we ever reflect that the crowd above spoken of is treading on our heels, urging us along, and gradually taking the places which we have considered so particularly and emphatically our own? It seems strange, and yet it is nevertheless true, that in a few years we—all of us—who are professional men, merchants, mechanics, labourers, or idlers, will be all quietly put under the sod, and that there will be plenty of professional men, merchants, mechanics, labourers, and idlers, and yet we shall be neither wanted nor missed.

This is not all, but it is admitted on every side that one of our chiefest duties is to prepare our youthful successors for performing worthily and conscientiously the duties of the various stations to which they will succeed. The questions accordingly arise: What are they learning? How are they being formed and trained? Where do they pass their time, and by what sort of influences are they governed? All may be summed up in the question which every parent should be able to answer: What is the true character of my child, and by what means and in what manner is that character developing and shaping itself as he grows up? Now, whatever difficulties may surround the social position of the family, we venture to say, that if both parents have been good Christians, faithful in the practice of their religion, and if they have done what rested with them by their offspring during the period of infancy and childhood, they may look forward with hope to the riper period of early manhood or womanhood, which

their young people are fast approaching. If the early influences of the home school and of religion have been unapplied, or inoperative up to the dangerous age when the passions are strongest and reason and experience weakest for good, then a glance into the future must cause, not despair indeed, but at least well-grounded and graver apprehension. The family and the home are powerful agencies for forming the mind, the heart, the head, and the conscience, the whole character of children. But if this great institution, we repeat, during the first eight, ten, or fourteen years of child-life has been in a state of disorganization, if one parent has been busy in undoing or counteracting the good attempted by the other, or if daughter and son have been, through whatever cause, influenced by it only for evil—or not influenced at all, who is to be blamed for the evil results, or the no-results, which become at last but too evident and alarming? Certainly, not the home-school itself, but the causes which have perverted or paralyzed its action. And next as to religion. Is she to be found fault with because a bad state of things exists where her teachings, her examples, her thousand beneficent, exalting, and refining influences have *not* been brought to bear on youth, but where, on the contrary, ignorance, neglectfulness, bad example, and every diabolical agency has been allowed to usurp the time and the place where she ought to have reigned supreme? Who can enumerate the crowd of baneful influences which, at the period we have now come to consider, threaten youth as it emerges into a broader and freer world! There are newspapers, some of them sickly and sentimental, that injure the brain, which they weaken and distemper. There are flash publications consisting of light fictitious matter, which encourage habits of idleness and indolence, whilst they do still more harm by filling the mind with wanton images, and the heart with unholy desires, fostering and stretching the imagination at the expense of the other mental faculties, developing early the passion of love, and creating perverted and exaggerated erotic tendencies which nature never intended to satisfy. Then there are low associations, and vulgar places of amusement, obscure theatres, dancing houses, and the unhealthy and demoralizing resorts where the first lessons

are given and taken in intemperance, gambling, and petty thievery.

The practice of that manly, healthful, and ennobling art of swimming becomes in numerous instances the occasion of many sinful habits among boys who indulge in it by stealth around the docks of cities, generally against the wish or without the knowledge of their superiors, and quite commonly in combination with truancy from the school or the workshop.

What more rational and innocent than an escape during the fiery summer months from the city to the coolness, the shade, and the pure air of the country? And yet who needs to be told that similar excursions, when gotten up under improper auspices, or when poorly officered and ill-regulated, are fraught with many dangers both to body and soul, and even become the occasion of a first fatal acquaintance with sin, shame, and life-long misery? Woe be to the child whose parents awake to a knowledge of these sad evils only after they have left their degrading mark on the soul of youth, who discover the wound only when it has begun to fester. The evil might have been prevented, the occasion of sin might perhaps have approached and passed by without injury, had prudence foresight, and proper vigilance guarded unwary innocence. Now the evil is done, and it is often the case that the experience which teaches crime, makes the boy a man. It is too late to ask now what rules for training youth are to be applied to the victim. He must be dealt with on the broad principles by which grown men are led to abandon vice and return with God's assistance to the practice of virtue. He has a head to be reasoned with, and a heart to be appealed to. It would be a mistake to treat him as a child any longer. You cannot withdraw him from vicious habits by ignoring vice, or by attempting to keep it out of sight. Should you venture to browbeat or to threaten the offender, to drive him like a beast in place of persuading and convincing him like a man, you will have your trouble for nothing, and probably be laughed at into the bargain. We must be understood here as making a distinction which might be more frequently acted upon, even by those who have a very fair knowledge of the principles of moral theology. It is the distinction between acts and habits.

A child often stumbles into the commission of a sinful act without full deliberation, but rather from curiosity, or by accident, or on account of some evil example witnessed perhaps without design on his part. The harm done to the soul of the offender may often appear greater than it really is under such circumstances. A simple admonition on the part of his kind adviser, or even judicious parental correction, or an appeal to his fears, may be all that is required to prevent a repetition of an act, which he sees plainly grieves his best friends, and must be injurious to himself. The tones of alarm we here speak in, are caused by the repetition of acts, and the formation thereby of sinful habit. Here great loving-kindness, united with great firmness, are required on the part of an enlightened parent or adviser. In early years the habit may be one of a lighter sort, gluttony, perhaps peevishness, rudeness, or venial disobedience. Somewhat later, acts are committed, and repeated more frequently, and with less and less of remorse and shame, lying, quarrelling, stealing, profanity, and that dread enemy of moral worth and intellectual growth, youthful impurity. Here the wise parent must imitate the action of the holy spiritual physician who watches carefully the history laid before him by his penitent, and passing gently over single and insulated acts that do not threaten repetition, he fastens firmly on the chief and predominant habit of the soul's life. He enlightens the youthful mind upon the heinousness of this habitual failing, he points out its evil consequences, he stirs up the fear of God, and compunction, he calls forth firm resolutions against the besetting sin and its occasions, and he invokes special grace and guardianship from on high, that his spiritual child may break the half-formed chain, and never more be encumbered by its degrading fetters.

Let not a prudent father or guardian forget the great assistance he may derive from proper and healthful physical and mental exercise. Let him correct the dangers of evil association, not by trying to keep his children separated altogether from the society of those who are of their own age, but by encouraging association with those who are good, and who have virtuous parents to watch over them. It is necessary that parents should study the character of the friends of their children as well as that of the children themselves ; and if

they possess the happy faculty of feeling young again in the company of the young, and taking part in their amusements, they will find that they will always be welcomed with joy and pride by those whom they honor with their companionship. The subject of athletic sports and healthy exercise, and their great influence in forming the moral character, as well as in developing the physical frame of our youth, is too frequently overlooked in this country. One of the causes of this is that youths become men too soon, and one of the consequences is that they acquire the vices and diseases of men far sooner than they should or would do under different management. This is an evil that one can correct in his own family without waiting for the country at large to join him in his action. If he take the course that is wise and proper and approved of, in theory, at least, by all, he will ward off dyspepsia and nervous complaints from his children, and contribute to ensure to each of them a sound mind in a sound body.

The evil of precocity, to which we have already alluded, is complained of by many, and especially by those who were born abroad, and whose children are natives of this country. The children, they say, grow too fast, and know at ten or twelve years of age what we only learned in Europe when we were twenty-five years old. They ape the manners of men, and copy their vices, and have none of that simplicity and submissiveness that is found in European children. This complaint is to some extent a just one. There is so much independence in all our political institutions, and in our manner of living, and doing things, that it seems to have pervaded the very atmosphere, so that it is sucked in, and assimilated by the mere act of breathing, and the climate itself seems to assist in extending and confirming the evil. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that this obstacle is met with by parents only in this country. The parents who draw comparisons between the children here and in Ireland, for example, speak of Ireland as they knew it say twenty-five or thirty years ago. But what country in the world has undergone more changes than Ireland herself since say—1828? The effect of these wonderful changes has been to put in operation there the same causes by which this precocity of youth is brought about here, and it is evident that like causes must produce

like effects, different perhaps in degree but not in kind. My neighbor who complains that his boys cannot be brought up after the good old fashion which prevailed in Ireland when he was a boy himself; were he to visit the old country and hold a conversation on the subject with the Bishops, or the Priests, or the heads of schools there, would be told that the old-fashioned ease and simplicity he desiderates have gone into disuse with many other old-fashioned affairs, some good and some not so good. The same may be said of France, Italy, and Germany, at least the old folks there indulge in complaints of the same nature. And do not ancient Americans, whose recollection runs back to a remote period in the history of our country, say to some fifteen or twenty years ago, give utterance to similar ill-defined complaints? A man who lives now in the most thickly populated portion of New York, is grieved because the country has changed since his youth. What he compares in reality is a little village somewhere up the North River, or in the quietest parts of quiet New England, containing two or three hundred inhabitants, and a city containing from eight to nine hundred thousand souls. It would be pleasant, no doubt, if the quiet and easy-going ways of good and simple, yet intelligent country people, could be preserved amidst the rush and bustle, the din and roar of a gigantic commercial city. This, however, is impossible. The fact is before us, and we must accept it and do the best we can with it. The children must be educated and trained in spite of their precocity, which means simply that we must begin the work of training them earlier, and do it more thoroughly and more intelligently than we should be compelled to do were the material in our hands more easily kneaded and shaped to suit our wishes. The actual condition of the children will show whether the teachers are doing what is right in so far as domestic education is concerned. Again, by carefully examining these teachers, their maxims, and their habits, we shall find it very easy to conjecture what is the condition of their children. So also the condition of the home itself will enable us to judge of the condition of those who dwell in it. In this manner, by knowing what the fruits are, we judge of the tree that produced them; and by knowing what the tree is, we can tell what sort of fruit it will produce.

We have purposely avoided speaking of literary, or scientific education, or of any education of an extra-domiciliary kind. We are convinced, however, that all sensible persons will join us in classing among abuses to be corrected all manner of education which unfits the young to live peaceably and contentedly in their own home. Education is a means, it is not the end of life. It is useful when it prepares and fits young persons to discharge intelligently and conscientiously the duties of the position they will have to occupy when they come to be young persons no longer. In the professional world a man ought to study medicine, and not law, if he wishes to be a doctor, and he ought to study law, and not physic, if he is destined to be a lawyer. The child, then, who is expected to live in the home of its parents should not be brought up to eat, and dress, and speak, and think, and in short to form habits that will make life in that home impossible without discomfort to all its inhabitants. The education which estranges a child from its home, or makes it ashamed of that home, does a still greater evil, it unfits the child in question for all homes of the same kind—for the whole neighborhood. In other words, education, by rendering a person unfit for his home, and his home unfit or distasteful for him, lifts him out of the class of society to which he and his people and his home properly belong. This *declassing* of society is certainly the source of many evils which we all feel and complain of. The extravagance in dress and living, which among us goes beyond the luxury of the oldest and wealthiest European capitals, and which quite recently came well-nigh ruining us and the country together, this extravagance is a consequence of everybody's desire to appear better off than he really is. Each one in the social scale is trying to climb out of the class to which he belongs, and the general ambition is to climb into the next class above. The son is ashamed of the honorable labor, or the decent trade by which his father earned a respectable support for himself and his family, and he aspires to a profession. If he possesses extraordinary energy and industry, and meets with unusual advantages, he sometimes succeeds, and is deservedly praised as a self-made man. But the more frequent result of this unclassing of individuals is, that whilst the class which is left loses one who might have distinguished him-

self as a mechanic, the class which is aspired to receives one who is unfit to move in it, is probably only half-educated, and unprepared for the keen competition to which he is immediately exposed. How can this sad experience contribute to the happiness of the individual, or to the good of society at large?

In order to avoid these unpleasant results, let it be the aim of all engaged in bringing up the young, to educate them with reference to what they are to be and to do in after life. And let no one force himself or be forced by others into a position for which he is unfit, and for which he cannot be fully trained and prepared.

In conclusion, while we do not undertake to condemn schools, even when they are so arranged that the pupils board and lodge in them, we must be allowed to say that this is certainly not the best system of education for the young. The best system is undoubtedly the one which Providence itself formed, in which the parents of a child attend to its physical training and its moral education, whoever else may be engaged to instruct and develop its reason. Let the heads of schools, then, receive all the credit and respect to which they are entitled; but let it be remembered that they are not the fathers or mothers of their pupils, and let the advantages of boarding-schools and academies be cheerfully admitted, but after all, "there's no place like home."
J. W. C.

ART. VI.—*Literary Notices and Criticisms.*

1. *A History of the Church in England, from the earliest period to the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850.* By the VERY REVEREND CANON FLANAGAN. London: Dolman. 1857. 8vo. 2 vols.

WE are late in noticing this History of the Church by Canon Flanagan, but the old adage remains true, "Better late than never." We have delayed, hoping to find the leisure to give it a critical examination, so as to be able to speak understandingly of its merits or demerits. That leisure we have not found. We have been able only to glance through its pages. As far as we have read, it does not strike us as being so thorough, or so learned as the subject demands. It is only a popular abridgment of the History of the Church in England, and though, perhaps, the best we have, and as good as we had any right to expect, it is very far from what we should be glad to see. It is written in good taste and temper, and gives us, however, a tolerable

outline of the Ecclesiastical History of Catholic England, for which the author will accept our thanks.

The author is not as strong a Papist as we could wish, but he is very far from writing history after the manner of Fleury, who seems to have adopted as his rule, that in all cases of dispute between the Pope and bishops, or between the Pope and the temporal powers, the Pope is always to be presumed to be in the wrong. He even manifests some filial affection for the Holy Father, and really places religion above politics. This is much. In treating of the disputes of the English Government with the Holy See, before, at, and after the so-called Reformation, he takes the side of the Church: but he is more disposed than we are to exempt the people of England from the blame of those disputes, and to throw it too exclusively on the king and court. We recollect no measure hostile to the Holy See proposed by the court, that did not find a cordial support in both Houses of Parliament. We have elsewhere shown that the English people, as well as the court, must be held responsible for the breach with Rome under Henry VIII. The same may be said of the new schism under Elizabeth. Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth, notwithstanding all that may and must be said against them, were two of the most thoroughly English, and the most popular sovereigns that have ever sat on the British throne. History presents us no two sovereigns who so truly represented the sentiments of the English nation, or had really so strong a hold on the affections of the great body of their subjects, both high and low. This could not have been the case, if they had violently outraged the serious and earnest religious convictions of any considerable portion of the English people. Under Mary, England was officially reunited to the Holy See, and the schism was officially healed; but it is evident that it remained in the heart of the nation, or else Elizabeth, whose title was bad in law as well as in religion, could never have renewed the separation, and replunged the nation into the Protestant heresy. There were certainly many noble men and women who remained attached to the old religion, and who retained their dependents in the Catholic faith and worship, but they must have been by far the weaker party, and deprived of the secret as well as the open sympathy of the nation. Every movement made in behalf of the old religion by the old nobility that remained faithful failed, without leading to any serious result in its favour, evidently for the want of popular sympathy. To ascribe Elizabeth's success during her long reign in maintaining the new religion to the abilities, the craft, or the wickedness of herself, or of her ministers, is sheer nonsense. Had the nation been Catholic at heart, the first overt act of Elizabeth against the Catholic religion would have been the signal for a movement that would have sent her without delay from the throne to the dungeon or the block. When we find princes able to abolish the Catholic religion in their dominions, and to introduce a new and heretical religion, we may be sure that the change has already been effected in the great body of their subjects. The First Consul could never have restored relations with the Holy See, reopened the churches, and re-established the Catholic worship, if France had not remained substantially Catholic at heart. If the Roman people had retained as a living, active sentiment, their Catholic faith, we should never have heard of the Mazzinian Republic of Rome, or of the flight of the Holy Father to Gaëta. It is little that the most

absolute and powerful princes can do against the deep-rooted and fondly cherished religious sentiments of the great body of their subjects. Napoleon I. owes his fall far more to the violence he did to the Catholic sentiment of France than to the armies of the Allies, and yet France then, as now, inclosed in her bosom a vast amount of open, unblushing infidelity. England had ceased to be Catholic, and that is the secret of the popularity and success of Henry and Elizabeth. Even to-day the people of England are far more anti-Catholic than the Queen and Court, or even the parliament. Were the Queen to become Catholic to-morrow, the people would force parliament to deprive her of her crown.

There are several points we have noticed in Canon Flanagan's work, on which, had we room, we should offer some comments. The Canon does not strike us as a man of a bold and vigorous genius, of profound and original thought. He is, at times, feeble, non-committal, and plays round a difficulty instead of bravely meeting it in front. We often disagree with Lingard, often reject his opinions, but we always admire his manliness, and seldom are at a loss to know what he really thinks on disputed questions. We cannot say as much of Canon Flanagan. He says it *appears* that Barlow was validly consecrated, and according to the Catholic rite, and yet tells us that no positive proof of it has ever been adduced, and many have questioned it. What does he himself think? How can he say it appears, when there is no positive proof of it, and the strongest evidence the nature of the case admits of has been adduced against it? We should say the contrary appears, or that it does *not* appear that Barlow was ever consecrated a bishop at all, validly or invalidly. The author tells the story of the Nag's Head. Does he accept it, or reject it? He tells us many have thought, for reasons he assigns, the Lambeth register of Parker's alleged consecration is a forgery. What does he himself think? In matters of faith, individual opinion is of no account; but in history, the opinion of the historian, who must be presumed to have made a more thorough investigation of the facts than the mass of his readers, is worth knowing. We dislike this way of shirking responsibility by the convenient phrases, "It has been thought," "Many have held," &c. This is no age for evasion, or non-committalism. The Catholic cause demands, in our day, in our country, in England, and everywhere else, men to advocate it, who have warm hearts, full minds, and strong convictions. It is not princes, nobles, or scholars, we are called upon to address, but the PEOPLE, who can be affected by no dilettanteism, who can be reached only by live and earnest men, using bold, manly, straightforward, and downright forms of expression. Too many of our Catholic writers borrow their tone and manner from our effete civilization rather than from their own living and life-giving religion, and write as if they were more studious to be in-offensive than convincing. What if we do make enemies, even excite wrath, and expose ourselves to vituperation and abuse? What is it to us whether our lives flow on smoothly, without a ripple, or whether they are beset with storms and tempests? To have our good ill spoken of is great joy, to die for our religion is the highest glory. The admonition is not to "follow after peace," peace at all hazards, but "after the things which make for peace;" and who knows not that in this world we can arrive at peace only through war?

The author thinks the immediate effects of the excommunication of Elizabeth by St. Pius V. were disastrous as to the temporal

condition of the Catholics that still remained in England, but he nevertheless defends it, though not precisely on the grounds we should have chosen. He is less firm and decided on the sentence of deprivation pronounced against her by the same Pope. He talks about what had long been thought, what had been the usage, or what had been customary in Christian states. Why not tell us the plain truth without any reticence or circumlocution? St. Pius in his Bull deposing Elizabeth, says nothing about custom, usage, or public opinion, but professes to declare her deprived, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance by the authority of Almighty God, committed to him as the successor of Peter, which any one may see by reading the Bull itself. The Pope is the Vicar of Christ on earth, the common Father of the Faithful, with plenary authority in all matters touching the administration of the Christian law. All Christian kingdoms, or kingdoms constituted under the Christian law, or bound by their fundamental constitution to conform to it, are within the *spiritual* jurisdiction of the sovereign Pontiff, and he has the same right to deprive their sovereigns that he has to deprive a bishop of his see, in case he violates that law, and uses his power against the interests of Christianity, and persecutes his subjects for being Christians. This follows necessarily from the principles every Catholic does and must hold, or cease to be a Catholic. By its fundamental law, England, on the accession of Elizabeth, was a Christian kingdom, as were all the kingdoms of the West founded after the subversion of Rome, and she herself ascended the throne as a Catholic princess, and swore in her coronation oath to maintain and defend the Catholic religion within her realm. This brought her officially, as well as personally, within the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, and made her as queen his spiritual subject, as much so as a bishop or priest. When she broke her oath, violated the Christian constitution of her kingdom, abolished the Catholic religion, and became the bitter persecutor of Catholics, he had the same divine right to deprive her, and to declare her subjects absolved from their allegiance, that he has to deprive a bishop fallen into heresy or schism.

Whether the Pope has the power by virtue of his spiritual authority to deprive a non-Christian prince, a prince who holds his crown, not by a Christian or Catholic tenure, but under the law of nature alone, is another question, which admits of a different answer. The Papacy is a Christian institution, and the Pope is the head of the Christian society only. To deprive a prince is a judicial act, and the Church judges those within, not those without. Non-Christian princes are not within the Papal jurisdiction, and, therefore, not subject to the Papal judgment. Hence we find no instance of the deprivation by the Pope of an infidel prince, or of a prince who holds under the law of nature alone, and is not bound by the constitution of the state to profess, maintain, and defend the Catholic religion. The Popes never deprived the pagan, or even the Christian emperors of Rome, though many of them were great tyrants and oppressors of their subjects, and cruel persecutors of Christians; for the constitution of the Roman state, or city, was anterior to the institution of the Papacy, and the Roman emperors, even those who were Christians, did not hold their crowns by a Christian tenure, but under the law of nature alone, and therefore were not, as emperors, within the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. Nor does the Pope deprive any modern prince, because in the revolutions which have been going on in the modern world for three hundred

But is the Pope not also protected under
the Natural Law?

years, nearly every state has emancipated itself from the Christian law, and cast off the Papal authority. There are now no Christian states, and there is no longer a prince who holds his crown by a Christian tenure. Church and state are effectually separated, and princes hold now under the law of nature alone. The Pope does not exercise the deposing power now, not because he does not possess it by divine authority, but because he has no subjects on which to exercise it.

Canon Flanagan need not fear to assert that St. Pius deprived Elizabeth by his Apostolic power, lest he offend the susceptibilities of the temporal authority, for the prince now, though personally a Catholic, is officially a heathen; and it would be a thing without precedent for the Pope to deprive a prince who holds by the tenure by which modern princes hold. The state has everywhere become non-Christian. The Jew sits in the English parliament, and Turkey is admitted into the family of nations, under the same international law. Princes are no longer, by the constitution of their states, answerable to the Christian law, and the Pope has authority over them only as individuals. Fénelon and his disciple, M. Gosselin, in their theory, which Canon Flanagan follows, come near the truth, but do not precisely seize it. It was not, as they hold, the *jus publicum* that in the Middle Ages gave the Pope the deposing power. The power the Popes then exercised is inherent in the divine constitution of the Papacy; but it was the public law, or constitution of the states, which sprang up after the fall of Rome, that brought princes in their official character within the Papal jurisdiction. The practical result of their theory and the doctrine we hold is virtually the same; but on their theory it is impossible to explain the history of the Popes for several ages, without making their acts a series of scandalous usurpations. To say the *jus publicum* gave the Pope the right to depose, would be as absurd as to pretend that the right of the pastor to govern is derived from the baptism of his flock. God gives the pastor the authority to rule the faithful, and baptism simply makes them the faithful, or his subjects. God gives the Pope authority to govern the Christian society, and to protect and defend its interests; the Christian constitution of the state brings the state itself into the Christian society, and, therefore, under the authority which the Pope holds, not from it, but from God himself, to depose, if necessary, its sovereign.

There is nothing in this doctrine to alarm the susceptibilities of states. They have effected their emancipation from the Papal authority, and the Pope by his concordats acknowledges it. They have withdrawn themselves from the Christian society, and hold to the Church the same constitutional relation that was held by imperial Rome. They acknowledge no law binding on them but the law of nature. The revolution has been effected, and it has been accepted by the Church; and though every state ought to have a Christian constitution, for the kingdoms of this world should be the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ, it depends on their own free will whether they have such a constitution or not, or whether they again come under the Papal authority. Every man ought to be a Christian, but there is no power that can force him to be one against his will. God himself respects the free will of individuals and nations. States can remain heathen if they choose, as an individual may abuse his free will; and as long as they remain so, they remain outside of Christian society, and outside of the Papal authority. The Church sought, and for a time

with success, to Christianize the state, as well as individuals; but as the states prospered they revolted, and, like the children of Israel, would have a king to rule over them. They have got their king, or their independence of Papal authority, and the Church cannot now deal with them as in her communion. She can treat princes, now, only as individual Christians, and can inflict on them no further punishment than excommunication. She can now only command the faithful to obey the temporal power in all things not repugnant to the Christian conscience, and to refuse obedience in all things forbidden by the law of God, whatever may be the consequences of their disobedience, as she did under the pagan Cæsars, and, subsequently, under the persecuting princes of England. We can, therefore, understand no reason why one should hesitate to assert for the Pope the power, by divine right, to deprive Christian princes, or princes holding by a Christian tenure; and it seems to us that we must do so, if Catholics, or forswear our logic, and condemn some of the greatest and most saintly of the successors of Peter.

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2. *Recollections of the last Four Popes, and of Rome in their Time.*
H. E. CARDINAL WISEMAN. Boston: Donahoe. 1853. 12mo.
Pp. 474.

EVERYTHING that Cardinal Wiseman sees fit to write and publish is well worth reading, but all he writes and publishes is not equally valuable; and we confess to a little disappointment in the volume before us. It is a pleasant, gossiping work, which one may read without weariness, but which, after all, tells us very little of what we are most anxious to know. As a graceful tribute to Rome and her Sovereign Pontiffs, it is highly creditable to his Eminence, and proves him a man of warm personal affections. He has placed as the motto of his book the line of Horace,—

“*Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,*”

and he shows that he is neither forgetful of the personal benefits he has received from Rome, nor ungrateful for her teachings. He went to Rome on the reopening of the English college in that city, in 1813, to study for the priesthood, and seems to have been most kindly received by the reigning Pontiff, and to have been ever since treated by successive Pontiffs with great confidence and consideration. His work is interspersed with various personal anecdotes of the Popes, and distinguished prelates and scholars, sometimes instructive, always pleasant and agreeable; but we find very little that seems to us likely to be of much value to the grave historian, or that does more than satisfy a light and superficial curiosity. The book would deserve high praise from an ordinary man, but from such a man as Cardinal Wiseman, certainly one of the first scholars and greatest men of our age, we expect something more serious, something less courtier-like, and more worthy of himself and the eminent position he holds.

Perhaps we, strangers to the atmosphere of courts, whether lay or spiritual, do not set the proper value on the personal details of the “last four Popes,” given us in this volume. We have never sympathized with poor Bozzy’s curiosity to learn what Dr. Johnson did with his orange peels. We are not, indeed, without curiosity as to the personal history of a really great man; but not every man is a great

man who sits upon a throne, even the throne of St. Peter. The four Popes, of whom the Cardinal gives us his recollections, were good, pious, and saintly men ; but, with the exception of Leo. XII., Della Genga, they were not, properly speaking, great men. As Popes, we revere their memory ; as men we take far less interest in them than we do in such men as Pacca and Consalvi. Pius VII. was a well-meaning man, with his heart and soul devoted to the interests of the Church ; but nobody can really call him a great man, a learned man, or an able Pontiff. He was a compromise candidate, and we know very well in this country what compromise candidates are. They are usually men of moderate abilities, without any strong or salient points of character, such as each party hopes to use for its own purposes. The whole history of the Pontificate of Pius VII. proves that, personally, he was weak and vacillating. We pity him in his interview with Napoleon, at Fontainebleau, and almost lose confidence when we see the moral force which he represented, yield before material force represented by the hitherto successful soldier. We ask, "has God deserted his Church?" and our confidence revives only when we see Pacca and Consalvi reappear, the one to lament his weakness, and the other to extricate him from the difficulties in which it involved him. Our confidence in the Papacy does not rest on the wisdom, the virtue, or the greatness of the Pope as a man, but on the assistance of the Holy Ghost, promised to his office. It is not the man, but the vicar of Christ, we love, venerate, and obey. The glory of the Papacy is due to the supernatural assistance of God given to his Church in her visible head, not to the human wisdom, or virtues of the man. If we do not remember this we shall be scandalized as well as edified by the conduct, or want of conduct, of more than one Pope in the presence of the temporal sovereign. We reverence as much as any one the meek, passive virtues of Pius VII., but no man can read his biography without feeling that, as men, Pacca and Consalvi were far his superiors. In our republican country, we are accustomed to distinguish between the law and its administrators, between the office and the man who fills it. We do not confound one with the other ; and hence we are not disturbed if the man is not always as great as his office. We respect him for the sake of the office, and honour the office in him. Something of the same habit, so foreign to Europeans, will be traced in our respect even to the person of the Holy Father himself. Hence, works written in the style and tone of these "Recollections," do not please us so much as, we presume, they do others who have more courtly habits, and are trained more carefully to be loyal to the person than to law. We suppose this accounts for our want of interest in the usual Correspondence of Catholic journals from Rome. It may be that we personally lack somewhat of the true Catholic sentiment, but we confess, when we open a journal with a letter dated from Rome, our first impulse is to pass it over unread, for we know beforehand that it will simply tell us of some procession, or of the visit of the Holy Father to this or that church, or give us a little pious twaddle about one thing or another. Perhaps we ought to take a deep interest in all this, and be vastly edified by it ; but we confess such is not the case. The processions, the visits, all are good and pious ; we know and feel that ; but is there nothing more important done or said at Rome, which a correspondent might tell ; nothing to cheer the hearts and strengthen the hands of those who are devoting their best energies and their lives in heathen or heretical

lands, to the Catholic cause,—nothing to quicken the zeal, and stimulate the active exertions of the faithful for the conversion of mis-believers and unbelievers, and for the salvation of their own souls? We do not, and will not believe it.

But too much of this. While we do not hold ourselves bound to believe every Roman is a saint, or a great man, or to clap our hands at everything that is said or done in the city of Rome, we reverence, we trust, as profoundly as any man can, the Papacy; we allow no limits to our devotion to the Holy See, and we have the highest reverence for the personal worth and virtues of the reigning Pontiff, whose reign will be among the most memorable in the history of the Roman Pontificate. Though the Cardinal's book has disappointed us, and told us little of what we wished most to be told, it still is a pleasing, in many respects a valuable, and is sure to be a popular book. Perhaps it is all we had a right to expect, and certainly, the Cardinal has done great things enough to be allowed now and then to relax a little, and write a book more within the capacity of ordinary men. However gossipy may be some parts of this book, the Cardinal has done more for the cause of sound Catholic literature and learning than any other writer in our language. He may have his enemies, his detractors, as eminent merit always has, but we, though the farthest removed possible from the courtier, are not among them. His name was one of the first among Catholic authors we learned to reverence, and every day since our conversion has only increased our admiration of his varied learning, his versatile talents, his brilliant genius, and his indefatigable and successful labours. Catholic England and America are deeply his debtors, and will, long after he shall have passed to his reward, have reason to remember him, with heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God, for having given them such a man in their low estate, and having made him a chief instrument in elevating them, and commanding for them the respect even of their enemies.

3. *Shamah in Pursuit of Freedom; or, the Branded Hand.* Translated from the original Showiah, and edited by an American Citizen. New York: Thatcher and Hutchinson. 1858. 8vo. pp. 599.

THIS book belongs to modern abolition literature, and may take rank along with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to which it is inferior in interest, but superior in literary elegance and finish. We are no friends of Negro or any other slavery, and are opposed to the further extension of the slave territory of the Union; but we have no great admiration for abolition novels or romances, whatever form they may take, and especially have we very little for the one before us, though it bears the marks of genius, and of an earnest and cultivated mind. We think more highly of the capacities of the Negro race than do many of our friends, but we certainly do not believe that the mass of those now held in bondage are able to take proper care of themselves. The author, to escape the charge of having only one idea, we suppose, would not only free the slave from his master, but liberate all men from all restraint, and leave every man free to do "whatever is right in his own eyes." He seems to suppose the native instincts of the human heart would lead all men in the path of true freedom and morality! As all men have, and always have had, these instincts, how does the author explain the origin

of slavery, tyranny, and oppression, which make the staple of human history? The author professes to be very moral, and very religious. He is a great stickler for conscience, but he denies to religion all binding force, and resolves it, as do most persons in our day, into a weak and watery sentiment, with which understanding and will have nothing to do, and his morality is rigid only for those who uphold law and order. Full latitude to lie, cheat, steal, and murder, is given to those who take the side of freedom. He has a measure and a measure. His hero is a Mahometan, has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and is a devout believer in the mission of the Prophet, yet he represents him at the same time as a true Christian in spirit, conviction, and conduct. He goes further, and makes him, in order to marry a Catholic wife, consent to be baptized—which he calls going through a formal ceremony in order to comply with the laws of Brazil—while he still adheres to his Mahometanism! Hypocrisy the most barefaced, sacrilege the most deliberate, and a solemn profession of the Christian religion, while holding fast to another which denies it, and calls those who hold it infidels, are perfectly compatible with a model Christian, if we are to believe our author.

A book which inculcates such lessons is unfit to be put into the hands of youth, and can have only a pernicious influence. The abolitionists have damaged their cause by associating it with the most dangerous and licentious principles of the modern world. Many who would sympathize with them in their efforts in behalf of the slave, are obliged not only to separate from them, but to oppose them most strenuously, because they mix up with their abolitionism the most abominable errors, whose prevalence would infinitely outweigh all the good they ever contemplate towards the Negro race. Whatever we may think of Negro slavery, we must take a firm stand against abolitionists, for they advocate the emancipation of the slave on principles destructive alike of religion, morality, and society itself. They are the most dangerous class of modern infidels, worse than the socialists and red republicans of Europe. They are the worst conceivable enemy of the Negro slave, and throw on the side against him every man who believes in God, in the necessity of government and law. Under pretence of promoting liberty, they labor, perhaps not intentionally, to subvert authority, overturn society, and reduce mankind to a barbarism far worse than that of our American savages. If there is an enemy against which we should be constantly on our guard, it is modern philanthropism, which is rapidly preparing the way for the reign of antichrist.

4. *Rome: its Churches, its Charities, and its Schools.* By the REV. WM. H. NELLIGAN, LL. D., M. A. New York: Dunigan and Brother, 1858. 12mo. pp. 452.

THIS is a work from a most amiable and worthy man, a convert from Anglicanism, who remained some years at Rome, while prosecuting his studies preparatory to entering the Christian priesthood. It bears the marks of various knowledge on the part of the author, indicates great industry in the collection of facts, gives us much pleasing and useful information, and breathes a loyal and devout spirit. A little more method in arranging and classing its materials, and a little more care in its language, would considerably enhance its value. We hope the author will subject his second edition, which we understand is

already called for, to a rigid revision, especially under a literary point of view. Nevertheless, we thank him for the information he has given us; and the success his volume has met with proves the deep interest our public take in whatever relates to Catholic Rome, the seat and centre of our holy religion, and of which the mass of us know quite too little.

5. *Italian Legends and Sketches.* By J. W. CUMMINGS, D. D. New York: Dunigan & Brother. 1858. 12mo. pp. 275.

THE author of this gracefully written, pleasant, and withal instructive volume is the learned and accomplished pastor of St. Stephen's parish in this city. The volume belongs to a class of literary works in which English-speaking Catholics are greatly deficient, and contributes its quota to supply a want which is very widely and deeply felt. There is a large class of persons, not unbelieving, not immoral, and who indeed observe with care the precepts of the Church, that have not, and cannot be made to have, any great affection for purely ascetic, or even polemical literature; yet these persons, in this age, will read, and works, too, which address themselves primarily to the sentiments and imagination, and if we do not provide them with works which meet their literary wants and tastes, they will, in spite of all we can do or say, seek them in the non-Catholic and corrupt literature of the day. We look upon every light literary work which appears, and which a Catholic can read without injury to faith or morals, as a Godsend, and are more careful to welcome it than even a work of graver pretensions. He does the best service to the Catholic cause who best meets the wants, the real wants, of the Catholic public in the time and place. Though at first sight, austere persons, who reflect little on the subject, may think a learned Divine may better employ his leisure than in writing Italian Legends and Sketches, interspersed with poetry and romance, we think Dr. Cummings has in this little volume done as much for the Catholic cause amongst us in our present condition, as if he had written a grave work on ascetic theology, or a volume of devout meditations. There is room in the Catholic Church for every variety of talent and genius, and in Catholic literature, for every variety of works not bad, or not tending to evil; for though our religion asserts the insufficiency of nature, it accepts nature in its purity, and gives it fair play.

Of these Legends and Sketches we have no space to speak at length. They are written in a pleasing style, with classic taste and gracefulness. They are all informed with a deep, hearty love of Italy, and are marked by a just knowledge and appreciation of the Italian people and character. If we should find any fault with them, it is that they now and then bear too strong traces of Italian prejudices, especially against the Tedeschi. The author views Austria through Italian spectacles, and feels towards her somewhat as an Irishman does towards England. The author went when quite young to Rome, and resided in Italy so long that he became very much of an Italian, and feels the wrongs of the Peninsula almost as if they were the wrongs of his own country. The right of the Italian to feel sore towards Germany, is shown very clearly by the author in our last Review. The wrongs inflicted by the German Emperors on Italian cities and towns can be equalled only by those which England has inflicted on Ireland, and surpass those inflicted by

the French under the Directory, and Bonaparte, himself an Italian by blood and by birth, who entered Italy under pretence of liberating her from Austria, and departed not till they had plundered her wealth and her treasures of art, and destroyed the last vestige of national independence. Yet Italy, though she has suffered from her Gallic and Teutonic neighbours, from those she calls Ultramontanes, and barbarians, is not herself wholly blameless; and when comparatively independent of foreign domination, she indulged in intestine divisions and civil wars. She suffered more from her own turbulent princes and nobles, and from the rivalries and jealousies of her own cities and towns, always at feud with one another, than she has from the Tedeschi, or the Francesi. If Austria were to restore Lombardy and Venice to their former independence, and to leave Italy to herself, it is very doubtful whether the Italians would gain anything. Italy even more than Germany is a geographical expression, and lacks the element of national unity. Italy, united, would not only be independent, but would become the preponderating nation of modern times. She would, as of old, command the civilized world. But her union as a single political people is, humanly speaking, an impossibility. The least unfeasible scheme that has been suggested, was that of Gioberti, in his *Del Primato*, of a Federal Union of all the kingdoms, principalities, and republics under the presidency or moderatorship of the Pope. But that would involve the Pope in all the turmoil of modern politics, and would tend to make the world lose sight of him as the spiritual head of Christendom, and to regard him only as a powerful Italian sovereign. Besides, France, England, and Austria, to say nothing of the other European powers, would never suffer him to become the temporal head of twenty-five millions of Italians. Deeply as we sympathize with the Italian people, we see no hope for Italian unity and national independence. A worse set of princes, princes who did more to destroy the faith, the energy, the manhood of the people of Italy, than those native princes who reigned during the latter half of the eighteenth century, it would be hard to find; and we have no desire to see all Italy subjected to Ferdinand of Naples, or to Victor Emanuel of Sardinia. We are willing to see the last of the Bourbons, and regard the House of Savoy as fallen beyond the hope of redemption. We have as little confidence in Cavour as in Mazzini, to work out the political and civil renovation of Italy. The problem is too difficult for us, and too difficult, we believe, for the greatest of such statesmen as live in these degenerate days.

But we are losing sight of the author. There are several poems, scattered through the volume, of very high merit, some of them real gems, such as prove the author, had he devoted himself to poetry, might have taken the first rank among the poets of his country. In both his prose and his poetry, we recognize a robust, healthy, manly tone. The author has a vivid imagination, a ready eye for the beautiful, a delicate sensibility, but no weak, paltry sentimentalism. In his prose and in his poetry his language is clear, simple, natural, and unaffected, except now and then a little quaintness, which in him is natural and graceful. We need not say that we prize very highly these Legends and Sketches, and we wish many of his brethren among the clergy would imitate the example of the author. The Very Reverend Brother of the Archbishop of Cincinnati might, if he would, select from what he has already written a volume of most exquisite poetry,

which would not detract in the least from his sacred profession, and would do honor alike to the land of his birth and that of his adoption. Others we could mention, but we forbear. Catholics, and the clergy even more than the laity, we never cease to repeat, must conquer this age by taking the lead in every department of mind.

6. *A Treatise on the Love of God.* By St. FRANCIS of Sales. A new translation. New York: O'Shea. 1858. 12mo. pp. 590.

WE have not compared this translation with either the former translation, or with the original, and in fact, we have not even read it. We are unwilling to read St. Francis of Sales in any language but the old French in which he wrote, or in Italian. But those who read only English, we presume, will find this translation giving the thoughts of the author with fidelity, though without the peculiar simplicity and unction of the original. Of the work itself it would be superfluous to speak,—a work which is remarkable alike for its deep philosophy and theology, and its sweet, unaffected piety. We are glad to see the work placed within the reach of the English reader, and we hope it will take the place of the light, superficial, sentimental devotional works which have become so fashionable in late years. Its constant study and meditation will render our piety solid and robust as well as tender. St. Francis was in some sort the apostle of Calvinists, and his are the best works extant for Catholics who live in a Calvinistic country like ours.

7. *History of the Pontificate and Captivity of Pius the Sixth, together with a glance at the Catholic Church.* Translated from the French. By Miss H * * * TH, a graduate of St. Joseph's, New Emmittsburg, Md. New York: O'Shea. 1858. 24mo. pp. 240.

WHO is the French author of this little work we are not informed, and of its merits in the original we cannot speak. We have heard, accidentally, the name of the translator, and we have only the kindest and best regards for her as a most estimable young lady. But we regret to find that the good Sisters of Emmittsburg suffer their pupils to graduate with so imperfect a knowledge of French as this translation betrays. It is no sin to be ignorant of the French language, but it is an inconvenience when one wishes to translate a French work into English. We are not sure that many of the faults and blunders of the work are not due to the original author, but some of them are obviously due to the translator. Thus, in the first sentence, "Clement XIV. being about to die, the Conclave convened," &c. This would imply that the Conclave convened for the election of the new Pope before the old Pope was dead. Usually, we believe, the Conclave convenes not till the ninth day after a Pope has deceased. The correct translation, we suppose, is, "Clement XIV. having just died, the Conclave convened," &c. The translation is hardly less faulty in its stilted and unidiomatic English. One would think learning is not at so low an ebb that we cannot have works done out of French into passable English; and it is time to enter, in the name of sound literature, an earnest protest against the slovenly manner in which most of our translations from foreign languages are made. Let those who know neither the foreign tongue nor their own leave translation alone. Neither the author nor translator in the present case seems to know who were the Count

and Countess du Nord, who were so kind to Pius VI. on his setting out on his journey to Vienna. They were simply the Grand Duke Paul and his wife, then visiting Rome, and subsequently known as the Emperor and Empress of Russia. The pelisse the Grand Duke gave to the Pope was sewed by the Grand Duchess herself. The work before us says Pius before starting had eight hundred gold medals struck. Chevalier Artaud de Montor says two thousand, far the more probable number. The only recreation, we are told, the Pope allowed himself, was "to visit the Pontine Marshes, at which place he was having *much work* executed!" Who would infer from this fact that the *much work* were extensive and very expensive *works* undertaken for draining the Pontine Marshes?

8. *St. John's Manual, a Guide to the Public Worship and Services of the Church, and a Collection of Devotions for the private use of the Faithful.* New York: Dunigan & Brother. 1856. pp. 1201.

WE have noticed this magnificent prayer book on a former occasion, but it will bear, indeed deserves, a second notice. Every Catholic publishing house must have a prayer book of its own, and their rivalries and mutual jealousies have multiplied manuals till choice is well nigh baffled. We have no disposition to praise one at the expense of another, but we may be permitted to have a little partiality for our own publishers. There are a multitude of excellent manuals. There is the Golden Manual, published by the Sadliers, which deserves its name; there is St. Joseph's Manual, published by Donahoe, not without peculiar merits of its own; the Star of Bethlehem, published by O'Shea, a very good collection of devotions; and there are St. Vincent's Manual, and the Visitation Manual, published by Murphy & Co., Baltimore, and adapted respectively to the Sisters of Charity, or, as we are now required to say, in defiance of all our associations, *Daughters of Charity*, and the Sisters of the Visitation, both excellent in their way. But the largest, the most complete, combining all the chief excellences of the others, as well as possessing peculiar claims of its own, is, in our judgment, *St. John's Manual*, published by the old-established firm of Dunigan & Brother, continued by our excellent friend James B. Kirker, the surviving partner. It is admirable for its typography, and may be had in every variety of binding, from the cheapest and plainest to the most costly and richly ornamented. The Manual contains all that can be required in a work of the sort, and is full of Catholic instruction as well as of Catholic piety. The selections are made from the whole range of Catholic devotional literature, and made with taste and judgment.

It is proper to remark that the work was prepared and published before the controversy concerning the Litanies was raised in this country. It seems settled that only two Litanies, those of the Saints, and those of our Lady of Loretto, are allowed to be used in the public services of the Church, or given by confessors to their penitents to recite as a penance; but we do not understand that the faithful are forbidden to keep books in which others are printed, or to use others, if they choose, in their private devotions. In their private devotions, the faithful are restricted to particular prayers, or forms of prayer, and they may pray, if they prefer it, without any written form. It may be said with justice, that such prayers, and the recitation of the Litanies, excepting the two, have no indulgences attached to them. This is true, and probably as much may be said of the greater part of the prayers in

our English prayer books. For ourselves, we would not use even in our private devotions any of the Litanies, except the two named, but it is not to be objected to *St. John's Manual* that as well as all the Manuals we have named contains others. The Manual is published with the approbation of the Archbishop of New York, and no official note of censure has been published on any of our Manuals for containing unauthorized Litanies. We should recommend the publishers in a future edition to omit these unauthorized Litanies, when their Manual will contain nothing to which the most fastidious can object. To do so will require the diminution of the volume only by a few pages, which will then contain more matter than any other Manual we are acquainted with.

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9. *O'Brennan's Antiquities. A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholon to the present time.* By MARTIN A. O'BRENNAN, LL. D. Dublin. Published by the author. 8vo. 2 vols.

FROM the appearance of these volumes and certain other indications, we presume they are a recent issue, though the date of their publication is not given. The exterior and the whole getting up of these volumes are repulsive, and indicate a sad want of artistic taste on the part of the author and publisher. Though numbered Vol. I. and Vol. II., they are really two distinct works. The first work, called *O'Brennan's Antiquities*, seems designed to aid and encourage the study of the Irish language, which appears to be falling more and more into disuse. It contains the *Dirge of Ireland*, by the Most Reverend John O'Connell, Bishop of Kerry, in the original Irish with a literal English translation. The *Dirge* dates from the remote antiquity of 1704, and is accompanied by learned notes and scholia, the merit of which is lost to us, but we presume of great value to the Irish student. The *Dirge* very likely is good poetry in the original, but it is very flat prose in the translation. We do not understand the Irish language, and are too old now to undertake to learn it, yet we can believe it a language worth learning, and we are disposed to commend heartily the efforts of Irish scholars to preserve it, and to facilitate the study of it. No man can well know a people till he knows its language, for it is only in its own native tongue that the national genius can display itself, or the heart and soul of the nation can be seen. The second volume is a school history of Ireland, compiled from the most approved authors on Irish history. We have not read it. This reminds us that Dunigan & Brother have republished Thomas Moore's *History of Ireland* in two large handsome volumes, octavo, to our taste one of the most readable, if not the most accurate, histories of Ireland that has been written. We ought to have noticed the work before, but hope to be able to make amends for our delay by a more extended review than can be given in a literary notice.

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10. *Poems.* By HOWARD H. CALDWELL. Boston: Whitmore, Niles & Hall. 1858. 8vo. pp. 134.

MR. CALDWELL is a South Carolinian, and worthily represents the genius of that spirited State. We have read his poems with interest, and as far as we are qualified to judge, they are genuine poetry, and of a high order of poetry. He has been much abused by his Presbyterian brethren for certain Catholic tendencies and sentiments in his poems,

which will make them none the less acceptable to us Catholics. We could find faults with some of them, and we find it hard to pardon him for giving St. Agnes, that sweet child, so early espoused in soul to her celestial Lover, an earthly love. It was an infidelity of which she was incapable, and jars unpleasantly on all our associations with her name. But, in general, the poems breathe a Catholic tone, and are more Catholic than the productions of most poetry by professed Catholics. They are marked by great justness of thought, purity of sentiment, and beauty of expression; and we can cordially recommend them as containing some of the choicest pieces to be found in American poetry.

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11. *Margaret Danvers; or, the Bayadère.* By the author of Mount St. Lawrence. London: Dolman. 1857. 12mo. pp. 428.

THE plot of *Margaret Danvers* is improbable, involved, and unnatural, in which everybody turns out to be somebody else. The religious discussions and the conversion of Margaret are not the most happily conceived. Nevertheless, the work has a high moral character, displays great knowledge of the workings of the human heart, and rare felicity in delineating them; and is one of the best novels of the kind we have. It is deeply interesting, and possesses solid merit. We recommend it to all our young lady readers.

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12. *A new Latin-English School Lexicon, on the Basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingersler.* By G. R. CROOKS, D.D., and A. J. SCHEM. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 982.

THIS is an admirable School Lexicon, as far as it goes, the best Latin-English Lexicon we are acquainted with. We say as far as it goes, because it contains the vocabulary of only a limited number of authors, not of the whole Latin language. It enables one to read the principal Latin classics, but it is not sufficient for a large number of later Latin authors, especially the Latin fathers of the Church. To be well adapted to our Catholic colleges it needs to be accompanied by an English-Latin Lexicon. Aside from these exceptions, we can recommend it in the strongest terms. We like its plan, its arrangement, and its method. We like, too, its insertion and definition in their proper places of mythological and geographical names, thus making it serve at once as a Lexicon of the Latin language, and a Dictionary of Classical Antiquities. The work is admirably printed, and the use of different types to distinguish the literal and figurative meaning of the word will much assist the learner.

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13. *The New American Cyclopaedia; a popular Dictionary of General Knowledge.* Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY, and CHARLES A. DANA. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. Vols. I.—III.

THIS work is to be completed in fifteen large octavo volumes of about seven or eight hundred pages each. The work is intended to give a popular summary of human knowledge down to the latest dates, and can be expected to accomplish its object only imperfectly. The three volumes issued cannot be said to disappoint us, and they in some departments really indicate an advance on other works of a similar character. The part which is the fullest and apparently the best sus-

tained, is that which takes in the physical sciences and the material interests of the age. The great objection to the work is, in all that concerns the moral and spiritual interests of mankind, its indecision, its indifferency, its want of a clear, distinct, positive religious faith. It aims to treat with equal respect the Theist and the Atheist, the Christian and the infidel, the Catholic and the Protestant, the Church and the Agapemone. The editors seem to aim at offending nobody and pleasing everybody, and the result we fear will be that they will offend everybody and please nobody. The editors profess to be impartial, and to give facts, not judgments; yet these volumes, while they abstain from opinions and judgments unfavorable to Protestantism, abound in opinions and judgments unfavorable to Catholicity, whenever an opportunity offers. We do not complain of this. We cannot expect men who are not Catholics to write and publish a Catholic Cyclopaedia; we only complain that the promises of impartiality are not kept, and that the Catholic articles, supposed, in general, to be written by Catholics, are, whenever of much importance, written by non-Catholics. The great saints, fathers, doctors, and philosophers of the Church are done by a Unitarian, and the Ecclesiastical history articles by a Methodist minister. Its professions of fairness towards us, and the fact that the editors have published unauthorizedly the names of some Catholic contributors, have induced those contributors to refuse to write henceforth for the work, lest Catholics might be misled as to its real character. The names of Rev. Father Hewit, and of O. A. Brownson, have been published without their consent, and we are authorized to say that neither of those gentlemen will henceforth write anything for its pages. The work is a Protestant work, not a Catholic work, and though less virulent towards our religion than most works of the sort, it is perhaps not less dangerous. It is impossible to expect from the junior editor anything favorable to any religion that is a religion. The senior editor is a different sort of a man, and we give him full credit for honestly aiming to exclude from his work everything that is offensive to religion and morality.

Regarding the Cyclopaedia from the point of view of the age and the country, we feel bound to speak of it in far other terms than those of censure. Its articles are not all of equal importance, but it, upon the whole, is really a valuable popular dictionary of knowledge. Of course, it often copies its predecessors even in their errors, but it also often adds important facts and information to be found in no other cyclopaedia. In a literary and scientific point of view, it is, upon the whole, highly creditable to its editors and contributors, and as little objectionable even under the Catholic point of view as it could be and conform to the spirit of the age and country. We would not say to Catholics, do not buy it; but if you buy it, do so with the understanding that it is a thoroughly non-Catholic work, in which there is and will be much to offend your religious faith and feelings.

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14. *The Foot of the Cross; or, the Sorrows of Mary.* By F. W. FABER, D.D. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1858. 16mo. pp. 448.

WE have but barely announced Father Faber's spiritual works as they have appeared. We have done no more, because we could not by our commendation add to their popularity, and because we have had no disposition to criticise them. They are works that we do not feel

competent to judge. Indeed, we have not read thoroughly any one of them. We take it for granted that they are orthodox and edifying, but for our own spiritual reading we prefer the earlier writers, who were unaffected by modern sentimentalism. Father Faber is a learned, zealous, active man ; but he is essentially a poet, and he poetizes too much in his works for our taste. His strain is too high for us, his style is too rich and florid. We want more simplicity and solidity in the devotional works we read. Piety should be robust and healthy, not weak and sentimental. We cannot endure a single modern French devotional work that has come under our notice, and we do not much admire, excellent as they certainly were for those for whom they were written, the spiritual works of St. Alphonsus, that have been translated and published among us. They do not suit our cold temperament. The fault, we are ready to admit, is in us ; but we cannot get over the impression that Rodriguez, Père Alléant, Father Lewis of Granada, and spiritual writers of their class, are far superior to the light and flashy writers of this effeminate age, when what vigor of thought we have is turned to material interests.

15. *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams, 1789-1801.* By WILLIAM HENRY TRESMOTT. Boston : Little Brown & Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 283.

MR. TRESMOTT is, we believe, a South Carolinian, and a writer of solid merit. We remember a publication of his on the Eastern Question, and we have an impression that we have received from him a valuable work on government, a work which proves that the author—what few Americans have done—has studied government as a science. This Diplomatic History is ably and well written, with candor, and, as far as we have examined, with truthfulness ; and should be read and studied by all our young men who aspire in politics to rise above the demagogue. Our young men study, at first or second hand, enough of French and German theories, but they study too little American history, and take too little pains to be real American statesmen. They do not seem to be aware that the American institutions have a character and a law of development of their own, and that none of the ready cut and dried theories of democracy apply to them. To understand them, we must go back to the origin, and study them in the light of their own principles and history. No man can be an American statesman who does not know thoroughly the Administrations of Washington and Adams, the diplomatic history of which gives a key to much pertaining to interior as well as exterior politics. We are glad to find such men as Mr. Trescott devoting themselves to the study of that history. We have followed the Jack-o'-lanterns of French Jacobinism and socialism till we are well-nigh landed in a quagmire. No man of ordinary penetration can doubt that, notwithstanding our external prosperity, our republic, such as our fathers understood it, and such as all sensible patriots wish it, is in serious danger, and requires hardly less wisdom, virtue, intelligence, and persevering effort, to save and restore, than it did to found it. Experience has proved that it cannot go alone, nor can sciolists and ignorant demagogues, or mere politicians, guide it wisely and safely. We must have scientific statesmen, men who study and master the science of government, men who have some other qualification for office than the mere fact that they have succeeded in commanding a majority of votes.

16. *Wilitoft ; oder, Die Tage Jacobs I., eine Erzählung.* Von JAMES MCSHERRY, mit Genehmigung des Verfassers, deutsch von BERNARD WORNER. Frankfurt am Main. 1858.

WE are glad to see a German translation of this very interesting tale of the times of James I., by our highly esteemed countryman, Mr. McSherry. We need not speak of the work itself, for we reviewed it at length on the first appearance of the original.

17. *The Life of St. Vincent de Paul.* By HENRY BEDFORD, M.A. New York : D. & J. Sadlier & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 216.

WHETHER this is an American or an English book, we have no means of knowing from the book itself, except its page looks like English rather than American print. The work itself needs no recommendation from us. The subject, St. Vincent de Paul, is enough. We only wish it would please our good God to send us another St. Vincent de Paul for this city of ours.

18. *Life of St. Angela Merici of Brescia, Foundress of the Order of St. Ursula.* By the Abbé PARENTY ; with an account of the Order in Ireland, Canada, and the United States ; by JOHN G. SHEA. Philadelphia : Cunningham. 1858. 18mo. pp. 251.

EVERY Catholic must take a deep interest in the life of the Foundress of the Ursuline Order, an order which has done and is still doing so much for female education, as well as in the life of a great saint. Our readers must not suppose, because Father John in Our Club offers some strictures on our conventual schools, that we array ourselves against them. We esteem very highly the schools for young ladies founded and sustained by Sisters of different orders and congregations, and we only wish in regard to them a higher standard of secular education. We like, in the majority of them, their moral and religious influence ; but we happen to be a layman, and naturally look more than our good Sisters to the secular bearing of education, perhaps too much so. We find in all ranks and classes, among Catholics and non-Catholics, so few who really think, that we perhaps may place too much stress on that education which develops the intellect, and renders the pupils able to think and reason for themselves within the limits of faith and sound doctrine. Faith is immovable, immutable, and inflexible, and is to be taken on authority, but into all education enters and must enter much that is not of faith, and which depends on national usage or custom, and the particular school in which the teachers themselves have been trained. This is not of the same obligation as faith ; it may vary, and must vary with time and place. In most of our schools for young ladies it is French, in very few is it American, or adapted to the state of society in which our daughters are to live and act their part as wives and mothers. We respect the French, and French tastes and manners for France, but there is and always must be a vast difference between French society and American society. Our daughters, as well as our sons, should be educated for the society in which they are to live. Under this point of view, we have seen no female academy that pleases us more than that of Nazareth, in Kentucky. It is always a misfortune to depend on foreigners, whether by birth or habit, to educate the

children of a country. In our case it has been and long will be a necessity; for we are dependent on foreigners to introduce and sustain the Church, for our very faith, and Catholicity would not be able to hold up its head in the country, if left to native-born Americans; yet we wish our educators to take in as far as they can the state of the country, and educate, not to meet the wants of French, German, Irish, or English, but American society. To meet these wants, it strikes us that we need a freer, a more intellectual, and a more thorough education than any of our schools are in the habit of giving. The standard of education is far too low among non-Catholics to meet the demands of American society; and those demands will not be met till we meet them. The pages of this Review bear witness that we love authority, and do not shrink from asserting, in season and out of season, its rights and prerogatives; but we hold that authority aids instead of repressing intellectual freedom and development. Catholicity is Catholic, and Catholic education may well aim then at the highest and freest development of mind.

19. *Martha; or, the Hospital Sister.* Baltimore: 1857. pp. 157.

A VERY charming little book for our young folk.

20. *Tracts for To-day.* By M. D. CONWAY. Cincinnati: Truman and Spafford. 1858. 12mo. pp. 303.

MR. CONWAY is a Unitarian minister in Cincinnati, a very worthy gentleman in his way, we are told. We have not read his Tracts. We had enough of Unitarian reading in former times, and we have no curiosity to ascertain what new phases Unitarianism may be assuming from day to day. The author does well to entitle his work *Tracts for To-day*, for we presume they will be out of date to-morrow.

21. *The Life of St. Margaret of Cortona.* By the Canon ANTHONY FRANCIS GIOVAGNOLI. Philadelphia: Cunningham. 1858. 18mo. pp. 288.

ANOTHER life of a saint which all our readers must welcome.

22. *Silva; or, the Triumph of Virtue.* By the author of *Lorenzo*. Translated by a Sister of Charity. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1858.

THAT this work is by the author of "*Lorenzo*" is a sufficient recommendation.

23. *The Giant Judge; or, the Story of Samson, the Hebrew Hercules.* By Rev. W. A. SCOTT, D.D. San Francisco: Whitton, Town, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 234.

A SAD mixture of Judaism and Paganism, like Presbyterianism, of which the author is a worthy minister.

24. *The Catholic Psalmist; or, Manual of Sacred Music, containing the Vespers in Latin and English, for all Sundays and Festivals of the year; Chants, Hymns, and Litanies for Benediction, Noenas, and the Forty Hours' Exposition: Instructions for Choirs, &c.,*

with an Appendix, including the Gregorian Chants for High Mass, Processions, Holy Week, etc. Compiled by H. C. LYONS. Dublin: Duffy. 1858. 12mo. pp. 226.

MR. LYONS studied in the Irish College at Rome, and has been prevented only by his own humility from entering the priesthood. He devotes the whole of his time to the interests of religion, living in the house of the Archbishop of Dublin, and acting as his grace's secretary. His energies have been chiefly devoted to the cause of Sacred Music, in practical knowledge of which he has no superior in Ireland. While a student he led the choir of the Irish College, was afterwards elected an honorary member of the Pontifical Academy of St. Cecilia in Rome, and is at present director of the choir in the Cathedral Church, Marlborough Street, Dublin. The present work is the fruit of long years of experience, accompanied by unusual ability and fervent piety, and devotion to the cause of Sacred Music. It bears with it the cordial approbation of the Archbishop of Dublin, at whose request its publication was undertaken. Competent judges pronounce the work the best thing of its kind that has yet appeared, and fit to render invaluable assistance to leaders and choirs, who are desirous of observing in their singing the rules and practices of the Church. We cordially recommend "the Catholic Psalmist" to the American Catholic public.

25. *The Masque of Mary, and other Poems.* By EDWARD CASWALL. London: Burns & Lambert. 1858. 16mo. pp. 391.

WE are not so much struck with the *Masque of Mary*, happily conceived, just in sentiment, and chaste in expression as it is, as we suppose we ought to be. The *Masque* is never a form of poetry much to our taste, and when it is a sacred subject, and introduces a chorus of angels, it demands for its success the very highest order of poetical genius. Still the *Masque of Mary* may be read with pleasure, for its piety and devout sentiment, when not for its poetry. The other poems are of various merit. They nearly all belong to the class of religious poetry. Many of them are translations of hymns used by the Church in her offices, and are skilful and faithful. Several of the original pieces are gems in their way. From the "Hymns and Meditative Pieces," we select the following, on

PERSECUTION.

" Now is the time to leap for joy,
To shout and be exceeding glad:
While enemies their arts employ,
And friends pronounce us fools or mad.

" Did not our Lord Himself declare
That all who love His holy Name,
If they would His glory share,
Must also bear with him the shame?

" And did He not most truly call
Worthy of His own love divine,
Those who relations, friends, and all,
Gladly for Him and His resign?

“ And does He not those servants bless
 Who bear affliction for their Lord,
 And comfort them in their distress
 With promise of a sure reward ?

“ O, Jesu, it will ever be
 My wonder whence this mercy came,
 That I should both believe in Thee,
 And also suffer for Thy Name.”

p. 253.

We find another which pleases us much, and which proves that the author can set the profoundest metaphysics to music.

THE ORDER OF PURE INTUITION.

“ Hail, sacred Order of eternal Truth !
 That deep within the soul,
 In axiomatic majesty sublime,
 One undivided whole,—

“ Up from the underdepth unsearchable
 Of primal Being springs,
 An inner world of thought, co-ordinate
 With that of outward things !

“ Hail, Intuition pure ! whose essences
 The central core supply
 Of conscience, language, science, certitude,
 Art, beauty, harmony !

“ Great God, I thank Thy majesty supreme,
 Whose all-creative grace
 Not in the sentient faculties alone
 Has laid my reason's base ;

“ Not in abstractions thin by slow degrees
 From grosser forms refin'd ;
 Not in tradition, nor the broad consent
 Of conscious humankind ;—

“ But in th' essential Presence of Thyself,
 Within the soul's abyss ;
 Thyself, alike of her intelligence
 The fount, as of her bliss ;

“ Thyself, by nature, meditation, grace,
 Reflexively reveal'd ;
 Yet ever acting on the springs of thought,
 E'en when from thought conceal'd !”

pp. 191, 192.

We copy one more, which must deeply interest every English Catholic, or the Catholic of any country over which the devastating hosts of Luther's followers have swept, leaving behind them only ruins to mark that faith once was there.

CATHOLIC RUINS.

“ Where once our fathers offer'd praise and prayer,
 And sacrifice sublime ;
 Where rose upon the incense-breathing air
 The chant of olden time ;—

- “ Now, amid arches mouldering to the earth,
The boding night owl raves ;
And pleasure-parties dance in idle mirth
O'er the forgotten graves.
- “ Or worse ; the heretic of modern days
Has made those walls his prize ;
And in the pile our Faith alone could raise,
That very Faith denies !
- “ God of our fathers, look upon our woe !
How long wilt Thou not hear ?
How long shall Thy true vine be trodden low,
Nor help from Thee appear ?
- “ O, by our glory in the days gone by ;
O, by Thine ancient love ;
O, by our Thousand Saints, who ceaseless cry
Before Thy throne above ;
- “ Thou, for this Isle, compassionate though just,
Cherish Thy wrath no more ;
But build again her Temple from the dust,
And our lost hope restore ! ”

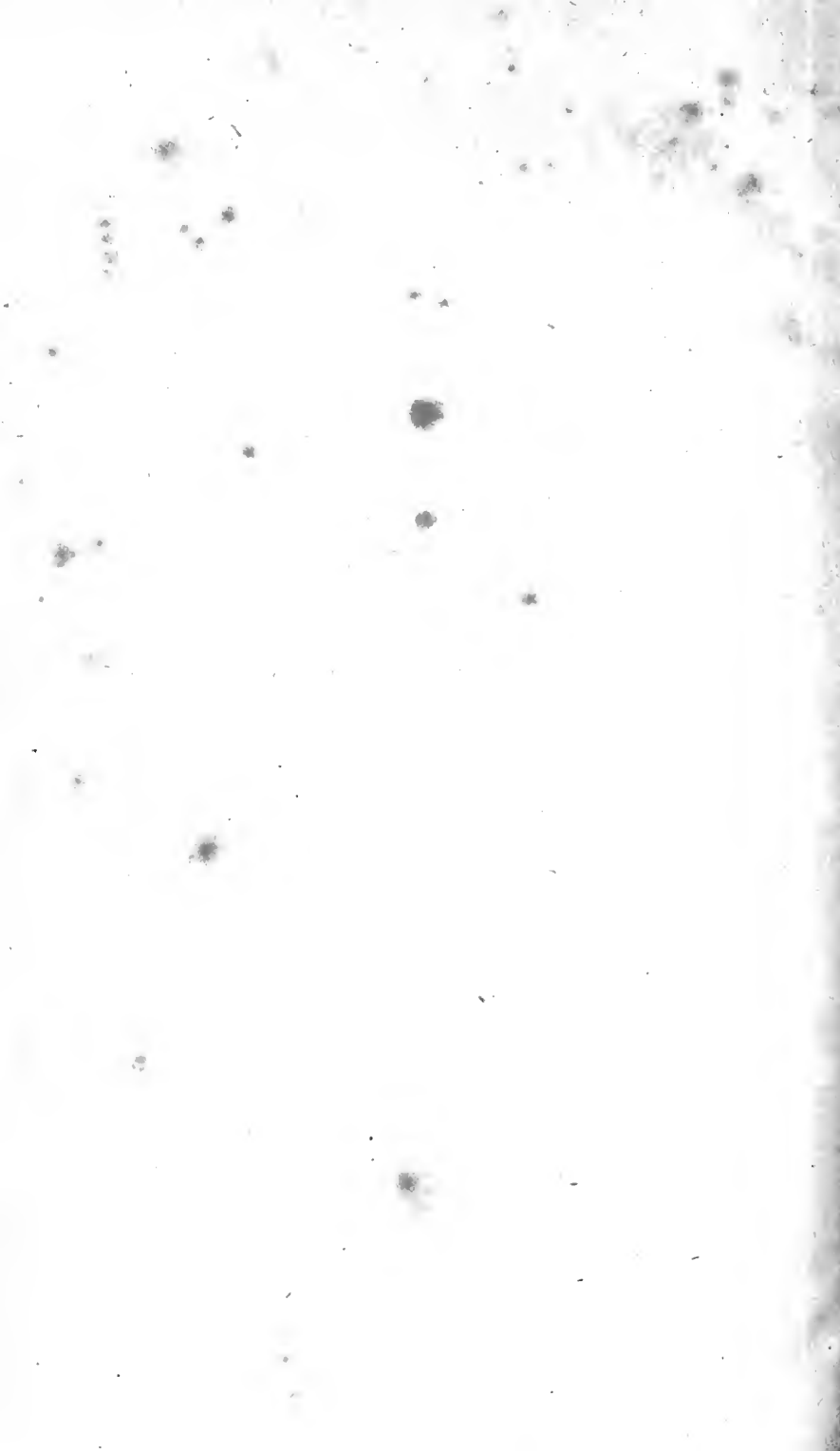
pp. 195, 196.

Father Caswall is a convert from Anglicanism, and a priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. No one can read this volume without being charmed with his pure and gentle spirit, or without having his piety and devotion quickened, his thoughts elevated, and his heart made better. The author is not a poet of the passionate school ; he is not a Byron. Nor is he a sentimental poet, with a sombre harmony ringing through his lines, like the author of *Les Méditations*. He is calm, subdued, free from all turbulence, peaceful, serene ; but he who cannot detect in his volume poetry of a very high order differs in his taste from us. We thank the author for his volume. It is one of those works of which we cannot have too many.

26. *The History of Ireland, from the earliest Kings of that Realm down to its last Chief.* By THOMAS MOORE, Esq. New York : Dunigan & Brother. 1858. 2 vols. 8vo.

MESSRS. DUNIGAN & BROTHER deserve the thanks of the reading public for reprinting Moore's History of Ireland in these two large and handsome octavo volumes.









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